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Résumé

Notre article s'intéresse à la façon dont l'Exposition Universelle de 1900 s'est servi du corps féminin pour dessiner la relation entre la France, Paris et les provinces. Le contraste marqué entre les représentations de La Parisienne et celles de ses soeurs de province laisse apparaître une série d'enjeux conflictuels liés à la consommation et la production, la modernité et la tradition, l'évolution et l'immobilisme. Nous nous intéressons en particulier ici à l'entrée principale construite pour l'exposition, la Porte Monumentale, afin d'explorer la manière dont l'exposition a construit la nation dans un rapport discursif de centre à périphérie. En dépit d'une rhétorique situant l'exposition dans une perspective de décentralisation, l'exposition de 1900 s'est effectivement servie d'allégories géographiques sexuées pour donner aux relations entre la nation, sa capitale et ses régions une apparence harmonieuse, alors que celles-ci se trouvaient dans un rapport fortement hiérarchisé et politisé. Prenant pour exemple le cas de la Provence, je conclus en examinant comment les groupes régionaux ont tiré profit de leurs moyens limités pour s'insérer dans le récit national.

> Du temps que la Nature en sa verve puissante
> Concevait chaque jour des enfants monstrueux,
> J'eusse aimé vivre auprès d'une jeune géante,
> Comme aux pieds d'une reine un chat voluptueux.
>
> Charles Baudelaire, "La Géante"

Literally and metaphorically, the figure of *La Parisienne* loomed large over the 1900 Exposition Universelle. Visitors entered the Paris fairgrounds through a massive gateway, the Porte Monumentale (fig. 1), which was capped by a colossal statue commonly called *La Parisienne* or *Paris Welcoming her Guests* (fig. 2). This figure was quintessentially modern: the city of Paris embodied in a brightly coloured statue of a woman dressed not in classical garb but in the latest haute couture fashion.[1] Since the mid-nineteenth century, representations of the Parisienne had inscribed an ideal of femininity and circumscribed norms of female behaviour. However, at the 1900 exposition, the Porte Monumentale was but one of many instances that used such constructs of femininity to carry the weight of symbolic representation in a range of contentious issues, including centre and periphery, consumption and production, modernity and tradition, evolution and stasis. These dichotomies and associated ideals of femininity articulated relations and hierarchies between the nation, its capital city, and the so-called provinces.[2] The very visible Parisienne, imagined as a sophisticated consumer essential to the nation's economy and future, took what seemed her rightful place as the head of the nation; she was enabled to do so by virtue of a clear contrast to her rural cousins, the provincial women whose visibility depended on how picturesque they were, and who were therefore fundamental to her meaning.[3] Such representations of gender were potent markers of spatialized political relations that played out in many spheres throughout the exposition.

The 1900 exposition promoted the Third Republic ideal of a united and homogenous modern nation, in the face of a rather more contentious political reality. In the years leading up to the exposition, the French Republican government continued to face divisive challenges, particularly from the ongoing Dreyfus affair. The moderate government and the various challengers to it sought to define a national identity that would successfully naturalize their own ideological viewpoints. The Parisienne played a role in this contested territory. As Debora Silverman's ground-breaking work on the politics of the decorative and luxury arts has shown, the Parisienne represented one republican ideology amongst several.[4] Its success is now evident since the idea that "to promote the nation in France is to promote its capital, and vice versa"[5] was (and often is) widely accepted as natural or inevitable. As Michel de Certeau has argued, such a discourse of the city "serves as a totalizing and almost mythical landmark for socioeconomic and political strategies"; yet any such construct is, nevertheless, continually manipulated and renegotiated by those outside its boundaries.[6] The rich literature on world's fairs has revealed such struggles over the creation of national identities, especially as these have supported racial and imperial constructs, and has recently examined the role of gender in such constructs.[7] Building on that literature, this paper demonstrates that the exposition was important in prescribing roles internal to the French nation and that it used gendered geographical allegories to reinforce a hierarchy. Using the response from Provence as an example, I demonstrate that from the perspective of provincial France the capital did not represent the nation as a whole, and the cultural geography mapped by the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle was disputed territory.

Regionalist Resistance and Provençal Support

Tensions between Paris and "la province," present throughout the nineteenth century but heightened in its final decades, coalesced in the 1890s around projections of the expenses and benefits of the upcoming Exposition Universelle. The news that Germany was considering holding its own millennial world's fair briefly united French support for the 1900 plans; however, once that threat abated, the exposition became a touchstone

Figure 1. Joseph Hawkes, *Paris Exposition: main entrance gate, Paris, France*, 1900. Lantern slide, 8.26 x 10.16 cm. Brooklyn Museum Archives, Goodyear Archival Collection, visual materials (6.1.015): Paris Exposition lantern slides.

for debates over decentralization and the role of "les provinces" in the nation.[8] Decentralization has sometimes been viewed as a purely right-wing political ideology, but in the 1890s, along with regionalism, it crossed political boundaries and was fundamentally concerned with how the nation outside the Île-de-France might define itself. In 1895, Parliament appointed a Commission décentralisatrice to study how decentralization might be implemented; *La Revue socialiste* claimed that "decentralization is the order of the day"; and naturalist writer Jean Ajalbert called it the year's favourite "tarte à la crème politico-littéraire."[9]

