

New Women, New Opportunities:  
The New Women of Chicago's World's Fairs, 1893-1934

By  
Taylor Jade Mills

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY-MUSEUM STUDIES

University of Central Oklahoma

2018

## THESIS APPROVAL

The abstract and thesis of Taylor Jade Mills for the Master of Arts in History: Museum Studies was submitted to the graduate college on April 27, 2018 and approved by the undersigned committee.

### COMMITTEE APPROVALS:



---

Patricia Loughlin, Ph.D.

Committee Chair

Professor of History




---

Marc Goulding, Ph.D.

Committee Member

Assistant Professor of History



---

Heidi Vaughn, M.A.

Committee Member

Assistant Professor of History

## Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b> .....	i
<b>List of Illustrations</b> .....	iii
<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	v
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter 1: Consigned to the Sideshow: Women’s Role in World’s Fair Scholarship</b> .....	6
World’s Fair Literature .....	8
The New Woman and Other Concepts .....	18
<b>Chapter 2: Old Women with New Opportunities: Chronicling the New Woman in the United States</b> .....	25
Woman’s World’s Fair, 1925-1928.....	31
<b>Chapter 3: The Ladies and Their Subjects: Managing, Exhibiting, and Presenting the Ideal New Woman of The World’s Columbian Exposition, 1893</b> .....	38
The Bid for an Exposition.....	39
Managing and Defining the New Woman .....	43
Exhibiting the New Woman in Architecture, Sculptures, and Murals .....	55
Reinforcing the New Woman at the Midway Plaisance .....	69
The Domination of the New Political and Professional Woman .....	78
<b>Chapter 4: From Professional to Sexual: The New Women of The Century of Progress Exposition, 1933-1934</b> .....	80
Women in Management and Organizational Roles.....	83

Exhibiting Women.....	93
Women’s Performances .....	108
The Pursuit of Equality .....	111
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>117</b>

## **Abstract**

World's fairs, also referred to as international expositions, offer historians insight into a nation's society, populace, economy, and industry. Yet, literature in the field has made little effort to fully analyze the specific roles individuals or groups held within the expositions. The neglected groups are occasionally mentioned in articles, research papers, master's theses, doctoral dissertations, and monographs only when such information either supports their arguments or adds to the narrative. Specifically, historians have halfheartedly analyzed women's roles in world's fairs, with few exceptions. This thesis fills those gaps observed in its first chapter and examines the women who managed, exhibited, and performed at world's fairs in Chicago, Illinois, between 1893 and 1934. An analysis of the World's Columbian Exposition (1893), the Woman's World's Fairs (1925-1928), and the Century of Progress Exposition (1933-1934), produces a correlation between women's representation within the fairs and the evolution of the new woman in the United States.

This correlation materializes within the second, third, and fourth chapters of "New Women, New Opportunities." An examination of the new woman, women's rights, and the Woman's World's Fairs (1925-1928) presents a timeline that guides chapters three and four in their analysis of women's roles in the World's Columbian Exposition and the Century of Progress Exposition, respectively. Within the 1893 Columbian Exposition, the Board of Lady Managers regulated the image of the new woman and stifled other representations through control of women's sole exhibition space, the Woman's Building. Without such a governing body, women involved in management, exhibition, and performance at the Century of Progress Exposition freely expressed and enforced their personal ideal new woman. This thesis proclaims

that the central factor contributing to the evolution of the new woman between 1893 and 1933 was autonomy, both from the government *and* from one another.

This narrative revolutionizes the study of women's rights and further emphasizes the important role that international expositions, specifically those within Chicago, played in the history of the United States. Furthermore, it claims that an examination of women within these international expositions produces a complementary or supplemental narrative for the women's rights movement. It concludes with the assertion that both women's and world's fair scholarship require at least a basic analysis of the correlation between the new woman and world's fairs in Chicago between 1893 and 1934 in order to fully comprehend the influence the expositions had on one of the most significant social and political reform movements in the United States.

## List of Illustrations

### Figures

1	<i>National Archives</i> , “Eleanor Roosevelt at Chicago World's Fair” .....	1
2	<i>Nellie Tayloe Ross Papers</i> , “Nellie Tayloe Ross as Governor, 1924-1926” .....	34
3	Rand, McNally and Company, “Map of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, 1893” .....	42
4	<i>Art and Handicraft</i> , “Prominent Officials of the Board of Lady Managers” .....	47
5	<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> , “First Prize Drawing for Woman’s World’s Fair Building” .....	57
6	<i>The Fair Women</i> , “Woman’s Building” .....	60
7	<i>The Fair Women</i> , “Enid Yandell” .....	61
8	<i>The Book of the Fair</i> , “Enid Yandell’s Caryatids” .....	61
9	Alice Rideout, “Enlightenment” .....	63
10	Alice Rideout, “Virtues” .....	63
11	Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, “Primitive Woman” .....	65
12	Mary Cassatt, “Modern Woman” .....	66
13	Lucia Fairchild Fuller, “Women of Plymouth” .....	67
14	Amanda Brewster Sewell, “Arcadia” .....	67
15	Rosina Emmet Sherwood, “Republic’s Welcome to Her Daughters” .....	68
16	Lydia Field Emmet, “Art, Science, and Literature” .....	68
17	<i>The Book of the Fair</i> , “A Dance in the Street of the Cairo Theatre” .....	75
18	<i>The Book of the Fair</i> , “A Performer of the Dance Du Ventre” .....	75
19	<i>Color Beauties</i> , “The Sky Ride” of a Century of Progress .....	80

20	University of Illinois at Chicago Library, “Map of the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition” .....	94
21	Holabird & Roche, “Chicago Woman’s Club Building” .....	95
22	Hildreth Meier, “Women’s Interests and Activities Bounded Entirely by Her Home” ....	99
23	Hildreth Meier, “Women Cross the Household Threshold into the World’s Activities” ..	99
24	Hildreth Meier, “In Education, the Girls, Generally Speaking, Seem to Have Sat at the Second Table” .....	99
25	Hildreth Meier, “Temperance Enlists the Efforts and Idealism of Women” .....	100
26	Hildreth Meier, “In 1833 the First Woman’s Political Club” .....	100
27	Hildreth Meier, “Clara Barton Organized and Directed Corps of Volunteer Nurses” ....	100
28	Hildreth Meier, “The Fearless, Tireless Leader of Woman Suffrage, Susan B. Anthony” .....	101
29	Hildreth Meier, “Women’s Clubs are Formed in Great Numbers” .....	101
30	Hildreth Meier, “Marching Hosts Celebrate the Suffrage Victory” .....	101
31	Hildreth Meier, “A Century of Woman’s Progress Inspire in Them a New Ideal” .....	101
32	<i>National Council of Women</i> , “A Corner of the Club Room” .....	102
33	<i>National Council of Women</i> , “Visitors Examining Scrap Books” .....	102
34	Louise Lentz Woodruff, “Science Advancing Mankind: Astronomy” .....	104
35	Louise Lentz Woodruff, “Science Advancing Mankind” .....	104
36	Louise Lentz Woodruff, “Science Advancing Mankind: Botany” .....	104
37	Minna Moscherosch Schmidt, “United States” .....	107
38	John Collier, “Lady Godiva” .....	109
39	Neil Gale, “Sally Rand” .....	110



## **Acknowledgments**

I would first like to thank my committee chair and advisor, Dr. Patricia Loughlin, for her unwavering advice, support, patience, and enthusiasm over the past year. Words cannot express how grateful I am for the opportunity to pursue this thesis under her advisement. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Marc Goulding and Heidi Vaughn for their assistance and support throughout this process. To Dr. Goulding I express my gratitude for inspiring me to write my thesis on this topic, encouraging and guiding me throughout my graduate experience, and always having an open-door policy. I will forever appreciate Heidi Vaughn for her roles as supervisor, instructor, and friend. Her constant advice and friendship over the past two years has helped me grow not only as a student but as a museum professional. I would also like to thank the several professors who contributed to my growth as a student, including Dr. David Dalton of the College of the Ozarks, Dr. Monica Gallamore of the University of Central Oklahoma, Dr. Mark Janzen of the University of Central Oklahoma, Dr. Rowan Steineker of the University of Central Oklahoma, and Dr. Tracey Hanshew. These professors provided constant advice and encouragement, and I owe my success as a student to them.

There are several students and friends in the department who have supported and assisted me over the past year who deserve acknowledgment. Patrick Salkeld offered me consistent advice and regularly answered my questions about the thesis process. Helen Salkeld and Allison Pittman not only reviewed my writing several times, but they also offered their friendship and encouragement. I will never forget Allison's response to my nervousness regarding my thesis defense when she claimed, "Speak your success into existence!"

My appreciation extends to my parents, Jonathan and Jennifer Mills. I am thankful for every day that I receive their constant love and support. Both my father and mother worked

tirelessly to provide me with everything I needed and more. My mother (and my best friend) spent several years encouraging me and my brother to dedicate ourselves to learning; she would often spend the nights playing word games with us before we fell asleep, answering trivia questions on long road trips, or buying *two* copies of the newest Harry Potter release for use to read. More importantly, though, she was my best friend, and I cherish the several phone calls a week that we spend talking to each other. It is because of her and my father that I have finished this thesis, and it is to them that I owe my success. My grandparents, Phillip and Elaine Miller, deserve equal recognition. My grandmother is one of the most inspirational, encouraging individuals I have had the privilege of knowing. I truly believe that without strong women in my life like my mother and grandmother, I would not be the strong woman that I am today.

Last, but certainly not least, is my fiancé and future husband, Daniel Stober. He has been the most patient, dedicated, supportive man in my life. He has worked countless hours to help support me during the past two years and has done so without complaint, but it is the emotional support that he has provided over the years that I am most grateful for. I treasure the several nights that I took a much-needed break from reading or writing for an assignment to spend time with Daniel by watching a James Bond movie, playing a video game, or going for a walk with our dog, Brodie. I love his constant hugs, way of making me smile when I am upset, daily encouraging messages and phone calls, spontaneous decisions to make dinner when it has been a long day or I have a lot of homework. Without him, I would be lost and might not have had the strength to finish the program. I love you, Daniel, and I cannot wait to call you my husband. Thank you for all that you have done for me.

## Introduction

On the morning of October 31, 1933, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt entered the 14<sup>th</sup> street entrance of a Century of Progress Exposition.<sup>1</sup> Her arrival signaled the second Women's Day at the exposition, the former having taken place on August 14, 1933, prior to any notice of the First Lady's potential visit.<sup>2</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt's visit to the exposition included a luncheon attended by two hundred women in the Federal Building's lounge, a choral program by the Chicago Daughters, a women's program, and a speech by the First Lady in the Court of States; it concluded with a reception in the Illinois Host Building.<sup>3</sup>



*Figure 1*

In front of eight thousand people, she claimed, "I know that this is a time when many are afraid. But to me it's an exciting time, a time when there is a chance to make a new social life with greater opportunities and greater happiness for all. We shall never work this thing out through fear. We shall only work it out if everyone gives all they can give, not only of what they have,

---

<sup>1</sup> "Women to Fete Mrs. Roosevelt at the Fair Today: She'll Speak, Attend Two Parties, Review Troops," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 31, 1933, 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Festival Week Program Offers a Treat for All: Millions to Thrill at Its Beauty, Music, Fun," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 9, 1933, 4.

<sup>3</sup> "Women to Fete Mrs. Roosevelt at the Fair Today: She'll Speak, Attend Two Parties, Review Troops," 4.

but of what they are. I believe it's up to the women."<sup>4</sup> She was right. It was up to the women to change their place in society. It was up to the women to educate themselves, to join professions and demonstrate their worth.

The U.S. international expositions, or world's fairs, proudly exhibited the nation's industrial, technological, and artistic achievements. Yet, they also conceived an image of the nation as one of prosperity and progress through deliberately arranged exhibits and buildings throughout the exposition. President William McKinley once stated at the Pan-American Exposition in 1901 that "expositions are the timekeepers of progress...They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people; and quicken human genius...They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step."<sup>5</sup> However, in this statement President McKinley was as unaware of the true function of the exposition as the visitors were. The expositions were more than "timekeepers of progress;" they were also examples of hegemonic attempts to produce an image of the United States as prosperous and privileged.

As a result, boards and committees at the expositions deliberately structured the fairs to juxtapose progressing cultures with declining ones. This intentional division of the elite and the working class within the Exposition and its amusement zone demonstrated the development of an affluent, white population and juxtaposed it with the decline or stagnation of a racial, ethnic, and socially diverse population. The distinction between elite and working class societies within the expositions enabled the perpetuation of class, race, and gender discrimination through the embodiment of genuine segregated spheres. In retrospect, these segregated spheres did more to

---

<sup>4</sup> "First Lady Sounds a Call to Women: Addressing 8,000 at the World's Fair, Mrs. Roosevelt Asks for Fearless Cooperation," *New York Times*, November 1, 1933, 23.

<sup>5</sup> "President McKinley Favors Reciprocity," *New York Times*, September 6, 1901, 1.

demonstrate the progress of those ostracized groups—specifically women—rather than affluent, white men. Women not only inhabited both the exposition buildings and Midways within the expositions, but in both locations, they seized the opportunity to act outside of their social expectations and construct new identities for themselves as managers, exhibitors, and performers. Rather, women's varied roles between the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition best represented the evolution of the new woman in the United States between 1893 and 1933.

The new woman, a phrase synonymous with women who pushed the limits of society at the turn of the century, emerged in 1893 with clubwomen and suffragists feuding for control of women's spaces within the World's Columbian Exposition. These individuals—often affluent, white women—often found themselves within the Woman's Building as managers, exhibitors, and lecturers. By the 1925 Woman's World's Fair, the new woman switched focus from political equality to concentrate on labor opportunities and equality. This concentration on the workplace culminated in the Woman's World's Fairs between 1925 and 1928, which acted as an early career fair for women. Five years following the end of the Woman's World's Fairs, the new woman evolved further to express women's desire for full equality with men. At the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition, women yearned for equal representation in committees, exhibits, and buildings. Yet, women's scandalous, burlesque dances and strip tease performances throughout the Midway at the 1933 Exposition further demonstrated women's desire for independence sexually as well as economically and professionally.

While the fairs in the region offered women the opportunity to address issues of women's rights, simultaneously allowing them to develop their roles within the public sphere, they collectively struggled to adequately define or express the value of the American woman

throughout the twentieth century through their exhibits and performances. Arguably, this developed from deep divisions within the suffrage movement, as suffragists struggled internally to determine their roles within the public sphere and their methods for achieving these roles. An exploration of Chicago's world's fairs and the role that women played within them reveals the internal obstacles that the movement faced within the twentieth century and develops a biography for the movement. This analysis amends world's fair and women's rights historiographies that barely mention the significance of world's fairs on the women's rights movement, and it determines that historians may actually study the women's rights movement of the United States through an exploration of the World's Fairs that took place in the region. Beginning with the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and ending with the Century of Progress Exposition of 1933-1934, this research is two-fold: it will simultaneously develop a supplemental or complementary narrative for the women's rights movement while analyzing the correlation between women's involvement in the Fairs of the region with divisions between suffragists within the movement. Thus, the successes and failures of the movement will, to some degree, reflect the successes and failures of women of the Fairs.

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the Century of Progress Exposition of 1933, both of which took place in Chicago, Illinois, epitomized this new woman and her role in society. The following research primarily revolves around these two international expositions, the women who existed in numerous roles within them, and their relationships to the evolving new woman between 1893 and 1933. Questions central to this research include: What different types of new women existed during the same spans of time and how did they communicate with one another? Why did the new woman change between 1893 and 1933, and what factors contributed to this change? How was the universal new woman different from the ideal new

woman, and who decided what was ideal? How did this reflect the new woman of the time period?

The first chapter will develop an overview of the current historiography of the study, which includes an examination of world's fair studies and the women who are either missing from or neglected in these studies. The second chapter chronicles the evolution of the new woman and concludes with an analysis of the Woman's World's Fairs between 1925 and 1928. The third and fourth chapters analyze several prominent women who managed, exhibited, or performed within the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the Century of Progress Exposition of 1933 and 1934. In each chapter, the roles will be organized into three different categories of analysis: women in management, women exhibiting, and women performing. The first two categories will focus heavily on elite roles in the exposition, which took place in the Woman's Building or other women's spaces at the expositions. The third category, on the other hand, largely will occur within the amusement areas, or Midways, of the expositions. The three categories will be divided between elite and working class areas of the exposition, which develops a juxtaposition between different types of new women that existed within that time period. The thesis concludes with the contention that women's varied roles at world's fairs in Chicago, Illinois, best represented the evolution of the new woman in the United States between 1893 and 1933. It argues that whereas one group dictated women's roles in 1893, women were free to emulate attributes of the new woman according to their own interpretations between 1933 and 1934. This ultimately represented women's growing autonomy in the United States, and thus demonstrates the importance of the study to world's fair and women's historiography.

## Chapter 1

### **Consigned to the Sideshow: Women's Role in World's Fair Scholarship**

Studying the role of women in Chicago's expositions is essential in understanding the significance of the expositions on society. Not only did the 1893 and 1933 expositions reveal the United States' accomplishments in art and industry, but they also developed a comprehensive sketch of its social constructs. This sketch included a timeline of the new woman's evolution within and between the two expositions, and it presented the women as clubwomen, suffragists, laborers, and performers. The women within these roles were pivotal figures in the women's rights movements, including the struggles for suffrage and equality, and Chicago's expositions ultimately presented their activism in a unique and successful manner.

Unfortunately, the current scholarship of international expositions presents a limited view of women's roles. Historians of the subject typically research the expositions on a macro or micro level, either analyzing expositions in their entirety or examining specific themes, groups, or areas within the expositions. Early works tended to focus on the former, but more modern monographs have developed research that focuses on the intersectionality of race, class, and gender within the expositions. Within this intersectionality is the study of women's roles in world's fairs. It is a small field of scholarship, partly due to its specificity and partly due to the overwhelming amount of scholarship potential in the field of study. Furthermore, the scholarship that has been developed on women in world's fairs often consigns women to chapters, articles, or themes of monographs. They seldom become the sole subject of research, and at times women are left out of the narrative almost entirely. Yet, an analysis of women's roles in world's fairs requires knowledge of those early works, which provide knowledge of the arguments prevalent



in macro level research. Only then might a scholar of international expositions be able to recognize and understand the reappearing women in this historical field of study.

This historiographical analysis begins by analyzing world's fair literature on a macro scale. The works in this category emphasized one or more expositions' significance overall, rather than investigating specific themes or groups; however, despite their emphasis on the overall exposition, these historians introduced several concepts and ideas now prevalent within the field of study. Historians Robert Rydell, Abigail Markwyn, Margaret Creighton, and Cheryl Ganz researched the fairs in this manner, and their works provided context for the narrow focus of subsequent historians.<sup>1</sup> Using the research of their predecessors as a foundation for their own works, historians studied world's fairs according to their specific groups, themes, or areas of the expositions. This category of scholarship included works by Jeane Weimann, Abigail Markwyn, T.J. Boisseau, Virginia Grant Darney, Mary Frances Cordato, Charlene Gallo Garfinkle, Amy Taipale Canfield, and Jillian J. Roger.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Robert Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Robert Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2000); Abigail Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014); Margaret Creighton, *The Electrifying Fall of Rainbow City: Spectacle and Assassination at the 1901 World's Fair* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2016); Cheryl R. Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Jeane Weimann, *The Fair Women: The Story of the Women's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981); TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2010); Virginia Grant Darney, "Women and World's Fairs: American International Expositions, 1876-1904," PhD diss., Emory University, 1982; Mary Frances Cordato, "Representing the Expansion of the Woman's Sphere: Women's Work and Culture at the World's Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1904," PhD diss., New York University, 1989; Charlene Gallo Garfinkle, "Women at Work: The Design and Decoration of the Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition—Architecture, exterior sculpture, Stained

This historiographical analysis of the intersectionality of women and world's fairs further demanded recognition of the following concepts: the new woman, othering, and performance. The historians and scholars who wrote of the new woman included Winnifred Harper, Ruth Bordin, and Martha Patterson.<sup>3</sup> Their scholarship not only examined the definition of the new woman but also demonstrated her transformation over time. Coupled with concepts like performance and othering, the new woman concept was deeply ingrained in the study of women's roles in international expositions. Studies of women who performed within the expositions' amusement areas also required those concepts of othering and performance; scholars Judith Butler, Betty Friedan, and Laura Mulvey presented studies of performance while Simone de Beauvoir demonstrated the concept of othering.<sup>4</sup>

### *World's Fair Literature*

Historians and scholars of world's fairs often apply one of the two major arguments, epitomized by the works of historians Robert Rydell and Abigail Markwyn. These arguments examined expressions of power within the expositions. Rydell, a curator of the Adam Matthews's digital world's fair collection, history professor at Montana State University, and prominent world's fair historian, authored three significant monographs about world's fairs: *All the World's*

---

Glass, and Interior Murals,” PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 1996; Amy Taipale Canfield, “Discovering Woman: Women's performances at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893,” PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2002; Jillian J. Roger, ““Women's Work”” and Human Showcases: The Trans-Mississippi Exposition on Display,” Masters Thesis, University of Nebraska, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Winnifred Harper Cooley, *The New Womanhood* (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1904); Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Martha Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited a Reader, 1894-1930* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Newton, 1963); Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Film: Psychology, Society, and Ideology* ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

*a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions* (1984), *1876-1916, World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions* (1993), and *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (2000).<sup>5</sup> *All the World's a Fair* analyzed several expositions and detailed the efforts of American leaders to establish a vision of progress that reinforced their own image as successful—racially, economically, and socially.<sup>6</sup> In Rydell's own words, the expositions were “triumphs of hegemony as well as symbolic edifices.”<sup>7</sup> *World of Fairs*, published nine years later, examined the same argument through the lens of the Century of Progress Expositions in Chicago and New York. Rydell took his argument from *All the World's a Fair* a step further in this monograph, claiming that the fairs' managers not only produced a vision of progress that benefitted their own image but also one that restored a prosperous image of the United States during the Great Depression.<sup>8</sup> According to Rydell in *World of Fairs*, “[depression-era] fairs were exercises in cultural and ideological repair and renewal that simultaneously encouraged Americans to share in highly controlled fantasies about modernizing the present in order to attain... ‘tomorrow's greater prosperity.’” This statement, paired with Rydell's arguments in both *All the World's a Fair* and *World of Fairs*, unfortunately dismissed and essentially ignored the voices of ostracized groups like women and African Americans. Furthermore, none of Rydell's monographs specifically focused on women's roles in world's fairs, which is essential to understanding the significance of world's fairs in the United States.

---

<sup>5</sup> Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Robert Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Robert Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Rydell, *World of Fairs*, 9.

Robert Rydell's third monograph, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*, co-authored with John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, outlined six perceived schools of thought in world's fair historiography.<sup>9</sup> Rydell identified with the cultural hegemony school, which emphasized the roles of exposition leaders and managers, but the majority of works that emphasize or discuss women's role in the expositions followed the counter-hegemony school and emphasized the ability of ostracized groups to challenge dominant stereotypes.<sup>10</sup> For instance, Abigail Markwyn's *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (2014) demonstrated an alternate approach to the hegemonic school of thought.<sup>11</sup> Markwyn argued, "elite San Francisco men and women staged the fair to assert both the city's recovery and reunification after a decade of conflict," but rather than one elite group—wealthy, white men—exercising its power in the exposition, she asserted that numerous groups with varied interests were consistently competing for power in the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE).<sup>12</sup> Markwyn also examined the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition from an audience-centered school of thought referenced in *Fair America*.<sup>13</sup> Despite the intentions of the exposition managers and designers, fairgoers did not depart from the expositions with the same experiences; rather, visitors to the expositions made their own meanings out of the exhibits and performances within them. These two schools of thought used by Ganz resembled an intersectionality approach to historical analysis, for Ganz identified the role of gender, race, and social status in her analysis of the 1915 Exposition.

---

<sup>9</sup> Robert Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America*, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Abigail Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 4

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Robert Rydell, John E. Findling, and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Fair America*, 5.

Margaret Creighton's *The Electrifying Fall of Rainbow City: Spectacle and Assassination at the 1901 World's Fair* (2016) was another example of an intersectionality approach to the study of world's fairs.<sup>14</sup> In the monograph, Creighton examined the 1901 Pan-American Exposition from several different lenses by developing the stories of fairgoers, organizers, exhibitors, and employees.<sup>15</sup> Of these individuals described in the monograph, several of them belonged to ostracized groups because of their gender, race, ethnicity, or class. At times, these individuals intersected among these lines. Chiquita, for example, was one of Frank Bostock's star attractions at the exposition; the young woman was not only well-educated and lavishly dressed, but she was also a midget of Hispanic descent.<sup>16</sup> Though *The Electrifying Fall of Rainbow City* introduced Chiquita and several other typically overlooked figures of the exposition, Creighton failed to analyze the significance of Chiquita's treatment in the exposition. Many of her colleagues unfortunately committed the same mistake.

