

# The Invisible Triumph: The Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893

JAMES V. STRUEBER

Ohio State University, ATI

JOHANNA HAYS

Auburn University

## INTRODUCTION

The World's Columbian Exposition (WCE) was the first world exposition outside of Europe and was to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus reaching the New World. The exhibition's planners aimed at exceeding the fame of the 1889 Paris World Exposition in physical size, scope of accomplishment, attendance, and profitability.<sup>1</sup> With 27 million attending equaling approximately 40% of the 1893 US population, they exceeded the Paris Exposition in all accounts. This was partly accomplished by being open on Sundays—a much debated moral issue—the attraction of the newly invented Ferris wheel, cheap quick nationwide transportation provided by the new transcontinental railroad system all helped to make a very successful financial plan.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly, the women's contribution to the exposition, which included the Woman's Building and other women's exhibits accounted for 57% of total exhibits at the exposition.<sup>3</sup> In addition railroad development to accommodate the exposition, set the heart of American trail transportation in Chicago for the century to come. Architecturally the exposition set the American architectural style until the 1930's through securing the participation and—most remarked on at the time the cooperation of ten of the most prominent US architects, this was a major accomplishment because of the personalities and different stylistic philosophies from the east to west coasts.

At the close of the exposition, *Engineering Magazine* noted that the New York papers lauded Chicago's success, success that had "broken down the hostile feelings that prevailed so long" and finally acknowledged Chicago with a "laudation, well deserved, though somewhat tardy."<sup>4</sup> They quoted extensively

from *Engineering Magazine*,

Thus has Chicago gloriously redeemed the obligations incurred when she assumed the task of building a World's Fair. Chicago's businessmen started out to prepare for a finer, bigger, and more successful enterprise than the world had ever seen in this line. The verdict of the jury of the nations of the earth, who have seen it, is that it is unquestionably bigger and undoubtedly finer, and now it is assuredly more successful. Great is Chicago, and we are prouder than ever of her."<sup>5</sup>

## BACKGROUND

Labeled the "White City" almost immediately, for the arrangement of the all-white neo-Classical and neo-High Renaissance architectural style buildings around a grand court and fountain pool,<sup>6</sup> the WCE holds an ironic position in American history. The White City was the successful compromise of ten architects pressured by time and space to find a unifying look for their fantasy city. However, the true fantasy city and city of the future was actually downtown Chicago. The inventors of twentieth century architecture; Burnham, Root, Baron Jenny, and Louis Sullivan outshone their own best real works with a ersatz Venetian isle of artificial canals and gondolas, seductively lit with new electric lights and torches, accessed by the then ultra modern elevated electric trains and electric moving sidewalks.

Daniel Burnham's final report states the first action of Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition Corporation was to send railroad president, E. T. Jeffery, and civil engineer, Octave Chanute, to the Paris

Exposition, which was still open at the time of the incorporation in the fall of 1889. Jeffrey's report was a handbook on exposition events and details: Paris supplied ample entertainment and recreation, theaters, concert halls, foreign "villages," electric lighting at night, a narrow gauge railway along the Seine and presented intellectual conferences with comprehensive and well-organized exhibits. The Paris Exposition was Chicago's model for financial success and international acclaim.

However, for the creators of the Woman's Building the model for their participation was to be the Philadelphia Centennial, 1873 to 1875—a model they chose *not* to follow. The board and its chair, Bertha Honore Palmer, (the wife of a prominent Chicago businessman and real estate developer) sought to avoid the limitations of the separate spheres imposed on women at the previous exposition when women across the country had contributed funds to that exposition expecting fair and equal representation for the accomplishments of women. After giving over ninety thousand dollars to the Philadelphia Fair Board of Finance, that board denied the Women's Philadelphia Centennial Committee the promised space in the main building and told them to build their own building. Renewing their fundraising efforts, the Philadelphia women did build their own separate building in order to show their exhibits in an harried effort they struggled to meet the deadline and produced a product that did not satisfy its creators. Considered in retrospect, of all the problems they tried to solve, their representative said that the "first *great* mistake" was using the male architect of the main building for their structure.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, warned by past events, the WCE Board of Lady Managers' resolutions included integration of women's work throughout the exposition, a separate building designed by a woman and under the control of the Board of Lady Managers, plus permission from Congress to solicit the work of women for the exposition internationally and nationally.<sup>8</sup> Bertha Palmer traveled in Europe meeting with ministers and heads of state in order to arrange international representation in the expositions; other women board members were responsible for South America and Asia. Palmer found that the fact that a twenty-one year old woman had designed the exhibitions building, "was considered [by the Europeans] most astonishing, as well as indicative of the advancement of American women."<sup>9</sup>

Consequently, the Chicago women were able to contribute substantially to the success of the exposition both nationally and internationally. According to WCE final reports, women produced nineteen percent of the Transportation Building exhibits, forty-six percent of the Horticulture exhibits, and a high percent of the Fine Arts and Liberal Arts Building displays.<sup>10</sup> Displays at the Woman's Building and all other exhibition buildings pushed the total of women's exhibits to fifty-seven percent of all exhibits at the exposition.<sup>11</sup> This stands as an extraordinary achievement of exposition goals for the Board of Lady Managers along with their initial fight to be an official committee of the exposition, not just lady volunteers.