Decentralists of northeastern France vociferously campaigned against the Paris exposition on the grounds that it would cost the provinces but would only benefit the capital. The most concerted attack came from Nancy, where the Ligue Lorraine décentralisation distributed the inflammatory pamphlet "Pas d'exposition en 1900!" to municipal councils all over France.[10] The group's leader, Maurice Barrès, gave the protest national prominence through two influential articles in *Le Figaro*.[11] However, Alfred Picard, commissioner general of the exposition, dismissed such complaints, citing increased exports after the 1889 exposition as proof of the value of the fair to the entire nation.[12] Much of the opposition out of Nancy was based on characteristic extreme-right positions, jingoism, and fears of "moral degradation."[13] But opposition was not confined to the political right. In *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Octave Mirbeau, whose shifting politics were allied with anarchism in the 1890s, likewise complained that the exposition drained the provinces and only benefited Paris.[14] In any case, after the exposition was fully approved in 1896, most opposition waned.[15]

In Provence such opposition did not widely exist. Provençal regionalists' support is exemplified in Jules Charles-Roux, the most prominent businessman in Marseilles and a former Deputy, who was in charge of the colonial section of the 1900 exposition and supported both the fair and colonialism for its benefits to the local economy. As I will discuss later in this paper, other Provençal support is demonstrated by the local attempts to insert Provence into the national narrative.[16]

Official representatives of the exposition, such as Roger Marx, the curator of the centennial exhibition at the fair, repeatedly claimed that the exposition was in fact decentralizing, and it may have seemed that way. For example, organizers allowed a coalition of left-wing regionalists to hold a congress that was to bring together "the decentralists, provincialists, regionalists and federalists" during the fair.[17] However, a deeper analysis shows that the Porte Monumentale was one of many cases throughout the exposition that undermined the purported decentralization, and that when it came to allowing regions outside Paris the opportunity to represent themselves in politically and economically meaningful ways, decentralization was not to be realized in France.

The Porte Monumentale and *La Parisienne*

The Porte Monumentale functioned literally to allow and restrict access to the exposition, but it functioned symbolically to enforce other kinds of boundaries. The design of this main entrance to the newly renovated Champs Elysées from the Place de la Concorde was overseen by René Binet, best known for his later Art Nouveau addition to the Printemps department store. He conceived a forty-metre-high, triple-arched dome made in contemporary iron construction, covered in plaster to look like a bejewelled mosaic. The central dome was crowned by *La Parisienne* and flanked by tall walls that connected it to minarets, which were emblazoned with electric lights.[18] Inside the dome were fifty-eight ticket windows that reportedly allowed 1,040 people per minute access to the fair and were much discussed as a positive feature of the gate's design.[19] Above the ticket windows, the names of French cities were inscribed. It was a superficial way of evoking the reaches of the nation, and one commentator humorously related that while the inscriptions were a fine gesture, they led to confusion among *campagnards* who could not find their towns and so did not know which ticket window to enter by.[20] Because of the gateway's repeated references to the nation beyond Paris, it was and is often seen as an emblem of national solidarity, but a close reading reveals that the monument itself mapped a hierarchy that belied this ideal.[21]

The general shape and appearance of the gateway was evidently inspired by Binet's use of and interest in the theories of German botanist Ernst Haeckel. Haeckel promoted Darwinian evolutionary biology,[22] which the French usually called *transformism*, using the term associated with the French precursor to Darwin, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck. As one account of the gate explained, Binet "has observed the laws of transformism and has noted how, with the lower beings, the natural kingdoms converge and intermingle; finally, and most important of all, he has met Haeckel (*Kunstformen de Natur*) and discovered what an unfathomable treasure of forms nature has given to art."[23] Binet himself thanked Haeckel for his detailed drawings of organic forms and admitted their impact on his developing plans for the gateway (fig. 3).[24] But Haeckel's beliefs about natural selection and the taxonomy of species extended beyond Darwin's theories: Haeckel believed in a hierarchy of humankind. On the differences between the species, he wrote, "If one must draw a sharp boundary, it has to be drawn between the most highly developed and civilised man on one hand, and the rudest savages on the other, and the latter have to be classed with the animals."[25] Binet's gate recapitulates this race- and class-based ideology.

Figure 2. *La Parisienne*, cover of *L'Illustration*, 14 April 1900. Collection of the author. Image by Jarrett Duncan.

Provincials were explicitly depicted in the two-metre-tall frieze (fig. 4), which formed part of the wall connecting the base of the dome to the minarets. Described as a history of work, the frieze was done by academic sculptor Anatole Guillot and was applauded as a tribute to the workers who made the fair