Cheryl Ganz, author of *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress* (2008), was not one of these colleagues. Ganz's monograph, though broad in scope, successfully wove women into the narrative. She simply argued that a Century of Progress "mirrored national and international developments, interests, and concerns" and further claimed that the exposition "had a major impact on the social and cultural life in Chicago and the nation."<sup>17</sup> Ganz's broad focus on the significance of the exposition was a means to studying the similarities between groups of the exposition and society, as well as a means of analyzing the exposition's influence over these groups. For instance, her first chapter, "Sally Rand and the Midway," introduced women's roles

---

<sup>14</sup> Margaret Creighton, *The Electrifying Fall of Rainbow City: Spectacle and Assassination at the 1901 World's Fair* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 35-40

<sup>17</sup> Cheryl R. Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 4-5.

at the Midway in the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition; likewise, “Women’s Spaces at the Fair,” the fifth chapter of the monograph, emphasized women’s roles outside of the Midway.<sup>18</sup> In these chapters, Ganz did not simply tell the story of these women, she explained the significance of their roles within the fair. Sally Rand, for example, was a significant figure of the exposition whose burlesque, fan-dance is sometimes given credit for the success of the exposition. She explained in the first chapter of *The 1933 Chicago World’s Fair* that “Rand became the fair’s enduring icon for optimism and hope, a true Horatio Alger, rags-to-riches figure...Sally Rand blazed new trails at the 1933 world’s fair.”<sup>19</sup> Despite the monograph’s successful representation of women at the exposition, women remained sidelined from the focus of the research.

Only two published monographs currently exist that exclusively emphasize women and gender in relation to the expositions: *The Fair Women: The Story of the Women's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (1981) by Jeanne Weimann and *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (2010) edited by TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn. Though both pieces analyzed the world’s fairs from a gendered lens, Weimann’s *The Fair Women* focused on one narrative, the World’s Columbian Exposition, whereas Boisseau and Markwyn’s *Gendering the Fair* analyzed several narratives.<sup>20</sup> The narrative fixated heavily on the Women’s Building and the board of Lady Managers, forgoing representation or evaluation of women outside of the Building. *The Fair Women* was overly-developed and weighed down with detail. Yet, it produced invaluable information about the Board of Lady Managers, the internal feuds between the women, and the details behind

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 7-27; Ibid, 86-107.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>20</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women: The Story of the Women's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981); TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2010).

construction of the Woman's Building.<sup>21</sup> It is important to note, however, that Weimann was one of the first modern historians to produce such content.

Boisseau and Markwyn's *Gendering the Fair*, in contrast, incorporated several articles that focused on different fairs.<sup>22</sup> Authors of the articles in *Gendering the Fair*, including Markwyn and Boisseau, analyzed a wide variety of subjects rather than focusing on one elite group of women involved in the fair as Weimann did. Boisseau and Markwyn divided the articles into three sections—"Women, Gender, and Nation," "Women in Action," and "Gendered Spaces"—that included topics on non-white women, manliness and masculinity, and women of various ostracized religions.<sup>23</sup> The editors asserted that understanding the "cultural power" of world's fairs required an "interrogation of the significance of gender...in the creation and reception of fairs."<sup>24</sup> Not only did an analysis of gender reflect the "cultural power" of world's fairs, but according to Boisseau and Markwyn, the scholarship in *Gendering the Fair* demonstrated the "indispensability of women's and gender history to the study of world's fairs."<sup>25</sup>

Alison Rowley's "The New Soviet Woman at the 1939 New York World's Fair" examined the Soviet Pavilion officials' construction of the new woman in fifty-five published and distributed pamphlets.<sup>26</sup> Rowley's article, located in the first section of the collection, explained that Soviet policies regarding divorce, abortion, and marriage were criticized in the

---

<sup>21</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 36-72.

<sup>22</sup> TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, *Gendering the Fair*, v-vi.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Alison Rowley, "The New Soviet Woman at the 1939 New York World's Fair," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, ed. TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2010), 37.

United States.<sup>27</sup> The Soviets defended themselves against these criticisms as progressive, claiming that “the American system deprived women of similar career opportunities and chances for personal happiness and...retarded social and national progress.”<sup>28</sup> The Soviets took advantage of the international exposition in 1939 and produced the fifty-five pamphlets to demonstrate that the Soviet woman was far more advanced than the American woman; the Soviet woman was the ideal new woman in the modern world.<sup>29</sup> This article inferred that the expositions became avenues for political and social discourse between both individuals and groups. In particular, Rowley argued that the new woman became a politicized image for the Soviet government at the 1939 World’s Fair. This argument closely resembled the hegemonic school of thought previously addressed by *Fair America*. “The New Soviet Woman at the 1939 New York World’s Fair,” unfortunately, only amounted to sixteen pages of text, and its premise deserved more attention. An article from the second section of the collection by Andrea Radke-Moss, “Mormon Women, Suffrage, and Citizenship at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair,” echoed Rowley’s argument.<sup>30</sup> In the article, it was not an outside group intentionally constructing an image of the new woman, rather Mormon women “fashion[ed] a new image for themselves as liberated representatives of a rapidly Americanizing church.”<sup>31</sup> These two articles demonstrated that several groups intentionally constructed or upheld images of the new woman for their own political or social gain.

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 38-39.

<sup>30</sup> Andrea Radke-Moss, “Mormon Women, Suffrage, and Citizenship at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair,” in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World’s Fairs*, ed. TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2010), 97.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 98.



Fair women were the subject of doctorate dissertations and master's theses, as well. Virginia Grant Darney's dissertation, "Women and World's Fairs: American International Expositions, 1876-1904" (1982), studied women's participation in the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904—all of which incorporated a Woman's Building and Board of Lady Managers.<sup>32</sup> Yet, the dissertation title and argument were deceiving. The subject of the research was primarily concerned with women of high-class distinction, and the research only produced information and analysis regarding a portion of the women who participated in these expositions. However, Darney's examination did reference women's activity in reform as well as the debut of the new woman.<sup>33</sup>

Mary Frances Cordato's dissertation, "Representing the Expansion of the Woman's Sphere: Women's Work and Culture at the World's Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1904" (1989), produced a similar analysis. Cordato's research examined the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. Cordato argued that "despite differences in intensity, strategy, and emphasis, an enlarged notion of womanhood shaped the work and exhibits of women at each national celebration."<sup>34</sup> Like Darney and Weimann, Cordato's title was misleading, as the dissertation spoke only of high-class women at the expositions, rather than including women represented in the amusement areas. However, the dissertation highlighted the connection between women's activities in the expositions and their "evolving attitudes and ideals concerning sex roles, work and the

---

<sup>32</sup> Virginia Grant Darney, "Women and World's Fairs: American International Expositions, 1876-1904," PhD diss., Emory University, 1982.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Mary Frances Cordato, "Representing the Expansion of the Woman's Sphere: Women's Work and Culture at the World's Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1904," PhD diss., New York University, 1989, i.

professions, marriage and family life, community affairs, and equal rights.”<sup>35</sup> It highlighted the connection between women’s activities and the evolution of the new woman in the United States. Yet, the dissertation still would have benefitted from including women of the expositions’ amusement areas in the analysis to further describe this evolution.

“Women at Work: The Design and Decoration of the Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition—Architecture, exterior sculpture, Stained Glass, and Interior Murals” (1996), Charlene Gallo Garfinkle’s dissertation, similarly highlighted a specific group of women rather than all women. Unlike Darney and Cordato, however, Garfinkle narrowed her focus in the dissertation’s subtitle, allowing readers to understand that she was not researching all women of the exposition. Furthermore, Garfinkle’s research was more concise and focused, studying only the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 and, specifically, the Woman’s Building. She claimed in her abstract that the goal of the dissertation was “to treat the existence, organization, and decoration of the Woman's Building as a visible manifestation of the New Woman in her early form.”<sup>36</sup> In this instance, the dissertation becomes relevant not only for its connection to women involved in the World’s Columbian Exposition but also for its emphasis on the New Woman and her connection to the Exposition. Yet, like its predecessors the dissertation centered on high-class women and failed to account for the significant contributions of the Midway women of the World’s Columbian Exposition. Her dissertation had limited connection to the Midway women, but Garfinkle’s research merely echoed the popular focus on upper-class, white women during the late twentieth century.

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., i.

<sup>36</sup> Charlene Gallo Garfinkle, “Women at Work: The Design and Decoration of the Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition—Architecture, exterior sculpture, Stained Glass, and Interior Murals,” PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 1996, ix.

Unlike the monographs and dissertations formerly mentioned, two research pieces published in the twenty-first century successfully addressed both types of women in the expositions. Furthermore, both also introduced or analyzed women of varied color, ethnicity, and social status. The first piece, Amy Taipale Canfield's dissertation "Discovering Woman: Women's performances at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893" (2002), analyzed the 1893 Chicago World's Fair's "shaping of public attitudes towards women in theatre and in general."<sup>37</sup> In her research, Canfield studied the Board of Lady Managers, actresses performing in Chicago, and women of the Midway villages and exhibits. However, *Discovering Woman* did not utilize the concept of the new woman, which is required of a dissertation focused on women in the public sphere—in this case, theater. Canfield mentioned the term only one time within the body of the dissertation, though she cited at least three works with the concept in the title. The dissertation's concentration on multiple types of women at the exposition was valuable to this historiography, however.

Jillian J. Roger's master's thesis "'Women's Work'" and Human Showcases: The Trans-Mississippi Exposition on Display" similarly analyzed various types of women in the Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898. Unlike the preceding dissertations that took a neutral or positive stance to women's roles in the fair, Roger's thesis condemned the Exposition as "a staging ground for American racial, gender, and social anxieties at the turn of the century."<sup>38</sup> She further argued in the abstract of the thesis that "women and displayed persons were subject to sexualization, exoticization, and otherization by the fair organizers and visitors."<sup>39</sup> Though Roger

---

<sup>37</sup> Amy Taipale Canfield, "Discovering Woman: Women's performances at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2002, ii.

<sup>38</sup> Jillian J. Roger, "'Women's Work'" and Human Showcases: The Trans-Mississippi Exposition on Display," Masters Thesis, University of Nebraska, 2016, ii-iii.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

avoided direct reference of the new woman in the early 1900s, she did integrate evidence of gender dynamics and the position of women between the private and public spheres. She also emphasized concepts utilized by other historians of the field, such as sexuality, exoticism, and othering; in fact, these concepts are similar to those emphasized by various essays within Boisseau and Markwyn's aforementioned *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*.<sup>40</sup>

### ***The New Woman and Other Concepts***

The concept of the new woman clearly existed in several works on women's roles in the expositions. This concept was deeply entrenched in studies of women, and the term was visible in works as early as the late 1800s. The term "new woman" was used to describe a particular woman or a group of women in history who moved from the private sphere—the home—to the public sphere. At times, historians also used the concept in conjunction with the subject of the research to both describe the subject and the concept. *The American New Woman Revisited a Reader, 1894-1930*, edited by Martha Patterson, both juxtaposed the new woman with various subjects as well as attempted to define the concept overall, claiming "the New Woman in all her incarnations...was an evolving, fiercely contested icon. Amid the controversy, millions of women with dogged persistence, dramatic flair, or sheer necessity went about the business of changing their lives and their society."<sup>41</sup> Patterson claimed that the phrase 'new woman' signified the evolution of women's roles in society, but she attributed the origin of the concept to

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Martha Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited a Reader, 1894-1930* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 25.

Sarah Grand, who's "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" was included in first section of Patterson's anthology.<sup>42</sup>

Sarah Grand, an early English feminist, authored one novel and two articles in the late nineteenth century that examined the new woman. The novel, *Heavenly Twins* (1893), fictionally developed the foreground for her arguments in the articles, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question" (1894) and "The Modern Girl (1894)."<sup>43</sup> She cleverly introduced several social problems—marriage, sexual desire, education—in the novel but blatantly detailed the same issues in the two *North American Review* articles from 1894.<sup>44</sup> "The New Aspect of Womanhood" countered typical commentary on the women's rights movement that claimed women sought to replace or "ape" men.<sup>45</sup> Grand blamed both genders in the article for the "Home-is-the-Woman's-Sphere" problem, claiming that women were complacent in all interaction with man and did little to nothing to solve the problem.<sup>46</sup> Her solution to the problem was to hold men accountable for their actions, claiming "the man of the future will be better, while the woman will be stronger and wiser."<sup>47</sup> Grand further explained that men not only needed to be re-educated but also needed to be reminded of their manliness, which she claimed was more in danger than true womanliness—"but is there any wonder we women wail for the dearth of manliness when we find men from end to end of their rotten social system forever

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>43</sup> Sarah Grand, *Heavenly Twins* (New York: The Cassell Publishing Company, 1893); Sarah Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," *The North American Review* 158, no. 448 (March 1894): 270-276; Sarah Grand, "The Modern Girl," *The North American Review* 158, no. 451 (June 1894): 706-715.

<sup>44</sup> Sarah Grand, *Heavenly Twins* (New York: The Cassell Publishing Company, 1893); Sarah Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," *The North American Review* 158, no. 448 (March 1894): 270-276; Sarah Grand, "The Modern Girl," *The North American Review* 158, no. 451 (June 1894): 706-715.

<sup>45</sup> Sarah Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," 270.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 270.

doing the most cowardly deed in their own code, striking at the defenseless woman, especially when she is down?”<sup>48</sup>

Grand’s “The Modern Girl” offered specific commentary on the woman question’s relation to young women.<sup>49</sup> According to Grand, the ultimate goal of all young women at one time was to marry despite ignorance of it.<sup>50</sup> Fighting the social stigma of marriage and the attempts of her parents to keep her ignorant—under the pretense of “innocence,” which Grand asserted makes the woman an idiot—“the modern girl has been caught by the rising tide of progress.”<sup>51</sup> The young woman’s knowledge of the world signaled this progress and allowed for her to choose a future based on her own “constitution, taste, and abilities.”<sup>52</sup> This educated, career-minded woman was the new woman at the turn of the century in London.

In fact, Grand’s work on the concept of the new woman encouraged discussion of the new woman amongst contemporary women, including Winifred Harper Cooley. In her monograph, *The New Womanhood* (1904), Winifred Harper added to this description in her statement, “Our new women are the result of new conditions, which they in turn are creating.”<sup>53</sup> Harper Cooley’s definition in 1904 paired with Ruth Bordin’s *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman*, which further juxtaposed the new woman with the figure of Alice Freeman Palmer, arguing that Palmer’s “life is a vivid case study in the evolution of the new woman.”<sup>54</sup> The subject of Bordin’s monograph was just as much, if not more, the new woman as

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 276.

<sup>49</sup> Sarah Grand, “The Modern Girl,” 706.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 706.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 706-713.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 713.

<sup>53</sup> Winnifred Harper Cooley, *The New Womanhood* (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1904), 15.

<sup>54</sup> Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 10.

it was Alice Freeman Palmer. In the monograph, Bordin claimed Henry James coined the phrase ‘new woman’ to describe wealthy, independent women; however, she diverged from this definition to explain that the concept has always referred to a woman who was personally, socially, or economically independent, but it is constantly changing depending on its social context.<sup>55</sup> In this regard, the new woman transformed from the independent professional to the flapper, who sought sexual freedoms as well as economic and social freedoms. produces a more thorough definition of the new woman between 1893 and 1933 in which the new woman is both influenced by and influencing the construction of the new woman.

Many other works follow Bordin’s example and used the concept to either describe or accompany a particular subject or subjects. In this regard, the concept is not always formally referenced. *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern* by Joshua Zeitz, for example, essentially utilized the concept throughout the entire narrative of the monograph, claiming that the flapper was a living embodiment of the new woman’s progression in society.<sup>56</sup> In fact, throughout the introduction, Zeitz occasionally used the concept in replacement of the term flapper. He further explained that the story of the new women of the 1920s, of the flapper, “is the story of America in the 1920s—the first ‘modern’ decade, when everyday life came under the full sway of mass media, celebrity, and consumerism...”<sup>57</sup> In this regard, Zeitz’s use of the new woman concept both furthered the definition of the new woman and supported his analysis of the flapper, just as Bordin’s monograph did with Alice Freeman Palmer and the new woman.

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 2-3.

<sup>56</sup> Joshua Zeitz, *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern* (New York: Broadway Books, 2006), 1-10.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 9.

Studies of othering and performance often accompanied analyses of the new woman and world's fairs. For instance, Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949) introduced the feminist concept of othering.<sup>58</sup> Beauvoir emphasized woman's relationship to man, claiming "humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being...She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute – she is the Other."<sup>59</sup> In other words, woman is the secondary sex. Beauvoir's work influenced several second-wave feminists in feminist scholarship, including Betty Friedan and Judith Butler.

Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), emphasized performance theories, claiming that "since the 1940s the ideal role held before American women has shifted from independence, careers, and fulfillment of special capacities to an emphasis on the 'feminine mystique.'"<sup>60</sup> Friedan, a psychologist and journalist, claimed that the feminine mystique asserted that women "could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity."<sup>61</sup> Friedan essentially argued that the performance role of a mother and a wife (of femininity) was the popularized role that magazines and advertisements encouraged women to play.<sup>62</sup> Judith Butler, author of *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), took this theory a step further and developed gender performativity theory, claiming that "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very

---

<sup>58</sup> Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1949).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>60</sup> Sylvia Fleis Fava, "The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan, *American Sociological Review* 28, no. 6 (December 1963): 1053-54.

<sup>61</sup> Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Newton, 1963), 15.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-32.



‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.”<sup>63</sup> Gender, according to Butler, was a performance, and gender identity was not only constructed through performance but perpetuated the belief that it was genuine.<sup>64</sup> This concept of performance can be found within several other studies, but it was not applied to studies of international expositions and women.

Feminist theories introduced additional concepts, such as the male gaze and desire. Laura Mulvey, in her article “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” (1999), explained the concept of the male gaze. She utilized Freudian concepts, such as scopophilia (pleasure from looking), that Freud associated with “taking people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze.”<sup>65</sup> Freud’s theory, according to Mulvey, originally focused on children and their innate desire of the forbidden, but in its extreme could refer to “obsessive voyeurs and Peeping Toms, whose only sexual satisfaction can come from watching, in an active controlling sense, an objectified other.”<sup>66</sup> The article applied Freud’s concept to film, claiming that the male gaze projects its fantasy on female figure, who functions as an erotic object for both characters in the film and viewers of the film.<sup>67</sup>

As these works have demonstrated, historians are only beginning to make connections between the new woman and women’s role in world’s fairs. Yet, there remains a disconnection in the study between the new woman, her role in world’s fairs between 1893 and 1934, and the reform struggles and victories of the time. Historians have yet to realize or express in writing that at the same time women were transitioning between the private and public spheres, they were participating in the most successful expositions in history and capitalizing on these opportunities

---

<sup>63</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 33.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>65</sup> Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” in *Film: Psychology, Society, and Ideology* ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 835.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 835.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

to demonstrate the necessity for reform on a global level. On such a large stage and in front of such a large audience, women were able to quickly and successfully begin to change their lives and others for the better. The new woman, who greatly evolved between 1893 and 1934, significantly influenced women's roles in the expositions.

## Chapter 2

### Old Women with New Opportunities: Chronicling the New Woman in the United States

In 1904, Winnifred Cooley asserted, “the advanced woman, the woman who does things, who strives not only to be, but to act, is not *new*, but more numerous than ever before. She has appeared at intervals throughout all time, in the guise of an inspired warrior, a brilliant orator, or organizer, a Greek poetess, a scholar, or a queen. *The new woman is only the old woman with new opportunities!*”<sup>1</sup> In this statement, Cooley explained that the new woman had not suddenly appeared from thin air but had existed since the beginning of time; in this assertion, the new woman merely evolved. Yet, the dichotomy between the evolution of the new woman and evolution of the ideal woman characterized the years surrounding Chicago’s Expositions between 1893 and 1934.

The concept of the new woman became popular in the mid-nineteenth century when women collectively began to struggle against societal expectations. It is significant to note that Cooley’s aforementioned assertion was correct; women prior to the nineteenth century also battled societal expectations, but women’s collective struggle in the mid-1800s enabled use of the phrase ‘new woman.’ The new woman flourished in the United States during the women’s rights movement in the mid-eighteenth century, but she existed well before the composition of the Declaration of Sentiments in 1848. Prior to westward expansion, true womanhood dictated attributes required of a woman; these attributes—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity—relegated women to passive roles within the private sphere. Society expected women to be virtuous, for “religion belonged to woman by divine right.”<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Barbara

---

<sup>1</sup> Winnifred Harper Cooley, *The New Womanhood* (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1904), 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860,” *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 152.

Welter argued, society valued religion because it “did not take a woman away from her ‘proper sphere,’ her home.”<sup>3</sup> The requirement of purity promised women a healthy marriage, for as a “fallen woman” or “fallen angel,” woman would be “no woman at all, but a member of some lower order.”<sup>4</sup> The “most feminine virtue expected of women,” submissiveness, further characterized the cult of true womanhood and implied women’s inferiority.<sup>5</sup> It required women to be obedient, humble, mildly-tempered, and silent. The fourth attribute of true womanhood branded women as daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers—roles which restricted women to the private sphere.<sup>6</sup> This attribute, however, resisted evolution long into the twentieth century and characterized consecutive forms of ideal womanhood.

True womanhood began to evolve with western expansion. According to Rebecca J. Mead, “the western environment offered economic and educational possibilities...western women of many groups earn[ed] respect within their families and communities for their resiliency and hard work.”<sup>7</sup> The West’s necessity for women in both the private sphere (the home) and the public sphere (territorial politics) accelerated the passage of property and voting rights in the territories of the region.<sup>8</sup> California’s state constitution, for instance, was the first to provide women with property rights in 1849, and Wyoming was the first state to grant suffrage to women in 1869.<sup>9</sup> Industrialization, which encouraged young men to migrate to industrialized cities, and the mass casualties of the Civil War further contributed to the evolution of true womanhood and opened employment for women; in the mid-nineteenth century, women

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 153.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>7</sup> Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 18.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>9</sup> National Women’s History Museum, “Woman Suffrage Timeline (1840-1920).”

acquired roles as “teachers, office workers, government workers, and store clerks...women took on the management of vast plantations with hundreds of slaves...[and] participated in the war efforts as nurses and volunteers.”<sup>10</sup> Thus, real womanhood replaced the cult of true womanhood, and new attitudes toward “health, education, marriage, and, most importantly, employment” came to characterize the new woman of the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

The end of the Civil War in 1865 ended the abolitionist movement, allowing women to focus their energies on the suffrage movement rather than participating in several movements—temperance, abolition, suffrage, labor—simultaneously. Second, the Industrial Age’s impending conclusion at the end of the nineteenth century signaled the beginning of the Progressive Era, an age of reform and regulation in the cities, factories, and social spheres. The Progressive Era symbolized the evolution of the new woman from real womanhood to public womanhood. Previously, women’s education and employment remained largely domesticated, but public womanhood allowed women to “gain greater public access and claim public roles for themselves as a result of women’s increasing involvement in the moral and cultural welfare of their communities.”<sup>12</sup> Otherwise referred to as “political motherhood” or “municipal housekeeping,” women’s roles in their communities were acceptable because society viewed them as simply extending the private sphere, thus treating the public sphere as a domestic structure. Along with new occupational opportunities for women, municipal housekeeping developed the new woman of the 1890s who struggled against attributes required by previous evolutions of true womanhood. The new woman at the turn of the century, thus, focused on emancipation from

---

<sup>10</sup> Susan Cruea, “Changing Ideals of Womanhood During the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement,” *General Studies Writing Faculty Publications* (September 2005): 191.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

traditional societal expectations; she pursued greater education, a personal career, and the right for suffrage.<sup>13</sup>

The adoption of the nineteenth amendment was a clear milestone in the women's rights movement that began with composition of the Declaration of Sentiments in 1848 at the Seneca Falls Convention. Authored by Elizabeth Cady Stanton prior to the Convention, The Declaration of Sentiments proclaimed, "*Resolved*, that it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."<sup>14</sup> Prior to 1920, the struggle for suffrage both united and divided women in the United States; many women agreed on the need for women's suffrage, but they were divided on the steps necessary for its adoption. Alice Paul's National Woman's Party was more militant in their pursuits, tagging protests and other demonstrations. Carrie Chapman Catt's National American Woman Suffrage Association, on the other hand, was considerably more respectable and diplomatic in their approach. This contrast to the militancy of the National Woman's Party influenced the change in President Woodrow Wilson's stance on women's suffrage, but events of the early twentieth century also influenced this change in opinion.

During the United States' involvement in World War I between 1917 and 1918, women secured the home front. Many of these women retained their previous positions in the private sphere, working as mothers, educators, or other domestic jobs. Yet, large numbers of women also replaced men's positions in the public sphere, filling in for factory workers who had departed for war. Women were also active in the war, serving as nurses, secretaries, and telephone operators at home and abroad. Of course, when the war concluded women were expected to leave these jobs and their newfound freedoms to allow soldiers to return to their

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 198-200.

<sup>14</sup> *Declaration of Sentiments*.

previous positions. Women's experience in the public sphere during World War I merely fueled their aspirations for suffrage.

On August 26, 1920, the nineteenth amendment granted suffrage to women. The amendment stated, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."<sup>15</sup> It took perseverance, Presidential and Congressional support, state ratification, and forty-one years to pass the amendment. However, not all of the resolutions within the Declaration of Sentiments became law. The Declaration also listed a resolution arguing for equality in the workplace: "*Resolved*, that the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce."<sup>16</sup> A campaign for equality in the workplace quickly replaced the suffrage campaign in 1920 with the establishment of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, which functioned "to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment."<sup>17</sup> Women were no longer bound to one type of ideal. It became impossible to require all women to adhere to one type of ideal new woman; thus, the ideal new woman dissipated and the new woman, who now existed in nearly all facets of society, became more difficult to define.

