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Rewriting Portuguese Women's History at International Expositions (1889–1908)

Teresa Pinto

The London Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851 stimulated many European countries, including Portugal, to develop industrial training. The latter became a symbol of a nation's economic development, hence the desire to showcase progress achieved in this area. International expositions offered nations a setting to celebrate and to publicize their innovations, but they were also sites for learning new methods, discovering new instruments, and admiring what these could do. In Portugal this concern both to exhibit and to learn explains the decision to participate actively in these events from mid-century onward. Indeed, in 1865, the city of Porto in northern Portugal organized a universal exposition of its own.

In 1884 the Portuguese government passed new legislation that finally resulted in the creation of public schools for industrial training after the failure of earlier legislation to do the same. A few short years later, it also helped organize their presence for the first time on the exhibition scene at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889. The government sought to display to the world the quality of the products produced within these schools, insisting in this fashion on the nation's ability to follow the paradigms that framed contemporary understanding of what constituted "progress." Both sexes attended these public industrial schools and from the outset the work produced by Portuguese female apprentices attracted widespread attention in the Paris exposition of 1889 and those that followed.

The industrial schools participated in four international expositions between 1889 and the end of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy—Paris, 1889; Chicago, 1993; Paris, 1900; Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), 1908. An analysis of the products sent to expositions reveals that girls' handiwork outnumbered that of boys, and received more prizes as well. Bobbin lacework from one of the largest of these industrial schools consistently won prizes between

1889 and 1908, and yet evidence of this feminine handicraft disappeared from the Portuguese official reports beginning in 1900. ¹

This chapter analyzes the mechanisms that help to explain first the visibility and then the silencing of women's work, both historically and in the historiography, through an examination of the objects produced by students within public industrial schools in Portugal, objects that acquired new meaning through their display within the international and universal expositions.

Particular attention will be paid to two contradictory forces that played out at the turn of the century in Portugal. On the one hand, evidence from exposition catalogues reveals that women's artisanal work dominated the displays of industrial schools despite a symbolic exhibitionary framework that valorized economic and industrial development. ² On the other hand, international expositions set in motion processes within Portugal that tended to make women's work disappear as new meanings accrued to the term "industry" and, as a result, to the very notion of industrial schooling. This analysis draws mainly from sources that allow one to connect attitudes toward women's work, the objectives of industrial schooling, and the politics of display within international expositions. Given the limited number of studies that have addressed the Portuguese participation in international expositions, and the non-existence of any scholarship centered on women, the chapter relies on a critical reading of a variety of primary sources. ³ These come from the historical archives of the Ministry of Public Works, Commerce and Industry, the Ministry of Education and the National Library of Portugal. The documents include the reports and the official statistics concerning industrial schooling, those that relate to the Portuguese participation in international expositions, catalogues of expositions, eyewitness reports from visitors, as well as a number of national periodicals that testify to attitudes of the time.

Girls and Women in Public Industrial Schooling in the Nineteenth Century

Historians of women have brought to light the important contribution women have always made to the workforce. This section looks more closely at the girl and women worker who entered these new schools. It examines as well the objects produced within the schools and those that received prizes in international expositions as a way of understanding the relationship between the objectives of industrial schooling, the state of industrial development in Portugal, and gendered attitudes to work.

Portugal: Between Arts and Industry

At the turn of the century, the term industry was still associated with such arts and trades that required manual ability on the part of male and female workers. ⁴ Small units of production as well as home workshops predominated and were widespread within this essentially rural country. ⁵ Large-scale factory production remained unusual and drew upon an unskilled and cheap workforce. Workers frequently carried out a multitude of tasks within a family economy that relied on the productive labor of all family members, children, as well as male and female adults. Statistical sources for the end of the century reveal a high rate of female employment, despite their underrepresentation in work registries. ⁶ Both in the public imaginary and in reality, women were perceived as belonging to the workforce, contributing to the family economy like men, while inactive women were criticized. ⁷ Given the weight of artisanal activities in the national economy, the applied arts occupied an important place within national and local industrial expositions at a moment when the distinction between the arts and industries was not clearly established. Within trade fairs, sections devoted to the Beaux Arts juxtaposed those devoted to industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and the products born of scientific and technological progress. ⁸ Although international labor conferences in 1890 and 1906 generalized protective legislation concerning women's and children's work, these only applied to factories. As a result the impact in Portugal was minimal since there was such widespread use of a female and child workforce within home industries, in artisanal workshops, or in small semi-mechanized work environments.

Unlike Portugal's neighbors to the north, the ideology of separate spheres and the triumph of feminine domesticity progressed very slowly in a country where the economic and social structures prevented the middle classes from acquiring much clout. The intellectual and political elites had an ambivalent relationship to the modernizing effects of industrialization, given the socio-economic realities of the time. An oligarchy of landowning bankers blocked the emergence of an industrial society as well as that of a powerful middle class. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho has shown that the economic interests of aristocratic landowners and bankers, as well as a new nobility of barons and viscounts, who preferred to invest in land and trade, infused the mental landscape of the dominant social groups. ⁹ As a result, the idea that the country needed schools to train a working-class elite or technical middlemen for the needs of a modernizing economy was not apparent.

Industrial Schools: Why and for Whom?