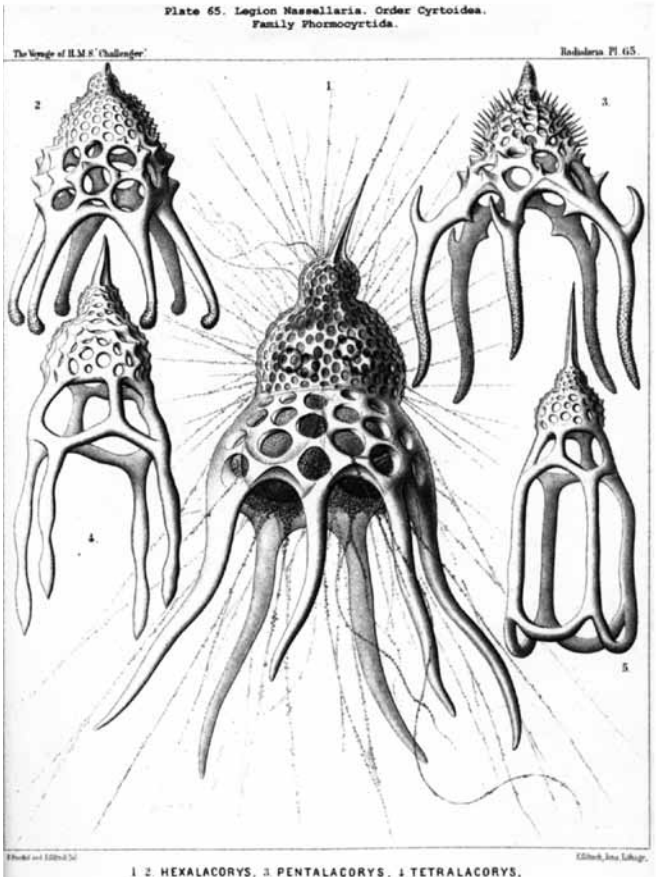

Figure 3. Ernst Haeckel, illustration from *Report on the Radiolaria*, vol. 18 of section 5 of the *Report on the scientific results of the voyage of the H.M.S. Challenger,* 1887, plate 65. Reprinted by permission from Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

possible.[26] Frantz Jourdain wrote, "I support the general intention, the unexpected originality … of evoking in the low-relief of the base, the concept of the operative, the manual worker, too often forgotten in a century in which his place is none the less dominant."[27] In addition to representing manual labour, these "workers from the fields … and the towns"[28] were recognized as coming from rural France and standing for the rural nation. Situated just above a frieze of animals sculpted by Paul Jouve, these "rude workers" were seen as typifying their regions even though not dressed in identifiable costume. They were "the symbol of an entire nation contributing to the common good."[29] Yet Paris was not shown at work; she was resting atop the labour of the rural nation, in a relationship that precisely paralleled the complaints of regionalists before the opening of the exposition.

The interior sculptures increased the provincials' distance from the Parisienne. One niche held a large statue that was referred to both as Electricity and as Salambo, Gustave Flaubert's infamous Carthaginian *femme fatale* (fig. 5). In Flaubert's 1862 text, Salambo embodies light, and so she was an apt allegory for electricity, which was marked as a significant sign of national progress at the fair:

> The splendour of her beauty forms a cloud of light around her. … She has nothing in common with other daughters of men! Have you seen her great eyes beneath her great eyebrows, like suns beneath triumphal arches! Think: when she appeared all the torches grew pale. Her naked breast shone here and there through the diamonds of her necklace.[30]

As the consummate *femme fatale*, Salambo exerts a fascinating attraction, but is frighteningly dangerous. The placement of this North African figure in the lower part of the monument is consistent with the gateway's hierarchies. Like the natural phenomenon electricity, or like colonial subjects and rural labourers, she must be properly contained and harnessed.

At the top of the archway, just under the *La Parisienne*, was an older symbol of the City of Paris: a sailing ship combined with the motto *Fluctuat Nec Mergitur*, meaning "it rocks, but does not capsize." As Silverman has shown, the symbol was used in the 1890s as an emblem that asserted the ongoing viability of the Third Republic while linking it to tradition and to previous regimes of all political stripes. Used as a metaphor for political stability despite turbulent times, its presence on the gateway was no doubt meant to appeal to national solidarity.[31] Yet, until the Third Republic, the symbol had been linked exclusively to the City of Paris rather than the nation, and virtually all commentators continued to see it that way;[32] consequently, its power as a national unifier was rather limited.

The massive Parisienne crowning all these elements was executed by sculptor Paul Moreau-Vauthier, who would make his reputation fashioning small-scale portrait sculptures of society women. Moreau-Vauthier collaborated with the haute couturier Jeanne Paquin, who designed the figure's costume.[33] The original plan had been to top the Porte with a more traditional figurehead, described as both Fame and Liberty. Either of these, as well as allegorical representations of France, the Republic, Progress, or even Marianne, would have been sanctioned by tradition.[34] Such allegorical statues of women had been the primary means of signifying the nation since the Revolution.[35] By the end of the nineteenth century, however, such figures seemed conservative and more "natural" symbols were the order of the day.[36] Controversy erupted before the completion of the unconventional figurehead. The Minister of Commerce, M. Millerand, reportedly called for the statue's removal.[37] Moreau-Vauthier resisted calls that it be replaced by a statue of Liberty or a *coq gaulois*, first by suggesting these would not suit Binet's fantastic frame, and then by appealing to national pride. He protested that classical statues wore the contemporary dress of

Figure 4. Anatole Guillot, Maquette of *Worker's Frieze* component of *Porte Monumentale*. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris* (1900), vol. 2 (Paris, 1900), 4.

their day and would not have worn foreign clothes; likewise, *La Parisienne* should wear contemporary, fashionable French clothing.[38] This argument doubtless played to the ideology Silverman revealed as a gendered call to patriotism, where women were expected to support the national economy through conspicuous consumption of luxury goods, while simultaneously evoking a modern, up-to-date aesthetic.[39]

In terms of embodying a nation, the choice of figurehead had additional significance. Since France's first Exposition Universelle in 1855, *La France couronnant l'Art et l'Industrie* had reigned over the main entrance to the Palais de l'Industrie, the exposition's main building. Yet this building was demolished for the 1900 exposition,[40] and with it went the allegorical image of the nation, supplanted by a statue that tellingly linked only Paris, and not the rest of France, with modernity.