One variation of the new woman following the first World War and the nineteenth amendment characterized women according to their dress, independent nature, and sexual

---

<sup>15</sup> "Amendment to the Constitution, 1920," *Constitution*.

<sup>16</sup> *Declaration of Sentiments*.

<sup>17</sup> Department of Labor Act (41 Stat. L., 987).

apathy. The United States flourished from technological innovation after the war. The invention and development of the automobile, the radio, electricity, and film introduced an atmosphere of prosperity, and as a result, more Americans were able to afford living in cities rather than in rural areas of the country. This thriving atmosphere contributed to the ratification of the nineteenth amendment in 1920, but it also contributed to the development of the independent, outspoken, sexualized woman labelled the flapper. The flapper defied traditional gender roles. She worked in the daytime in a department store or as a telephone operator, and during the evening she frequented jazz clubs and vaudeville shows prevalent within the urban streets.<sup>18</sup> She wore her hair and her dresses short, but she also spoke and acted for her own gratification—she smoked, drank, and had sex with little to no implications. These American women flourished in industrialized cities like Chicago, Illinois, that encouraged women to work, live independently, and—most importantly—manage and spend their earnings often independent of male influence.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of her place in society, the new women developed alongside the industrial city of Chicago, Illinois, where they encountered numerous opportunities formerly unavailable to them. Chicago's development as a city not only allowed women to grow in their spheres, but it also allowed them to contribute to international expositions and world's fairs hosted by the city between 1893 and 1934, which ultimately showcased the new woman's development in the United States. During the World's Columbian Exposition, the new woman made significant strides toward the right to vote; during the Woman's World's Fairs, she demonstrated her ability

---

<sup>18</sup> Joshua Zeitz, *The Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern* (New York: Broadway Books, 2006), 5-10.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-10.



to work independently outside of the private sphere; during the Century of Progress Exposition, she pursued personal and sexual equality.

### ***Woman's World's Fairs, 1925-1928***

At 11:45 AM on April 19, 1925, Betty Turner Matthews rode up Michigan Avenue declaring, “the Woman’s World’s Fair is coming!”<sup>20</sup> She dismounted in front of the American Exposition Palace, rushed up to the platform, and presented Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen with a “message telling how far women had ridden since the good old days.”<sup>21</sup> The Fair itself would prove just how far they had come. The Woman’s World’s Fairs took place in the American Exposition Palace, a sixteen-floor building that permanently housed “a furniture mart, club, restaurants, and a gallery on its upper floors.”<sup>22</sup> Heralded as the largest building ever built, the Exposition Palace provided the fairs with a massive exposition space for its thousands of visitors for the first two years of the fair; by 1927, the fair “had outgrown even the first floor of even this building and had to be housed in the nearby Coliseum.”<sup>23</sup> Compared to the typical international exposition, the Woman’s World’s Fairs lasted only a week, and women dominated the development, design, publication, and management of the annual fair between 1925 and 1928.<sup>24</sup> Yet, the first fair was extremely successful as “the initial exposition to be put on in the United States to operate at a profit the first year, clearing \$42,000; as the only exposition to be staged

---

<sup>20</sup> “Speech by Coolidge, Military Parade to Open Women's Fair,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 18 April 1925, 13; TJ Boisseau, “The Woman’s World’s Fairs (or The Dream of Women Who Work), Chicago 1925-1928,” in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, ed. TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2010), 135.

<sup>21</sup> Genevieve Forbes Herrick, “Work of World’s Women Show at Chicago Fair: Display Wide Range of Their Activity,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 19, 1925, 3.

<sup>22</sup> TJ Boisseau, “The Woman’s World’s Fairs,” 133.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>24</sup> Maureen A. Flanagan, “Woman’s World’s Fair, 1925.” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*; Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 89-90.

without being underwritten for a single cent; and as the first and only exposition to be staged by and for women.”<sup>25</sup>

The Woman’s World’s Fairs showcased women’s work in the home, sciences, arts, and literature; they assisted in the development of the new woman after the nineteenth amendment informed women of the different careers available to them. The fairs functioned as early career fairs dedicated to assisting women in the transition from the private sphere to the public sphere. The fair featured various educational and occupational booths, such as “a campus quadrangle in one corner...[with] representatives of Mount Holyoke, Elmira, Rosary, and Rockford colleges...on hand to tell of their particular traditions, aims and curricula.”<sup>26</sup> Other exhibits featured women in sciences such as botany and mathematics, and even more featured women architects, blacksmiths, film and cinema operators, miners, artists, and other professional women.<sup>27</sup> Foreign countries—by 1928, these came to include Greece, Germany, Great Britain, the Ukraine, Sweden, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, and Hungary—reserved booths as well and exhibited “old world work fascinating to the new world eye.”<sup>28</sup>

Many prominent women managed, exhibited, performed, and visited the Fair between 1925 and 1928. According to an invitation sent to Nellie Tayloe Ross, the Board of the Directors—at least of the second annual Woman’s World’s Fair—included: Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen (Chairman), Mrs. Joseph G. Coleman (Vice-Chairman), Mrs. Howard Linn (Vice-Chairman), Mrs. George R. Dean (Treasurer), Mrs. T. W. Robinson (Secretary), Mrs. Medill McCormick (General Executive), Miss Helen M. Bennett (Managing Director), Mrs. John V.

---

<sup>25</sup> “Second Woman's Fair to Be World Wide in Fact, They Are Told,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1925.

<sup>26</sup> “Woman's World's Fair Opens Saturday,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 13, 1928, H3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, H3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, H3.

Farwell, Mrs. Rockefeller McCormick, and Mrs. Parmalee McFadden.<sup>29</sup> Helen Bennett, the managing director for the Woman's World's Fairs, graduated from Wellesley College in 1898, worked as a club-editor for the *Chicago Record-Herald*, and managed the Chicago Collegiate Bureau of Occupations between 1913 and 1923.<sup>30</sup> Bennett published *Women and Work*, which analyzed women's roles after obtaining their college degrees. Arguably, the idea for the Woman's World's Fairs began within the first chapter of Bennett's publication when she questioned, "How far does her college training affect her choice of vocation and her value in that chosen line of work? What special opportunities does the college offer that enable its girls to make a wise choice of opportunity."<sup>31</sup> Bennet's response was the Woman's World's Fair, which provided women of all ages with not only a presentation of women's work but also with information on careers open to them. The World's Fair resembled a twentieth-century career fair that catered to girls and women. Bennet said as much after the close of the third annual Women's World's Fair when she claimed,

Ten years ago...a girl had to choose a job from a text book or a diagram. Nowadays the modern girl can go shopping for a career...And this fair, with its representative displays of more than 100 different occupations of women, and with its opportunities for meeting the women who have made good in these occupations, is as good of a course in vocational guidance for the girl who can't just decide whether to be a plumber or a missionary; a toe dancer or a governor.<sup>32</sup>

Fair organizers of the Century of Progress Exposition in 1933 would later hire Helen Bennett to manage women's social science exhibits and activities.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> "Correspondence Invitations to NTR as Governor, 1925 -1926," Nellie Tayloe Ross Papers, American Heritage Center.

<sup>30</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 93.

<sup>31</sup> Helen M. Bennett, *Women and Work* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1917), 4-5.

<sup>32</sup> "Modern Girl Picks Own Career, Asserts Woman's Fair Chief," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 25, 1925.

<sup>33</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 93.

Prominent women attended the fair as well, including the first woman elected as governor in the United States of America, Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, “the fair, firm, and feminine governor of Wyoming.”<sup>34</sup> Mrs. Ross, according to her son, “had a lot of native talent.”<sup>35</sup> She was not formally educated, but she was incredibly intelligent and after her husband passed in 1924, took over supporting the family, “financially and morally.”<sup>36</sup> Ross’s son, William Bradford Ross II, explained, “I knew that the leaders of the Democratic party were urging her to run...She decided to run, they had persuaded her, but she didn't want to campaign because she was still in mourning, my father had just died.”<sup>37</sup> In response to why his mother had chosen to run for governor, Ross claimed he did not have the answer and conjectured that “Maybe she thought she'd have to have an income from some source, and maybe that was the good source...[she] had a lot of confidence in herself.”<sup>38</sup>



*Figure 2*

---

<sup>34</sup> Nancy R., “Woman's World Fair to Bring Feminine Notables to Chicago,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1925.

<sup>35</sup> Interview of William Bradford Ross II by Rick Ewig, (University of Wyoming, 26-27 July 1995), 14.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

Her confidence paid off, and in 1924 Nellie Tayloe Ross became the first female governor in the United States.<sup>39</sup> Immediately, she became a significant figure at the Woman's World's Fair in 1925 as the guest of honor at the Famous Women's Luncheon, which featured several women of different fields of study, including the collector of internal revenue of Chicago, Dr. Alice Hamilton—the first woman to teach at Harvard—, Judges Kathryn Sellers and Mary Bartelmy, as well as “musicians, writers, executives, welfare workers, jurists, artists, business women, [and] sculptors.”<sup>40</sup> According to *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mrs. Ross also attended the Women's Roosevelt Republican club later the same evening.<sup>41</sup> Ross's role in politics spoke to her emulation of the politically employed new woman as well as demonstrated the ability of a woman to single-handedly run a household.

The Fair also featured the first lady Mrs. Grace Coolidge at the first Woman's World's Fair in 1925. According to several articles in the *New York Times*, the first lady officially opened the Fair by pressing a gold-tipped button at the White House; furthermore, according to one article, “For years Presidents have pushed a button or a telegraph key officially opening some conference or meeting or starting a great undertaking, but this will be the first time at which a woman member of a President's family has officiated.”<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, though Grace Coolidge had the honor of officiating the Fair, her husband retained the privilege of conducting the opening address to the Fair.<sup>43</sup> Two years later, at the Woman's World's Fair of 1927, when vice

---

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>40</sup> “Correspondence Invitations to NTR as Governor, 1925 -1926,” Nellie Tayloe Ross Papers; “Woman's World Fair to Bring Feminine Notables to Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1925.

<sup>41</sup> “Woman's World Fair to Bring Feminine Notables to Chicago,” *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 1925.

<sup>42</sup> “Mrs. Coolidge Opens Woman's Fair Today,” *New York Times*, April 18, 1925; “President's Wife to Open First Woman's World's Fair,” *New York Times*, April 12, 1925.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

president Charles G. Dawes gave the opening address for the Fair, he afterwards joined the other men on the sidelines.<sup>44</sup>

Other women played a part in the Fair as well. The women visiting the fair were diverse in occupation and social status, and they ranged from political pioneers to inventors and scientists; the first Woman's World's Fair was a platform for young women as well, according to *The Christian Science Monitor*, including Girl Scouts, the 4-H Clubs, and the Young Women's Christian Association.<sup>45</sup> Other guests and exhibits mentioned in the articles included Jane Addams, who discussed "arbitration as a substitute for war," as well as "a woman plumber... a woman mountain climber... lots of woman farmers... artisans and artists; high school girls about to choose vocations, and grandmothers who have nearly completed theirs; women of the ministry and the stage, and the business world."<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately, as with its Woman's Building predecessor, the Woman's World's Fairs tended to be more exclusive than intended. Though it invited women of other nations to hold booths at the Fair, the majority of these women originated from European nations—Greece, Germany, Great Britain, the Ukraine, Sweden, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, and Hungary.<sup>47</sup> They were white and had the funding to exhibit at such a Fair. In one instance, the only mention of women of different ethnicities was in a derogatory manner, referring to indigenous women as "a

---

<sup>44</sup> "Man Gets First Word Only, in Woman's Fair: Dawes to Open Exposition, Then Retire." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 19, 1927.

<sup>45</sup> "Progress of Women Shown in Exhibits of Their Work," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 20, 1925; The 4H Website (<http://news.4-hhistorypreservation.com/2015/11/05/4-h-girls-exhibit-at-first-womans-world-fair-in-1925/>) further backs up this information, claiming that the 4H girls had an exhibit at the Fair.

<sup>46</sup> "World Affairs, Society Topics at Woman's Fair: Jane Addams Shows War Cost, Peace Profit," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 21, 1927; "World's Fair to Show Woman's Climb to Fame: Ministry, Stage, Industry to Be Represented," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 18, 1927.

<sup>47</sup> "Woman's World's Fair Opens Saturday," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 13, 1928; "Woman's World's Fair Shows Alien Artistry," *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 29, 1928.

group of emancipated squaws.”<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, these indigenous women mentioned were not attending the fair to investigate those occupations on display; instead, they were a source of entertainment, “scheduled to give some of their dances.”<sup>49</sup> This was one of few mentions of different ethnicities and echoed the World’s Columbian Exposition’s intentional division of the White City and the Midway Plaisance—of the white American and the ethnic other.

Yet, women of the Woman’s World’s Fairs embodied the working new woman of the early twentieth century despite their disregard of working women of color. The women who were involved in the Fair’s success—from First Lady Coolidge to attendees of the Famous Women’s Luncheon—demonstrated their abilities in all facets of the Fair and proved to attendees and the world that women were more than capable of existing autonomously in the public sphere.

---

<sup>48</sup> “World’s Fair to Show Woman’s Climb to Fame: Ministry, Stage, Industry to Be Represented.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

### Chapter 3

#### **The Ladies and Their Subjects: Managing, Exhibiting, and Presenting the Ideal New Woman of The World's Columbian Exposition, 1893**

In June 1893, the family of Marian Lawrence Peabody visited the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois. During their visit, Marian fawned over the architecture of the Fine Arts Building, emphasized the homeliness of the Massachusetts Building—"by far the best of the State Buildings"—and noted the beautiful exhibits of the Liberal Arts, Administration, and Woman's Buildings.<sup>1</sup> At the Plaisance, which intrigued her and many other visitors, Marian observed a wedding procession at the Streets of Cairo, explored a "tiny wigwam" at the "Savage Soudanese" exhibit, and nonchalantly dismissed the beauty of the women at the "World's Congress of Beauty" as "passably good-looking."<sup>2</sup> The weather, the grounds, the architecture, the music, the lights, and the people thrilled Marian Peabody and her family. Thus, the exposition did as it was intended, lulling Marian Peabody into a contented trance; she claimed near the end of her visit, "We hate to leave and feel that we can never see this enchanted white city again."<sup>3</sup>

The World's Columbian Exposition left this impression on many visitors. Its beautiful architecture, immersive exhibits, and exciting Midway Plaisance were likely referenced in hundreds of journals and letters throughout the globe. However, before the 1893 Exposition was ever mentioned by Marian Peabody, it was the subject of many debates among leading figures in society as to which city would be fortunate enough to host it. Chicago's successful bid and the forthcoming exposition likely encouraged many individuals like Marian to put their pens to

---

<sup>1</sup> Marian Lawrence Peabody, "Diary of Marian Lawrence Peabody, June 1893," *To Be Young Was Very Heaven* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1967), 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.



paper and write about their experiences in the White City and Midway Plaisance. This perhaps included observations of the new woman in women's management and exhibition roles—predominantly featured in the Woman's Building—as well as women's performances and appearances in the Midway Plaisance. Despite these roles, all women within the 1893 Exposition embodied elements of the new woman and either reinforced expectations of these women or presented contrasted images of them. The new woman presented throughout the World's Columbian Exposition exposed the hegemonic attempt of the Exposition organizers and managers to dictate the image of the ideal woman.

### ***The Bid for an Exposition***

The enchanted white city Marian Peabody spoke of owed its appeal to the managers and designers who worked tirelessly to create the illusion. Yet, the white city's beauty owed more to those who bid for the city of Chicago to host the fair, for without them the exposition would have taken place in New York whose building Marian described as “pretentious, dreary, gorgeous, empty and hideous.” New York City had been Chicago's rival well before the announcement of an exposition, but Chicago's growing dominance in industry culminated with their ability to compete against the industrial center for the right to host an international exposition in the United States in 1892. Interest in potential financial gain had encouraged Chicago's civic leaders and capitalists to bid for the right to host the exposition, and in July 1889 the Chicago City Council authorized Mayor Dewitt C. Cregier's request for a committee to “take preliminary steps toward securing the location of the World's Fair in Chicago.”<sup>4</sup>

Whereas New York City had financial backing from financial titans J. P. Morgan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and William Waldorf Astor. However, Chicago's elite—Charles T.

---

<sup>4</sup> Francis L. Lederer II, “Competition for the World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago Campaign,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* 65, no. 4 (1972): 383.

Yerkes, Marshall Field, Philip Armour, Gustavus Swift, and Cyrus McCormick—matched their pledges with help from Chicago’s numerous citizens who similarly hoped for the economic success expected to accompany the exposition.<sup>5</sup> Mayor Creiger himself attended the congressional hearing for Chicago’s bid, stating that Chicago was the “‘second city of this continent’ and the ‘Empire City of the Great West.’ It possessed everything needed for the exposition; even New York, he said, depended for its ‘future...greatness—not altogether, but largely—on those fertile miles and acres in the West.’”<sup>6</sup>

Of the other attendees representing Chicago, Thomas B. Bryan and Edward T. Jeffery, former general manager of the Illinois Central, Bryan made significant comments regarding Chicago’s fulfillment of exposition site requirements. His claim for Chicago was threefold: first, Chicago had “abundant supplies of good air and pure water...ample space, accommodations and transportation for all exhibits and visitors.”<sup>7</sup> Second, whereas New York City lacked the convenient space to establish an exposition, Chicago would take advantage of the land surrounding its city, which would not require any demolition and would be easily reached by “the artisan and the farmer and the shopkeeper and the man of humble means.”<sup>8</sup> Thirdly, Bryan stressed Chicago’s position in the west, claiming, “the interest of the entire country is for the West and the West is for Chicago...New York has no claim, and St. Louis has no claim, and Washington has no claim. That is all true...but the West has a claim. It is her turn.”<sup>9</sup> Chicago won the bid for the exposition on February 24, 1890. An article in the *Daily Chicago Tribune* in

---

<sup>5</sup> Robert Rydell, “World’s Columbian Exposition,” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*.  
<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1386.html>.

<sup>6</sup> Francis L. Lederer II, “Competition for the World’s Columbian Exposition,” 388.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 389.

1889 emphasized Chicago's success: "No one doubted that Chicago wanted it. No one doubted that it would make the Exposition worthy of itself and worthy of the Nation."<sup>10</sup>

Exposition authorities employed architect Daniel H. Burnham as the exposition's director of works and George R. Davis as its director-general. Burnham oversaw the architecture of the fair's buildings, as well as sculptures and other artistic pieces within the grounds, while Davis pursued the exhibition design within each building Burnham designed. The work of Davis, Burnham, and Burnham's assembly of top architects and designers—Frederick Law Olmstead, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Frederick MacMonnies, and Daniel Chester French—eventually culminated in the White City, the Court of Honor, and the Midway Plaisance.<sup>11</sup> Whereas the White City exhibited elite culture—inventions, industrial technologies, fine art—and represented progression of civilization, the Midway displayed working class culture and was "a living outdoor museum of 'primitive' human beings that would afford visitors the opportunity to measure the progress of humanity toward the ideal of civilization presented in the White City."<sup>12</sup> Despite its blatant display of American exceptionalism, the exposition flourished and concluded with a visitation of over twenty million. It "was conceded to be the grandest and most successful world's fair ever held. It did much to establish the reputation of Chicago as one of the greatest cities of the world...It gave a wonderful stimulus to population and contributed powerfully to the general development of Chicago as a center of trade and industry."<sup>13</sup>

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was also instrumental in the development of the new woman. The recent industrial revolution had enabled women to traverse the public sphere, allowing them to enter the workforce, petition for the right to vote, and seek reform in

---

<sup>10</sup> "We Will Have the Fair," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 25, 1890.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Rydell, "World's Columbian Exposition."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Inter Ocean, *Centennial History of the City of Chicago*, 42.

education, labor, abolition, and prohibition. The announcement of the 1893 Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, the second-largest city in the United States, incited in women a desire for representation. As a result, women became active participants in every area of the fair, specifically within the Woman's Building and the Midway Plaisance. Located between the exposition core and the Midway Plaisance, the Woman's Building became a transitional point between the White City and the Midway.

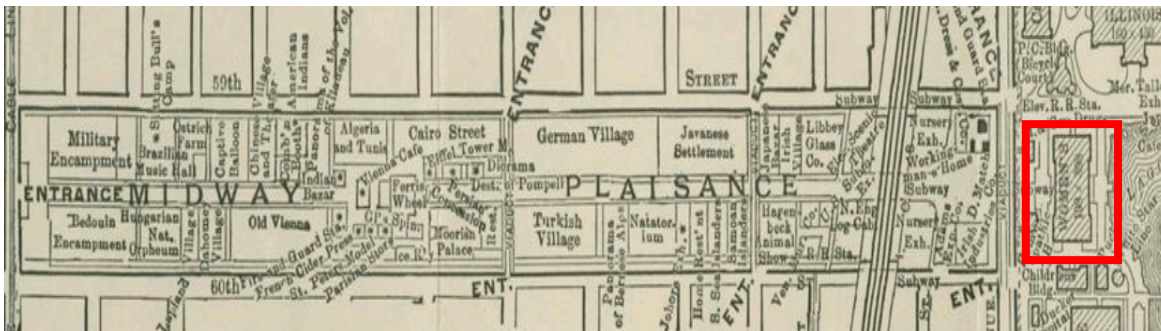


Figure 3

Though its location signaled the gendered lens of the Fair's designers and defined feminine spaces as inferior to masculine spaces, it embraced the contributions of several influential women who single-handedly funded, managed, and designed exhibits. Women involved in this sophisticated space envisioned a 'new woman' of the upper class society who retained her femininity while at the same time creating new opportunities for herself and others. These influential, affluent women ultimately dictated the image of the new woman at the turn of the century through their influence in and out of the fair. In order to further control the ideal new woman, women within the Midway Plaisance exhibits either acted in compliance with or in contrast to the ideal.

Regardless of their position at the Fair, all women managing, exhibiting, and performing in women's spaces of the World's Columbian Exposition either embodied elements of the ideal new woman, reinforced expectations of this vision for these women in society, or presented a

contrasted image of the new woman. In the Woman's Building, the Board of Lady Managers regulated the ideal image of the new woman, while artists, architects, and other exhibitors displayed images of this woman in their works. The new woman existed within the Midway Plaisance, as well, which reinforced these images through complimenting and contrasting performances such as the elegant tea ceremonies at the Japanese Pavilion and the native dances at the Streets of Cairo. These three categories of women's roles within the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition—managers, exhibitors, and performers—presented images of the dominant new woman at the turn of the century.

### ***Managing and Defining the New Woman***

Of the three categories, the Board of Lady Managers controlled the image of the new woman throughout the grounds, buildings, and exhibits at the 1893 Exposition. Women with esteemed social resumes obtained roles on the Board based on their social status, education, and profession, and they envisioned the new woman in their likeness. Yet, two groups—one led by Chicagoan socialites and the other by national women's groups—feuded over control of the Board prior to its establishment. The Chicago Women's Department and the Queen Isabella Society arguably embodied elements of a universal new woman, despite their promotion of what they believed was the ideal new woman. The group that secured victory and controlled the Board of Lady Managers also received control over the imagery of the new woman at the World's Columbian Exposition. The two groups' embodiment of a universal new woman, as well as their defense of an ideal new woman, was evident in numerous speeches presented at the Congress of Women in May 1893. The Congress exposed the Board of Lady Manager's ideal new woman and provided a foundation for analyzing women's architecture, artwork, and performances throughout the exposition.

The Women's Auxiliary, which consisted of local clubwomen and socialites, had three fundamental objectives.<sup>14</sup> The first was the construction of a separate woman's pavilion within the exposition that would exhibit women's industries; the second objective, which called for assembly rooms, voiced the group's desire to host an international convention; the third promised the productivity of its membership in securing funds for the fair.<sup>15</sup> Eventually, by the beginning of the exposition, the Woman's Auxiliary would achieve all three goals in the form of the iconic Woman's Building, the Congress of Women, and the successful fundraising and lobbying abilities of its members.

Its rival, the Isabella Association, instead consisted of educated and professional women dedicated to attaining suffrage for women.<sup>16</sup> One of the Association's goals mimicked the first two goals of the Auxiliary and called for a woman's pavilion, assembly rooms, and an international clubhouse.<sup>17</sup> The other goal ordered the construction of a statue that would celebrate the achievement of Queen Isabella of Castille, whom they claimed enabled Christopher Columbus's discovery of the Americas.<sup>18</sup> Despite its persistent attempts, the Isabella Association would complete neither of its goals. Even after the formation of the Board of Lady Managers, the Isabella Association plotted the construction of a separate woman's pavilion—the Isabella Pavilion—and the Isabella statue. These plans extended to commissioning sculptor Harriet Hosmer for the Isabella statue and architect Minerva Parker Nichols for the woman's pavilion, both of whom had extensive resumes.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women: The Story of the Women's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981), 28.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-30.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-61.