Teaching within industrial schools throughout Europe responded to two main objectives. Firstly, it was a response to an apprenticeship "crisis" resulting from the suppression of trade corporations. Secondly, it sought to rationalize and modernize work processes in response to the emergence of new modes of production and the application of new technologies. Over the course of the nineteenth century in Portugal, technical education oscillated between these two imperatives, although concern about the apprenticeship crisis tended to predominate until the end of the century.

In 1852 the Ministry of Public Works, of Commerce and of Industry (MOPCI) created an initial form of public industrial education. However, the high costs involved in opening such schools and providing them with the necessary equipment, as well as the absence of either local support or support from the business community, delayed their implementation. Schools only began to operate in 1884 when the State initiated a concerted and centralized move to develop technical education. Two years later, the first apprenticeship workshops began functioning within these schools, giving them a professional dimension. ¹⁰ Unlike other educational initiatives, industrial

education remained on the margins of parliamentary debates concerning schooling policies. Between 1884 and 1910, deputies rarely expressed an opinion on the subject; when they did, these concerned very general observations about the financing of such schools or their curricular content. The gendered dimensions of this schooling were never mentioned even though the curriculum within the public schools was the same for both sexes, except within certain sex-specific workshops that reflected longstanding traditions of what constituted male or female work.¹¹

In this same period (1884–1910), thirty-five schools were opened in Portugal including in the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores. All of these schools offered the elementary level within industrial schooling, that is, elementary drawing, as well as industrial drawing, which belonged to the secondary-level curriculum. Only a few schools, however, had the staff or equipment to offer the rest of the secondary-level curriculum.¹² From the outset industrial schools adopted a form of coeducation: both male and female children or adults attended the schools and classes were at times coeducational if the school did not have the means to establish separate classrooms. Students enrolled in individual subject matters (rather than following a set curriculum); as a result some students only studied specific subjects while others only attended specific workshops.¹³ Until 1910, women represented only 17% of the enrollments in elementary and industrial drawing. From the outset as well, women professors taught within these schools and even directed them, although they were a distinct minority.¹⁴

Between 1886 and 1910, twenty-two schools opened apprenticeship workshops (out of the thirty-five). The latter could be reserved for boys, for girls or open to both sexes. The coeducational workshops trained students in bookbinding, cardboard making and decorative painting, but they only existed within the largest industrial school in the country, the Marquês de Pombal school in Lisbon. Female workshops taught hand and machine sewing, embroidery, lacework (particularly bobbin lace, which was very popular in Europe), artificial flower making (out of different materials), and leather engraving (for furniture, bookbinding, etc.). Male workshops entailed

learning woodwork, lock smithery, weaving, gold and silver production and ceramics. During the period prior to 1910, women represented 58% of total enrollments in all of the school workshops and the latter offered positions for many workshop mistresses. In addition, female workshops were longer lasting compared to their male counterparts. Somewhat surprisingly given the common perception that industrial training targeted men, in Portugal, workshop training was more directed to women. ¹⁵

The goals of industrial schools as well as their training programs shed light, as a result, on changes in the sexual division of labor within the Portuguese economy, just as their creation participated in the construction of new gender relations. The legislation that encouraged the inclusion of women and girls in public schooling built upon a commitment to train workers and artisans as a way of revitalizing traditional industries, and as a response to concerns about the apprenticeship crisis. In the face of foreign competition, Portuguese public authorities sought to develop the competitive quality of their local production through a focus on drawing, which played the role that design plays today in similar discussions. Courses in drawing were directed toward a variety of both male and female artisanal trades; the main concern was to provide practical high-quality training thanks to the careful choice of both male and female teachers. ¹⁶

The central administrative personnel who set up the first public industrial schools shared this interest in developing local industry, which for the most part lay in the area of industrial arts. The Ministry of Public Works (the MOPCI) established a small group of individuals who remained in place for years, ensuring a form of technical coordination that allowed the schools to develop systematically. ¹⁷ Within the MOPCI, the general director of Commerce and Industry and the head of the Industry Office were in charge of directing a team of collaborators that included the directors and curators of the Industrial and Commercial museums of Lisbon and Porto (the country's second-largest city), as well as two school inspectors. The latter were in charge of supervising the work of the heads of all of the industrial schools in the country. ¹⁸ The dynamism and the cohesion of this group played a decisive

role in consolidating the rules, characteristics and operating mode of this network of industrial schools. ¹⁹

The Professional Training of Women Within Industrial Schools

Industrial schooling for girls and women aimed to prepare them professionally for work in the emerging sector of mechanized sewing, or within traditional industrial arts. This first sector was linked to the expansion of the clothing industry due to the integration and generalization of new patterns in consumption associated with the middle classes and needs within the expanding military sector (notably an increased demand for military uniforms in the context of colonial expansion). Within the traditional industrial arts, training was directed toward ornamental work and the production of both personal and luxury objects for the home: embroideries, lacework, artificial flowers, engraved leather, etc. Within the luxury trade, the products of the fine craftsmanship in bobbin lacework were particularly appreciated by the upper classes both within Portugal and without. The professional courses founded for women all taught techniques with the intention of bringing women's work into the market economy.

In Portugal girls began working for money before the age of six, and this was when they initially signed up to attend industrial schools. ²⁰ In 1893 the minimum age for children to register in these schools was raised to eight to ensure they already knew how to read, write and calculate, and four years later a primary school-leaving certificate was required.