La Parisienne modelled a particular kind of femininity that was understood in opposition to other kinds of femininity on view at the fair. Her *au courant* clothing, designed by the prestigious House of Paquin, emphasized her difference from the traditional allegorical representation of France in classical garb, as well as from both provincials in so-called traditional and unfashionable costume and exotic, often scantily clad, foreign women. The costume also distinguished *La Parisienne* from *la femme nouvelle*, on the rise in the latter half of the 1890s in France and derisively stereotyped as dressing masculinely,[41] and envisioned as either a gargantuan Amazon or an emaciated *hommesse*.[42] As Silverman has shown, the response generated by such fears of the New Woman promoted women as equal but confined them to the domestic and consumer spheres, doing their duty as patrons and consumers of luxury goods. In some senses, *La Parisienne* was thus a prescriptive alternative to the New Woman, promoting the consumerist, elegant, feminine, and decorative realms to which "proper" women were relegated.[43] Here was a woman in a dress pointedly of its age, an age of change and progress, like fashion itself. *La Parisienne* was the very visible manifestation of the city's place at the forefront of the world's luxury fashion industry.[44] As Tamar Garb and Ruth Iskin have shown, in the late nineteenth century the Parisienne stood for a modern form of femininity that embodied both the excitements and dangers of the burgeoning modern city.[45] One guidebook from 1900 tellingly describes the delights of Parisian women and fashion:

> La Parisienne! C'est-à-dire cette jolie silhouette que l'on revoit avec tant de gaieté au cœur quand on revient à Paris de n'importe quel point de la terre! Qu'on reconnaît partout: sur les plages, à la campagne et dans la petite ville de province quand, par hasard, elle s'y égare; la Parisienne délicieux assemblage de coquetteries et de charmes se décomposant ainsi: d'élégants vêtements qui s'ajustent indiscrètement comme un maillot ou qui flottent, suivant la mode, mais toujours bien portés et habilement taillés par une fine couturière tout aussi parisienne que sa cliente! . . . Une coiffure sans cesse renouvelée avec rien et hardiment posée sur la tête, renversée en arrière, penchée en avant, jetée de côté.[46]

Dressed in the latest fashion, wearing the latest hairstyles, and thus constantly changing, the Parisienne was the ultimate in a nationalized construction of French femininity, and that meant that she was also the quintessential consumer, patriotically supporting the French economy.[47]

Creator of *La Parisienne's* elaborate clothing, Jeanne Paquin was the pre-eminent couturier of the day, and despite being eclipsed by male designers in later fashion histories,[48] she was recognized for attracting a younger, hipper clientele than the more traditional House of Worth. Thus, she undoubtedly signified a cutting-edge fashion choice, again emphasizing modernity. Certainly she was the most visible couturier at the fair: she designed the dress for the pre-eminent sculpture of the fair, which was widely reproduced and copied; her peers elected her, along with Gaston Worth, to head the couturiers' collective fashion display; and, reportedly, one of the mannequins in the history of costume display was a sumptuous figure of Paquin herself.[49] In fact, Paquin provides a useful counterpoint to the trope of the Parisienne. She had risen from humble beginnings as a common model to head her own fashion house.[50] By 1910 Paquin et Cie employed a conservatively estimated 2,000 people,[51] giving lie to the common myth of woman as consum-

Figure 5. Joseph Hawkes, *Paris Exposition: Place de la Concorde, entrance gate, Paris, France*, 1900. Lantern slide, 10.16 x 8.26 cm. Brooklyn Museum Archives, Goodyear Archival Collection, visual materials (6.1.015): Paris Exposition lantern slides.

Figure 6. Postcard illustrating *Le Vieux Paris*, Exposition Universelle, 1900. Collection of the author. Image by Jarrett Duncan.

er and man as producer,[52] a myth that relied on the bourgeois ideology that middle-class women did not work for wages.[53]

Response to the Porte Monumentale was mixed. Many accounts derisively referred to it as "La Salamandre" because of its resemblance to contemporary pot-bellied stoves.[54] Rémy de Gourmont, in *Mercure de France*, opined against it on more substantive terms, as merely a "striving for novelty" that represents "a sad sign of decadence."[55] More positive comments on its modernity pointed to its advanced construction, which efficiently allowed large numbers of people to enter, its use of electricity, and its combination of styles, decorativeness, and aggressive polychromy.[56] But despite its overwhelming presence atop the Porte, *La Parisienne* was not a successful symbol. It did not become a standard allegory of the French nation. The critical reception of the statue revealed widespread discomfort with what was caricatured as aggressive sexuality;[57] this is indicative of a psychological unease with the giant, and thus powerful, modern woman looming over the fair. Yet the monument's positioning of the rural nation, of "la province," seems to have been successful in that it went unnoticed, as is often the case with hegemonic, naturalized symbols. *La Parisienne*'s reign over provincial workers, who were positioned slightly above the animals and close to the North African Salambo, was accepted without question.