Though both groups agreed upon the creation of a woman's pavilion, the Women's Auxiliary lobbied for it to be a separate entity whereas the Isabella Association argued that the Woman's Building would limit women's representation in the 1893 Exposition.<sup>20</sup> Bertha Palmer described the division amongst the Lady Managers on the Building, stating that women who petitioned for a separate exhibit "believ[ed] that the extent and variety of valuable work done by women would not be appreciated or comprehended unless shown in a building separate from the work of men."<sup>21</sup> Other women disagreed and argued that "the exhibit should not be one of sex, but of merit, and that women had reached a point where they could afford to compete side by side with men."<sup>22</sup> This disagreement between the two groups represented one of the central divisionary issues within women's groups in the late nineteenth century and permeated the role of women in world's fairs until the mid-twentieth century.

The two groups differed in membership as well. The Women's Auxiliary included esteemed, philanthropic women such as Emma Wallace, Mrs. Leaner Stone, Myra Bradwell, Mary Logan, Marian Mulligan, Margaret Isabella Sandes, Mrs. Nelson Morris, Mrs. G.B. Marsh, and Mrs. J.S. Lewis.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the Isabella Association was more diverse and incorporated educated and professional women as well as women involved in the suffrage movement and other political campaigns. Its members included Catherine Van Walkenburg Waite, Dr. Frances Dickinson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Eliza Allen Starr, Mrs. Corrine S. Brown, and Frances Hale Gardner. The Isabella Association justly argued that the Women's Auxiliary did not represent the nation and excluded the majority of women in the United States,

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 28-30.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 27.

but the Auxiliary's argument for local involvement was similarly understandable given the location and depth of women's groups in the city.

Both groups likely envisioned the new woman in their resemblance, but the Women's Auxiliary emerged victorious. Article Eleven of the World's Columbian Commission By-Laws organized the Board of Lady Managers and permitted Commissioners-at-Large to nominate two women and two alternates from each state, territory, and the District of Columbia.<sup>24</sup> The Commission's President appointed these women and another nine women from the city of Chicago, further securing victory for the women of the Auxiliary.<sup>25</sup> This structure assured the Isabella Association that the Board would consist of women from throughout the country, but it granted victory for the Women's Auxiliary.<sup>26</sup> Arguably, the male-dominated Commission had the ability to construct the Board of Lady Managers to emulate the ideal new woman of the Commission. Consequently, they likely carefully nominated women whom they would have no qualms with entrusting the management, construction, and control of a Woman's Building as well as "general charge and management of all the interests of women in connection with the Exposition."<sup>27</sup> This assured that the Board would promote the image of the ideal new woman throughout the exposition. The Board of Lady Managers further organized these members to include an elected president, nine elected vice-presidents, and an executive committee of twenty-five members appointed by the president.<sup>28</sup> On November 20, 1890, during the Board's first session, the Board unanimously voted Mrs. Potter Palmer as President of the Board. Elected Vice-presidents of the Board of Lady Managers included Mrs. Ralph Trotman of New York,

---

<sup>24</sup> *Official Manual of the World's Columbian Commission*, 326.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

<sup>27</sup> *Official Manual of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Commission* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1891), 30.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-35.



Mrs. Edwin C. Burleigh of Maine, Mrs. Charles Price of North Carolina, Miss Katherine L. Minor of Louisiana, Mrs. Beriah Wilkins of the District of Columbia, Mrs. Susan R. Ashley of Colorado, Mrs. Flora Beall Ginty of Wisconsin, Mrs. Margaret Blaine Salisbury of Utah, and Vice-President-at-Large Mrs. Russell B. Harrison of Montana.<sup>29</sup>

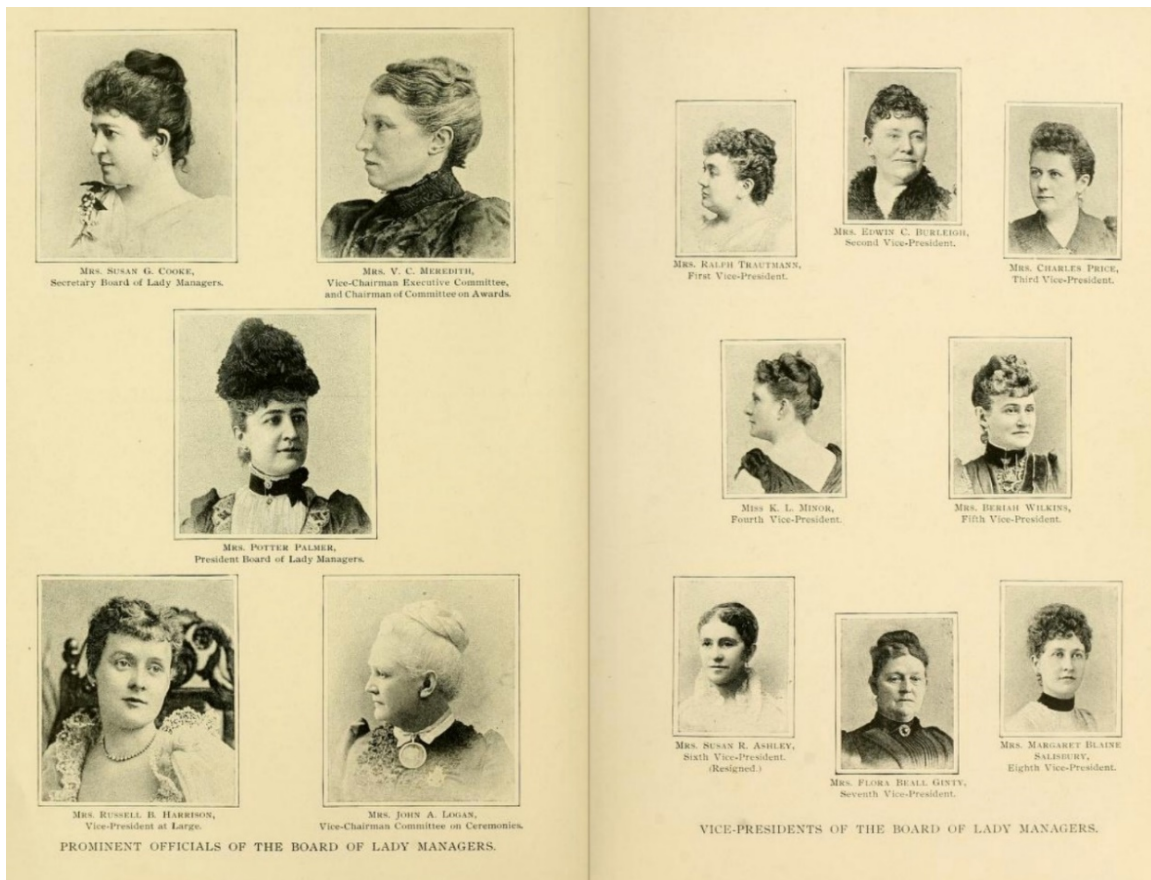


Figure 4

Bertha Honoré Palmer arguably best represented and promoted the ideal new woman in her roles as a socialite, clubwoman, and President of the Board of Lady Managers at the World’s Columbian Exposition. She was the daughter of Eliza Dorsey Honoré and Henry Hamilton Honoré, a real estate investor and leading expansionist of Chicago, and she was the wife of

<sup>29</sup> *Official Manual of the World's Columbian Commission*, 348.

Potter Palmer, a prominent businessman and real estate investor in Chicago.<sup>30</sup> Bertha Palmer's marriage to Potter Palmer thrust her further into the social spotlight—her sister's marriage to Frederick Dent Grant likewise added to her social resume—of Chicago, and she soon became an influential figure within its social clubs and organizations.<sup>31</sup> Not only was Palmer a devoted member of the Chicago Woman's Club, but she also popularized the annual Charity Ball, regularly visited Jane Addams' Hull House, supported the Woman's Trade Union League, and served as a trustee for the Northwestern University.<sup>32</sup> As president of the Board of Lady Managers, Palmer assisted in the proposition for and design of a Woman's Building, but she also initiated fundraising campaigns for the Exposition and Board.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, Palmer's diplomatic contact with women nationally and internationally facilitated the exhibition of several objects and artifacts within the Woman's Building.

Examples of Palmer's fundraising and exhibition pursuit were evident in several sessions of Congress in which they decided appropriations for the Exposition. One document in particular, "Appropriations for Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Exposition," noted Bertha Palmer's request to receive funding for an international collection from Italy.<sup>34</sup> Palmer's letter explained that the Board of Lady Managers required specific funding to receive an historical collection of laces and embroideries of "great intrinsic and artistic value" from the Italian Queen Margherita.<sup>35</sup> Palmer argued that as the Queen was financing the preparation and

---

<sup>30</sup> Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, Paul S. Boyer, *Notable American Women, 1607-1950, A Biographical Dictionary, Vol. 1 A-F*. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 8-14.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-14.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-14.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-14.

<sup>34</sup> "Appropriations for Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Exposition," 52<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Ex. Doc. No. 74.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

installation of the exhibit, “common courtesy and established usage require that this Government should pay for the transportation of such articles to and from the Exposition, and should also insure the owners against loss as far as possible to do so.”<sup>36</sup> Without Palmer’s resourcefulness and initiative, collections such as Queen Margherita’s may not have existed within the Woman’s Building. Yet, Palmer’s role required her to manage the image of the new woman in the Woman’s Building’s architecture, design, and exhibitions. She not only carefully designed preliminary requirements of the Woman’s Building, but she also attempted to carefully delegate the designs of its architecture, design, and exhibitions to exhibit the proper new woman.<sup>37</sup> Bertha Palmer further defined the new woman during the Congress of Women, which took place in May 1893 inside the Woman’s Building and presented several ideal attributes of the new woman through a week-long series of lectures.

The Board of Lady Managers announced the Congress of Women during their second session in a Resolution that stated, “*Resolved*, That a special committee of seven be appointed who shall have charge of arranging for congresses to be held in the Woman's Building during the Fair.”<sup>38</sup> The Board elected Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle as chairman of the special committee, Mrs. Jno Bagley as vice-chairman, and selected Mrs. Susan R. Ashley, Miss Eliza M. Russell, Mrs. Helen M. Barker, Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, Mrs. L. Brace Shattuck, and Miss Laurette Lovell as the remaining five members of the committee.<sup>39</sup> In the published document for the Congress, the committee explained that the event would have a “leading address,

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> This is derived from the pages of Jeanne Weimann’s *The Fair Women*, which presented multiple accounts of Palmer’s meddling in Hayden’s design of the Woman’s Building and the competition to sculpt ornamental figures for the Woman’s Building.

<sup>38</sup> *Official Manual of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Commission*, 257.

<sup>39</sup> Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle, *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894) 13.

followed by free discussion...to provide communion and interchange of thought between women engaged in the same and diverse lines of work.”<sup>40</sup> Consequently, the one hundred and eighty speakers—socialites, suffragists, professional and domestic women, artists, authors, and educators—addressed a variety of topics, including aspects of womanhood, women’s equality, suffrage, women’s role in the arts, women’s role in politics, and women’s education.

Palmer presented the opening address of the Congress on May 1, 1893. The introduction examined the conflict between women’s roles in society and in the home, and she called for the cooperation between the two in the statement: “We advocate, therefore, the thorough education and training of woman to fit her to meet whatever fate life may bring; not only to prepare her for the factory and workshop, for the professions and arts, but, more important than all else, to prepare her for presiding over the home.”<sup>41</sup> The statement ultimately defined the Board’s new woman as committed to both the public and private spheres, allowing to them to seek education and professionalization so long as they remained simultaneously devoted to the household and their families. Other lecturers at the Congress—including Caroline Sherman and Sue Huffman Brady—echoed the subject of womanhood and its balance of commitments to both private and public spheres.<sup>42</sup>

Caroline Sherman’s “Characteristics of Modern Womanhood,” for example, presented a thorough definition of this ideal new woman.<sup>43</sup> In the paper, Mrs. Sherman spoke of women’s

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>41</sup> Bertha Honoré Palmer, “Opening Address,” in *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 25-29.

<sup>42</sup> Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle, *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, 17-20.

<sup>43</sup> Caroline Sherman, “Characteristics of Modern Womanhood,” in *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 764-770.

organizations and explained that “the worth of organized activity is seen in the various reformatory methods,” such as in hospitals, prisons, and education.<sup>44</sup> She further claimed that women’s organizations allowed women to support one another and unite to tackle specific issues, despite differences they might have on others.<sup>45</sup> Sherman’s focus on organized activity and social reform aligned with attributes of real womanhood, which claimed women were encouraged to perform work of a “domestic nature.”<sup>46</sup> Sherman also spoke of marriage and women’s “freedom of choice,” which allowed them to decide to marry or follow a profession; she emphasized that a woman who marries by choice had a happier marriage, while the woman who wed her profession deserved respect for her dedication to bettering “her own and the world’s condition.”<sup>47</sup> Yet, in contrast to Palmer’s balanced new woman, Sherman did not allow a woman to wed both a man and her profession. Rather, according to Sherman’s understanding of the new woman, she was either to dedicate herself to domesticity or resign herself to the professions—there was no option to perform successfully in both roles as wife and laborer.

Sue Huffman Brady’s “Changing Ideals in Southern Womanhood” also focused on womanhood and marriage but engaged topics of education and labor as well.<sup>48</sup> Brady claimed that the introduction of a normal school allowed girls to enter multiple professions rather than just education, and this introduction saved girls from “a life that is not only dependent, but aimless, and therefore hopeless...and beckon[ed] them on to an entirely new life filled with

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 755-756.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 755-756.

<sup>46</sup> Susan Cruca, “Changing Ideals of Womanhood During the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement,” 198.

<sup>47</sup> Caroline Sherman, “Characteristics of Modern Womanhood,” 766.

<sup>48</sup> Sue Huffman Brady, “Changing Ideals in Southern Womanhood,” in *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 306-310.

hope, ambition and consolation.”<sup>49</sup> The new woman in the South, she explained, was a combination of pre- and post-reconstruction, which combined attributes of “gentleness of manner, purity of heart, and nobility of soul” with persistence, obstinacy, individuality, strength, and self-reliance.<sup>50</sup> This explanation resembled the ideal new woman that the Board of Lady Managers intended to present throughout the exposition—a woman who retained feminine characteristics but were no longer chained to submissive, domestic roles.

Other speakers at the Congress appealed to a different sort of new woman and spoke of women’s complete equality in education, the arts, the professions, or politics. These authors included Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Lily Devereux Blake, and Reverend Anna Howard Shaw. Anthony and Stone were key figures of the Congress, given their roles in the early women’s rights movement; likewise, Lily Devereux Blake and Reverend Anna Howard Shaw were leading suffragists in the movement. Though the women typically embodied attributes of the Board’s new woman, their focus was on suffrage and equality rather than social reform movements such as education. Susan B. Anthony, for example, spoke on women’s organization, Lucy Stone on the progression of women’s rights, Lily Devereux Blake on the re-emergence of women in history, and Reverend Anna Howard Shaw on the women’s role in politics.

Whereas Mary Eagle’s publication transcribed the majority of the Congress’s speeches, Susan B. Anthony’s “Woman’s Influence versus Political Power” and “Benefits of Organization” were not transcribed because, according to Mrs. Eagle, Anthony spoke entirely from memory.<sup>51</sup> Yet, her speech on organization must have been transcribed by someone, for it exists within *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, vol. 5, Their Place Inside the*

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 308.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 309.

<sup>51</sup> Susan B. Anthony, “Lectures to Women,” *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, 787.

*Body-Politic, 1887 to 1895* under the title, “Organization Among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of Political Liberty.”<sup>52</sup> The speech, according to *The Congress of Women* publication, “was a plea to the women of America to unite in working for their rights.”<sup>53</sup> In it, Anthony claimed that the lack of a single, united women’s organization hindered the progress of women’s rights in its early years, for it could have demonstrated that they had a “thorough organization” supporting their demands.<sup>54</sup> She further claimed that the existence of an organization would have secured suffrage for women, and several women at the Congress would not “be compelled to climax...with the statement that they are without the ballot.”<sup>55</sup> Susan B. Anthony attested to the power of organization and, likewise, inferred the negative effect of disagreements between women’s groups.

Lucy Stone’s speech, entitled “The Progress of Fifty Years,” followed the progression of women’s rights from 1833 to 1893.<sup>56</sup> In the speech, Stone emphasized the roles of several significant women who were pivotal figures in the movement, including Mary Lyon, Angelina and Sarah Grimke, Abby Kelly, Harriet Hosmer, Elizabeth Blackwell, Antoinette Brown, and Leila Robinson.<sup>57</sup> She further claimed that in fifty years, women earned the right to “the highest education” and have succeeded in entering nearly all professions and occupations.<sup>58</sup> Stone alluded to the evolution of the true womanhood to real womanhood and public womanhood. She

---

<sup>52</sup> *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, vol. 5, Their Place Inside the Body-Politic, 1887 to 1895*, ed. Ann D. Gordon (New Brunswick, N.J., 2009).

<sup>53</sup> Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle, *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, 787.

<sup>54</sup> Susan B. Anthony, “Organization Among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of Political Liberty.”

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Lucy Stone, “The Progress of Fifty Years,” *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, 58-61.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 58-61.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 58-61.

concluded her speech with the statement: “Now all we need is to continue to speak the truth fearlessly, and we shall add to our number those who will turn the scale to the side of equal and full justice in all things.”<sup>59</sup> This call to arms appealed to further progression of the new woman and argued that the current status of women was not enough. Perhaps, this was the break between the Board of Lady Managers’ ideal new woman and the suffragist’s new woman; the Board was content with their current status whereas the suffragists knew they deserved more.

Lillie Devereux Blake’s “Out Forgotten Foremothers,” held a similar message in which she claimed, “The whole history of our country has been written from a man’s standpoint, and women, however great, however noble, have been ignored...have we become so accustomed to this policy of silence that we are prone to submit to it, without even a protest, ourselves even forgetting to give honor where honor is due.”<sup>60</sup> She later alluded to the progression of the new woman when she transitioned from the World’s Fair’s equal treatment of women to their future enfranchisement. Reverend Anna Howard Shaw had a more political message for the Congress in “The Fate of the Republics.” In the article, she analyzed and deposed formerly presumed elements that contributed to Republics’ demise.<sup>61</sup> Shaw argued, “the great need of our country today is a little mothering to undo the evils of too much fathering...women are more moral, more temperate, more religious, more peace-loving and more law-abiding than men, then if they were permitted to vote they would affect the government along these lines.”<sup>62</sup> In this quote, Shaw subtly referenced the demand for further evolution of the new woman. Whereas previously

---

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 58-61.

<sup>60</sup> Lillie Devereux Blake, “Our Forgotten Foremothers,” in *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 32-35.

<sup>61</sup> Anna Howard Shaw, “The Fate of the Republics,” in *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle (Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894), 152-156.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.



woman was blamed for the failure of the republic, Shaw argued that not only should woman not be blamed but she is ultimately required to ensure the republic's success.

Many of these speeches within the Congress noted the progression and necessity of women in all aspects of society, including the home, the workplace, politics, classrooms, and management. They focused on two significant defining elements of the women's rights movement at the turn of the century: political and social reform. They argued for the right to vote and the need for women in politics and analyzed women's role in the private sphere and its influence on her ability to reform the public sphere. Yet, the Congress did nothing more than reiterate attributes desired by the Board of Lady Managers, which the Board then exhibited in the architecture and art of the Woman's Building.

### ***Exhibiting the New Woman in Architecture, Sculptures, and Murals***

One of the Lady Managers' first non-organizational tasks was proposing and designing a building to exhibit the new woman and her accomplishments. Bertha Palmer described the division amongst the Lady Managers on the existence of the Building, stating that the women in favor of it believed that separate exhibition would garner more appreciation for women's work, while "the most advanced and radical thinkers" believed that they deserved to exhibit their work alongside men.<sup>63</sup> This division likely existed between former members of the Women's Auxiliary and the Isabella Association, since members of the associations had once disagreed on the construction of the building. Regardless, Frances Shepard offered the resolution to the Board of Lady Managers on November 26, 1890, the seventh day of the first session.<sup>64</sup> It read, "Resolved, that the Board of Lady Managers do hereby most respectfully request the Board of

---

<sup>63</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 51.

<sup>64</sup> *Official Manual of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Commission*, 129-130.

Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition to furnish them with a building to be known as the Woman's Building."<sup>65</sup> The Board seconded and adopted the resolution then turned their attention to the Building's design and construction.<sup>66</sup>

In the same resolution, Frances Shepard noted plans for a competition that would invite architects—initially both men and women—to design the Woman's Building.<sup>67</sup> Bertha Palmer took the Board's plan of a competition to Daniel Burnham, the Fair's Director of Works, who accepted the plan partly because of its cost-effective elements and partly because of its publicity potential.<sup>68</sup> Palmer's initial vision of the Woman's Building—two floors at two hundred by five hundred feet, a central gallery, and exhibition rooms—pleased Burnham, and a circular distributed by the Fair's Department of Publicity and Promotion in 1891 noted the requirements for the design: "The general outline of the building must follow closely the accompanying sketch plans, the extreme dimensions not exceeding two hundred by four hundred feet; exterior to be of some simple and definite style, classic lines preferred; the general effect of color to be in light tints."<sup>69</sup> The circular also requested the sketches be received from practicing female architects on or before March 23, 1891.<sup>70</sup>

Thirteen women entered the competition, and on March 24, 1891, the three judges—Bertha Palmer, Frances Shepard, and Amey Starkweather—awarded the first prize to Sophia Hayden, the second prize to Lois Howe, and the third prize to Laura Hayes.<sup>71</sup> Hayden was only twenty-one years old at the time and the first woman to graduate with an architectural degree

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 129-130.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 129-130-131.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 129-130-131.

<sup>68</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 147.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., *The Fair Women*, 145-150; "Miss Hayden Secures the Prize: Her Design for the Woman's Building Declared to be the Best," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 26 March 1891, 3.

from the Boston Institute of Technology.<sup>72</sup> She was, according to Laura Hayes, “of medium height, slender, with soft dark hair, and a pleasant manner that is shy, without the least lack of confidence.”<sup>73</sup> Sarah Angell added further commentary on Hayden’s quiet demeanor in a letter to Bertha Palmer, stating that it was difficult to engage in conversation with her, that she was “very reticent, quiet with no marked interest.”<sup>74</sup> The Woman’s Building would be Hayden’s first and only architectural venture, perhaps partly due to her disposition.<sup>75</sup>

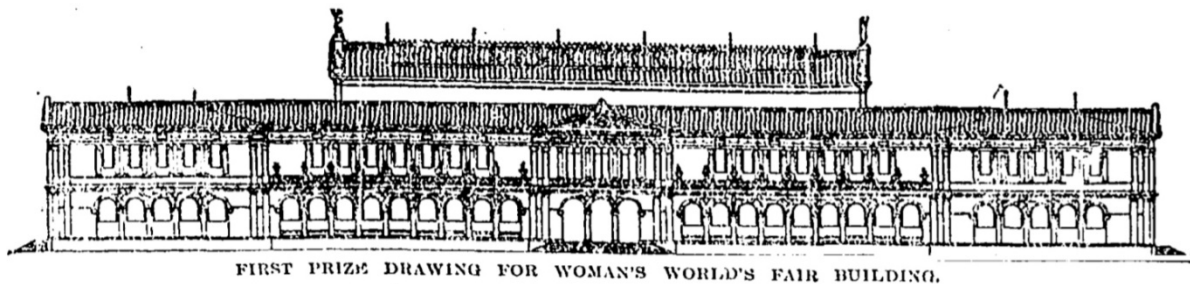


Figure 5

In an Architect’s Report to the Board of Lady Managers in April 1894, Miss Hayden described her design for the building,

The principal deviation, in the original drawings, was the addition of an open arched arcade with a balcony over...I added a third story, with roof promenade...to meet new requirements that had risen. The main feature of the plan is the large exhibition hall, 65 by 120 feet. Around this the smaller rooms are grouped, the wings forming large exhibition rooms, on this floor...in the second story, the rooms are arranged around the main hall...in the north wing a large assembly room was placed.<sup>76</sup>

The building’s design required modifications almost immediately, which bothered the young architect. Palmer, arguably wanting to have complete control of the Building’s construction,

---

<sup>72</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 145; “Miss Hayden Secures the Prize: Her Design for the Woman’s Building Declared to be the Best,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 26, 1891, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Laura Hayes, *Three Girls in a Flat* (Chicago: Knight, Leonard & Co., 1892), 64.

<sup>74</sup> Letter from Sarah Angell to Bertha Palmer, 14 November 1892.

<sup>75</sup> “Miss Hayden Secures the Prize: Her Design for the Woman’s Building Declared to be the Best,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 26, 1891, 3.

<sup>76</sup> Sophia Hayden, “Architect’s Report,” April 1894, in Jeanne Weimann’s *The Fair Women*, 150.

immediately wished to incorporate the upper portion of Lois Hayes's design.<sup>77</sup> Hayes was Palmer's private secretary whose third-place design merely applied Palmer's preferences for the building's features and gave Palmer the ability to modify the winning submission in a similar fashion to this design.<sup>78</sup> The modifications were not her own but of another submission's design, therefore removing her from the decision.