Consumer driven entrepreneurship, also, produced a plethora of consumer goods that have become standard items—Aunt Jemima pancakes, chili con carne, Crackerjacks, the zipper, yellow pencils, and the picture postcard sold as souvenirs. It was the introductory event for electric driven conveniences—the first elevated train and "moveable sidewalk," the automatic door opener, ironing machines, elevators, cash registers, carpet sweepers, doorbells, phonographs, clocks, dentist's drill, and dish washers. It was the occasion of the first long distance telephone call (from Chicago to New York), the first sporting event under electric lights (a nighttime football game), and largest Ferris Wheel made until the end of the twentieth century.

The WCE was the inspiration for the "Emerald City" in the Wizard of Oz, the "amber waves of grain" of America the Beautiful, and for Disneyland.<sup>12</sup> It stands as the prototype of American planning, material excesses, shoddy consumerism, blatant racism, and the sellout of Progressive idealism. For almost a century, this symbol of the great American expansionist society lay quietly in its niche waiting to detonate in the late twentieth century as exemplar of the path to Progress wrongly taken.<sup>13</sup>

"Progress" started with a site designed by a quite elderly Frederick Law Olmsted, which required extensive reshaping of the swampland site to drain it and create an artificial lagoon.<sup>14</sup> The Milwaukee Railroad laid a second track in 1892 for exposition traffic and thus made regular commuting from the suburb possible and contributing to Chicago's growth and development as a commuter city and transportation center for the Midwest.<sup>15</sup> Throughout the construction and exhibition period, *Harper's*

*Weekly*, supported the idea of the exposition as an exceptional national statement of technical expertise and social progressivism. The publication made the case for the morality of Sunday attendance, chided the railways into creating special low excursion rates, exhorted participation of all the states as an issue of patriotism, and exposition promotion as "the most complete illustration of human progress and refinement on this continent."<sup>16</sup> Their support extended to lavish cover illustrations of the construction, happy train travelers, and festive spectators throughout the period.

### THE POLITICS

In 1891, Chicago had fought in open competition, in Congress, for the exposition. Chicago's powerful entrepreneurship, pushed past St. Louis, Washington, and a particularly litigious New York to beat out all contenders. *Harper's Weekly*, a New York publication repeatedly admonished New York and fully supported Chicago's exposition.

The rest of the country is aroused and active, and the indifference of New York would accuse its public spirit and patriotism . . . nothing of the kind could be more humiliating to American self-esteem than the fact—which, if it were a fact, would be universally conspicuous—that after other countries, England and Austria and France, had tried the splendid experiment of a World's Fair and succeeded, the United States, with all the benefit of the experience of other countries, tried and failed."<sup>17</sup>

This congressional and municipal power struggle left far too little time for the construction of the exposition, hence, Daniel Burnham of Burnham and Root in Chicago was made director of the entire effort and sole arbiter—or dictator—of how the feat would be accomplished, by what architects and designers, and how it would be funded. Thus, a politically charged atmosphere surrounded the effort on local and national levels as New York waited to prove the Chicagoans would "hog the whole thing" and the nation waited to see if this emerging provincial capital could pull it off.<sup>18</sup>

*Harper's Weekly* (the most influential weekly in the country) reported with obvious admiration that, when the WCE Board was running out of funds in the midst of construction, Burnham had hired four trains to bring the United States Congress to Chicago to see the results of the work to date and make clear the need for additional appropriations.

Every Chicago effort is titanic, but this plan of transporting a national Legislature over a thousand miles, gorging it to repletion for three days until it has to be cajoled out of bed to go home for the purpose of giving it a flying trip through a park and a half hour lecture is an achievement unparalleled in the history of both Western towns and parliamentary governments.<sup>19</sup>

The strategy worked to the degree that Congress authorized the printing of 2.5 million WCE half dollars, which enterprising Chicago sold for a dollar apiece.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout the period surveyed, *Harper's Weekly* consistently covered the exposition with brief articles in each issue, longer pieces once or more a month, and two or more illustrations per issue of progress toward opening and events once open. As the opening date approached, the cover illustration of the publication featured the exposition or some event connected to it almost exclusively.

In addition to American patriotism, the *Harper's Weekly* editors, also, repeatedly evoked the educational potential of the fair. "Already, then, the educational possibilities of the Columbian Exposition multiply before the mental vision, until we feel that we cannot begin to foresee the gains that will proceed from it, not merely for us, but for mankind at large."<sup>21</sup>

### THE WOMAN'S BUILDING

The progress of the construction along with the patriotic role and educational potentials was another to reoccurring themes of *Harper's Weekly* coverage. The long progress report on construction by M. A. Lane in February 1892, noted that two shifts of work extended the sounds of construction to twenty-four hours daily. The Woman's Building was the only completed building that indicated what the look the whole ensemble would be, however, Lane

failed to comment specifically on the efficiency of the Board of Lady Managers in the early completion of their project.