Vieux Paris / Vieil Arles

In contrast to the Parisienne's visibility, the women of "les provinces" were much more difficult to locate. France was slower than other nations to embrace the "folk" as a means of creating national unity; not until 1884 was any European material included in the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, when a small Salle de France showing traditional provincial dress was sandwiched between the African and Asian exhibits.[58] At the 1900 fair the official French pavilions did not organize material by region or department, but by industry, and as one commentator put it,

> La subdivision par provinces n'existe pas…. Nos différents produits provinciaux sont répartis dans toute l'Exposition…. Il ne forment [sic] pas un ensemble, un tout complet par province. On trouvera, par exemple, une section importante concernant la soierie lyonnaise, mais on ne trouvera aucun groupement de produits ou d'œuvres donnant dans son ensemble le caractère de la région lyonnaise. En réalité l'Exposition de 1900 n'a pas été faite pour mettre en valeur les provinces.[59]

No *départements* held comprehensive examples of their industry and culture. Governmental contributions were national; regional contributions generally came from industry, and so were scat-

tered throughout the official pavilions as well as in privately initiated, commercial venues throughout the exposition.

Probably the most insidious configuration of the national geography was the implicit comparison between the exhibit *Vieux Paris* (fig. 6) and the commercial provincial displays. *Vieux Paris* purported to recreate the Paris of 1400. It included recreations of numerous well-known historic buildings, and had people dressed in period costumes who acted in live shows depicting everyday life in times gone by. Designed by Albert Robida, a popular illustrator and author, *Vieux Paris* was said to have been inspired partly by Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*.[60] While purists complained about its glaring historical inaccuracies and overly theatrical elements, it was favourably reviewed in the press and garnered much attention. Figure 6 illustrates how carefully constructed and complete the buildings were in order to create the feeling of being present in that time. The *Guide Bleu* remarked of the reconstruction that "dès qu'on a franchi le seuil du Vieux Paris, il semble qu'on soit tout à fait séparé du monde moderne."[61] Of course, the fiction of this separation from modernity would be quite evident; modern Paris would have been visible in the ever-present form of the Eiffel Tower. This evident contrast between then and now, the past and the present, markedly differentiates *Vieux Paris* from the temporally ambiguous model with which the provincial displays were positioned.

The regions most often considered picturesque—Provence, Bretagne, Poitou, Berry, and Auvergne—had displays, organized by regional committees.[62] Reviewers most often compared these regional displays to either the Rue des Nations (where the foreign pavilions were) or the *Vieux Paris* exhibit, implying that the provinces were like foreign countries or existed as in the past.[63] The names themselves perhaps even evoke the past, since all used the names of the *ancien régime* provinces, abolished in favour of *départements* in 1790, but still in common usage. One reviewer noted how uneven the coverage was, asking, "Puisqu'on reconstituait le 'Vieux Paris,' pourquoi chaque province n'aurait-elle pas eu sa reconstitution particulière dans l'enceinte de cette Exposition, qui appartient tout autant à la province qu'à Paris?"[64] Implicit in his comment was the awareness that only the most picturesque regions, the most obviously different, and the most ripe for developing an economy of tourism were on display.

Provence was represented by two reconstructions: one a *Mas*, or Provençal farmhouse, described as Provence of today; and the other *Vieil Arles* (fig. 7), described as Provence of old.[65] The Provençal exhibits reflected the larger picture, and thus I focus on them as a salient example of the fair's construction of relations between Paris and the provinces. In showing two parts of provincial life, both urban and rural, these displays had the potential to deconstruct the stereotypical view that denied the possibility of urban life to "la province," but in fact reinforced the stereotype. The *mas* was part and parcel of town components, eliding differences between rural dwellers. Moreover, the urban component, *Vieil Arles*, was consistently interpreted as *autrefois*. It reconstructed parts of the city such as the Roman road and necropolis of Les Alyscamps, the Romanesque doorway of the town's important cathedral, Saint Trophîme, and the antique Roman theatre. *Vieil Arles* was not, however, a reconstruction in the same sense as *Vieux Paris*. It was not Arles in Roman times or in 1400, but was instead Arles as it existed in 1900, displaying extant ancient ruins. Where *Vieux Paris* simu-

Figure 7. M. Bucquet, *Vieil Arles*. Illustration in *Exposition universelle internationale de 1900 à Paris. Rapport général administratif et technique*, vol. 7 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902–1903). Image courtesy of Le Conservatoire numérique des Arts & Métiers, NAM 4° Xae 69.7

Figure 8. Postcard, *Exposition Univ'le de 1900 Vieil Arles: Type d'Arlésienne*. Collection of the author. Image by Jarrett Duncan.

lated what life must have been like in the past, when the medieval buildings were new, the Arles reconstruction elided the differences between then and now.