At a reception honoring her in June 1893, Hayden commented that her work was "perfectly sincere and honest."<sup>79</sup> She also mentioned that she "was given full freedom to carry out [her] plans in the construction of the building and was not bound or handicapped in any way save my my own youth and inexperience."<sup>80</sup> This, of course, was untrue given that her plans for the Woman's Building were not only modified, but she was unaccounted for through much of the construction process, was not consulted on the choices for the Building's external and internal sculptors, and did not receive the honor of designing the Building's interior decor.<sup>81</sup> The modifications, Hayden's inexperience in the field, and the lack of communication between Hayden and Mrs. Palmer frustrated the young architect. She eventually suffered a "severe breakdown" and returned home to rest, only returning to attend the dedication ceremonies in October 1892.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, Hayden's health permitted critics to comment on the inability of women to handle the stress accompanying such professions.

---

<sup>77</sup> "Designs that Won Prizes: Those that were Submitted in the Competition—Changes to Be Made," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 31, 1891, 7; Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 149; "What the Designs Are: Description of the Three Prize Ones for the Woman's Building," *Daily Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 1891, 9.

<sup>78</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 149.

<sup>79</sup> "Honor Miss Hayden: Reception to the Woman's Building Architect," *Daily Chicago Tribune*, June 28, 1893, 10.

<sup>80</sup> "Ibid., 10.

<sup>81</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 152-175.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

*The American Architect and Building News* noted this commentary in November 1892, “it seems as if it was a question not yet answered how successfully a woman with her physical limitations can enter and engage in the work of a profession which is a very wearing one...the provocation for worry may have been great, or this especial woman may have been exceptionally weak and nervous.”<sup>83</sup> The article explained that Hayden’s “physical ruin” would most likely result in arguments against women entering the profession in the future.<sup>84</sup> Minerva Parker Nichols, a practicing female architect who also submitted a design in the competition for the design of the Woman’s Building, also commented on the issue in a December publication of the same journal.<sup>85</sup> She claimed in the article that “Miss Hayden must always remain the chief sufferer... [because] she was unprepared through lack of practical experience...It is not fair, because one woman makes a doubtful success, to draw conclusions from her example...Because one woman suffers from exhaustion in...her household duty, you would not say that women were unfitted for domestic life.”<sup>86</sup>

Despite commentary upon her health, Hayden’s Woman’s Building received positive feedback. Maude Elliot’s *Art and Handicraft* noted that previously, “the highest praise that could be given to any woman’s work was the criticism that it was so good that it might be easily mistaken for a man’s. To-day we recognize that the more womanly a woman’s work is the

---

<sup>83</sup> “Chicago: the Brick and Steel-Frame System of Building Tested in the Athletic Club Fire—The World’s Fair Dedication, Etc.—The State Buildings—The Architect of the Woman’s Building,” *The American Architect and Building News* 883, November 26, 1892, 134.

<sup>84</sup> “Chicago: the Brick and Steel-Frame System of Building Tested in the Athletic Club Fire—The World’s Fair Dedication, Etc.—The State Buildings—The Architect of the Woman’s Building,” *The American Architect and Building News* 883, November 26, 1892, 134.

<sup>85</sup> “A Woman on the Woman’s Building,” *The American Architect and Building News* 885, December 10, 1892, 170.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

stronger it is.”<sup>87</sup> Hayden’s design, Elliot explained, expressed “sweetness and light” and “every line expresse[d] elegance, grace, and harmony.”<sup>88</sup> Elliot’s comments mirrored the judges’ decision to choose Hayden’s design in the competition, for they claimed “it was the lightest and gayest in its general aspect, and consequently best adapted for a joyous and festive occasion.”<sup>89</sup> The decision to choose Hayden’s design, the modifications she required of it, and its final result displayed woman’s work in a true-woman fashion. Hayden’s role in the design of the Woman’s Building was inherently submissive: she followed every order with little debate, was relatively quiet and reserved, and proved overwhelmed by the contract.



WOMAN'S BUILDING. DESIGNED BY SOPHIA G. HAYDEN. UNITED STATES.

*Figure 6*

Sculptors Enid Yandell and Alice Rideout further resembled the new woman dictated by Bertha Palmer’s Board of Lady Managers. In August 1891, a second competition called for a sculptor to design the ornamental figures for the Woman’s Building; the competition’s male-judges—Daniel Burnham, William Pretyman, and F.M. Whitehouse—would decide the winner,

---

<sup>87</sup> Maud Elliot, *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition* (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 38.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>89</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 148.

a planned attempt by Bertha Palmer to avoid controversy and remain neutral.<sup>90</sup> Despite this attempt, Palmer became interested in Enid Yandell, a young Louisville sculptor, and invited her to the Exposition to “get some of the relief decoration in the interior of the Woman’s Building.”<sup>91</sup> Yandell’s assignment changed upon her arrival at the fair, and she instead was appointed “to design the caryatid which was to support the roof garden of the Woman’s Building: this caryatid was a single female figure which was to be repeated twenty-four times.”<sup>92</sup> Yandell’s assignment was an attempt by Bertha Palmer to retain control of the new woman’s image in the Woman’s Building; she secretly requested her appearance at the Building during a visit by the Board, introduced her to the first-lady, and set her up to become the official sculptor of the Woman’s Building.<sup>93</sup> Unfortunately for Palmer, Enid Yandell did not receive the assignment.



Figure 7

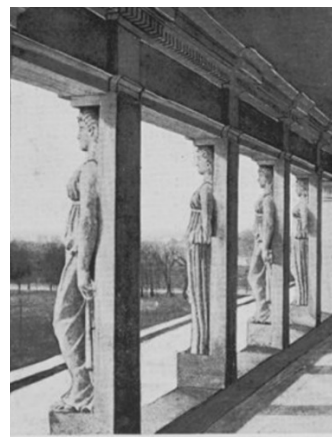


Figure 8

Alice Rideout, a young sculptor from California, emerged victorious in the competition to sculpt the ornamental figures.<sup>94</sup> Though not directly chosen by Mrs. Palmer, Rideout surely fit her expectations; in “Pretty, Petite, and Twenty,” the *Chicago Daily Tribune* claimed, “she is

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>91</sup> “Letter from Bertha Palmer to cousin,” in Jeanne Weimann’s *The Fair Women*, 159.

<sup>92</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 159.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 160-165.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 166.

unaffectedly simple and charming,” and *The San Francisco Call* likewise described her as “girlish and unassuming.”<sup>95</sup> These personality attributes resembled Sarah Grand’s claim that the modern girl was “in perfect ignorance of everything.”<sup>96</sup> Yet, Rideout’s genius was celebrated by the newspapers but in a way that humbled her. She commented in response to her popularity, “I truly believe I am celebrated. I am sorry, but I cannot keep it up...If I was a genius it would be all right, but my ideas come too slowly for that. I studied for weeks before I had the least idea what to put in those groups.”<sup>97</sup>

According to Maud Elliott, the pediment, which rested above the entrance to the Woman’s Building, characterized women’s work in “the various walks of life.”<sup>98</sup> Likewise, the eight groups that rested on the cornices of the Building each demonstrated typical feminine characteristics or virtues; the *Book of the Fair* described one of the groups, “one of the central figures representing the spirituality of woman, and at its feet a pelican, emblem of love and sacrifice...charity stands side by side with virtue, and sacrifice is further symbolized by a nun, placing her jewels on the altar.”<sup>99</sup> Another group symbolized intelligence: “In another group is the genius of civilization, with the bird of wisdom at her feet; on the right a student, and on the left a woman groping in intellectual darkness but struggling after light.”<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup> “Pretty, Petite, and Twenty: Sketch of Miss Rideout, the Talented Young Western Sculptress,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 01 April 1892, 6; Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 174.

<sup>96</sup> Sarah Grand, “The Modern Girl,” *The North American Review* June 1894, 714.

<sup>97</sup> “Pretty, Petite, and Twenty: Sketch of Miss Rideout, the Talented Young Western Sculptress,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 01 April 1892, 6.

<sup>98</sup> Maud Elliot, *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition*, 39-40.

<sup>99</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 260.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.





*Figure 9*



*Figure 10*

Alice Rideout at the very least exhibited attributes of true womanhood in her sculptures, which portrayed women as spiritual and angelic, or pious and pure. The sculptures further exhibited aspects of the new woman assumedly accepted by Bertha Palmer and the Board through depictions of knowledge, justice, and charity.

The Woman's Building further exhibited the new woman in art through six principal decorative panels. The panels at the Building's north and south tympanums (the area enclosed by a pediment), "Primitive Woman" by Mary Fairchild MacMonnies and "Modern Woman" by Mary Cassatt, produced contrasting images of the old woman and the new. Mrs. MacMonnies and her husband Frederick MacMonnies—commissioned architect of the exposition's Grand Basin fountain—lived in Paris, France, where Mrs. MacMonnies studied in the studio of Puvis de Chavannes.<sup>101</sup> Mrs. MacMonnies secured the commission for the mural based upon her relationship to Frederick, whose studios not only offered space for a large mural but also employed "masculine assistance, both artistic and physical."<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, though Mary

---

<sup>101</sup> Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 194.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

Cassatt also lived in Paris, she was unmarried and mentored by Edgar Degas, a prominent French Impressionist.<sup>103</sup> While her relationship to Degas likely strengthened her commission, Cassatt earned it based upon her own resume—Sara Hallowell, Secretary to the Director of Fine Arts, believed Cassatt to be the “finest American woman painter.”<sup>104</sup>

Mary Fairchild MacMonnies described “Primitive Woman” in an interview with Eleanor Greatorex for *Godey’s Lady’s Book*: “The women indicate with the completest possible simplicity the bearer of burdens, the toilers of the earth, the servants of man, and more than this, being without ambition, contented with their lot.”<sup>105</sup> The mural’s theme of primitiveness did not necessarily spell out ‘new woman,’ but MacMonnies’s insistence on painting nude figures illustrated her wishes to be held to the same standards as her male counterparts.<sup>106</sup> When confronted by Bertha Palmer about the lack of clothing Mary MacMonnies claimed, “I don’t know how much of the nude has been used by the men in their decorations...but I know that in their sculpture the whole exhibition is full of it. Well, are we going to recoil and once more bear the reproach of timidity and feebleness?”<sup>107</sup> Mary MacMonnies must have successfully convinced Mrs. Palmer, for the nude figures remained in the mural.<sup>108</sup>

Mrs. MacMonnies also emulated the new woman’s organizational and business skills, for she not only paired with Mary Cassatt to object to the initial contract for the commission, but in a letter to Bertha Palmer demanded that payment be sent to her since it was “unbusiness-like” to be

---

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>105</sup> Interview of Mary Fairchild MacMonnies by Eleanor Greatorex, *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, in Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 206.

<sup>106</sup> Letter from Mary MacMonnies to Bertha Palmer, 23 January 1893, in Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 211.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 211.

<sup>108</sup> Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, “Primitive Woman,” in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Maud Elliot (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 34.

required to finish such a great mural “with absolutely nothing official to show for it.”<sup>109</sup> Once more, Mary MacMonnies placed herself in equal relation to her male colleagues, claiming that she was sure the men had not been required to finish their work before receiving payment. Mrs. MacMonnies assertiveness, knowledge, and talent defined the new woman, and in many ways, her determination resembled Bertha Palmer’s.



*Figure 11*

Mary Cassatt’s mural produced little commentary from Bertha Palmer. In a letter, Miss Cassatt provided a thorough description of the mural, “Modern Woman.” The mural depicted three scenes; the center image was of “Young Women Plucking the Fruits of Knowledge and Science,” the leftmost image was of “Young Girls Pursuing Fame,” and the rightmost image “represent[ed] the Arts, Music...Dancing.”<sup>110</sup> Miss Cassatt described opposition to her mural by an American friend who seemed annoyed by the mural’s depiction of women apart from men; Cassatt responded, “I told him it was. Men I have no doubt are painted in all their vigor on the walls of other buildings; to us the sweetness of childhood, the charm of womanhood, if I have not conveyed some sense of that charm, in one word if I have not been absolutely feminine, then I have failed.”<sup>111</sup> The image of the new woman in Cassatt’s “Modern Woman” surely pleased Bertha Palmer. Not only were all the figures dressed in fashionable clothing, but they were also

---

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>110</sup> Letter from Mary Cassatt to Bertha Palmer, in Jeanne Weimann, *The Fair Women*, 200-201.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-201.

pictured allegorically to represent woman's modernization rather than realistically.<sup>112</sup> The images were soft and subtle rather than sudden and overwhelming, appealing but not conforming to the submissiveness and domesticity of true womanhood. Yet, Cassatt's mural received increasing criticism from its audiences. The primary concerns mentioned in their reviews included: the lack of male figures, the misuse of color throughout, and the division of the three sections.



Figure 12

The Board commissioned four other murals for the Woman's Building. These included: "Women of Plymouth" by Lucia Fairchild Fuller, "Arcadia" by Amanda Brewster Sewell, "Republic's Welcome to Her Daughters" by Rosina Emmet Sherwood, and "Art, Science, and Literature" by Lydia Field Emmet. Maud Elliot described the thought behind Lucia Fairchild Fuller's "Women of Plymouth" and claimed it was "an assertion of the prime duties of woman, the home-maker and care-taker."<sup>113</sup> The mural pictured two women washing and drying dishes in a stream, one woman reading to a group of younger women, a woman holding an infant, and a group of women tending to clothing in several forms.<sup>114</sup> These women, thus, symbolized the

---

<sup>112</sup> Mary Cassatt, "Modern Woman," in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition*, ed. Maud Elliot (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 35.

<sup>113</sup> Maud Elliot, *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 47.

<sup>114</sup> Lucia Fairchild Fuller, "Women of Plymouth," in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition*, ed. Maud Elliot (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 37.

attribute of domesticity required of true womanhood. This mural and “Arcadia” seemed to follow a similar theme as “Primitive Woman” and presented women according to attributes of true womanhood—piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity; “Arcadia,” for example, emulated MacMonnies’s use of nudity and nature.<sup>115</sup>



Figure 13



Figure 14

On the other hand, “Republic Welcomes Her Daughters” and “Art, Science, and Literature” featured women in a similar fashion to Mary Cassatt’s “Modern Woman.” The Emmett sisters pictured the women as educated—the woman in “Art, Science, and Literature” is featured wearing a cap and gown used for graduation purposes and is resting an elbow on a book in her lap—and talented—in both murals, women are pictured with musical instruments.<sup>116</sup> These murals depicted the new woman’s growth from true womanhood through education—in politics, literature, art, music, and science.

---

<sup>115</sup> Amanda Brewster Sewell, “Arcadia,” in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Maud Elliot (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 37.

<sup>116</sup> Rosina Emmett Sherwood, “The Republic’s Welcome to Her Daughters,” in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Maud Elliot (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 39; Lydia Emmett, “Art, Science, and Literature,” in *Art and Handicraft in the Woman’s Building of the World’s Columbian Exposition*, ed. Maud Elliot (Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893), 43.



Figure 15



Figure 16

The architecture, sculptures, and murals within the Woman's Building featured attributes of both the true woman and the new woman, and they demonstrated the difficulties in the evolution between the two for the creators, the managers, and the audiences. Sophia Hayden, Enid Yandell, Alice Rideout, Mary Fairchild MacMonnies, Mary Cassatt, Lucia Fairchild Fuller, Amanda Brewster Sewell, Rosina Emmet Sherwood, and Lydia Field Emmet all received varied responses to their depictions of women and women's work, which sometimes presented women as evolving apart from man. This made their audiences uncomfortable, perhaps because these various artists and the women within their work "were awakening from their long apathy, and...began to whimper for they knew not what. They might have been easily satisfied at that time had not society...instead of finding out what they lacked, shaken them and beaten them and stormed at them until what was once a wail became convulsive shrieks."<sup>117</sup> Grand argued women steadily became aware of their inalienable rights as human beings, but society, outraged at women's insistence to be independent, resisted change and forced women to spend over seventy

---

<sup>117</sup> Sarah Grand, "The New Aspect of the Woman Question," *The North American Review* 158, no. 448 (March 1894), 271.



years lobbying for the right to vote after the introduction of the Declaration of Sentiments at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848.

Yet, the architecture and art of the Woman's Building retained the attributes of new womanhood required by the Board of Lady Managers, thus allowing them to cleverly address issues such as women's independence. Piety, Purity, Submissiveness, and Domesticity could be found within every piece of the Building's exhibits; Alice Rideout's ornamental figures were angelic but also described women as educated, and Rosina Emmett Sherwood's "The Republic's Welcome to Her Daughters" presented women as mothers but also presented them as necessary to the Republic. The architects, sculptors, and artists also embodied attributes of the new woman upheld by the Board of Lady Managers; Sophia Hayden, for instance, was the first woman to graduate with a four-year degree at MIT. These women exhibited the new woman in themselves and their works, but another group of women reinforced the new woman in their presentations and performances within the exposition.

### ***Reinforcing the New Woman at the Midway Plaisance***

The Board of Lady Managers controlled the new woman of the exposition and the artistry of the Woman's Building exhibited that image, but the various presentations and performances throughout Midway Plaisance reinforced it. Sol Bloom's Midway Plaisance consisted of national and international villages whose main purpose was "instruction rather than amusement," according to the *Book of the Fair*.<sup>118</sup> The *Book of the Fair* further described the Midway as a "miniature fair" whose "picturesque buildings, figures, and costumes is the most graphic and

---

<sup>118</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893* (Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893), 835.

varied ethnological display that was ever presented to the world.”<sup>119</sup> Yet, the separation of the ethnological display from the White City informed the public more about the inferiority and lack of progress of those ethnological communities in comparison to the United States. As such, the representation of women within the communities also exhibited attributes of womanhood understood as barbaric or ancient in their presentations and performances, with some exceptions given to European villages. Whether the presentation reinforced positive attributes of the ideal woman or juxtaposed them with negative ones, it presented the Board of Lady Managers’ ideal woman. The Midway Plaisance villages and exhibits reinforced the new woman both through presentations and performances that were in compliance with the new woman and in direct contrast to her.

The Irish Villages of the Midway Plaisance exemplified the reinforcement of the new woman’s role in labor. The two exhibits, the Irish Industrial Village and the Irish Village, not only exhibited Ireland’s cottage industries but also presented glimpses of the organizational capabilities of their benefactors, Lady Aberdeen and Alice Marion Hart.<sup>120</sup> Both women were born in London, supported Home Rule, and created organizations to combat Irish poverty and market Ireland’s cottage industries—Alice Hart created the Donegal Industrial Fund and Lady Aberdeen formed the Irish Industries Association.<sup>121</sup> Yet, disagreements between the two women, which arguably developed because of differences in social status, led to the existence of two separate Irish villages within the Midway Plaisance.

---

<sup>119</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 836.

<sup>120</sup> John J. Flinn, *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance, Otherwise Known as ‘The Highway Through the Nations’* (Chicago: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893).

<sup>121</sup> Christopher Quinn, “The Irish Villages at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition: Constructing, Consuming and Contesting Ireland at Chicago,” Masters Thesis, University of Guelph, 2011.



Alice Marion Hart, founder of the Donegal Industrial Fund and the Irish Village, was the daughter of a merchant.<sup>122</sup> Her accomplishments as a medical student in Paris and an art student at the South Kensington School of Art and Design led to her marriage with Ernest Hart, a “decorated medical journalist” who shared her passion for reform.<sup>123</sup> Alice Hart focused her attention on Ireland and, hoping to combat poverty within Ireland’s rural communities, formed the Donegal Industrial Fund to revitalize cottage industries within its rural communities and provide steady employment for citizens.<sup>124</sup> According to *The Book of the Fair*, Mrs. Hart “gradually taught, through handbooks translated into Gaelic and a staff of instructors trained by herself in arts which she had first to learn, the processes of spinning, weaving, drafting, lace-making, wood-carving, embroidering, and dyeing, the peasantry...”<sup>125</sup>

Mrs. Hart’s Irish Village included the St. Lawrence Gate—a replica of the same gate in Drogheda that at the time had stood for over six hundred years—, the ruined keep of Donegal Castle, the Giant’s Causeway, the Wishing Chair, and the Round Tower.<sup>126</sup> Yet, the village’s industrial cottages made up the central display; in the Homespun Cottage, *The Book of the Fair* described, “wool is being spun into a fine firm thread by an Irish lass as in her home at Gweedore, and this a weaver warps on his frame and weaves on an antiquated loom into the soft homespuns.”<sup>127</sup> Other cottage industries presented throughout the Village included lace-making, weaving, and wood-carving.<sup>128</sup> Invented by Alice Hart in 1884, Kells embroidery was another

---

<sup>122</sup> Christopher Quinn, “The Irish Villages at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, 28-29.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.

<sup>124</sup> Paul Larmour, “The Donegal Industrial Fund,” *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, (1990/1991), 128.

<sup>125</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 844-846.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 846-847.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 844-846.

<sup>128</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 846; *Official Catalogue of Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance, World’s Columbian Exposition*, (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893);

industry displayed in the Village; according to *The Book of the Fair*, Kells embroidery used flax as their material, but “the polished threads are worked on dyed and hand-made linens and woollens from designs adapted from the *Century Book of Kells* and from old Keltic manuscripts.”<sup>129</sup> In revitalizing ancient techniques and industries of the communities, Alice Marion Hart contributed to the prowess of women in both business and economic reform and personally symbolized women’s role in industry. Yet, the industries of Mrs. Hart’s Irish Village were inherently domestic and relegated to the private sphere, which fit Bertha Palmer’s insistence that women must balance their roles within the private and public spheres.

Lady Aberdeen’s Irish Industrial Village looked quite different from Mrs. Hart’s. Born Ishbel Maria Majoribanks, Lady Aberdeen was the daughter of Dudley Couotts Majoribanks, a prominent London businessman, brewery owner, and shareholder of the Hudson’s Bay Company.<sup>130</sup> In 1877, at twenty years-old, she married the first Marquess of Aberdeen, John Campbell Gordon, and accepted the title of Lady Aberdeen.<sup>131</sup> Unlike Alice Hart, Lady Aberdeen had the benefit of social status, which not only provided her with better funding and support, but also allowed her to exist in both the Midway and the White City. In fact, Lady Aberdeen participated in the Congress of Women that took place in the Woman’s Building in May 1893; in “Encouragement of the Home Industries,” Lady Aberdeen spoke to the significance of handiwork in relation to mechanical industries, noting that the exposition’s “choicest treasures are exhibits by human hands alone...the paintings, the fine embroideries, the

---

John J. Flinn, *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance, Otherwise Known as ‘The Highway Through the Nations,’* 13-16.

<sup>129</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 846.

<sup>130</sup> Christopher Quinn, “The Irish Villages at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, 26.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

lace work, the carvings in this very building.”<sup>132</sup> Her claim for handiwork over machine industries was twofold. She claimed that home industries were intrinsically valuable not only for the earnestness and individuality given to the products by the workers but also because they provided the craftsmen with a means of financial support.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, she claimed that the home industries provided “educational and moral training” that prepared young men and women for skilled work but also produced in young men and women a compulsion to “beautify their own homes and thus become more attached to home life, and more likely to make good husbands and good wives, good fathers and good mothers and good citizens.”<sup>134</sup> Lady Aberdeen’s appeal for the home industries at the Congress not only presented a case for their continued existence, but it also most likely spurred both the economies of the Irish Industrial Association and the Donegal Industrial Fund by encouraging audiences at the Congress to visit the Villages of the Midway.

Lady Aberdeen’s Village, or the Irish Industrial Village, exhibited a facsimile of the doorway “built on the rock of Cashel...by Cormac, ‘the bishop king of Munster.’”<sup>135</sup> The larger village also incorporated Blarney Castle, Muckross Abbey, the Magic Stone—a “relief map” that gave visitors a glimpse of the country—the Village Music Hall, Lady Aberdeen’s Cottage, and the Village Museum.<sup>136</sup> Unlike the Irish Village, Lady Aberdeen’s Village did not centralize the cottage industries but featured them in conjunction with other national features. Furthermore, while accounts of Mrs. Hart’s Irish Village claimed that she employed both men and women of

---

<sup>132</sup> Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, “Encouragement of Home Industries,” *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition*, 744.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 744.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 745.

<sup>135</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 837.

<sup>136</sup> John J. Flinn, *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance, Otherwise Known as ‘The Highway Through the Nations,’* 45-48.

Donegal and other nearby regional counties, accounts of Lady Aberdeen’s Village primarily mention girls and women.<sup>137</sup> For instance, descriptions of lace and crochet-work cottage industries at the Village specifically noted the following women: lace-maker Kate Kennedy, crochet-maker Mary Flynn, lace-maker Ellen Murphy, home-spinner Bridget McGinley, and knitter Maggie Dennehy.<sup>138</sup> Industries at Lady Aberdeen’s Village also included a dairy in which women—Johanna Doherty, Kate Barry, and Maria Connelly—demonstrated the daily tasks of a dairy-maid, box oak carving, jewelry making, and glass engraving.<sup>139</sup> Like Mrs. Hart, Lady Aberdeen embodied attributes of Bertha Palmer’s new woman by presenting and arguing for home industries, or domestic industries, which simultaneously placed women in both the private and public spheres; yet, unlike Mrs. Hart, Lady Aberdeen’s Irish Industrial Village appeared to place only women in these roles rather than both men and women as likely happened in realistic Irish cottage industries.