Not all of the schools responded to local needs, but the school Rainha D. Maria Pia (named in honor of the reigning King Luís I's spouse) in Peniche along the Portuguese Atlantic coast ²¹ was exemplary through its contribution to the resurgence of bobbin lacework, which constituted the second major economic activity in the community after fishing. Lace workers in Peniche began their apprenticeship at the age of four in private schools where from the outset they produced for the market. In this town, the sexual division of labor was particularly evident, as lace workers were employed full time at this task, and did not participate in any subsidiary activities associated

with fishing. The latter was reserved for men. In the final quarter of the century, repeated crises within the fishing industry meant that families were increasingly dependent on the work of women to survive.

Lace products from Peniche had a tradition of receiving prizes at international expositions (in London in 1851 and 1862; in Porto in 1865; in Paris in 1855, 1867 and 1878; in Vienna in 1873), but the quality of the work had declined since the 1870s, as artisans drew on outdated drawing patterns and used thicker thread. The opening of the public industrial school was intended to reverse this decline. The first headmistress in the new school in Peniche was Maria Augusta Bordalo Pinheiro, a drawing teacher and the head of the bobbin lace workshop. She was also a well-known painter of the time, recognized by other artists as well as by members of the governing classes. ²² In a few years she improved the quality of lace produced within the workshops, introduced new drawing motifs of her own design, and resorted to the use of more supple and finer thread. ²³

The industrial school Rainha D. Maria Pia was only able to take in a small portion of the bobbin lacework community, however. As a result, most children and young women continued to depend upon private schools to learn their trade, and women lace workers had to depend on itinerant traders to market their production. Still the Rainha D. Maria Pia school's success was irrefutable. Inspection reports, prize-giving ceremonies and prizes at national and international trade shows all testify to excellent results in school subjects as well as the technical and artistic improvement of lacework. In 1888, industrial schools participated for the first time in a National Industrial Exposition in Lisbon. The contributions of the Rainha D. Maria Pia school were considered at the time to have been a major factor in the exposition's success. ²⁴ Up until 1910, the lace workshop of this school trained the largest number of female apprentices within industrial schools (22.2%), while the school Marquês de Pombal in Lisbon trained 20.9%, despite the fact it offered far more workshops where girls could train.

The Marquês de Pombal school in Lisbon had the most complete offering of industrial courses, which it complemented first through the creation of

female workshops (sewing, embroidery, painting, leather and flowers) and then through the creation of workshops for men (gold and silverwork, woodwork and locksmithery) and mixed-sex workshops (binding and decorative painting). Such a course offering matched contemporary technological challenges; for example the school created courses for the conductors of steam engines and blasting machines, or for workers in chemical laboratories. The school pioneered such teaching and became the largest industrial school in the country. Marques Leitão, who became the professor of arithmetic and geometry in 1888, took over the directorship in 1890 and remained in that position until 1929. Close to the royal family having taught both the crown prince and his brother, he was regularly consulted by governing authorities. At the end of every year the Ministry organized local school exhibitions that showcased the high quality of student productions. But it also sought to make industrial decision-makers and the industrial classes aware of the potential of professional training to deal with national economic problems. In these local exhibitions, as in the national and international trade fairs, women's work was always more prominent than that of men's.

Displaying and Rewarding Apprentice Girls' Work in International Expositions (1889–1893)

Paris 1889: A Gold Medal for the Bobbin Lacework of the School in Peniche

In Portugal, the national and local press widely covered the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889, emphasizing its symbolic significance in the commemoration of the French Revolution of 1789. As in other countries, the inauguration of the Eiffel Tower for the occasion generated particular interest. ²⁵

Figure 5.1 Prize-giving ceremony in an industrial school in Lisbon.



Ilustração Portuguesa, no. 204, 1910, 204.

Although the decision to participate came tardily, once made, the Portuguese authorities seized the opportunity to include products from the industrial schools as a way of showing that technical training had become a priority as in Germany, France, Austria, England and Italy. Industrial schooling, with its focus on economic needs, had become synonymous with the idea of progress. For the authorities, the absence of Portuguese schools in Paris would have been tantamount to an avowal of weak economic development. Given the recent creation of industrial schools, there was not much work yet available to display. The organizers of the Portuguese presence turned as a result to objects of recognized high quality, the bobbin lacework produced by girl and women apprentices in the Peniche school. This lacework had won high praise at the National Industrial Exposition of 1888 for the originality of the motifs and the excellent quality of execution, thus justifying their inclusion in the Parisian Exposition. The objects produced within

industrial schools were integrated into the group "Teaching and Education, Materials and Processes in the Liberal Arts" (*Enseignement et éducation, matière et processus des arts libéraux*), which occupied considerable space within the exposition. Fonseca Benevides, an industrial school inspector, judged the handicraft from the Portuguese school as being among the best of all of the products on exhibit from French, Dutch and Swiss schools.²⁶ The international jury attributed the highest medal to the laceworks of the Rainha D. Maria Pia school, noting, "An intelligent headmistress, Miss Augusta Bordalo-Pinheiro, distributes designs taking inspiration from plants and shells found along the coast; the execution of the drawings is well-done thus meriting a gold medal."²⁷ The headmistress's success contributed to the government's desire to revitalize the industry, by improving the artistic quality and the professional qualifications of the girl workers, without changing the artisanal nature of its production.