Both *Vieux Paris* and the displays of the provinces included costumed figures, but instead of acting out period dramas, the provincial women generally worked as waitresses serving regional cuisines. In photographs of the Provençal exhibit, women wear identifiably Arlésienne clothing and serve bouillabaisse, the characteristic soup of coastal Provence (a conflation of different regions that went unnoticed). While the inhabitants of the *Vieux Paris* site were clearly actors playing a part, the position of the Arlésiennes was more ambiguous. The Arlésienne played the role of the mythic provincial woman—wearing traditional garb, serving traditional food from a traditional home—but indications that she, too, was acting a part were absent.[66]

Similarly, a postcard from the *Vieil Arles* exhibit takes an ethnographic approach, displaying a "Type d'Arlésienne" (fig. 8). The contrast with *La Parisienne* could not be clearer: the Arlésienne is pictured in a natural, not urban, setting, and her clothing was certainly not designed by a Parisian fashion house. Thus, in the same way that the construct of *La Parisienne* proscribed roles for urban women, the construct of the rural woman likewise delineated appropriate, and even more limited, behaviour. Because her clothing could not be identified with a particular historical moment but instead signified an unbroken continuity between the present and some distant past, and because it was not clear if she was in costume or in her "real" clothes, the Arlésienne could be read as the essence of an eternal, and unchanging, rural France.

The politics around the construction of the other component of the Provençal exhibit, the *mas*, reveals how deliberate the exposition's construction of national and regional identity was. Traditionally, a *mas* was constructed to withstand southern heat and wind, with a long low roofline and small windows. But the original plan by the regional architect Bruno Pélissier for the reconstruction of the Provençal farmhouse was refused by the Paris exposition committee.[67] *La Cigale*, a Provençal journal based in Paris, reported that Pélissier "a dû, non sans chagrin, modifier quelque peu pour obéir à des prescriptions administratives."[68] Charles Fromentin claimed the authentic version of the farmhouse had seemed too savage and terrified the pencil pushers of the administration, who insisted on a more pleasant version.[69] Consequently, he continued, Pélissier raised the roof and added and enlarged windows. Fromentin went so far as to complain that the "savages" on display at the Trocadéro did not have to make their displays more accommodating, and wondered why the provincials did. The answer would seem to have something to do with expectations. Apparently the administration did not think it appropriate for a French Provençal farmhouse to appear "savage"; yet they did not object to its portrayal as timeless and pre-modern. Portraying the provinces as timeless but differentiating them from other, supposedly less advanced races also on display at the exposition served two purposes: it reinforced a hierarchy within the French nation, but also validated the French race as a whole by illustrating that even the primitive elements of French society were not as primitive as the colonies.

Parisian Fashion / Provincial Costume

Clothing played a major role in various ways within the exposition, especially in two major exhibits, the official Palais des Fils, Tissus et Vêtements, and the Palais du Costume. In these buildings, so-called traditional provincial costume—often invented in the nineteenth century—was a primary signifier of difference from the modernity exemplified by *La Parisienne*, and enforced the low position of the provinces and provincial women in a hierarchical social formation.

The largest fashion exhibit was held in the Palais des Fils, Tissus et Vêtements, a vast official pavilion covering approximately three hectares on the Champ de Mars. The magnitude and opulent grandeur of the building indicates the impor-

Figure 9. Albert Robida, *La Mode et le Costume à Travers le Siècle (1800–1839)*. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1900), supplement no. 25, following p. 196.

tance of the industry to France; as commentators noted, the building was comparable to the Palais du Génie Civil et des Moyens de Transport, which was located directly across the Champ de Mars.[70] The clothing exhibits focused on the current production of fabric and fashion, using display techniques derived from modern department stores. Overall, the displays sought to prove the continued pre-eminence of Paris in world fashion, while simultaneously indicating how far it had advanced from traditional costume. The strength of this industry was attributed to Parisian women since "la persévérance de la femme a sauvé de la ruine une des dernières supériorités que nous demeurent dans les arts de luxe et c'est la France qui continue à dicter la mode aux cinq parties du monde."[71] Moreover, through this exhibit "la mode française attestera, une fois de plus, la vitalité de son universelle domination."[72] This French fashion was clearly the haute couture world of Paris. Indeed, the exhibition organizers situated provincial costume as a counter-balance to the heady world of changing Parisian haute couture.

The display of Parisian costume was comprehensive, showcasing clothing from different decades, appropriate for different activities (including that definitively modern experience, shopping) and for different classes. Thus, viewers could trace stylistic development and recognize a plurality of styles at any given time. In contrast, there were no indications that provincial fashion changed over time, for different occasions, or in accordance with a person's status. The official catalogue of the exhibition of costume and its accessories lists the various regional costumes displayed, but only clothing from the Île-de-France is distinguished by date and class of wearer.[73] Albert Robida, designer of the exhibit Vieux Paris and a well-known engraver, depicted Parisian scenes from the Palais's centennial exhibition (fig. 9) in which elegantly drawn women in a variety of settings wear distinctive haute couture from different eras and for different occasions. In contrast, François Courboin's illustration of provincial clothing (fig. 10) from the same exhibit is more crudely drawn; each region has only one style of clothing with no time frame indicated; all are depicted outdoors, implying they are closer

Figure 10. François Courboin, *Musée Centennal des Costumes Français*. Detail of illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1900), supplement no. 33, following p. 260.

to nature and equating them all with peasants. There are no *flâneurs* in the provincial backgrounds. Both official exhibitions and popular illustrations depicted all provincials as peasants living in an unchanging world, thereby transforming provincial clothing into folk costume. The Arlésienne, that quintessential woman of Provence, thus carried the symbolic weight of a supposedly unchanging and unchangeable tradition.[74] Provincial women stood in stark contrast to the Parisienne in the clothing displays, revealing and reinforcing a boundary that was also demarcated in the exposition's art exhibits.