Lane, like other writers, used quantities of things, numbers of square feet, tons of materials in his attempt to convey the size of the enterprise. Thus, the Gallery of the Fine Arts at half its projected height had used five million bricks, the Manufactures Building would have fifty percent more steel than the Brooklyn Bridge, "New York's great highway over the East River," and 450,000 square feet of concrete paving would be laid when the weather warmed sufficiently.<sup>22</sup>

Lane's breathless account of the bustle and industrious chaos described a complex that varied from essential completion (the Woman's Building)<sup>23</sup> to bare foundation (the Administration Building). The organization of supplies, the staggered work shifts, and the complexity of the overlapping processes all underlined the vastness of the project. Lane was particularly impressed with the administration of weekly salary payments to so many workers.

Despite his general enthusiasm, reporter Lane was less than enthusiastic about the Woman's Building. He declared that it was to be the work of women in all aspects, but he assured readers that the rest of the fair would be the work of men—the supervisors, architects, artists, artisans, manufacturers, and laborers being, of course, men—the exhibits and accomplishments men's. However, this was not true and certainly was not the agreement of understanding between the Chicago WCE Board and the Board of Lady Managers. The exact opposite was fought for and won by Chicago's elite women. The political power of Chicago's social elite fundraisers was an accepted fact, however, they were not expected to actually to be involved with the creation of the exposition—a point of view reiterated by Lane.<sup>24</sup>

Reporter Lane's one article dedicated to the specifics of the Woman's Building credited Miss Sophia G. Hayden, of Boston, with the design of the building and Miss Alice Rideout, of San Francisco, as the "modeler" of sculptures; however, the title of architect and artist were not used. The language throughout the *Harper's Weekly* coverage refused to use the deference of these titles for any women including America's most famous woman artist, Mary Cassatt, who was referred to as a "designer."

One might assume that this is because of the youth of Misses Hayden and Rideout and Cassatt's lack of an American reputation. However, an article on the mural in the Administration Building—designed by architect, William Morris Hunt—handled that building's mural artist quite differently. The article gave the credentials of William Leftwich Dodge, the particulars of his education, and mentioned his third-class medal from the Paris Exposition. The article emphasized that Mr. Dodge "is not yet twenty-five years old."<sup>25</sup> Miss Rideout was nineteen and Miss Hayden, twenty-one. I would also suggest, in neglecting to mention the youth of the Misses Rideout and Hayden, the emphasis in this article on the promise of talented youth is denied these young women.

What was denied these women was the presumption of a career. It was almost a century later before the role of women in consumerism, progress and civilization would become themes of investigation.<sup>26</sup> In 1981, in the midst of a new airing of women's issues, Jeanne Weimann's *The Fair Women* focused on the Woman's Building and the Congress of Woman in the context of the political environment of the Board of Lady Managers. Weimann, while not particularly sympathetic to the Board of Lady Managers, did reveal the complexity of the women's role in the WCE beginning with their title, which was not satisfactory to these activist women of Chicago.<sup>27</sup> Weimann's valuable account of the activism of the all-white, well-heeled Board of Lady Managers detailed the battle between national feminists like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Chicago's socially and politically powerful women.<sup>28</sup>

## THE WHITE CITY

In July, as dedication day in October loomed closer, Lane said; "The entire design is nearer the perfect to-day than it was yesterday, and it will be nearer to-morrow than it is to-day. . . . With one or two exceptions, the buildings of the exposition are all among the most extensive structures with any pretensions to architectural beauty ever designed by man. They cover 606 acres of land—one building alone has a floor of 32 acres—and they are grouped so as to present the compact and orderly spectacle."<sup>29</sup>

Julian Ralph, the other *Harper's Weekly* reporter assigned to the exposition, a month before the dedication, stressed the collaboration of the ten

thousand workers and the leadership of D. H. Burnham. "These skilled workmen are mainly Italians, though many are French, and a few very clever ones, are Americans. . . . Few skilled workmen are employed, in proportion to the number of mere laborers; indeed, nine-tenths of the workmen are mere dollar and-a-half folk . . . that is one reason why the constructors have had little trouble with the labor organizations. If nearly all the men left the grounds to-morrow their places could be filled by the people seeking work, who are forever clamoring at the gates."<sup>30</sup>

While this observation may or may not have indicated any interest or sympathy with the worker, the editorial on railroad fares did indicate an antipathy with the large corporations. The rail companies had up to this time refused to institute a set round-trip price for exposition attendees. The *Harper's Weekly* editorial suggested, "The rail companies do not conduct an ordinary business . . . . Railway corporations have been created by the public, and given the most extraordinary privileges, and to the creating power the corporations are under continuous obligations. What is for the public interest should always be considered by the railway managers as of the first importance."<sup>31</sup> Six weeks later, the Pennsylvania Railroad was advertising round trip fares, albeit with a two-week pre-registration and advance payment requirement.<sup>32</sup>

The aspect of the WCE that has roused the most discussion by recent historians has been the alleged racism of the Midway Plaisance—a pleasure park inspired by the arcade of exotic locations at the Paris World's Fair, 1889. Particularly egregious to some recent historians were the ethnic "villages" and hierarchical "levels of culture."<sup>33</sup> The *Harper's Weekly* editor, however, defended the Midway Pleasance with its tearooms, exotic displays, and Ferris wheel as an "extremely instructive sideshow."