The French intellectual Émile Monod, among others, noted the quality of the lacework of the industrial school Maria Pia, while historian Cavalleiro e Sousa, who visited the exposition, commented, "one cannot fail to mention with pleasure the lacework from Peniche, its magnificent artistic execution [...] The progress made in this industry is the result of the industrial school [...] It only needed to impose modern progress in order to achieve the degree of perfection which the entire world recognizes and appreciates."²⁸ For inspector Benevides, the Peniche school had become, by 1889, a major exhibitor of Portuguese lacework producing objects whose quality was amongst the best in the world. These hymns of praise all testify to how art and industry were intertwined in the public perception of this handicraft, with a shared conviction that "industrial" training brought "progress."

The lacework in Paris was all on display with a price tag (see Table 5.1), indicating the commercially competitive nature of these expositions. Each object was relatively expensive and some were extremely costly due to the material used and the time it took to complete them. The cost of a mantilla, for example, 350 francs/59,063 réis, represented 10% of the annual salary of a teacher in an industrial school. A less expensive object, like

a collar (150 francs/25,313 réis), cost more than the monthly salary of a teacher in such industrial workshops.

Headmistress Maria Augusta Bordalo Pinheiro, whose school's work was so admired in Paris, attended the exposition herself and was given an official mandate to visit similar schools in France and in Belgium during the months the exposition was underway (May to October 1889).²⁹ She then went on to exhibit her students' wares and to register prizes for them in expositions afterwards: a gold medal in Anvers in 1894, in Paris in 1900, a grand prize in Saint Louis in 1904 and in Rio de Janeiro in 1908. As headmistress she received most public attention, but the names of some of her female workers were recognized at the time and shed light on the diversity of women who apprenticed within the workshop. Among these women one finds Benvinda da Conceição Fernandes and Maria Inácia, both lace workers from Peniche who began attending the school at the ages of twenty-one and forty-eight, respectively. Their lacework was exposed in a series of national and international expositions.³⁰

The national and international attention acquired by the bobbin lacework of the school in Peniche boosted a sense of national pride with respect to this handicraft positioned at the intersection of the artistic and the industrial. Not only did the girl workers preserve through their work the traces of a "traditional" Portuguese culture, but they also projected their work as resolutely modern. Having invested in the Peniche school, the government took pride in its achievements; in a few short years it had contributed to the development of an artisanal industry vital for the local economy. But the local had national and international ramifications as well. Beginning with the gold medal at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889, bobbin lacework became a national symbol of Portuguese "industrial art" considered amongst the best in Europe.

TABLE 5.1

**Cost of objects produced within the Maria Pia school (Peniche)
at the universal exposition of Paris (1889)**

ARTICLE	Francs (French currency)	Réis (Portuguese currency)
Lacework (per meter)	0.80 to 25	135 to 4,218
Pillows	30	5,063
Handkerchiefs	25 and 34	4,218 et 5,738
Towels	35 and 45	5,906 et 7,594
Mantilla	350	59,063
Collars	60 à 150	10,125 à 25,313

SOURCES: *Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1889. Catalogue Officiel des Sections Portugaises* (Paris: Imprimerie de la Société Anonyme de Publications Périodiques, 1889), 56-57; Oliveira, *O Binóculo*, 69.

Chicago, 1893: A Discrete Presence

The Chicago World's Fair, which was organized to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of America, had particular ramifications for the Iberian peninsula. Between 1892 and 1893 a number of initiatives testified to the interest both in the United States and in Europe. In October 1892, the United States organized four days of celebration in New York; in the same month the Hispano-Portuguese-American Congress in Madrid demonstrated the importance that the Iberian countries as well as Latin America attached to the event. Despite this interest, no speakers at the conference presented the Portuguese industrial schools in general, but a drawing teacher did describe the activities of the schools in Porto as well as those of Marques Leitão, director of the Marquês de Pombal school in Lisbon. ³¹

In Chicago, the education congresses organized alongside the Fair debated the issue of manual and industrial schooling and notably whether boys and girls should have the same training and if so at what level. Although Portuguese pedagogues did not participate in this discussion, the

industrial schools maintained a discrete presence; a small ten-page brochure edited in Portuguese, French and English for the Fair included eight patterns of bobbin lacework that came from the Rainha D. Maria Pia school. ³²

A New Paradigm for Industrial Schooling: A New Positioning for Women Workers

Throughout the 1890s, Portugal experienced a series of financial crises that contributed to social and political instability that was magnified by colonial challenges, arising from the Berlin Conference in 1884/1885 and the British Ultimatum in 1890 as well as international pressure. In response to these difficulties the government trumpeted the need for technological modernization. As the number of larger factories increased, political discourse gradually adopted a more restrictive vision with respect to industrial production and, therefore, industrial schooling. Increasingly, the authorities defended the technological dimension of professional training to further industrial production to the detriment of the existing linkage between arts and crafts and industry. This evolution had a gendered dimension. The earlier commitment to training male and female workers within artisanal workshops gave way to a concern to develop the technical specialization of male workers and middlemen who were seen as critical figures in the process of technological modernization. Consequently the interest in training professional women workers declined.

The reform of industrial schooling in 1897 was a first sign of this change. ³³ The actors of this reform were men with experience in the sector: Marques Leitão, the director of the Marquês de Pombal school, and António Arroio, who was active as a school inspector from 1892 until 1924. Under their influence, the government instituted a reform that clearly distinguished four branches within industrial schools: industrial drawing, industrial courses (which were more theoretical), professional courses (which were more practical), and "female handicraft." These distinctions reveal the impact of an emerging concept of "industry" that responded to the technological demands of an industrializing

society. This new concept redefined productive work in such a way that the domestic sphere and women's work vanished from its scope.