Provence and the History of French Art

As Walter Benjamin noted, art and fashion are more closely related than has been recognized.[75] Like fashion and the female body, the 1900 exposition's three major art exhibits were yet another central locus in which Paris came to stand for the nation and the provinces were devalued. Yet they were trumpeted in official rhetoric as "éminemment décentralisatrice."[76] The grand retrospective of the nation's art was held in the newly built Petit Palais. This exhibition revealed, in several ways, the relation between region, capital, and nation embodied in the fair. In the planning stages, the president of the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles—representing the second largest city in France at the time and the largest city in the south—wrote to Alfred Picard, commissioner general of the 1900 exposition. He offered to contribute an art display that would showcase the history of Provençal art.[77] Picard's response, in a handwritten note in the margin of the offer, states that Marseilles may make this contribution, but only if each work is requested or accepted by the hanging committee and if it fits into the overall retrospective exhibition of French art. In other words, Picard gave an evasive refusal of regional art history, and would only accept works that could be co-opted into the national agenda.

Equally revealing of the centralist slant is how this national retrospective was framed by its architecture. Whereas earlier

art exhibitions had been presided over by an sculpture of *La France couronnant l'Art et l'Industrie* on the entrance to Palais de l'Industrie, that building was destroyed to make way for the newly built Petit Palais. In an echo of the Porte Monumentale, the Petit Palais also substituted Paris for France, city for country, since its main entry was capped by the relief sculpture *La Ville de Paris protégeant les Arts*. Since the Petit Palais was planned as the permanent home of the fine arts collections of the City of Paris, it is perhaps less surprising that its decorative program makes extensive reference to Paris rather than France.[78] Yet, the larger symbolism is significant. At the 1900 fair, the artistic contributions of the region had to fit into the overall history of French art and, consequently, the region's history was refused. The nation was increasingly synonymous with Paris, as seen in the allegorical entrance statue to both the exposition and the temple dedicated to telling the history of the French arts.

Conclusion

The relation between Paris and "la province" at the 1900 exposition was a temporal as well as spatial construction. Paris was the centre, the head, and the crown of the exposition. It existed in the past, the present, and the future. The progress made in the nineteenth century was the theme of retrospective exhibitions, and it was Paris, in the figure of a fashionable, modern woman, that seemed to best indicate this progress. Alfred Picard appropriated the history of progress for Paris, repeatedly letting the city stand for the nation and leaving the provinces to exist in a netherworld of neither then nor now. The dominant expression of the exposition as a whole was the stability of the Third Republic, the logical progeny of the history of France, forging into the future. The provinces, as typified by Provence and the Arlésienne, were further from the defined centre and were portrayed as existing in a realm closer to the uncivilized world of the colonies. The provinces were thus caught in a temporal dilemma; viewed as old, they seemingly had little place in the modern world of the nations, and yet they were valued exclusively for this nostalgic, simpler past. Standing triumphant over the entrance to the fair, *La Parisienne* embodied everything forbidden to the Arlésienne: she was contemporary, luxurious, consumerist, sexualized, and powerful. Regardless of the rhetoric of decentralization or regionalism espoused in some circles, *La Parisienne* stood as a revealing emblem of the cultural geography dividing the nation into centre and periphery; like Baudelaire's giantess, she dwarfed the provinces in every way.

Notes

Unless otherwise noted, translations from the French are my own.

1 The most detailed analyses of the gateway are Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (Berkeley, 1989), 5 and 289–93; and Ruth E. Iskin, *Modern Women and Parisian Consumer Culture* (Cambridge, 2007), 215–24. See also Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1982), 60; Shane Adler Davis, "'Fine Cloths on the Altar': The Commodification of Late-Nineteenth-Century France," *Art Journal* 48 (Spring 1989): 88; and Franceska Vanke, "Arabesques: North Africa, Arabia and Europe," in Paul Greenhalgh, ed., *Art Nouveau, 1890–1914*, exh. cat., London, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 2000), 122–23. On the construct of the Parisienne more generally, see Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London, 1998), 80–143.

2 On the French distinction between "les provinces" as the geographic regions within the nation and "la province" as a "semi-fictional metropolitan construct that alluded generically to whatever lay beyond Paris, geographically, socially and culturally," see Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: The Painter in His Culture* (Chicago, 2003), 20. "Les provinces" was also a loaded term, since such administrative units had been abolished in the revolution, replaced by *départements*, but the older term maintained a potent hold on the French collective memory; see Jacques Revel, "La Région," *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. III, book 1, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris, 1984–92), 851–83; Marcel Roncayolo, "Le Département," *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 884–929; and Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven, 1994), 166–213.

3 On the popularity of certain regions and their relation to the picturesque, see Isabelle Collet, "Les Premiers Musées d'Ethnographie Régionale en France," *Muséologie et Ethnologie: Notes et Documents des Musées de France* 16 (1987): 111.

4 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 293; see also Iskin, *Modern Women*, 223.