The cottages of the Irish villages may have demonstrated women’s ability to influence industry, but several women of different villages and exhibits found themselves displayed for another purpose. One of the most popular attractions of the Plaisance, the Street in Cairo, featured a popular dance by Fahreda Mazar Spyropoulos—also known as “Little Egypt or Fatima—known as the Dance du Ventre, or the “hootchy kootchy.” *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World’s Columbian Exposition*, depicted the dancer(s): “stamping her foot forward, the dancer will move her shoulders up and down, increasing the contortions of

---

<sup>137</sup> Christopher Quinn, “The Irish Villages at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, 39; John J. Flinn, *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance, Otherwise Known as ‘The Highway Through the Nations,’* 45-46.

<sup>138</sup> John J. Flinn, *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance, Otherwise Known as ‘The Highway Through the Nations,’* 45-46.

<sup>139</sup> *Official Catalogue of Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance, World’s Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893).

her body, striking the castanets she carries, whirling sometimes, but more often stamping forward, each time to a posture nearer the floor...waving long strips of illusion or lace in a graceful and rhythmic manner.<sup>140</sup> This dance drew many visitors to the Street in Cairo along with its foreign delicacies, exotic animals, theatrical performances, and Egyptian handicraft. While the women performing the Dance du Ventre were doing so in presentation of their culture, it contrasted women of the White City whose performances in music and dance dealt with instrument and dance—consider the contrast between the hootchy kootchy dance and the waltz.



Figure 17



Figure 18

Several other villages of the Midway demonstrated dance as well, including the Turkish Village's Nautch dance, Damascene dance, Syrian dance, Ziebekly dance, Quadrille dance, Constantinople dance, Thesalonian dance, Whirling dance, Mesopotamian dance, and Albanian dance.<sup>141</sup> *The Book of the Fair*, for instance, mentioned the Bedouin dance and described the dancers as “beauties in their way, though with strongly marked features and somewhat too plump of outline... Most of them are attired in skirts that reach to the ankle, with loose embroidered

---

<sup>140</sup> *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition* (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing Co., 1893), Paul V. Galvin Library Digital History Collection, <http://columbus.gl.iit.edu/index.html> (accessed November 6, 2017).

<sup>141</sup> *Official Catalogue of Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance: Group 176; Isolated Exhibits, Midway Plaisance* (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893), 20.

waists of silk and bolero jackets spangled with tinsel ornaments.”<sup>142</sup> The book further illustrated elements of the dance:

One of the damsels steps forward and begins to dance, swaying her lithesome form in rhythmical fashion, at first slowly and then in accelerated measure. As the orchestra warms to its work her figure appears to tremble and undulate, as though in an ecstasy of delight; for the motion is rather of the body than of the feet, yet agile and far more graceful than the pirouetting of a premiere. As a rule only one girl dances at a time, each introducing some special feature, while the rest look on with critical eye and applaud when applause is deserved.<sup>143</sup>

These dances, in comparison to the waltz, were more sensual and erotic and quickly captivated their audiences. Visitors flocked to these displays and the Streets of Cairo became one of the most popular exhibits on the Midway Plaisance, despite the negative commentary on it. *The Dream City*, for example, claimed, “No ordinary Western woman looked on these performances with anything but horror, and at one time it was a matter of serious debate in the councils of the Exposition whether the customs of Cairo should be faithfully reproduced, or the morals of the public faithfully protected.”<sup>144</sup> Visitors most likely visited the exhibit because of its exoticism and its distinct break from typical expectations of a modern woman.

Other non-European exhibitions throughout the Midway contrasted the sexual and exotic focus and instead, like Mrs. Hart’s cottages, reinforced stereotypical roles of women as wives and mothers. The Street in Cairo, for example, advertised a “characteristic street scene,” which alternated between a wedding procession and a birthday celebration twice daily.<sup>145</sup> A similar presentation of an oriental wedding scene took place in the Turkish Theater of the Turkish Village.<sup>146</sup> Likewise, the Moorish Palace, exhibited women in the Moorish Castle as part of the

---

<sup>142</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, 877.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 877.

<sup>144</sup> *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World’s Columbian Exposition* (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing Company, 1893). <http://columbus.iit.edu>.

<sup>145</sup> *Official Catalogue of Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance*, 14.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

Sultan's harem; according to *The Moorish Palace and Its Startling Wonders: The Chief Attraction of the Midway Plaisance*, "The Sultan is seen surrounded by his favorites of the harem. An odalisque of the famous style of oriental beauty is amusing his Turkish majesty by a graceful dance."<sup>147</sup>

These exhibits continued the presentation of women as inferior to men by presenting them in relation to men while another, the International Dress and Costume Exhibit, also perpetuated standards of beauty. The Exhibit, also known as the Congress of Beauty or the Beauty Show, displayed forty women of various nationalities based on their beauty. According to the *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance*, "the principle things they [the beauties] do is to be looked at. Some do fancy work of some sort or another, some read, some spin, make embroidery, or engage in other light occupation, such as they are accustomed to at home."<sup>148</sup> In contrast to those exhibited for their exoticism at the Streets of Cairo, the forty women in the main hall of the exhibition encouraged both European and non-European women to adhere to a particular standard of beauty; the Beauty Show Exhibit was essentially the Woman's Building of the Midway. However, unlike the Woman's Building, the International Dress and Costume Exhibit also displayed the exoticism of the oriental beauty. According to the *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance*, "At the end of the hall, opposite the entrance, is an oriental or harem scene in which there are five dark-eyed beauties lounging on divans, or otherwise disposed in accord with the languid habits of the far East. Fatima, a regal beauty, is the 'queen' of this booth, and occupies an exalted position in the center."<sup>149</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> *The Moorish Palace and its Startling Wonders: The Chief Attraction of the Midway Plaisance* (Chicago: Metcalf Stationary Co., 1893), 3-4.

<sup>148</sup> *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance*, 7.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

The Beauty Show Building introduced visitors once more to the difference between progression and stagnation propagated by the World's Columbian Exposition. The proper woman, represented by initial the forty women, was well-mannered, talented, and educated. Yet, the five women represented in the oriental scene—not included in the number of women mentioned on the outside of the building—inferred the un-educated, ill-mannered woman of the East. In fact, *The Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance* referred to the women as “languid” and “lounging” in comparison to women in surrounding booths who were engaged in “light occupation.”<sup>150</sup> Furthermore, while all women within the building were on display for visitors, the initial forty women often conversed freely with their visitors while the five harem women were simply gazed upon as they lounged.<sup>151</sup> As with all exhibits featuring women, the International Dress and Costume Exhibit attributed progression to the definition of new woman.

### ***The Domination of the New Political and Professional Woman***

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 produced a clear image of the new woman of the United States as a woman focused on progression, whether of her own rights and freedoms or another's. Whereas the Board of Lady Managers claimed that this new woman at the Fair be equally invested in the home as she was in the world, artists and architects involved with the Woman's Building exhibited this woman and women of the Midway Plaisance further reinforced her attributes. Rather, the performances of women within the Midway Plaisance, for the most part, only further represented the new woman through intentional juxtaposed imagery of the country's progression with others' stagnation. Whereas women of the White City retained their elegant femininity while seeking advancements in education, industry, and reform, women of the Midway were an over-sexualized opposition to that advancement. Following the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment

---

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 7-8.



to the Constitution, women would turn their focus to a new frontier—economical, professional, and sexual equality.

## Chapter 4

### From Professional to Sexual: The New Women of The Century of Progress Exposition, 1933-1934

If she visited it, Marian Lawrence Peabody undoubtedly would have found Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition just as enchanting as its predecessor in 1893. Yet, she also would have noted how incredibly different the two expositions inherently were. For instance, while the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was known for its White City, the Century of Progress Exposition of 1933 promised to be "a symphony of brilliant light and color."<sup>1</sup>

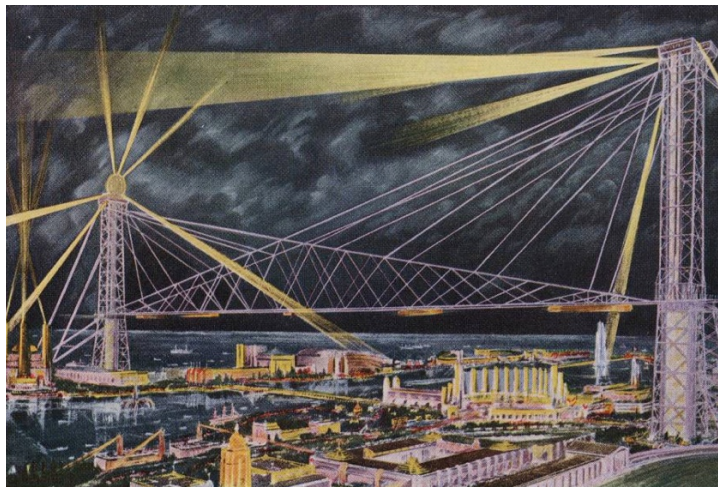


Figure 19

No longer was the incandescent lightbulb of the Columbian Exposition exposed to the elements or confined to a stationary position; instead, advancements in technology allowed A Century of Progress to not only enclose the lights and regulate their intensities, but to also arrange and move them in order to create colorful displays and illusions throughout the grounds of the exposition.<sup>2</sup>

The 1933 Exposition's incandescent lighting systems paired with neon lighting "to make three

---

<sup>1</sup> *Official Book of the Fair: Giving Pre-Exposition Information 1932-1933 of A Century of Progress International Exposition, Chicago 1933* (Chicago: A Century of Progress Inc., 1932), 19-22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

and one-half miles of the most gala and extraordinary shower of light ever displayed.”<sup>3</sup> Even more remarkable to Marian Peabody would have been the sight of bright, colorful lights reflecting off equally colorful buildings. The near overwhelming use of color throughout the exposition’s grounds would have been a complete surprise to any of those who had previously visited the striking White City of the Columbian Exposition.<sup>4</sup> Virginia Gardner described the grounds of the Exposition as “a symphony of warm, living color,” Philip Kinsley termed it “a fairyland,” and Joseph Ator dubbed it “the world’s greatest canvas.”<sup>5</sup>

The Century of Progress Exposition, which evolved from the success of Chicago’s 1921 Pageant of Progress, existed to combat the Great Depression. Chicago’s business and industrial leaders lobbied for the exposition, hoping it would “create much needed jobs and stir hope that conditions would soon improve.”<sup>6</sup> The bright lights, colorful buildings, and technological displays all existed to “offer Depression-weary visitors an escape from disheartening daily lives.”<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the Exposition’s theme departed from typical celebrations of people’s progression over time and instead focused on “the achievements of mankind made possible through the application of science to industry.”<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, whereas the 1893 Exposition encouraged visitation “to provide the cultural cement for their badly fragmented societies,” the

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Virginia Gardner, “Riot of Color to Greet Eye at World Fair: Many Bright Hues Are Being Used,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 23, 1933, 20; Virginia Gardner, “Fair’s Brilliant Light Ceremony Hailed by 15,000: Roosevelt’s Words Start Flow of Living Color,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1934, 2; Philip Kinsley, “Star Sets 1933 Fair Ablaze: Arcturus ‘Light Miracle’ Thrills Evening Throngs,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 28, 1933, 1; Earl Mullin, “Fair to Present Unique Festival of Light Tonight: Spectacle Will Be Given Daily for a Week,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 21, 1934, 21; Joseph Ator, “How the Fair’s Color Symphony Came Into Being: Artist Tells the Story of Great Work,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1934, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 World’s Fair: A Century of Progress* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Book of the Fair*, 20-21.

1933 Exposition encouraged visitation to “cement alliances between the business and scientific communities and to rebuild public trust in science after the devastation wreaked by chemical weapons in the First World War.”<sup>9</sup> The exposition celebrated technology rather than people. Its buildings and exhibitions followed suit with a spotlight on the exposition’s Hall of Science, a two-story building that exhibited the basic sciences: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, and medicine.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the fair’s emphasis on science and technology, its thematic focus “did not harmonize with the life experiences of all fair participants...who struggled for space and a voice at Chicago’s 1933 exposition” and still sought “old notions of progress...social justice, recognition of ethnic and gender-related accomplishments, and personal freedom.”<sup>11</sup> While strolling through the grounds, Marian Lawrence Peabody would have noted the lack of a Woman’s Building, which she had visited twice during her visit to the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893.<sup>12</sup> Instead, women’s handiwork, art, sculptures, and other exhibits were interspersed throughout the various buildings of the exposition; furthermore, the Chicago Woman’s Club Building, a disappointing substitute for the Woman’s Building, existed outside of the Exposition rather than within it.<sup>13</sup> Neither was there a Board of Lady Managers to govern the image of women throughout the exposition. As a result, women in management, exhibition, and performance roles freely and independently embodied attributes of their ideal new woman,

---

<sup>9</sup> Robert Rydell, “World’s Columbian Exposition”; Robert Rydell, “Century of Progress Exposition,” <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/225.html>.

<sup>10</sup> *Official Guide Book of the Fair, 1933*, (Chicago: Century of Progress, 1933), 30.

<sup>11</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 World’s Fair: A Century of Progress*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Marian Lawrence Peabody, “Diary of Marian Lawrence Peabody, June 1893,” *To Be Young Was Very Heaven* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1967), 366.

<sup>13</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 World’s Fair: A Century of Progress*, 107.

which culminated in an amalgamation of domestic, professional, autonomous, and sexual new women.

### *Women in Management or Organizational Roles*

Despite not having as iconic a space as the World's Columbian Exposition, the Century of Progress Exposition employed influential and successful women. Much like those of the Columbian Exposition, these women typically belonged to esteemed social groups or affluent families, but women also obtained roles based on professional or educational accomplishments. Helen Dawes, for instance, received the position of official hostess and chair of the social committee likely because of her marriage to the exposition's president, Rufus Dawes; whereas Helen Bennett, a journalist best known for her role in organizing the Woman's World's Fairs between 1925 and 1928, became the coordinator of women's social science exhibits and activities at the Century of Progress Exposition based on her previous role in the Woman's World's Fair. Though they lacked a governing body and building and were essentially free to dictate the image of the new woman themselves, feuds existed as they did in 1893 between the Chicago Woman's Club and the National Council of Women. The two groups at the Century of Progress Exposition fought for control of woman's roles and representation within the Fair—for theoretical control of the ideal new woman.

Founded in 1876, the Chicago Woman's Club aimed to contribute to the community, the nation, and the world under the motto "Humani Nil a Me Alienum Puto," meaning "Nothing Human is Foreign to Me."<sup>14</sup> The Club consisted of "trained women"—teachers, nurses, lawyers—and domestic women, but by 1933 it had become one of the nation's most prestigious

---

<sup>14</sup> Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, *Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club for the first forty years of its organization, 1876-1916* (Chicago: Chicago Woman's Club, 1916), 9-12.

woman's clubs and many of its members were of society's elite.<sup>15</sup> They aimed to educate themselves, contribute to the community, do their share of "the world's work," "prevent wrong and harm to those unable to help themselves," heal the sick, and beautify the city.<sup>16</sup> The women of the club emphasized hospitality, philanthropy, and social reform.<sup>17</sup> They defined the new woman as "the new spirit is the old spirit with greater scope to manifest itself," which eerily echoed Winnifred Harper Cooley's statement, "the new woman is only the old woman with new opportunities!"<sup>18</sup> Prominent members of the Chicago Woman's Club included Bertha Honoré Palmer, Jane Addams, Ellen Gates Starr, and Myra Bradwell—significant contributors to the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.<sup>19</sup>

The National Council of Women likewise maintained influential members, including leading suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The Council materialized in 1888 after the National Woman Suffrage Association hosted an International Council of Women on March 25, 1888.<sup>20</sup> Women at the International Council hoped "to devise new and more effective methods for securing the equality and justice which they have so long and so earnestly sought," and "impress the important lesson that the position of women anywhere affects their position everywhere."<sup>21</sup> Fifty-three different associations took part in the International Council, including the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the American Red Cross Society,

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 9-11.

<sup>18</sup> Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, *Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club*, 14; Winnifred Harper Cooley, *The New Womanhood* (New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1904), 17.

<sup>19</sup> Henriette Greenbaum Frank and Amalie Hofer Jerome, *Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club, 1876-1916*.

<sup>20</sup> National Council of Women of the United States, *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States, Organized in Washington, D.C., March 31, 1888* (Boston: E.B. Stillings, 1898), 3.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 3.

the American Woman Suffrage Association, the Association for the Advancement of Women, Sorosis, and the National Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>22</sup> Meetings between March 25 and March 31 resulted in the formation of two separate groups: the National Council of Women and International Council of Women.

The National Council of Women accepted members of national women's organizations, national organizations consisting of men and women, state councils of women, and local councils of women.<sup>23</sup> The Council aimed to increase awareness of woman's work, consolidate women's groups, provide a platform for women's groups to collaborate, and "to give a united influence of all these women."<sup>24</sup> It also worked towards equal pay, divorce reform, dress reform, education in citizenship, domestic science, peace and arbitration, domestic relations under the law, and social purity.<sup>25</sup> It claimed more than 700,000 members, seventeen national organizations, one state council, and four local councils in 1898.<sup>26</sup> Its cabinet included Frances E. Willard (president), Susan B. Anthony (vice-president), Mary F. Eastman (recording secretary), May Wright Sewall (corresponding secretary), and M. Louise Thomas (treasurer).<sup>27</sup> The National Council of Women's relationship with national and international groups earned for it the right to represent women at the Century of Progress Exposition.<sup>28</sup> Through their constituent women's groups the National Council of Women would, according to exposition managers, produce greater profits, and visitor rates for the Century of Progress Exposition.<sup>29</sup> Thus, victory required the National Council of Women to produce a display for the Social Science Hall, organize an

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 327.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 327.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 327.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 329.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 328.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>28</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 101.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 101.

international congress, which it ultimately accomplished in conjunction with the Chicago Woman's Club, and publicize women's organizations.<sup>30</sup>

The lecture series, "Women's Contribution to Civilization," took place at the Hall of Science and the Illinois State Host Building.<sup>31</sup> The lectures followed themes, such as "Woman in the Legal Profession" and "Woman in Business."<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, historian Mary Beard delivered a lecture on "The Social Role of Women in History," which "lambasted historians for falsifying the record by failing to acknowledge women's vital contributions to world progress alongside those of men."<sup>33</sup> Speakers at the event included Jane Addams, Judge Mary Bartelme, and Judge Mary Allen; Addams's lecture, "Women's Contribution to the International Peace Movement," summarized the formation, efforts, and accomplishments of the Women's Peace Party or the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which was co-founded by herself and Carrie Chapman Catt.<sup>34</sup> Other lectures were listed in the daily events of *Official World's Fair Weekly*, including Dr. Annie Cannon's "Woman in the Natural Sciences," Mrs. Winthrop Girling's "Woman in Literature," Dr. Sarah Hobson's "Women in Medicine," and Mrs. Edna L. Foley's "Contribution of Nursing Profession to Civilization."<sup>35</sup>

Despite the Council's victory, a mere handful of women acquired documented, influential positions within the Century of Progress Exposition. The positions often either derived from

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>32</sup> "Woman's Contribution to Law Will Be Told Today," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 4, 1933; "Lena Phillips Will Give World's Fair Talk Today," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1933.

<sup>33</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 85.

<sup>34</sup> "Contributor to Peace," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, June 25, 1933, 45.

<sup>35</sup> "Tuesday's Events," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, June 25, 1933, 21; "Tuesday's Events," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, July 2, 1933, 21; "Tuesday's Events," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, June 4, 1933, 30; "Tuesday's Events," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, June 18, 1933, 29; "Tuesday's Events," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, August 13, 1933, 20; "Tuesday's Events," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, August 6, 1933, 20.



familial and marital connections or the woman's professional and educational backgrounds; for instance, Helen Dawes likely obtained the role of official hostess and chair of the Committee on Social Functions based on her marriage to the exposition's president, Rufus Dawes.<sup>36</sup> The exposition's president intentionally chose Helen Dawes for the position based on her conformation to real or public womanhood, which still influenced societal women; furthermore, she could be counted on to politely entertain foreign dignitaries and other guests, which opinionated women were unable to accomplish.<sup>37</sup> Helen Dawes, much like Bertha Palmer, was an influential clubwoman and had previously served as president of the Woman's Club of Evanston, Illinois.<sup>38</sup> She had also held a Board position for the General Federation of Woman's Clubs and was the Board of Food Conservation as Illinois' vice chair.<sup>39</sup>

Dawes's Committee on Social Functions consisted of fifteen other members: Mrs. Margaret Day Blake, Mrs. Waller Borden, Rufus Dawes, Mrs. And Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, Hon. and Mrs. James Hamilton, Mrs. Andrew MacLeish, Mrs. David Mayer, Mrs. And Mrs. Chauncey McCormick, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Meeker, Miss Agnes Nestor, and Mrs. Frederick W. Upham.<sup>40</sup> Only six women on the committee were unaccompanied by their husbands and of them, only one woman remained unmarried. Dawes position also placed her in direct control of subcommittees, such as the Art and Artists Committee, the Club Women Committee, and the Music Committee.<sup>41</sup> Bertha Palmer and Marion Deering McCormick chaired the former, Mrs. Joseph

---

<sup>36</sup> *Official Book of the Fair*, 92; Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 92.

<sup>37</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 92.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>40</sup> *Official Book of the Fair*, 92.

<sup>41</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 92.

M. Cudahy the second, and Mrs. Charles H. Swift the latter.<sup>42</sup> Clearly, Dawes was not the only woman to hold an esteemed position, but the majority of the women appointed to a committee had a respectable social resume. For example, the Board of Trustees created the Women's Enrollment Committee to elicit advance memberships from women and help to "promote popular interest in the fair."<sup>43</sup> The Committee embraced several prominent women, including chairman Marion Deering McCormick and honorary chairman Edith Rockefeller McCormick.<sup>44</sup>

However, another prominent woman of Chicago managed to secure a more esteemed position at the Century of Progress Exposition as the only female trustee on the executive committee: Janet Ayer Fairbank. Mrs. Fairbank was born into an affluent family and married Kellogg Fairbank, a well-respected Chicagoan attorney.<sup>45</sup> She was a member of several Chicago social clubs—Scribblers, Woman's City, Friday, Arts, Casino, Fortnightly, and Pen—and became the head of the Chicago Lying-In Hospital's Board of Directors.<sup>46</sup> Often compared to Bertha Palmer, Janet Ayer Fairbank spearheaded several events and raised significant amounts of money in support of the Lying-In Hospital.<sup>47</sup> She was also a prominent member of the Women's Finance Committee of the Progressive Party, the Woman's Committee of the State Council of Defense, and the Woman's National Liberty Loan Committee.<sup>48</sup>

Despite her mother's anti-suffragist stance, Janet Fairbank passionately fought for the right to vote and served as Illinois' Democratic National Committeewoman between 1924 and

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>43</sup> "A Century of Progress Records," University of Illinois Chicago Library, Special Collections; *Minute Book of Board of Trustees* (1928-1929), 96-97.

<sup>44</sup> *Minute Book of Board of Trustees* (1928-1929), 96-97.

<sup>45</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 91.

<sup>46</sup> Kay Hoyle Nelson, "Janet Ayer Fairbank," *Women Building Chicago: A Biographical Dictionary, 1790-1990*, ed. Adele Hast and Rima Lunin Schultz, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 256-258.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 256-258.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 256-258.

1928.<sup>49</sup> She was also an author and penned several romances and commentary pieces for features in the *Chicago Daily News*, *Leslie's Weekly*, and the *Sunday Record-Herald*.<sup>50</sup> Fairbank's novels, the first published in 1922, included *The Cortlandts of Washington Square*, *The Smiths*, *The Lion's Den*, *In the Bright Land*, and *Rich Man, Poor Man*; in the novels, she commented on stereotypes of women, "the confines of marriage and child rearing," and "the deep-rooted conflict between personal freedom and social responsibility."<sup>51</sup> Described as a "towering blond woman with a laugh like a trumpet and the kindest eyes grey eyes in the world," Janet Ayer Fairbank epitomized the typical, societal new woman of the 1930s.<sup>52</sup> She was individualistic and opportunistic, she believed in personal freedoms but struggled with the conflict between that freedom and societal responsibility, and she made significant strides in her pursuit for women's rights.

Another member of the Committee on Social Functions, Margaret Day Blake, exhibited attributes of a new woman that departed significantly from prior forms of womanhood. Her father, Albert Day, was the president of the Chicago Stock Exchange and a prominent figure in Chicago's social elite.<sup>53</sup> Margaret, nicknamed Daisy by family and friends, was "an attractive young woman with strong features and dark hair...[she] disliked feminine clothes and small talk and preferred the company of men...[she was] smart, funny, full of ideas...refused to conform."<sup>54</sup> Margaret Day's refusal to embody attributes of societal womanhood culminated in

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 256-258.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 256-258.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 256-258.