At the exposition's dedication, the *Harper's Weekly* editor spoke of the "study and enjoyment of the progress of mankind in the arts of use and beauty" and the exposition as "the most complete illustration of human progress and refinement ever made on this continent."<sup>34</sup> By the opening of the exposition, his enthusiasm had not dimmed as he proclaimed "the widest possible dissemination of the beneficent influences" by the "removal of artificial barriers, making the benefit common to all."<sup>35</sup> With the end pending, he hoped that people would remember,

"that the genius of the country has created a work surpassing grandeur which should not be permitted to pass away without having exerted to the widest extent its enlightening and elevating influences upon the living generation."

The editor commented on Chicago's reputation as: "the most materialistic and greedy of communities in this materialistic and greedy age; a management which by its widely advertised internal quarrels acquired the appearance of singular inefficiency; an opening in a state of confused incompleteness and under the most unfavorable conditions of weather." The negatives stated in this finale confession were followed by a last enthusiasm: "It may be said without exaggeration that neither antiquity nor the middle ages nor modern times have brought forth anything comparable to this majestic architectural harmony."<sup>36</sup>

Architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler attributed this harmony to the attention to the *ensemble* and the fact that "It is essential to the illusion of a fairy city that it should not be an American city of the nineteenth century. It is a seaport on the coast of Bohemia; it is the capital of No Man's Land. It is what you will, so long as you do not take it for an American city of the nineteenth century, nor its architecture for the actual or the possible or even the ideal architecture of such a city."<sup>37</sup>

### THE PROFESSIONAL PRESS

Thirty years later, in 1924, one of the country's most gifted architects slammed a gauntlet down in the midst of a floundering architectural profession. In hyperbolic terms, Louis Sullivan laid the failure of an American Modernism to develop on the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893:

These crowds were astonished. . . . To them it was a veritable Apocalypse, a message inspired from on high. . . . They went away, spreading again over the land, returning to their homes, each one carrying in the soul the shadow of the White Cloud, each of them permeated by the most subtle and slow acting of poisons; an imperceptible miasma within the white shadow of a higher culture. . . . the virus of the World's Fair, after a period of incubation in the architectural profession and the population at large

. . . began to show unmistakable signs of contagion. There came a violent outbreak of the Classic and the Renaissance in the East, which slowly spread westward, contaminating everything it touched . . . reality was gone. In its place had come deep-seated illusions, hallucinations, absence of papillary reaction to light, absence of knee reaction—symptoms all of progressive meningitis. . . . Thus, Architecture died in the land of the free and the home of the brave, in a land declaring its fervid democracy, its inventiveness, its resourcefulness, its unique daring, enterprise and progress. Thus did the virus of a culture, snobbish and alien to the land, perform its work of disintegration. . . . The damage wrought by the World's Fair will last for half a century from its date, if not longer. It has penetrated deep into the constitution of the American mind, effecting there lesions significant of dementia.<sup>38</sup>

While Sullivan could be accused of excessive rhetoric, the glaring lack of recognition of the Chicago style skyscraper in the first quarter of the century must have been hard to understand. Lewis Mumford championed Sullivan in his condemnation of the WCE, first in *Sticks and Stones* and then in his most influential treatise on American architecture, *Brown Decades*.<sup>39</sup> By the late 1920s, the WCE *ensemble* of buildings was an embarrassing mistake, a wrong path taken away from the modernity of Chicago's high-rise innovations of the 1880s. Calling the fair "The Imperial Façade," Mumford preceded postmodern critics indictment of the economic expansionist ethic of the WCE by half a century; however, at the time the architectural press united in its support of this feat of American ingenuity.<sup>40</sup>

*Engineering Magazine*, noted for its full coverage of all aspects of the exposition, called the buildings "the most-talked-of structures on earth."<sup>41</sup> The longest and most thorough examination of the WCE architecture to appear was authored by Henry Van Brunt, chief architect of the Electricity Building and, therefore, at the time, considered an eminent authority of the subtleties of the architecture and the workings of the Architecture Committee.<sup>42</sup> Van Brunt explained the appropriateness of the use of Beaux Arts classical styles in each WCE building,

except the Woman's Building—again the one WCE building designed by a women and first completed building did not receive mention.<sup>43</sup>

Another influential insider, William Le Baron Jenney, gave his view of the process, which he began by damning the architectural competition:

The common way and the one that to the minds of the uninitiated would seem to be eminently fair and advantageous, is a general competition to which architects of the United States should be invited, the building committee to be judge and jury. In practice, this has proved to be the very worst method of choosing an architect that has ever been invented.<sup>44</sup>

A strike against the Woman's building which was subject to an architectural competition. For the other buildings the WCE invited five architects from Chicago and five from other cities. This group of professionals then prioritized the needs for utility and aesthetics and designed the buildings in a creative and cooperative atmosphere. Jenney goes on to credit the use of this method with the success of the venture, which will "bring forth large and lasting returns."<sup>45</sup> Again, the Woman's Building went unmentioned except by implication, because unlike the rest of the buildings, this one was the result of a competition. The one mention of the Woman's Building in the professional press was this: "We are bound to say, though we say it with fear and trembling, that Women's buildings should be avoided in the future, and that the Midway Plaisance, though it was full of delights, established a dangerous precedent."<sup>46</sup> This is strange take because the Woman's Building was a very elegant building that fit in quite well.

The century-long debate over the benefit or detriment of the design of the neo-Classical complex at the WCE has ignored Sophia Hayden the architect of the Woman's Building. Even Mary Cassatt's reputation has had to wait for a less censoring revision of the revisionism. Cassatt's mural for the Woman's Building, as has the building itself, has been damned with faint praise or dismissed as an aberration. A historian recently pointed out that both mural and building were trying to capture the accomplishments of women "in terms derived at least in part from dominant icons."<sup>47</sup> However, "the goal of giving

concrete form to a vision of women's achievements inevitably incorporated many of the contradictions embedded in the late-nineteenth-century ideas about women."<sup>48</sup> The contradictions between the expectations of allegory and the allegory that Cassatt painted caused the work to be widely disliked. The result was the destruction after the exposition of the one monumental work done by this artist.

### *The personal results*

What happened to the women who made possible 57% of total exhibits and created a major elegant building at the exposition?<sup>49</sup> Sophia Hayden never did another building, Alice Rideout never did twelve-foot figures again, and the woman who marshaled art and support from around the world returned to the private life after three years of public scrutiny. To read the professional literature, the Woman's Building might never have existed. To read the progressive popular press, it was nothing but a replay of the ghetto gallery of the 1876 Centennial—just a better building and done on time. The women's efforts at the World's Columbian Exposition, one could say, failed. Another generation of women would be born and become young women before women would even gain the right to vote let alone have the equality in work Bertha Palmer envisioned. She did, however after a brief sojourn in Europe continued her progressive new town planning and development ventures in Florida. The contradiction of the time was that aspirations were freely expressed, even acknowledged briefly, only to fall away.

But what of the men, what of their triumph of a "White City," the "most talked of buildings in the world?" What of the man considered a genius in his own time and a megalomaniac architect bent on control in the minds of some who outlived him? After years spent promoting the "Beautiful City" urban planning concepts that came out of the WCE, what Daniel H. Burnham recalled was the week that the five rival Chicago architectural firms and their intimidating East Coast counterparts put ego aside and worked together as a single body to achieve a result that gave precedence to the whole.<sup>50</sup>

What of Sullivan, whose displeasure was deep and abiding? Sullivan could have seen the future more clearly, if he had noted the Woman's Building. Sophia Hayden's design was in the pseudo-Italian

Renaissance style, because that was what she was learning to do in her architectural training. Hayden was the first woman to graduate from MIT's four-year program and her submission to the architectural competition was her master's thesis project. Burnham, Henry Van Brunt, and Richard Morris Hunt warmly received Hayden, she was doing what a talented young architect should have been doing. Her personal "failure" was that she had never supervised construction, something that has to a large degree not changed in architectural training. Even with this "failure" her building was the completed well before any other building. The experience of this project resulted in Hayden suffering a "brain fever" and there is no indication that she continued in the architectural profession.<sup>51</sup>

There are many implications for cultural history in the volumes of information on the World's Columbian Exposition and they seem to illustrate the difficulty in coming to a lasting conclusion about this period in general. The contradictions of the period that plagued people then continue to plague historians now. I, also, suggest that because so many of Bertha Palmer's public addresses still ring true, possibly we cannot solve the contradictions that rose to consciousness at the end of the nineteenth century because we live with them still.