The new legislation took into account lower budgets and determined for each school what subjects would be taught and what workshops could open immediately. All of the workshops in "women's work" were authorized to continue, which was not the case for the male workshops. The industrial classes associated with female activities within schools also continued to function but they acquired a new designation: that of "women's work." In Portugal, schools for housewifery did not exist as in other countries, but in effect the new law discursively situated female courses and workshops within a female domestic paradigm, suggesting they were training women from the working classes for domestic work. They no longer had the status of industrial or professional classes.

By authorizing all of the female workshops, the new law nonetheless favored their numerical importance in the early twentieth century. The number of industrial schools with female workshops outnumbered those with male workshops as did the ratio of female apprentices per teacher compared to that of male apprentices. The bobbin lace workshop in the Maria Pia school was the second-largest workshop in the country. The largest was in the Marquês de Pombal school in Lisbon, which was the only school that had a chemical laboratory and that offered training in steam and blasting engines. The third-largest workshop was in this same school and it was reserved for women workers seeking training in sewing, embroidery, lacework, leatherwork and artificial flower making. Women's gradual exclusion from industrial schools took place over the first decades of the twentieth century.³⁴

The immediate effect of the 1897 law was to disqualify women's handicraft as industrial art; in this sense its effect was more discursive than practical since female workshops continued to operate. Marques Leitão and António Arroio were important figures, however, in making this disqualification permanent, since their writing and reports have heavily influenced Portuguese historiography. Marques Leitão was in charge of producing the official reports that marked the image of industrial schooling for contemporaries as well the

generations that would follow. He argued that these schools should prepare students in the area of technological innovation. As a result, he underestimated the importance of professional training in artisanal work and ornamental drawing because he did not consider this work as "industrial." His vision decisively marked the 1897 reform, which he described as the inaugural framework for modern industrial schooling. ³⁵In 1930, he published a chronological overview of industrial schooling, which began precisely in 1897. ³⁶ Inspector António Arroio was the second person whose writing served to write women out of the history of industrial training. From the outset, he criticized the importance the artistic industries held within the curriculum of industrial schooling alongside more technological industries that he termed "precision industries." Appointed to help shape modern technical schooling, Arroio received government support to investigate the state of technical education in Germany, Belgium, France and England, undertaking several study tours between 1888 and 1890. These visits heavily influenced his vision of female training. He defended, contrary to what had existed prior to 1897 in Portugal, a domesticated vision of female professional training similar to what he had seen abroad. Girls and women had no place within industrial schools, he argued, and technical training in general should differ by sex. Within a single profession, men and women should be trained differently. Hence in hotel work, for example, male cooks should be trained within professional schools and female cooks in schools for housewifery. ³⁷ For António Arroio the objects produced by women were not industrial products. He objected to the efforts made to develop the teaching of decorative arts since he viewed lacework and embroidery as belonging to the category of women's work or that of artistic objects. In the latter case, he considered such objects as luxury items, which did not merit specialized training given the absence of a national market for such goods. His influence, apparent from 1897 onwards in reports and degree ceremonies, contributed with that of Leitão to a memory of industrial schooling that erased women's presence and especially their significance within the socioeconomic realities of the period. ³⁸

Constructing the Disappearance of Female Exhibitors from the Industrial Schools

Paris, 1900: Collective and Individual Prizes

Despite these post-1897 changes in the law, the objects produced by both sexes within industrial schools were in evidence at the Universal Exposition of Paris in 1900 and the jury awarded a grand prize to the collective display of Portuguese apprentices.³⁹ In addition, the headmasters and headmistresses of the participating schools received individual prizes. Both Marques Leitão and João Vaz, who directed the two largest schools in Lisbon, received gold medals. Alongside other male directors, two women, Etelvina Paz Assunção and Joaquina Aurélia Guerreiro, who directed the schools in Peniche and Setúbal, received silver medals. The first continued to train students until her death in 1928 while the latter retired from active work in 1907.

The success of the two women directors represented a form of continuity with earlier international expositions, especially for the Peniche school lacework, which had been the object of much national pride in 1889. This continuity, however, vanished from the official record of the exposition. The Portuguese commission for the 1900 Paris exposition, of which António Arroio was a member, produced a detailed report about the state of schooling within industrial schools. Marques Leitão coordinated the report in which he noted, erroneously, that 1900 was the first time that products from Portuguese industrial schools were exhibited within a universal exposition.⁴⁰ Whether deliberate or not, this falsification of the historical record testifies to the very short memory of the new actors of industrial schooling. More importantly, this report guided historians' vision until 2008.⁴¹

Rio de Janeiro, 1908: Women's Works Dominate

In 1908, Portugal participated once again in an exposition in Rio de Janeiro, which was organized to commemorate the centenary of the opening of Brazilian ports to international commerce. António Arroio was a member of

the commission in charge of organizing the objects to send to Brazil. These included the productions of industrial schools. These productions were not given pride of place within an exhibit about schooling, however. Instead, they were dispersed with the work of private exhibitors depending on the category of product. This positioning had an effect not only in terms of representation at the fair, but also in the written catalogues that survived. The official catalogue for the Portuguese exhibit identifies the presence of six schools, but no mention is made of the school in Peniche.⁴² The school's lacework was nonetheless present, since they received two gold medals according to the list of prizes published by the organizing committee of the exposition in Brazil.⁴³ Within the "Industry" section, the Portuguese schools sent objects that were present in five of the fifteen groups: thread, cloth and clothing; the metallurgical industry, woodwork, furniture and decoration; typography, lithography and the cardboard industry; and assorted industries. They also sent objects for the section "applied arts."