<sup>52</sup> Jan Ginsberg Flapan, "Margaret Day Blake," *Women Building Chicago: A Biographical Dictionary, 1790-1990*, ed. Adele Hast and Rima Lunin Schultz, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 256-258.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

her move to Chicago, where she became involved with Addams's Hull House.<sup>55</sup> She further defied typical conventions of domesticity when she married Tiffany Blake, a drama and music critic, at the age of thirty—they would have no children.<sup>56</sup>

Mrs. Blake became involved in the Women's Trade Union League and advocated for "labor organization, improvement in the conditions of women's employment, and social reforms for the betterment of women and children."<sup>57</sup> Like Janet Fairbanks, Margaret Blake advocated for women's suffrage, and she not only founded the North Side Suffrage Association in 1909 but also helped to organize the National American Woman Suffrage Association's victory convention in 1920.<sup>58</sup> Blake was a successful organizer and business woman, as well. She successfully and intelligently invested her father's wedding gift of eight thousand dollars by studying the market, communicating with her broker, questioning corporate leaders, and recognizing the potential of technological advancements.<sup>59</sup> At the Century of Progress Exposition, she was both a member of the Fine Arts Committee, which coordinated the exhibition of 744 paintings and 131 pieces of sculpture, and the Committee on Social Functions, which not only spoke to her social standing but also suggested that Rufus and Helen Dawes trusted her ability to entertain guests.<sup>60</sup>

Though the exposition managers preferred these women of high social standing, they also recruited women based on their professional accomplishments. Helen Bennett and Martha McGrew both held influential positions in the Century of Progress Exposition based on their prior educational, professional, and organizational accomplishments. In particular, Miss Bennett

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 88-90.

was the former managing director of the Woman's World's Fairs between 1925 and 1928, which required her to not only coordinate exhibits and events but also generate foreign and political contacts.<sup>61</sup> Ultimately, this led to her appointment as the Century of Progress Exposition's Coordinator of Women's Social Science Exhibits and Activities.<sup>62</sup> She was a former journalist and club editor for the *Chicago Record-Herald*, manager of the Chicago Collegiate Bureau of Occupations, and author of *Women and Work: The Economic Value of College Training*.<sup>63</sup> In contrast to Bertha Palmer and Helen Dawes, Miss Bennett "was a simply dressed, unmarried, 'self-made' career woman devoted to the mission of putting education and vocational training within reach of both the working- and middle-class girls of Chicago."<sup>64</sup>

Bennett's role in the Exposition and her opinions of women's roles within it corresponded to her work in the Woman's World's Fairs. At the Century of Progress Exposition, Helen Bennett agreed with fair managers that women should be equally represented throughout the fair—not limited to a woman's building, and while coordinating with the National Council of Women to arrange activities and exhibits, she claimed that the exhibit was not a "woman's exhibit" but an "organizational exhibit."<sup>65</sup> Though she embodied characteristics outside of societal womanhood, Helen Bennett was likely accepted for her conformation to the fair's emphasis on women's equality and her role in the Woman's World's Fairs, but fair organizers likely commended her emphasis on educational reform, an attribute of societal womanhood.

---

<sup>61</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 93.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 93.

<sup>63</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 93; T.J. Boisseau, "The Woman's World's Fairs (or The Dream of Women Who Work), Chicago 1925-1928," *Gendering the Fair*, ed. T.J. Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2010), 137-138.

<sup>64</sup> T.J. Boisseau, "The Woman's World's Fairs," 137-138.

<sup>65</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 92-93, 102.

Martha McGrew did not receive these commendations while acting as assistant to the General Manager of the Exposition, Lenox Lohr. Martha McGrew graduated from George Washington University in 1920 as the senior class vice-president, president of the Sphinx Honor Society, and vice-president of the student council; her yearbook described her as well-liked and claimed, “the many positions above mentioned do not compare with the places she holds in the hearts of her classmates... whenever there is anything to be done—Martha is always on the job.”<sup>66</sup> In 1922, Lenox Lohr found Miss McGrew working for a publisher in Washington D.C. and convinced her to work on his magazine, *Military Engineer*.<sup>67</sup> During the Century of Progress Exposition, Lenox Lohr trusted McGrew to perform extremely important tasks, “such as reviewing expenditures, publicity, payroll, and employee relations,” which arguably gave her more responsibility and control than was given to Mrs. Dawes.<sup>68</sup> In fact, Lohr highly regarded McGrew’s work and expressed his appreciation for Miss McGrew in the forward of his book, *Fair Management: The Story of a Century of Progress Exposition*, who he claimed “was in a position to have a more comprehensive view of the entire operation of the Fair than any other staff member.”<sup>69</sup>

McGrew’s role as Lohr’s assistant required her to be independent and make particular decisions for him without his consultation, but Mrs. Dawes and other clubwomen found this personality rude, disrespectful, and condescending—they resented her independent position and were not afraid to communicate their annoyances.<sup>70</sup> A letter from Mrs. Dawes from 1934

---

<sup>66</sup> “Martha McGrew,” *The Cherry Tree, 1920* (Washington: George Washington University, 1920), 35.

<sup>67</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 92-93.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-93.

<sup>69</sup> Lenox Lohr, *Fair Management: The Story of A Century of Progress Exposition* (Chicago: Cuneo Press, 1952), 15-16.

<sup>70</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*, 93.

detailed “McGrew’s professional failings, social faux pas, and lack of deference ‘toward the most important and influential women in Chicago.’”<sup>71</sup> While Helen Dawes was certainly bitter about the power granted to Martha McGrew, she was most upset about the power McGrew consistently attempted to use against her; in one instance, McGrew arranged for Eleanor Roosevelt to visit the exposition for Women’s Day without consulting or informing the social committee headed by Dawes.<sup>72</sup>

These disputes between the women characterized the diverse representations of the new woman. Women in management or organizational roles likely disagreed upon the attributes of an ideal new woman; Helen Dawes and the Social Committee defined the new woman as embodying attributes of real or public womanhood, whereas women like Martha McGrew envisioned the new woman as educated, professional, and autonomous. Whereas Helen Dawes resembled the societal new woman who casually lived in the public sphere reliant upon her social standing and status, McGrew represented the evolution of the new woman as an educated professional determined to retain and act upon her independence socially and economically. The two women represented the evolution of the new woman and the disconnection the evolution caused between two generations of new women.

### *Exhibiting Women*

Though a woman’s building never existed at the Century of Progress Exposition, there were several spaces in which women presented their work. These spaces included the Chicago Woman’s Club Building, The Social Science Hall, the Hall of Science, the General Exhibits Building, and the Art Institute of Chicago. Prior to the exposition’s opening, however, Dorthea Goodrich envisioned the “Temple of Womanhood,” an independent space in the exposition

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 95.

designed to commemorate the progress made by women.<sup>73</sup> Goodrich independently sought out a space on the fairgrounds, garnered support from clubwomen, met and communicated with fair officials, and designed several details of the building.<sup>74</sup> Ultimately, Goodrich's attempt to create a woman's space failed not from lack of financial support but because of her scandalous past—Dorthea Goodrich was Dolly Ledgerwood Matters.<sup>75</sup> Dolly had married an older, wealthier Fred Matters, but he passed away in 1916 and left this estate to an infant daughter whose mother was not Dolly Matters; to gain control of the estate, Matters claimed the child was her daughter and, when the court ruled otherwise, attempted to kidnap her.<sup>76</sup> She changed her name and joined clubs to reestablish a respectable identity, but the reveal of her true identity ultimately led to the downfall of the Temple of Womanhood. Underlying the failure, though, was the concept of the new woman as understood by society women. According to the clubwomen in charge of women's representation at the exposition, Goodrich's disreputable past distanced her from the proper image of women desired by clubwomen.

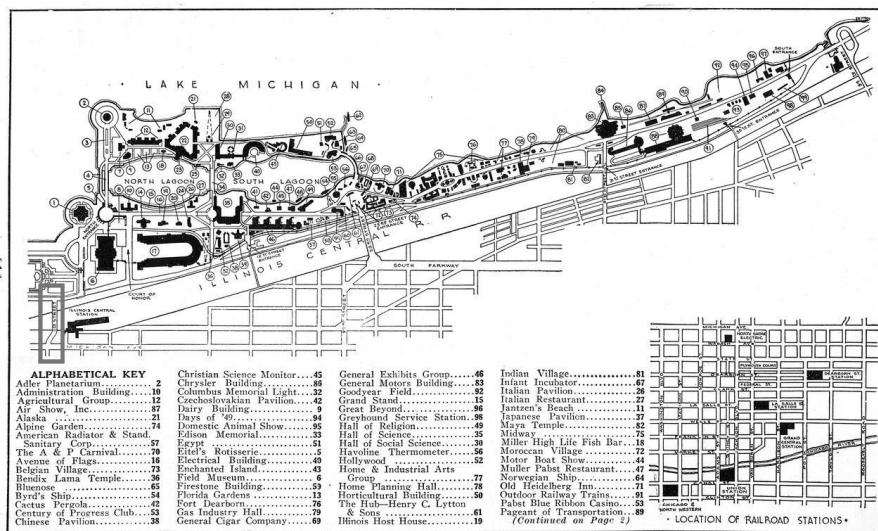


Figure 20

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 96-97.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 96-97.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 96-97.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 96-97.



The Chicago Woman's Club Building fared much better, though it existed outside of the exposition grounds. Designed by Holabird and Root in 1928, the building functioned similarly to the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition.<sup>77</sup> The six-story building featured "a theater, dining room, lounge, library, meeting rooms, offices, and four dozen resident and guest bedrooms."<sup>78</sup> Its exterior—built of granite, limestone, and terracotta—emphasized feminine imagery:

Panels above the tall windows of the first-floor dining room depicted an ancient earth goddess and, a few floors above, various bounties of Mother Earth. Finally, the repeated relief panels above the top-floor windows featured stylized floral pistils and stamens that bore striking resemblance to fallopian tubes and a vaginal opening. Above the main entrance was a bas-relief of two winged and caped women kneeling before an urn...<sup>79</sup>

Similar winged women characterized Alice Rideout's pediment and sculptures, which decorated the Woman's Building at the Columbian Exposition. Connections between the Club Building and the Woman's Building signified the prominent role of the Chicago Woman's Club at the previous exposition, as several members of the club obtained positions within the Board of Lady Managers at the Columbian Exposition. Bertha Palmer herself was a member of the Chicago Woman's Club and served as president of the Board of Lady Managers.



*Figure 21*

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>79</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 105; Holabird and Root, "Interior Views of the New Women's Club of Chicago," *Architectural Record* 68 (July 1930), 22-28.

The Building's interior activities resembled a small-scale Woman's Building. Its first-floor clubroom included an exhibit illustrating the club's history and its contribution to Chicago's "education, public health, reform, and culture."<sup>80</sup> The Club's Building also featured a mural created by Chicago's schoolchildren and an historical pageant entitled *Evolution of Women's Clubs*, which traced clubwomen "through episodes of fear, romance, courage, and freedom" and noted significant events, such as Jane Addams' reception of the Nobel Peace Prize.<sup>81</sup>

The National Council of Women's *Women Through the Century* exhibit in the Social Science Hall likewise presented women's progress. The exhibit's publication introduced the exhibit and claimed, "The onward march of American womanhood for the past one hundred years is one of the most colorful phases of A Century of Progress. The gradual widening of women's activities until they have become powerful factors in the commercial and civic life of the day is almost as dramatic as the evolution of the machine itself."<sup>82</sup> The introduction sustained the exposition's theme of color and technology through the phrases "one of the most colorful phases" and "as dramatic as the evolution of the machine."<sup>83</sup> The exhibit included a mural designed to illustrate women's progression since 1833, a panel displaying portraits of twelve great women leaders, an exhibition of scrapbooks designed to detail the work of organizations within the Council, copies of Inez Haynes Irwin's *Angels and Amazons: One Hundred Years of American Women*, an exhibition of mementos belonging to prominent women, and a club

---

<sup>80</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 105.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>82</sup> National Council of Women of the United States, *Women Through the Century*, 1933; University of Chicago Library, "Guide to the Century of Progress International Exposition Publications 1933-1934"; The space is also referenced in "Women's Century of Progress," *Official World's Fair Weekly*, May 27, 1933, 42-43.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

room.<sup>84</sup> The exhibit committee, according to *Women Through the Century: A Souvenir of the National Council of Women*, included Mrs. William Dick Sporborg, Mrs. James Rae Arneill, Mrs. William Brown Meloney, Mrs. Geline MacDonald Bowman, Dr. Florence Rena Sabin, Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Miss Helen Bennett, Mrs. John Handley-Greaves, Mrs. Charles E. Gregory, and Mrs. Willis B. Miner.<sup>85</sup> Virginia Hamill, an interior designer from New York City, designed and installed the exhibit.<sup>86</sup>

The primary feature of the exhibit was the sixty-foot mural designed by Hildreth Meiere, an artist from New York City. Meiere had studied art in Italy between 1911-1912 during a trip to Florence with her mother and sister; there, the young artist discovered “ancient Roman art and Renaissance frescoes, and she would later fuse elements of these early periods with motifs associated with the style now known as Art Deco.”<sup>87</sup> Between 1912 and 1919, she studied at the Art Students League of New York and the California School of Fine Arts, where she sketched and exhibited stills of theatrical performers, and the New York School of Applied Design for Women, and the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design.<sup>88</sup> Her collaboration with architect Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue led to several projects, including designs of the wall behind the altar of St. Mark’s Episcopal Church in Mt. Kisco, New York, the decorative ceiling tiles at the Great Hall of the National Academy of Sciences in Washington D.C., the interiors of the Nebraska State Capitol, and the decorative ceiling tiles of the University of Chicago’s University Chapel.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Kathleen Murphy Skolnick, “Hildreth Meiere: Designing for Chicago,” *Art Deco Society of Washington: Trans-Lux* 28, no. 4, (March 2011), 7.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

Other projects by Hildreth Meiere included “plaques at Radio City Music Hall, a metal sculpture for the RKO Building at Rockefeller Center, mosaics for St. Bartholomew’s Episcopal Church, and Temple Emanuel in New York.”<sup>90</sup> Though contracted by the National Council of Women to design the mural for *Women Through the Century*, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company also commissioned Meiere to design the terracotta tile floor of a pool in the communications Court; Meiere’s design, which featured four male and female figures encircling the globe with wires, “symbolized the speed and worldwide range of communication.”<sup>91</sup>

Yet, Meiere’s mural for the National Council of Women was most telling of her understanding of the new woman. The mural, titled *The Onward March of American Women*, portrayed women’s progress between 1833 and 1933 in ten, chronological sections.<sup>92</sup> The following poem within the brochure explained the theme of each episode in the mural:

*The woman of 1833 confined to the home and centered wholly in her family  
She steps over the threshold into a field of wider interest  
Her education begins; schools open to her  
Women work for temperance  
They succor the enslaved negroes  
They aid the wounded on the Civil War battlefield  
Susan B. Anthony leads out for suffrage  
Women’s clubs become popular  
A host joins in the triumphal suffrage march  
Women become prominent in business and the professions  
They seek peace  
They look toward the good world tomorrow, for which they strive, where men and women will  
share responsibilities alike, with security and opportunity for all.  
At the close, Clio, the Muse of History, a book upon her knee, writes of A Century’s  
Achievement for Women. A stone tablet behind her records her words:*

*WOMEN MARCH THROUGH  
EDUCATION, SUFFRAGE  
ECONOMIC FREEDOM  
TOWARDS GREATER  
SOCIAL JUSTICE*<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>92</sup> National Council of Women of the United States, *Women Through the Century*.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

Meiere's first panel presented women in a domestic setting; one woman is seated and holding a child, another is standing with her head bowed in prayer, and the third is focused on her needlework.<sup>94</sup> This panel, representing 1833-1843, demonstrated true womanhood, which confined women to the home and categorized them as pious, pure, submissive, and domestic—the woman bowed in prayer represented piety, the mother and the seamstress represented domesticity.<sup>95</sup> To emphasize the restrictive nature of true womanhood, Meiere designed a background of closely spaced iron bars, which steadily grew apart through each panel.<sup>96</sup> The second panel of the mural, 1843-1853, presented women in the act of leaving the home, and in the third panel, 1853-1863, Meiere painted a school scene in which women exist as both the teacher and the student—in the background of the image, three women are dressed for graduation.<sup>97</sup> The first panel recognized Angelina Grimke, Ann Wilkins, and Sara Josepha Hale, while the second panel emphasized the accomplishments of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Lucy Stone; the third panel featured Antoinette B. Blackwell, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, and Dr. Emily Blackwell.<sup>98</sup>



Figure 22



Figure 23

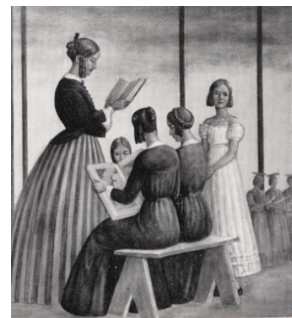


Figure 24

<sup>94</sup> Hildreth Meiere, *The Onward March of American Women*, in National Council of Women of the United States, *Women Through the Century*.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

The fourth panel demonstrated women's initial efforts for temperance reform, the fifth panel portrayed women as abolitionists, and the sixth panel portrayed Clara Barton and women who volunteered during the Civil War.<sup>99</sup> These panels demonstrated the progression between real womanhood to public womanhood, for real womanhood emphasized education and domestic employment whereas public womanhood allowed women to become involved in the "moral and cultural welfare of their communities."<sup>100</sup> These panels recognized the following women: Julia Ward Howe, Jennie June Croly, and Mary A. Livermore; Anna Howard Shaw, Linda Richards, and Frances E. Willard; May Wright Sewall, Emily Dickinson, and Mary E. Kenney.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 25



Figure 26



Figure 27

The seventh, eighth, and ninth panels, depicted Susan B. Anthony grasping the base of a banner that reads "SUFFRAGE," the formation of women's clubs, and women celebrating the nineteenth amendment.<sup>102</sup> These panels emphasized the peak of new womanhood in which women focused "on entirely emancipating women from the societal expectations and conventions forced upon them by tradition."<sup>103</sup> By portraying women joining women's clubs, pursuing the right to vote, and achieving the right to vote, Hildreth Meiere effectively illustrated

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Susan M. Cruca, "Changing Ideals of Womanhood during the Nineteenth Century Woman Movement," *General Studies Writing Faculty Publications*, (2005), 193.

<sup>101</sup> Hildreth Meiere, *The Onward March of American Women*.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Susan M. Cruca, "Changing Ideals of Womanhood during the Nineteenth Century Woman Movement," 198.

the progression from public womanhood to new womanhood, culminating with the elimination of the iron bars that once constricted women to the private sphere. The final, tenth panel introduced women's new focus on "peace throughout the world."<sup>104</sup> The final panels mentioned a final twelve, great women: Minnie Maddern Fiske, Mary Cassatt, Lillian Nordica, Grace Dodge, Cora Wilson Stewart, Dr. Florence R. Sabin, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Carrie Chapman Catt, Judge Florence E. Allen, Dr. Anna Garlin Spencer, Amelia Earhart, and Frances Perkins.<sup>105</sup>



Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 30

Figure 31

In final image of the mural, Meiere imagined Clio, the Muse of History, writing *One Hundred Years of Women's Achievement*.

*Women Through the Century* also included displays of artifacts, or "mementos." The objects on display were significant artifacts from episodes in the progression of women; they included Amelia Earhart's goggles, Susan B. Anthony's red shawl, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw's academic cap, as well as letters written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, Clara Barton, and Louisa May Alcott.<sup>106</sup> The space also featured a club room, which included lounging areas, books and magazines, a telephone and telegraph, a panel listing the Council's member organizations, and a display of scrapbooks depicting the Council's constituent organizations organized under the headings: "Business and Industry; Civics and Citizenship; Culture; Education; Health;

<sup>104</sup> Hildreth Meiere, *The Onward March of American Women*.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> National Council of Women of the United States, *Women Through the Century*, 1933.



Homemaking; International Relations; Legislation; Recreation; Religion; Ethics and Morals; Social Welfare.”<sup>107</sup> The club room also exhibited portraits of twelve prominent women chosen by popular vote in a nationwide poll; the women included Mary Lyon, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan B. Anthony, Julia Ward Howe, Clara Barton, Mary Baker Eddy, Frances E. Willard, Jane Addams, Helen Keller, Carrie Chapman Catt, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, and Amelia Earhart.<sup>108</sup> The popularity of these women, as well as those chosen for the mural by Meiere, spoke to the ideal attributes of the new woman in 1933, for all twelve women were either autonomous, educated, resourceful, confident, inventive, or influential in one way or another.



*Figure 32*



*Figure 33*

The lack of a governing body for women at the Century of Progress allowed them to exist in several different locations at the exposition; furthermore, they were able to independently envision and exhibit their image of the new woman. These artists and exhibitors included, among others: Ethel Spears, Macena Barton, Louise Lentz Woodruff, Minna Moscherosch Schmidt, and Narcissa Thorne. Several other women exhibited within the exposition, but they unfortunately received little to no mention based on the exposition’s emphasis on equality.

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.



Ethel Spears, a native Chicagoan, attended the School of the Art Institute of Chicago (SAIC) in the Department of Design in 1920 and Department of Drawing, Painting, and Illustration in 1923.<sup>109</sup> Early in her career—as a sophomore at the Institute—Spears designed two murals for the Art Institute of Chicago’s tea room, and by 1926, she was exhibiting her watercolors in Annual Exhibitions at the Art Institute.<sup>110</sup> Prior to the Century of Progress Exhibition in 1933, Ethel Spears worked as “a freelance artist, designer, and illustrator” in New York City, exhibited her paintings in the Weyhe Gallery in New York, and actively exhibited artwork in Chicago’s galleries.<sup>111</sup> Macena Barton, like Ethel Spears, studied at the SAIC between 1921 and 1924 whilst simultaneously working for the Continental Commercial Bank and R. R. Donnelley.<sup>112</sup> She studied with Wellington, Reynolds, John Norton, Allen Philbrick, and Leon Kroll following graduation, and exhibited regularly at the Annual Exhibitions at the Art Institute. Barton’s fascination with painting nudes paired with her daring nature culminated in the portrait *Mitzi*, a nude painting of an African American model.<sup>113</sup> Barton was a member of the Chicago Society of Artists, the Woman’s Artist Salon of Chicago, the Association of Chicago Painters and Sculptors, and the Arts Club, and she was well-known throughout Chicago for her bold nudes—including one of herself—and her relationship with the married art critic, C. J. Bulliet.<sup>114</sup> At the Century of Progress Exposition, one of Macena’s nude portraits, “Beatrice,” was selected

---

<sup>109</sup> Carole Tormollan, “Ethel Grace Spears,” *Women Building Chicago: A Biographical Dictionary, 1790-1990*, ed. Adele Hast and Rima Lunin Schultz, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 825-827.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 825-827.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 825-827.

<sup>112</sup> Eden Juron Pearlman, “Macena Alberta Barton,” *Women Building Chicago: A Biographical Dictionary, 1790-1990*, ed. Adele Hast and Rima Lunin Schultz, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 70-71.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-71.

for exhibition.<sup>115</sup> Her individualistic and rebellious nature, as well as her sexuality, characterized Barton as an autonomous, sexually-independent new woman—a flapper.

Sculptor Louise Lentz Woodruff received the commission for the Century of Progress’s Fountain of Science, located in the rotunda of the Hall of Science.<sup>116</sup> Mrs. Woodruff was born in Roanoke, Virginia, and was well-educated at the Finch School for Girls in New York, Columbia University, the Chicago Art Institute—where she studied under Charles Mulligan—, and in Florence, Italy, “under instruction of Emile Bourdelle.”<sup>117</sup> Woodruff likely received consideration for the commission based on George Woodruff’s position as treasurer for the Century of Progress’s board of trustees, but her position on several women’s boards of “artistic and civic organizations” further secured the commission.<sup>118</sup> The theme for the Fountain of Science was “Science Advancing Mankind,” but Woodruff’s design also included a woman; the a robot at the center of the sculpture “is depicted as an onward-going force whose hands are placed at the backs of the male and female figures, urging them on to greater endeavors.”<sup>119</sup>



Figure 34

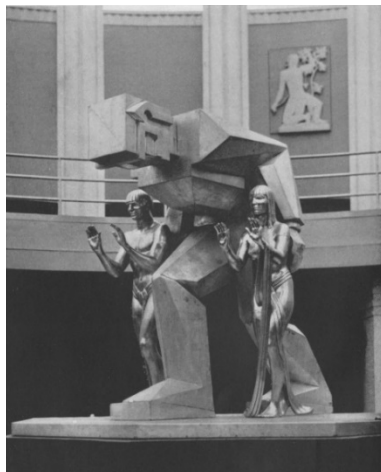


Figure 35

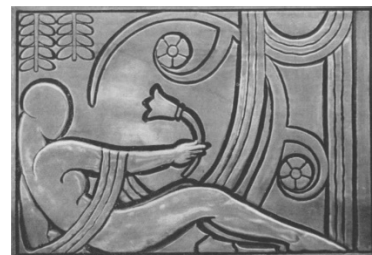


Figure 36

---

<sup>115</sup> The Art Institute of Chicago, *Catalogue of a Century of Progress Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture, Lent from the American Collections* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1933), 67.

<sup>116</sup> Jewett E. Ricker, *Sculpture at A Century of Progress*, (Chicago, 1933-1934), 6-11.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-11.

<sup>118</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 56.

<sup>119</sup> Jewett E. Ricker, *Sculpture at A Century of Progress*, 6.