Realizing that woman can never hope to receive proper recompense for her services until her usefulness and success are not only demonstrated but fully understood and acknowledged, we have taken advantage of the opportunity presented by the Exposition to bring together such evidences of her skill in the various industries, arts and professions, as may convince the world that ability is not a matter of sex. Urged by necessity, she has shown that her powers are the same as her brothers', and that like encouragement and fostering care may develop her to an equal point of usefulness.<sup>52</sup>

Bertha Honore Palmer

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1976), xii. John E. Findling, *Chicago's Great World Fair*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 12-13. Daniel H. Burnham, *The Final Official Report of the Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition, 1893; reprint, Joan E. Draper, ed., New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 1. Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981), 24. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 341.
- <sup>2</sup> Reid Badger, in *The Great American Fair: the World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979), 75. The act authorizing issuance of an additional five million dollars in debenture bonds expressly made it questionable "whether the gift would reimburse the company for the prospective receipts from Sunday visitors." The Paris exposition had made it clear that their financial success rested on the 50,000 per Sunday attendance at their exposition and the corporation counted on these proceeds.
- <sup>3</sup> David J. Bertuca, Senior Compiler, Donald K. Hartman and Susan M. Neumeister, co-compilers, *The World's Columbian Exposition: A Centennial Bibliographic Guide* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 147.
- <sup>4</sup> "The World's Columbian Exhibition," editorial, *The American Architect and Building News*, March 31, 1894. 151.
- <sup>5</sup> *Engineering*, quoted in *Ibid.*
- <sup>6</sup> Bertuca, xxi, 369.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.
- <sup>8</sup> Bertha Honore Palmer, "Addresses and Reports of Mrs. Potter Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Commission;" Report to J. W. Candler, Chairman World's Fair Committee, Washington, 12 December 1890, 24-30, especially, 2d. page 25; and page 26, (reiterated at the bottom of the page).
- <sup>9</sup> Bertha Honore Palmer, *The Addresses and Reports of Mrs. Potter Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Commission* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894), 80. She also says, "My experience in England and France taught me that we were much stronger to work without the aid of the State Department than with it." Indeed.
- <sup>10</sup> Weimann, 259.
- <sup>11</sup> Bertuca, *World's Columbian*, 147.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 364-65. The buildings had design guidelines that controlled size, style, and color with a uniform sixty-foot height for all cornices to promote harmony.
- <sup>13</sup> William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), 342.
- <sup>14</sup> Truman, *History of The World's Fair*, 609-10.
- <sup>15</sup> Ann Durkin Keating, *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of the Divided Metropolis* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 19 & 24.
- <sup>16</sup> "The World's Columbian Exposition," *Harper's Weekly* (13 May 1893): 438. "Now for the Fair," *Harper's Weekly* (23 January 1892): 74. "Regarding the World's Fair," *Harper's Weekly* (13 February 1892): 161. "Congress in Chicago," *Harper's Weekly* (5 March 1892): 229. "Railway Fares to Chicago," Editorial, *Harper's Weekly* (4 March 1893): 195. "Sunday Opening of the Fair," *Harper's Weekly* (10 June 1893): 555.
- <sup>17</sup> Editorial, "Now for the Fair!" *Harper's Weekly*, 23 January 1892, 74-75.
- <sup>18</sup> Findling, *Chicago's Great*, 123. The bill authorizing the Chicago location went through eight roll call votes in the House before passage in February of 1890 and before President Benjamin Harrison signed it in April, the Chicago Corporation had to guarantee ten million dollars in subscriptions—a figure forced on it by the state of New York. The bill stipulated a national commission to oversee design, construction, and conduct at the fair.
- <sup>19</sup> A. E. Wathouse, "Congress in Chicago," *Harper's Weekly*, 3 March 1892, 229.
- <sup>20</sup> Badger, *Great American Fair*, 75.
- <sup>21</sup> "The Fair as Educator," 543.
- <sup>22</sup> M. A. Lane, "The World's Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, 13 February 1892, 141.
- <sup>23</sup> Woman's Building is the correct designation although many of the contemporary historians use "Women's" Building. I believe this term—woman—conveys the original intent that the building was to explicate the accomplishments of *woman* as a cultural force and not merely that everything in it was made by women.
- <sup>24</sup> Weimann, *Fair Women*, 32.
- <sup>25</sup> "Mural Decorations of the Administration Building Dome," *Harper's Weekly* (8 April 1893), 324.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-9. Badger outlined the problem between the feminists and the Board of Lady Managers; the consumerism of the Midway, 80-1; and shift of progress from the frontier to civilization through industrialized progress, 123.
- <sup>27</sup> Weimann, *Fair Women*, 32. The title and the failure to list the specific role of the Board of Lady Managers resulted from the wording of the Fair Bill's amendment, fought for and successfully achieved by Illinois representative William Springer. The implication is that Springer bowed to the political power of Chicago's social elite fundraisers, but did not expect them actually to be involved with the creation of the exposition.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-101. Weimann gives an extensive account of the feminist rivalry, which began as part of the New York

versus Chicago partisan battle for the fair site and ends with board secretary and president appearing before the House Committee on World's Fair Expenditures. The feminist, Phoebe Couzins, secretary to the Board of Lady Managers, receives a rather sympathetic portrayal of her actions, which read to this author more as subversive actions taken to preempt the board's procedures.

<sup>29</sup> M. A. Lane, "The Chicago Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, 2 July 1892, 645.

<sup>30</sup> Julian Ralph, "Building Our Great Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, 17 September 1892, 897.

<sup>31</sup> Editorial, "Railway Fares to Chicago," *Harper's Weekly*, 4 March 1893, 195.