Within the catalogue, objects are noted according to their type (lampshades or shirts, for example), but the number of articles on display are not always indicated. In the absence of precise numbers, the table below considers the number of times a certain type of object is indicated in the catalogue (for example shirts). This rough mode of counting shows that 63% of the different types of object came from female workshops, 13% from mixed-sex workshops and 24% from male workshops (Table 5.2). If the products of the school in Peniche had been registered in the catalogue, the proportion of female participation would be even higher. As in earlier expositions, the objects produced by women dominated both in quantity and in kind but were not identified as products of women's work.

Both male and female workshops displayed objects and received prizes in Rio, particularly those from industrial schools in Lisbon. The male workshops (furniture and decoration, metallurgy and typography and lithography) from three schools in the capital won seven gold medals and the mixed-sex workshop in bookbinding from the Marquês de Pombal school won one gold medal. The Peniche school obtained two gold medals thanks

Table 5.2

**Exposition in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), 1908
Number of each type of object enrolled in each section by sex of the student**

Student sex by workshop	INDUSTRIAL SECTION					APPLIED ARTS SECTION	TOTAL	
	Thread, Material, Clothing	Metallur-gical industries	Woodwork, Furniture, Decoration	Typography Lithography Cardboard	Assorted Industries		Nº	%
Female students	15					19	34	63
Male students		2	8	1		2	13	24
Both sexes				1	3	3	7	13
TOTAL	15	2	8	2	3	24	54	100

SOURCES: Table established by the author, using Costa, *Exposição Nacional no Rio de Janeiro em 1908*, 345-479; 537-561.

to the women's workshops in lacework and the applied arts, and the school in Setúbal won a gold medal for lacework and embroidery from its female workshop. In the exposition in Rio, the objects produced within male workshops from the capital were very much on display whereas products from women's workshops came from all over the country. All this suggests that male demand for industrial training was increasingly linked to the needs of the urban and more industrialized region around Lisbon, while women's industrial training continued to meet the needs of both large and small production units throughout Portugal, and they continued as well to be acknowledged in the setting of an international exposition.

Conclusion

Throughout the period under consideration the products of women's work dominated within international and universal expositions, contrary to the

historical memory of this participation. This article has sought to understand how the changing nature of industrial schooling contributed to the erasure of women's participation. Industrial schooling, manual work and the politics of exposition were increasingly conceived as male, despite the Portuguese tradition of female artisanal production. The turn of the nineteenth century represented a key moment when the promotion of technological modernization changed the objectives and priorities of industrial schooling. The 1897 reform makes this clear as it eliminated industrial courses for girls and women and renamed them courses in "women's work." This indicated that women's artisanal or mechanical productions were no longer considered "industrial"; henceforth they ceased to be recognized as a professional activity and were mistakenly categorized as homework. This new designation for women's work had a powerful discursive effect on the way the governing elite envisioned women's work and apprenticeship. At the same time, however, industrial schools did not radically change their training serving as they did the socio-economic realities of local economies; instead courses and workshops for women apprentices continued to function, as shown through the example of the Peniche school. Women continued to attend classes in the industrial schools for another twenty years, but this "women's work" was increasingly perceived as a form of training in housewifery, particularly given the spread of such training courses in other European countries. Marques Leitão and António Arroio appear as key players in this process through their efforts to redesign industrial schooling with a representation of industry that was more limited than before and restricted to industrial technology; in the process they repositioned women's work firmly within the home, introducing a vision of feminine domesticity which had not held sway in Portugal until then. These men were key as well in ensuring their vision dominated within the official reports and catalogues of international exposition that declared to the outside world where Portugal's industrial strength lay. In this fashion, the bobbin lace workers of the Rainha D. Maria Pia school disappeared from the exposition catalogues, despite their continuing presence both in the expositions and in the workplace.

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, Marques Leitão and António Arroio both consolidated their vision of industrial schooling through written reports and studies that synthesized the legal and pedagogical changes that they defended. These documents, written by “experts” in the field, presented a great deal of information in a systematic fashion; not surprisingly they then served as precious primary sources for knowledge about industrial schools and their role within international expositions during the nineteenth century. Reality is the product of what is said and what is left unsaid. Both the erasure and recovery of women’s activities is the result of a complex relationship between memory and oblivion. In this case, the historical traces left by international expositions offer a useful way to challenge a national narrative of “progress” while revealing the ideological writing of history. The material traces left by the industry of women lace workers in expositions offer a suggestive way to rewrite this history.

Translated by Rebecca Rogers

Notes

1 The First Republic in Portugal was established in 1910, introducing changes which cannot be summarized in this chapter.

2 For a discussion of the exhibitionary complex, see the introduction in this volume, as well as Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York, Routledge, 1995).

3 EXPO98 in Lisbon generated a few historical studies (for the period considered in this chapter): José Amado Mendes, “As exposições como ‘festas da civilização’: Portugal nas exposições internacionais (séculos XIX e XX),” *Gestão e Desenvolvimento* 7 (1998): 249–73; Idalina Portugal, “Portugal nas Exposições Universais (1851–1900),” *Leituras: Revista da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* Série 3, no. 2 (October 1997/April 1998): 231–5; Maria Helena Souto, “Da Avenida da Liberdade a Paris: A Exposição Industrial Portuguesa em 1888 e a representação nacional na Exposição Universal de 1889,” *Leituras: Revista da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* Série 3, no. 1 (April–August 1997): 175–82.