The fountain's eight reliefs, located at the base of the central sculpture, also utilized figures of men and women to depict the basic sciences: astronomy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, medicine, and geology.<sup>120</sup> The figures of astronomy, botany, zoology, and geology featured female imagery, though the figures of each relief are basic enough to imagine them as either sex.<sup>121</sup> Yet, while Louise Woodruff's inclusion of women in the fountain's design was significant, for the restriction of women to astronomy, botany, zoology, and geology misrepresented women's accomplishments in the other sciences. Woodruff, intentionally or unintentionally, resigned women to two of the more feminine sciences; angelic and surreal imagery often accompanied astronomy, and botany typically conveyed floral imagery often associated with women.

Minna Schmidt produced non-traditional art exhibits. The eldest of Wilhelm and Friedericke Moscherosch's seventeen children, Minna Schmidt grew up sewing.<sup>122</sup> Initially, she designed outfits for her dolls with help from her grandmother, but as a teenager she began making clothing for her younger siblings.<sup>123</sup> In 1886, at twenty years old, Minna emigrated to the United States and settled in Chicago, Illinois; she married childhood sweetheart, Julius Schmidt, in 1887 and had two children, Edwin and Helmut.<sup>124</sup> After opening the Locust Studio, a school of dance that required her to sew costumes for its productions, Minna's costuming gained popularity and by 1915, the Schmidt family opened the Schmidt Costume and Wig Shop, "the

---

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 9-11.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 9-11.

<sup>122</sup> Gayle Strege, "Minna Moscherosch Schmidt," *Women Building Chicago: A Biographical Dictionary, 1790-1990*, ed. Adele Hast and Rima Lunin Schultz, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 783-785.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 783-785.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 783-785.

largest costume rental house in Chicago.”<sup>125</sup> Schmidt organized the Costumer’s Association of Chicago, graduated from Kent College of Law with a Bachelor of Law degree in 1924 and a Masters of Law in 1929, and opened the Chicago Schmidt College of Scientific Costuming in 1927.<sup>126</sup>

Her most extensive exhibition was located in the General Exhibits Building of the Century of Progress Exposition. The exhibit, *400 Outstanding Women of the World* was a collection of four hundred wax doll figurines representing women of forty-six different countries; she requested from each country’s representative “to list their four or five outstanding women and to provide biographical information and portraits,” recommending that the women be deceased, “from all levels of society,” and chosen based on “merit and morality.”<sup>127</sup> The chosen women were divided according to country of origin; chosen women from the United States included Abigail Adams, Susan B. Anthony, Myra Bradwell, Mary Cassatt, Mary Todd Lincoln, Bertha Palmer, Pocahontas, Sojourner Truth, and Mrs. Booker T. Washington.<sup>128</sup> Prominent women from England included Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, Queen Elizabeth, George Eliot, Florence Nightingale, Queen Mary of Scots, and Victoria.<sup>129</sup> Others included Marie Antoinette of France, Eve and Mary of Jerusalem, Queen Isabella of Castille, and Clara Barton.<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 783-785.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 783-785.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 783-785.

<sup>128</sup> Minna Moscherosch Schmidt, *400 Outstanding Women of the World* (Chicago: Minna Moscherosch Schmidt, 1933), 577-583; though “colored women” constituted a different category in Minna’s book, I made the decision to combine the two categories.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 577-583.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 577-583.



*Figure 37*

As with previous examples, the women chosen for this collection spoke to attributes each country desired of the ideal new woman. The United States, in particular, chose women who had contributed to the development of the nation; Mary Todd Lincoln and Abigail Adams were first ladies of the White House, Susan B. Anthony and Sojourner Truth struggled for independence and equality, and other women like Myra Bradwell and Mary Cassatt influenced women's role in the professions.

Women's spaces and exhibits proudly displayed the progression of women; whereas women's exhibits and activities at the World's Columbian Exposition ranged politically and socially, those at the Century of Progress Exposition followed similar themes that emphasized progress. The new woman in 1933 was a known concept utilized by women to exhibit their progression as well as further it. Sadly, women were still divided economically, fueling the division on the proper representation of women in the public sphere; whereas clubwomen remained loyal to feminine, well-mannered representations, professional women began to define the new woman of the mid-twentieth century. Even further entrenched in the future were women performing on the Midway of the Exposition. These women, whether they realized it or not,

emulated the autonomous new woman who fought for sexual freedoms alongside professional ones.

### *Women's Performances*

Between 1900 and 1920, Chicago “enjoyed an explosion of popular culture” in “movies, amusement parks, vaudeville, cabarets, dance halls, and music.”<sup>131</sup> By 1920, burlesque theaters and nightclubs littered the city and marketed the public display of women’s bodies, which “since the turn of the century...had been on the increase.”<sup>132</sup> Burlesque shows, which featured strip acts, singing, and dancing, were “lewd in character” and “symbolized big-city lawlessness and the moral rebellion of Prohibition,” but their growing popularity influenced attractions of the Midway at the Century of Progress Exposition.<sup>133</sup> Popular for her fan and bubble dances, Sally Rand epitomized the sexually independent new woman of the mid-1900s who profited from this commercialization of sex. Other performances—“Little Morocco,” “Little Egypt,” and the Mexican Village’s Rosalia—similarly exploited the sexual awakening and leisure culture of the 1920s and “ushered in a new frankness about sex and romance.”<sup>134</sup>

Sally Rand—born Harriet Helen Beck—created her sensational fan dance during an audition at the Paramount Theater in Chicago. Rand described the experience to Richard Lamparski: “I stood at the bar on the stairs with my dancing slippers on and the fans and nothing more...And my music was on and I was being announced. So, I said to myself...who’s going to know what I have behind these fans anyway? ...That’s how accidents happen.”<sup>135</sup> Rand cleverly

---

<sup>131</sup> Lewis A. Erenberg, “Entertaining Chicagoans,” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*.

<sup>132</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 14.

<sup>133</sup> Lewis A. Erenberg, “Entertaining Chicagoans,” *Encyclopedia of Chicago*; Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 14.

<sup>134</sup> Joshua Zeitz, *Flapper*, 31.

<sup>135</sup> Interview of Sally Rand by Richard Lamparski, “Whatever Became of Sally Rand,” *Pacifica Radio*. 13 September 1966.

manipulated two fans in the show to conceal her body, which was either void of any clothing or covered in a sheer stocking; at the end of the show, Rand would “lifted the fans above her head,” revealing her body to the audience.<sup>136</sup> Sally Rand’s fan dance, according to Cheryl Ganz, juxtaposed “precision with grace, concealing with revealing, sexual allure with controlled distance.”<sup>137</sup> Though the dance became highly successful at the Paramount, Rand consistently encountered “big-city lawlessness” in the nightclub and knew the Century of Progress would thrust her into the limelight.<sup>138</sup> Her dramatic dance promised great attendance but did not guarantee her an act at the exposition. Bold and determined, Sally Rand designed a performance that would.

On the evening of May 27, 1933, Sally Rand entered the exposition as Lady Godiva, the central figure of an Anglo-Saxon tale. Lady Godiva, according to Roger of Wendover, rode naked through the town of Coventry in an effort to persuade her husband to reduce taxes on the town’s citizens; Wendover explained, “the countess...loosed her hair and let down her tresses, which covered the whole of her body like a veil, and then mounting her horse and attended by two knights, she rode through the market-place.”<sup>139</sup>

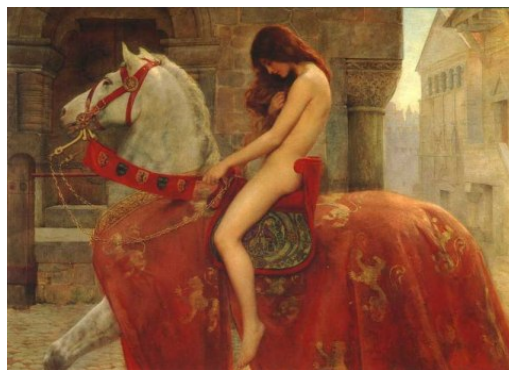


Figure 38

---

<sup>136</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 17.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>138</sup> Lewis A. Erenberg, “Entertaining Chicagoans”; Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 17.

<sup>139</sup> Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849), 314-315.

Sally Rand's entrance to the exposition resembled Lady Godiva's ride through Coventry. She side-saddled a white horse and symbolically rode naked through the Streets of Paris:

When we arrived at the yacht entrance...the back-door keeper supposed that we were supposed to be there...so we were let in...When the master of ceremonies...finally had something to announce, that Sally Rand and her horse were going to do the Lady Godiva ride, there were great huzzahs...and all the newspaper people who had nothing to photograph until now, had a field day...The morning editions...[had] me plastered on the front page having opened the fair already. By the time I got there great lines were all lined up at the Streets of Paris: 'when does Sally Rand go on?'<sup>140</sup>

Sally Rand claimed that the act was a statement and that "she felt a sense of satisfaction at having exposed herself to the elite women who were wearing expensive gowns."<sup>141</sup> Several papers mentioned the incident, and the Streets of Paris—the "gayest sport of the exposition—hired Rand the next day to headline at the Café de la Paix."<sup>142</sup>



*Figure 39*

---

<sup>140</sup> Richard Lamparski, "Whatever Became of Sally Rand."

<sup>141</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 14.

<sup>142</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 9-10; Lakeside Press, *Century of Progress, 1893-1933: Chicago World's Fair Exposition, South End*.



For the fair's second year in 1934, Rand created a new dance that involved acrobatic movements and a large ball: the bubble dance.<sup>143</sup> Using a lightweight sphere, Rand “drew on her circus and stuntwoman talents to coordinate callisthenic movements...[it] showcased her agility, stamina, and strength.”<sup>144</sup> Reviews of Rand's performances varied. Some admired Rand's performance, Charles Collins wrote that the act was “graceful, handsomely staged, and free from suggestions of vulgarity,” and Harriet Lundgren jokingly dubbed her “the foremost dancer of today.”<sup>145</sup> Others labelled Rand's act “lewd, lascivious burlesque” and described nude acts as “vulgar, vile and repulsive.”<sup>146</sup> Sally Rand defended her act, claiming her dance was no different than art; lucky for her, the court acknowledged her claim and reversed a decision that would have sent her to jail.<sup>147</sup> Sally Rand's “ingenuity, daring, and independence spoke provocatively to changing notions of women and sexuality.”<sup>148</sup> She brought attention to women's sexuality and represented the new woman's struggle for sexual freedom, and she revolutionized exhibits within the Midway.<sup>149</sup>

### **The Pursuit of Equality—*Politically, Professionally, Socially, and Sexually***

The Century of Progress Exposition evolved from previous expositions' displays of the new woman. Instead of a Victorian-inspired high-class woman who spent much of her time fighting for the rights of herself and others, the new woman of 1933 had evolved to include lower class women who embodied the struggle for sexual freedoms as well. Spaces within and

---

<sup>143</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 17.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>145</sup> Charles Collins, “Tactful Nude, Expert's View of Sally Rand,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 07 August 1933, 17; Harriet Lundgren, “Questionnaire Answers,” *The Chicagoan* 14, October 1933, 65.

<sup>146</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 19.

<sup>147</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 19; “Sally Rand Wins Motion in Fight to Escape Jail,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 5, 1933, 1.

<sup>148</sup> Cheryl Ganz, *The 1933 Century of Progress Exposition*, 8.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

immediately outside the 1933 Exposition—Chicago Woman’s Club Building, the Social Science Hall, the Hall of Science, the Illinois State Building, the Streets of Paris—provided women with a space to demonstrate their progress and preview future progression. Women would continue to fight for their equality through the Great Depression, into World War II in 1941, and through the new millennia.

## Conclusion

“Expositions are the timekeepers of progress,” President McKinley remarked at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York.<sup>1</sup> Thus, he surely noticed the movement of women from the private sphere to the public sphere. By 1901, the number of women employed in the United States had increased significantly, and four states—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho—had passed laws allowing women to vote. By 1920, the nineteenth amendment granted women suffrage, but it only secured for women the right to vote and did not promise immediate equality. Thus, women’s progression was equal parts political and social, and this balance was best represented through the evolution of the new woman. World’s fairs merely served as a stage to illustrate this simultaneous progression and evolution, but the roles women held within them echoed their roles outside of the expositions politically and socially.

When Eleanor Roosevelt stated, “I believe it’s up to the women,” she built on the progress that women had already made in the United States and perhaps hoped that women would continue to grow and help others grow with them.<sup>2</sup> She witnessed firsthand the progress women had made since 1893, and she likely noticed the inclusion of women throughout the exposition. During her tour of the exposition, undoubtedly, she either visited or heard of Louise Lentz Woodruff’s “Science Advancing Mankind” at the rotunda of the Hall of Science; she may have walked through the National Council of Women’s exhibit, *Women Through the Century*, in the Social Science Hall; whether she approved or not, she likely heard of Sally Rand’s famous fan dance. She might have even noticed the exposition’s resemblance to the social progress made by women in the forty years since the World’s Columbian Exposition.

---

<sup>1</sup> “President McKinley Favors Reciprocity,” *New York Times*, September 6, 1901, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “First Lady Sounds a Call to Women: Addressing 8,000 at the World’s Fair, Mrs. Roosevelt Asks for Fearless Cooperation,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1933, 23.

Women's roles within the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 largely existed within the Board of Lady Managers and the Woman's Building. The Board's authority over women's spaces and exhibitions led to a singular type of new woman within the Exposition; even those women who performed outside of this central woman's space reinforced the ideal new woman promoted and required by the Board. On the other hand, the Century of Progress lacked both a governing body and a central woman's space, and they therefore had no way to restrict the image of the new woman in management, women's exhibits, and women's performances. Yet, the manifestation of the new woman between 1893 and 1933 was much more complex. The Board of Lady Managers, in forcing a particular representation of the new woman, stifled other women like those involved with the Isabella Association who were more political; they personally made or manipulated decisions for architects, artists, sculptors, and lectures to exhibit or reinforce that ideal new woman. By 1933, the new woman and the ideal new woman were less divided, which allowed diverse types of women to exist within the expositions; women like Helen Bennett, Martha McGrew, Hildreth Meiere, Louise Lentz Woodruff, and Sally Rand were able to coexist within an exposition that facilitated progress.

Women's roles in international expositions have typically been mentioned by previous world's fair historians when it best fit their agenda, but these women of Chicago's World's Fairs deserved more than that. Instead, because their roles within the expositions related directly to the women's rights movement between 1893 and 1934, the World's Columbian Exposition and the Century of Progress Exposition serve as a unique, necessary narrative for the women's rights movement. The Board of Lady Managers of the Columbian Exposition represented the societal constraints that women struggled against at the turn of the century. The architects, artists, and sculptors represented the women who were able to migrate from the private sphere to the public

sphere, despite the commentary of critics claiming women like Sophia Hayden were not cut out for the work. On one hand, the presenters and performers of the exposition represented women who did not fit those societal expectations and, thus, were used as reinforcement for the ideal new woman; the Irish Villages—whose Lady Aberdeen was well-respected by the Board—exhibited cottage industries, which symbolized poverty and lack of industrialization heralded by the United States.

By 1933 at the Century of Progress Exposition, managing women merely represented societal and professional women who were well-respected or well-connected. Women's spaces, artists, and exhibitors at the Exposition represented various types of autonomous, societal, professional, educated women who often managed their own businesses and whom society no longer criticized for not being in a domestic role. It was the performer, Sally Rand, of the 1933 Exposition that symbolized the most drastic change between the two expositions. Rand's successful exhibition of women's sexuality represented women's fight for sexual autonomy; whereas the Woman's World's Fairs represented women's continuous fight for equality in the workplace, the Century of Progress Exposition represented women's new fight for control of their own bodies.

This narrative of the roles women held within Chicago's Expositions is vital to the historiography of women and world's fairs. It provides a complementary and/or supplemental narrative for the women's rights movement and asserts that both scholarships require a basic analysis of this topic in order to fully comprehend the influence the expositions had on one of the most significant social and political reform movements in the United States. This is particularly important given the political and social climate of the twenty-first century in which women's rights continue to struggle and require further progression in the United States; observing the

evolution of initiatives taken by women of the Board of Lady Managers and Sally Rand just might inspire those taking the initiative today.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### *Archival Materials*

“Chicago and the Midwest.” CARLI Digital Collections. Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.  
[http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/nby\\_chicago](http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/nby_chicago).

Century of Progress International Exposition Publications, Crerar Ms 226. Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

“Images of Progress: Views from A Century of Progress International Exposition, 1933-1934.” Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago Library.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

Nellie Tayloe Ross Papers, 00948. The University of Wyoming. American Heritage Center

“World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893.” Paul V. Galvin Library Digital History Collection.

“Chicago Women’s Club Building.” 1928. MPDrawer 4. Archival Image Collection. Ryerson & Burnham Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

“World’s Fairs: A Global History of Expositions.” Adam Matthew Digital Archive.  
<http://www.worldsfairs.amdigital.co.uk>.

#### *Official Guidebooks, Publications, and Images*

“A Souvenir of the National Council of Women Exhibit.” *Women Through the Century*. Chicago: National Council of Women of the United States, 1893.

The Art Institute of Chicago. *Catalogue of a Century of Progress Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture, Lent from the American Collections*. Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1933.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World’s Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*. Chicago: The Bancroft Company, 1893.

Cassatt, Mary and Mary Fairchild Frederick. *The Primitive Woman and The Modern Woman* murals, 1893.

*The Congress of Women: Held in the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893* edited by Mary Kavanaugh Oldham Eagle. Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894.

- The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition.* St. Louis: N. D. Thompson Publishing Company, 1893.
- Eagle, Mary Kavanaugh Oldham. *The Congress of Women Held in the Woman's Building, World's Columbian Exposition.* Chicago: Monarch Book Company, 1894.
- Elliot, Maud. *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition.* Paris and New York: Goupil & Co., 1893.
- Flinn, John J. *Official Guide to the Midway Plaisance, Otherwise Known as "The Highway Through the Nations."* Chicago: The Columbian Guide Company, 1893.
- Frank, Henriette Greenbaum and Jerome, Amalie Hofer. *Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club, 1876-1916.* Chicago: Chicago Woman's Club, 1916.
- Hill, Josephine. *A Souvenir of World's Fair Women and Wives of Prominent Officials Connected with the World's Columbian Exposition.* Chicago: The Blocher Company, 1892.
- Lakeside Press. *Century of Progress, 1893-1933: Chicago World's Fair Exposition, South End.*
- Lohr, Lenox. *Fair Management: The Story of A Century of Progress Exposition.* Chicago: Cuneo Press, 1952.
- Minute Book of Board of Trustees, 1928-1929.*
- The Moorish Palace and its Startling Wonders: The Chief Attraction of the Midway Plaisance.* Chicago: Metcalf Stationary Co., 1893.
- National Council of Women of the United State. *History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States, Organized in Washington, D.C., March 31, 1888.* Boston: E.B. Stillings, 1898.
- National Council of Women. *Women Through the Century.* 1933.
- Official Catalogue of Exhibits on the Midway Plaisance: Group 176; Isolated Exhibits, Midway Plaisance.* Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893.
- Official Guide Book of the Fair, 1933.* Chicago: Century of Progress, 1933.
- Official Manual of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Commission.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1891.
- Official Manual of the World's Columbian Commission.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1890.
- "Rand McNally & Co.'s New Indexed Miniature Guide Map of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, 1893." Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1893.



Ricker, Jewett E. *Sculpture at A Century of Progress*. Chicago, 1933-1934.  
Schmidt, Minna Moscherosch. *400 Outstanding Women of the World*. Chicago: Minna Moscherosch Schmidt, 1933.

### ***Monographs & Other Publications***

Gordon Ann D. *Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, vol. 5, Their Place Inside the Body-Politic, 1887 to 1895*. New Brunswick, N.J., 2009.

Grand, Sarah. *Heavenly Twins*. New York: The Cassell Publishing Company, 1893.

Grand, Sarah. "The Modern Girl." *The North American Review* 158, no. 451 (June 1894): 706-715.

Grand, Sarah. "The New Aspect of the Woman Question." *The North American Review* 158, no. 448. (March 1894): 270-276.

Harper Cooley, Winnifred. *The New Womanhood*. New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1904.

Hayes, Laura. *Three Girls in a Flat*. Chicago: Knight, Leonard & Co., 1892).

Homans, James E. *The Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. 8. New York: Press Association Compilers, 1918.

Inter Ocean, Chicago. *Centennial History of the City of Chicago: It's Men and It's Institutions*. Chicago: The Inter Ocean, 1905.

Peabody, Marian Lawrence. *To Be Young Was Very Heaven*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1967. 366.

Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*. London: H. G. Bohn, 1849.

Schmidt, Minna Moscherosch. *400 Outstanding Women of the World*. Chicago: Minna Moscherosch Schmidt, 1933.

### ***Newspapers & Magazines***

*Architectural Record*, 1930.

*Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1850-1935.

*The Chicagoan*, 1933-1934

*Christian Science Monitor*, 1850-1928.

*Midget Village News*, 1933-1934.

*New York Times*, 1850-1928.

*Official World's Fair Weekly*, 1933-1934.

*World's Fair News*, 1933-1934.

### ***Written & Oral Histories***

Interview of Sally Rand by Richard Lamparski, "Whatever Became of Sally Rand," *Pacifica Radio*. 13 September 1966.

Interview of William Bradford Ross II by Rick Ewig. University of Wyoming, 26-27 July 1995.

Peabody, Marian Lawrence. "Diary of Marian Lawrence Peabody, June 1893." *To Be Young Was Very Heaven*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1967.

### ***Government Documents***

"Amendment to the Constitution, 1920." *Constitution*.

"Appropriations for Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Exposition," 52<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, Ex. Doc. No. 74.

*Declaration of Sentiments*.

Department of Labor Act (41 Stat. L., 987).

### ***Secondary Sources***

Bennett, Helen. *Women and Work*. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1917.

Boisseau, T.J. and Markwyn, Abigail. *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Bolotin, Norman and Land, Christine. *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Bordin, Ruth. *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1993.

- Boyer, Paul S., James, Edward T., and Wilson James, Janet. *Notable American Women, 1607-1950, A Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. 1 A-F. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Canfield, Amy Taipale. "Discovering Woman: Women's performances at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893." PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2002.
- Cordato, Mary Frances. Ph.D. dissertation, "Representing the Expansion of the Woman's Sphere: Women's Work and Culture at the World's Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1904." PhD diss., New York University, 1989.
- Creighton, Margaret. *The Electrifying Fall of Rainbow City: Spectacle and Assassination at the 1901 World's Fair*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2016.
- Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1992.
- Cruea, Susan. "Changing Ideals of Womanhood during the Nineteenth-Century Woman Movement." *General Studies Writing Faculty Publications* 19, no. 3 (September 2005): 187-204.
- Darney, Virginia Grant. Ph.D. dissertation, "Women and World's Fairs: American International Expositions, 1876-1904." PhD diss., Emory University, 1982.
- Fava, Sylvia Fleis. "The *Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan." *American Sociological Review* 28, no. 6. (December 1963): 1053-054.
- Findling, John E., Pelle, Kimberly D., Rydell, Robert. *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*. Smithsonian Institution, 2000.
- Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W.W. Newton, 1963.
- Ganz, Cheryl. *The 1933 Chicago World's Fair: A Century of Progress*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Garfinkle, Charlene Gallo. "Women at Work: The Design and Decoration of the Woman's Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition—Architecture, exterior sculpture, Stained Glass, and Interior Murals." PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1996.
- Gelernter, David. *1939: Lost World of Fair*. New York: Free Press, 1995.

- Hast, Adele and Schultz, Rima Lunin. *Women Building Chicago: A Biographical Dictionary, 1790-1990*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.
- Lederer II, Francis L. "Competition for the World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago Campaign." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* 65, no. 4 (1972): 382-94.
- Markwyn, Abigail. *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2014.
- Mayer, Harold and Wade, Richard. *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Mead, Rebecca J. *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914*. New York: New York University Press, 2004.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, edited by Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, 833-844. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Patterson, Martha. *The American New Woman Revisited a Reader, 1894-1930*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
- Quinn, Christopher. "The Irish Villages at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition: Constructing, Consuming and Contesting Ireland at Chicago." M.A. thesis, University of Guelph, 2011.
- Roger, Jillian J. "'Women's Work' and Human Showcases: The Trans-Mississippi Exposition on Display." PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 2016.
- Rydell, Robert. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Rydell, Robert. *World of Fairs: The Century of Progress Expositions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Schlimgen, Veta. "Defining Participation and Place: Women and the Seattle World's Fairs of 1909 and 1962." M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 2000.
- Skolnick, Kathleen Murphy. "Hildreth Meiere: Designing for Chicago." *Art Deco Society of Washington: Trans-Lux* 28, no. 4 (March 2011): 6-20.
- Weimann, Jeanne. *The Fair Women: The Story of the Women's Building at the World's*. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981.

Zeit, Joshua. *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern*. New York: Broadway Books, 2006.

**Websites**

*The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Chicago Historical Society, 2005.  
<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org>.

“Hart, Alice Marion,” Textile Research Center, <https://trc-leiden.nl/trc-needles/people-and-functions/authors-scholars-and-activists/hart-alice-marion-c-1850-1931>.

National Women’s History Museum, “Woman Suffrage Timeline (1840-1920).  
<https://www.nwhm.org/resources/timeline/womans-suffrage-timeline>.