<sup>32</sup> Advertisement, "Reservations of Pullman accommodations for the World's Fair on the Pennsylvania Railroad," *Harper's Weekly*, 383. In the next issue, 29 April 1892, there was a cover illustration of the new smoking car and an article explaining its amenities (books, newspapers and a bath) on page 394. The July 22 issue featured an illustration of the new observation car on the cover.

<sup>33</sup> Rydell, *All the World's*, 59.

<sup>34</sup> "The World's Columbian Exposition," editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 15 October 1892, 987.

<sup>35</sup> "The World's Columbian Exposition," editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 13 May 1893, 438.

<sup>36</sup> "The Columbian Exposition," Editorial, *Harper's Weekly*, 16 September 1893, 878.

<sup>37</sup> Montgomery Schuyler, "Last Words About the World's Fair," *Architectural Record* 3 (Jan-Mar 1894), 300.

<sup>38</sup> Louis Sullivan, *Autobiography of an Idea*, (1924; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 321-25.

<sup>39</sup> Joan E. Draper, Introduction, Daniel H. Burnham, *The Final Official Report of the Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.), 1989, xiv.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, xi.

<sup>41</sup> Barr Ferree, "Architecture," *Engineering Magazine* 5 (June 1893): 396.

<sup>42</sup> Draper, *Final Official Report*, xii.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Van Brunt, "The Architectural Event of Our Times," *Engineering Magazine* 6 (Jan 1894): 430-41.

<sup>44</sup> William Le Baron Jenney, "A Talk on Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," *The Inland Architect and News Record*, vol. XXI no. 3 (April, 1893): 34-35.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 34. Jenney is widely credited with the invention of the curtain construction method that produced the modern skyscraper. He designed the WCE Horticulture Building.

<sup>46</sup> "The World's Columbian Exhibition," *American Architect*, 152.

<sup>47</sup> John Hutton, "Picking Fruit: Mary Cassatt's Modern Woman and the Woman's Building of 1893," *Feminist*

*Studies* 20, no. 2 (Summer 1994), 325.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

<sup>49</sup> David J. Bertuca, Senior Compiler, Donald K. Hartman and Susan M. Neumeister, co-compilers, *The World's Columbian Exposition: A Centennial Bibliographic Guide* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 147.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel H. Burnham, "Lessons of the Chicago World's Fair: An Interview with the late Daniel H. Burnham," transcribed meeting (Chicago, 8 April 1908), *The Architectural Record* 33, no.1 (Jan 1913), 42.

<sup>51</sup> Susana Torre, *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977), 57.

<sup>52</sup> Bertha Palmer, "Address delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Woman's Building," *Congress of Women*, 28.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

Burnham, Daniel H. Final Official Report of the Director of Works of the World's Columbian Exposition. Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition, 1893; reprint, Joan E. Draper, ed. New York: Garland Publishing, 1987.

Eagle, Mary Kavanaugh Oldham. The Congress of Women. Chicago: Congress of Women, 1893; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1974.

Palmer, Bertha Honore. Addresses and Reports of Mrs. Potter Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Exposition. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company, 1894.

Truman, Benjamin C. History of The World's Fair Being A Complete and Authentic Description of the Columbian Exposition From Its Inception. Philadelphia: Mammoth Publishing Co., 1893.

Barr Ferree. "Architecture." *Engineering Magazine* 5 (June 1893): 393-97.

W. L. B. Jenney. "A Talk on Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition." *Inland Architect* 21 (April 1893): 34-5.

S. K. "The Columbian Exposition—IV." *The Nation* 57 (24 August 1893): 132-33.

Lane, M. A. "The Women's Building, World's Fair." *Harper's Weekly* (9 January 1892): 40. "The Chicago Fair." *Harper's Weekly* (2 July 1892): 643.

Moore, Charles. "Lessons of the Chicago World's Fair: An Interview with the late Daniel H. Burnham." *Architectural Record* 33 (Jan. 1913): 35-44.

Ralph, Julian. "Building Our Great Fair." *Harper's Weekly* (17 September 1892): 897-98.

Schuyler, Montgomery. "Last Words about the Fair." *Architectural Record* 3 (Jan-Mar 1894): 291-301.

Van Brunt, Henry. "The Architectural Event of Out Times." *Engineering Magazine* 6 (Jan 1894): 430-41.

Watrous, A. E. "Congress in Chicago." *Harper's Weekly* (5 March 1892): 229. "The Columbian Exposition," *Harper's Weekly* (16 Sep 1893): 878.

"Congress in Chicago." *Harper's Weekly* (5 March 1892): 229.

"The Fair as Educator." *Harper's Weekly* (10 June 1893): 543.

"The Midway Plaisance." *Harper's Weekly* (27 April 1893): 442.

"Mural Decorations of the Administration Dome." *Harper's Weekly* (8 April 1893): 324.

"Now for the Fair!" *Harper's Weekly* (23 January 1892): 74-75.