4 Luís Jardim (Conde de Valenças), "Artes e Ofícios [Arts and Trades]," *O Ocidente* 349 (1888): 199.

5 According to the 1900 population census, only 16% of the population lived in cities. *Censo da População do Reino de Portugal no 1º de Dezembro de 1900*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1905).

6 *Censo da População do Reino de Portugal no 1º de Dezembro de 1890*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1896). Women's employment rates in 1890 were 35.2% and 66.2% for men; women represented 36.4% of the total active population. Virgínia Baptista, "Women in the Portuguese Labour Market (1890-1940)," in *Écrire l'histoire des femmes en Europe du Sud. XIXe-XXe siècles*, ed. Gisela Bock and Anne Cova (Oeiras: Celta, 2003), 149-153.

7 José J. Lopes Praça, *A Mulher e a Vida ou a Mulher considerada debaixo dos seus principais aspectos (Instrução Secundária)* (Coimbra: Livraria Portuguesa e Estrangeira, 1872); Ana de Castro Osório, *A mulher na Agricultura, nas Industrias regionaes e na Administração Municipal. Tese apresentada ao Congresso Municipalista de Évora, realizado em 28, 29 e 30 de Outubro de 1915* (Lisbon: Casa Editora "Para as Crianças," 1915).

8 Associação Industrial Portuguesa. Exposição Industrial com uma secção agrícola em 1888, *Catálogo da Exposição de Bellas Artes. Secção de Pintura, Escultura, Gravura e Architectura* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1888).

9 Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Estrutura da Antiga Sociedade Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Arcádia, 1971).

10 Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, *Estudos para a História da Educação no século XIX* (Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1980); Mário Alberto Nunes da Costa, *O Ensino Industrial em Portugal de 1852 a 1900 (Subsídios para a sua História)* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1990); Teresa Pinto, *O Ensino Industrial Feminino Oitocentista: A Escola Damião de Góis em Alenquer* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2000); Luís Marques Alves, *O Porto no Arranque do Ensino Industrial (1851-1910)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2003); José Casqueiro Cardim, *Do ensino industrial à formação profissional. As políticas públicas de qualificação em Portugal* (Lisbon: ISCPs-UTL, 2005); Teresa Pinto, *A Formação Profissional das Mulheres no Ensino Industrial Público (1884-1910): Realidades e representações* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2008).

11 *Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1882–

1910). See Pinto, *A Formação Profissional das Mulheres*, 487–520. The Members of Parliament were particularly concerned about elementary education in order to lower illiteracy rates; as a result secondary education was not subject to much discussion, except for the issue of admission of middle-class daughters to high schools.

12 The first degree lasted two years and included industrial drawing; the three-year second degree program involved lessons in more specialized drawing, either ornamental, or architectural or mechanical drawing, as well as subjects such as arithmetic, geometry, accounting, chemistry, geography and geology. Students could enroll in the subjects that interested them. Only students aiming to pursue their studies in higher-level industrial institutes or who wanted to become teachers needed to follow a complete five-year curriculum. See Teresa Pinto, "L'enseignement industriel féminin au XIXe siècle," in *Écrire l'Histoire des Femmes*, ed. Gisela Bock and Anne Cova (Oeiras: Celta, 2003), 141–4.

13 Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *Relatórios sobre as Escolas Industriais e de Desenho Industrial da Circunscrição do Sul. 1884–1891* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1885–1891).

14 Teresa Pinto, "Género e ensino industrial (1884–1910). Uma perspetiva de História Relacional," in *Rituais, Espaços e Patrimónios Escolares*, ed. Maria João Mogarro and Maria Teresa Cunha (Lisbon: IE-Universidade de Lisbon, 2012), 1121–1132; *Anuário Estatístico de Portugal (1884–1910)* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886–1914).

15 Teresa Pinto, "As mulheres no ensino industrial público. Dos cursos industriais aos cursos de labores femininos," *Vértice* II.S. no. 147 (2009): 5–21.

16 Drawing teachers came from fine arts. The masters of the workshops were professionals of recognized value. Some of them were trained abroad and some were recognized foreign artists. Teacher training for this kind of school only became a concern in 1893 when legislation decreed that the biggest school in Lisbon (Marquês de Pombal) and in Porto (Infante D. Henrique) would train and certify mistresses for the female workshops. This legislation was not, however, put into practice. The first drawing teacher training school for in Portugal was created in 1918. See *Reformas do Ensino em Portugal. 1835–1910 [fac simile]*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação, 1989–1996). Carlos Proença, *Uma Reforma do Ensino Técnico e seu desenvolvimento: Anexo ao Boletim*

Escolas Técnicas nº 43 (Lisboa: Direcção Geral do Ensino Técnico Profissional, 1971).

17 Ahmop, Portugal, Fundo do Mopci, leidics, *Livro de registo do pessoal de Inspeção e das respectivas escolas (1884–1894)* (manuscript).

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18 The museums were created in 1883 and inaugurated in 1886 in Porto and 1887 in Lisbon. They were permanently closed in 1999. *Reformas do Ensino* .