"Railway Fares to Chicago." *Harper's Weekly* (4 March 1893): 195

"Reservations of Pullman Accommodations for the World's Fair on the Pennsylvania Railroad," advertisement *Harper's Weekly* (22 April 1893): 383.

"Regarding the World's Fair." *Harper's Weekly* (13 February 1892): 161.

"Study and Enjoyment." *Harper's Weekly* (15 October 1892): 987.

"Sunday Opening of the Fair: Forbidden by National and Commercial Honor." *Harper's Weekly* (10 June 1893): 555.

"World's Columbian Exposition." *Harper's Weekly* (13 May 1893): 438.

"World's Columbian Exposition: The World's Congress Auxiliary." *Harper's Weekly* (8 July 1893): 650.

"World's Fair and Sunday." *Harper's Weekly* (15 October 1892): 987.

### Secondary Sources

Badger, Reid. *The Great American Fair: the World's Columbian Exposition & American Culture*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979.

Bertuca, David J. Senior Compiler, Donald K. Hartman and Susan M. Neumeister, co-compilers. *The World's Columbian Exposition: A Centennial Bibliographic Guide*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Burg, David F. *Chicago's White City of 1893*. Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1976.

Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1991.

Findling, John E. *Chicago's Great World Fairs*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.

Harris, Neil, Wim de Wit, James Gilbert, and Robert W. Rydell. *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World Fair of 1893*. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993.

Hines, Thomas S. *Burnham of Chicago, architect and planner*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Hutton, John. "Picking Fruit: Mary Cassatt's Modern Woman and the Woman's Building of 1893." *Feminist Studies*, 20 Issue 2 (Summer 94): 319-34.

Keating, Ann Durkin. *Building Chicago: Suburban Developers & the Creation of the Divided Metropolis*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988.

Miller, Donald L. *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Rydell, Robert W. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984.

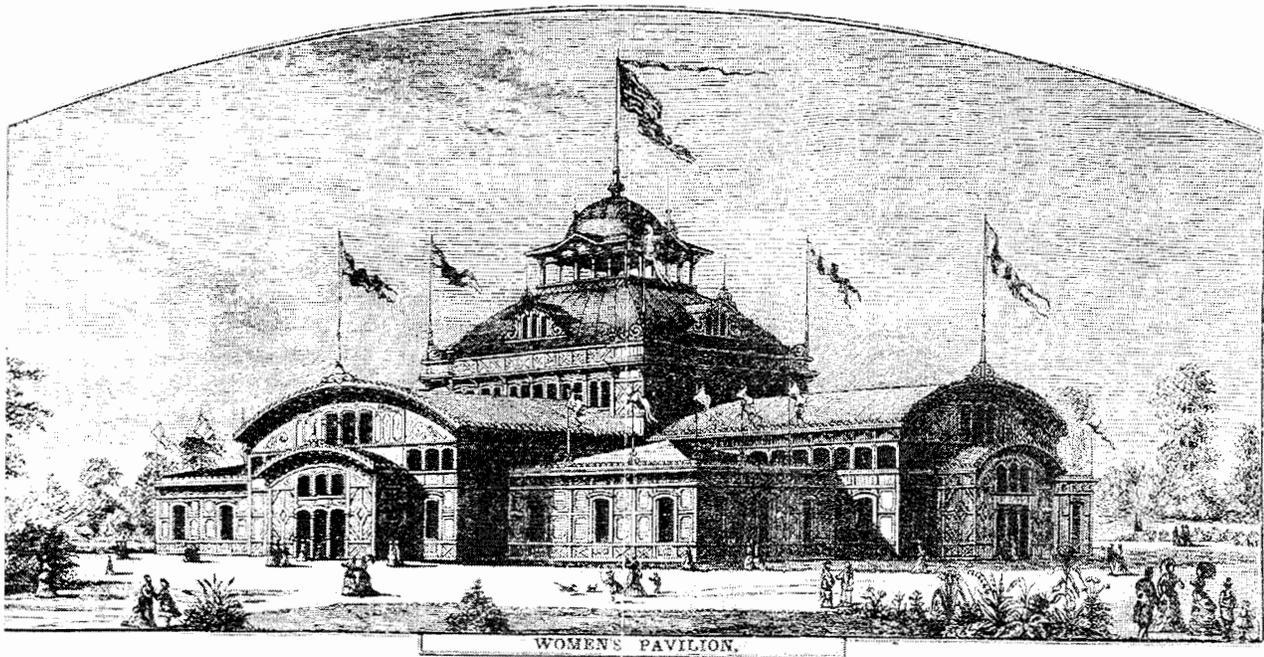
Schlereth, Thomas J. "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism." *The Journal of American History* 79, Issue 3, *Discovering America: A Special Issue* (Dec., 1992): 937-968.

Schuyler, David. *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Torre, Susana. *Women in Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective*. New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977.

Weimann, Jeanne Madeline. *The Fair Women*. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press



*Sophia Hayden*

*Woman's Building with Roof Posts in Place, Awaiting Sculptures*