19 Teresa Pinto, "Joaquim de Vasconcelos: um paladino do Ensino Industrial para ambos os sexos," in *Carolina Michaëlis e Joaquim de Vasconcelos: a sua Projeção nas Artes e nas Letras Portuguesas* , ed. Maria Manuela Delille et al. (Porto: FEAA, 2013), 445–70.

20 J.M. Esteves Pereira, *O Feminismo na Indústria Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Companhia Nacional Editora, 1897).

21 Peniche was a small fishing village situated about 100 km north of Lisbon on the Atlantic coast; it was one of the most important and oldest centers in the production of bobbin lacework. Mariano Calado, *História da Renda de Bilros de Peniche* (Peniche: Ed. Autor, 2003); António A. Baldaque da Silva, *Relatório sobre pesca marítima nas águas de Peniche, Berlengas e Farilhões* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1889).

22 Maria Augusta Bordalo Pinheiro (1841–1915) belonged to the famous Lion Group (1881–1989) that brought together the best naturalist painters in Portugal at the time. She had studied painting with her brother Columbano in Paris.

23 Hermínio S. da Costa e Sousa, "Indústria das Rendas," *Boletim do Trabalho Industrial* 94 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1914).

24 MOPCI-DGCI, *Relatórios sobre as Escolas Industriais e de Desenho Industrial da Circunscrição do Sul. Anos lectivos de 1886–1887 (segunda parte) e 1887–1888* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1888).

25 Felinto de Oliveira, *O Binóculo: visita à Exposição Universal de 1889* (Lisbon: Typografia da Companhia Nacional, 1890), 185.

26 Francisco da Fonseca Benevides, *Relatório sobre as Escolas Industriais e Profissionais na Exposição Universal de Paris de 1889* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1889).

27 Alfred Picard, ed., *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapports*

du jury international. Groupe IV, Tissus, Vêtements et Accessoires (Paris:

Imprimerie Nationale, 1891), 201. Maria Augusta Bordalo Pinheiro directed both the school and the lace workshop.

28 Émile Monod, *L'exposition Universelle de 1889. Grand ouvrage illustré, Tome III*(Paris: E. Dentu Ed., 1890), 141; A.E. de F. Cavalleiro e Sousa, *Uma visita à Exposição Universal de Paris em 1889*, 2ª ed. (Lisbon: Lucas e Filho Editores, 1893), 301–2 (author's translation).

29 AHMOP, Portugal, Fundo do MOPCI, IEIDICS, *Livro de registo do pessoal*. No report of this inspection was published.

30 Pinto, *A Formação Profissional das Mulheres*.

31 Carlos A. Marques Leitão, *Eschola Industrial Marquez de Pombal. O seu estado actual e notícia do movimento escolar no ano lectivo de 1891–1892. Separata de O Instituto* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1899); José Miguel de Abreu, *Apontamentos acerca do ensino de desenho industrial no Porto* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1892).

32 An important journal of education reported on the Congress "Congresso Internacional de Educação de Chicago," *Revista de Educação e Ensino* (1893):

117-126. The ministry responsible for the industrial school edited the catalogue: MOPCI-IEICS, *Rendas Portuguesas. Rendas de Peniche. Escola industrial Rainha D. Maria Pia* (Lisbon: Typ. da Companhia Nacional Editora, 1893).

33 "Decreto de 14/12/1897," *Diário do Governo de Portugal* (15 December 1897): 283.

34 Industrial training and schools changed little until the reform of 1918; most of the schools continued to operate some of them with other names and curricula.

The Rainha D. Maria Pia school, for instance, became the Industrial School of Lace Makers Josefa d'Obidos in 1912 and then the Arts and Crafts School Josefa d'Obidos in 1918. At that date it also a female/single-sex school. Teresa Pinto, "As mulheres no ensino industrial público. Dos cursos industriais aos cursos de labores femininos," *Vértice* II.S. no. 147 (2009): 5–21.

35 Carlos A. Marques Leitão, *Duas Conferências* (Lisbon: Tip. Maurício, 1917).

36 Carlos A. Marques Leitão, *O Ensino Técnico Elementar. Três períodos da sua vida* (Lisbon: s.n., 1930).

37 António Arroio, *Relatórios sobre o ensino elementar industrial e comercial* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1911).

38 António Arroio, *Relatórios sobre a reorganização do ensino elementar, industrial e comercial em Setúbal e Alenquer* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1916).

39 *Exposition Universelle de 1900. Portugal. Catalogue Officiel* (Paris: Aillaud, 1900). Exposição Universal de 1900. Secção Portuguesa—Inspecção Geral, VI. *Lista Definitiva das Recompensas obtidas pelos expositores de Portugal e pelos seus colaboradores* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1902).

40 Carlos A. Marques Leitão, *Enseignement spécial industriel et commercial. Les écoles industrielles et de dessin industriel de la Circonscription du Sud* ([Lisbon?]: [Imprimerie Nationale?], 1900).

41 Pinto, *A Formação Profissional das Mulheres*. I argue here for the ways both Arroio and Leitão have determined the narrative in Portuguese history of education, effacing in many ways the early presence of women's industrial or technical training.

42 Bernardino Camilo Cincinnato da Costa, *Exposição Nacional no Rio de Janeiro em 1908. Catálogo Oficial da secção Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Typographia "A Editora", 1908).

43 Exposição Nacional de 1908, *Prémios concedidos pelo Jury Superior. Julgamento da Secção Portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1910).

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