5 Naomi Schor, "*Cartes Postales*: Representing Paris 1900," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Winter 1992): 14; see also Frédéric Moret, "Images de Paris dans les guides touristiques en 1900," *Le Mouvement Social* 160 (July–Sept. 1992): 92.

6 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, 1984), 95. For an assessment of the literary construction of the city, see Christopher Prendergast, *Paris and the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1992).

7 Of the vast literature on world's fairs, the following are especially relevant: Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester, 1988); William Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: the French Popular Image of Africa, 1870–1900* (Westport, 1982); Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven, 1987); and T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Chicago, 2010).

8 On the Dreyfus affair and regionalist controversy preceding the exposition, see what continues to be one of the best accounts of the exposition, Richard Mandell, *Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair* (Toronto, 1967), 40–50, 92–102; see also Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne*, 240–41, and her analysis of the politics of provincial art there, 244–50.

9 Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne*, 240.

10 Mandell, *Paris*, 41, notes that in August 1895 the municipal council of Nancy passed a resolution against the proposed exposition. Since municipal councils did not actually have any power to prevent its taking place, the gesture was symbolic, although it did engender a national debate.

11 Maurice Barrès, *Le Figaro*, 2 August 1895, and 24 August 1895; quoted in Mandell, *Paris*, 41.

12 Adolphe Brisson, "Figures qui Passent: M. Alfred Picard," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), III (Paris, 1900), 3.

13 Mandell, *Paris*, 42.

14 Octave Mirbeau, "Pourquoi des expositions?" *Revue des deux-mondes*, 15 December 1895: 888–902.

15 The final governmental approval for the exposition was debated in March 1896 in the Chamber of Deputies. After four days of debate, some of which echoed Barrès, the Chamber passed the proposal, and the Senate approved it after one more day; Mandell, *Paris*, 44.

16 On Provençal regionalists who did not support the exposition, see Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne*, 216–20, and 293, n. 105; and Henri Jacoubet, "Lettres de Paris," *Le Pays de France* 17–18 (May–June 1900): 342–49.

17 Jean Charles-Brun and Louis-Xavier de Ricard, "Décentralisation et Régionalisme," *Revue Méridionale* 91 (May 1900): 59–60. Charles-Brun and Ricard, both well-known Proudhonian decentralists, participated in the congress, as did the prominent socialist Charles Longuet.

18 François Bournand, "L'Entrée monumentale de l'Exposition de 1900," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), I (Paris, 1900), 38.

19 Bournand, "L'Entrée," 38.

20 Ad. M., "La Foule à l'exposition," *L'Aurore* 4, 910 (16 April 1900): 1.

21 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 289–93, argues that the theme of the Porte is political solidarity, as does Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne*, 244–50.

22 See Robert Proctor, "Architecture from the cell-soul: René Binet and Ernst Haeckel," *The Journal of Architecture* 11, 4 (2006): 407–24; Erika Krause, "L'influence de Ernst Haeckel sur l'Art nouveau," *L'âme au corps: arts et sciences 1793–1993*, ed. Jean Clair (Paris, 1993), 342–51; and Robert Proctor and Olaf Breidbach, *René Binet: From Nature to Form* (Munich, 2007). On the widespread use of evolutionary theory to promote an ideal of progress in American world's fairs, see Michael Leja, "Progress and Evolution at the U.S. World's Fairs, 1893–1915," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2 (Spring 2003), http://19thc-artworldwide.org/spring_03/articles/leja.shtml (1 June 2009).

23 Quoted in Philippe Jullian, *The Triumph of Art Nouveau: Paris Exhibition 1900* (London, 1974), 39. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 290–91, discusses transformism as primarily concerning the unity of being, rather than evolutionary theory, and so draws different conclusions.

24 See Proctor, "Architecture," 419.

25 Quoted in Martin Kemp, "Haeckel's Hierarchies," *Nature* 395, 6701(1 October 1998): 447.

26 G. Moynet, "La Porte monumentale de la Place de la Concorde," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), I, 188, on workers as dressed in everyday clothes; P. Kauffmann, "À la Porte Monumentale," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), II (Paris, 1900), 163; and Anon, "La frise des ouvriers," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), III, 4. Guillot's frieze seems to be the only surviving fragment of the Porte, and is located in Parc du Moulins in Breuillet. A small-scale replica of the frieze is in the Musée d'Art, Archéologie, et des Sciences Naturelles, Troyes.

27 Frantz Jourdain, "L'Architecture à l'Exposition," *Revue des Arts Décoratifs* 20 (1900): 247; quoted in Franco Borsi and Ezio Godoli, *Paris 1900* (New York, 1977), 26. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 291, suggests that the frieze focuses on luxury craftsmen and artisanal workers, the kind of artisans who were essential to the development of the luxury industries the government was promoting. While such artisans were undoubtedly important, the frieze included workers from all walks of life, including, for example, ditch-diggers; see Bournand, "L'Entrée," 38.

28 Anonymous, "Le frise des ouvriers," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, III, 4: "les rudes travailleurs…portent leurs outils d'un geste allègre; travailleurs des champs et travailleurs des villes ils célèbrent l'Exposition de 1900, qu'ils ont édifiée, et dont ils ont rempli les galeries des fruits de leurs efforts."

29 Jacques Desroches, "La Porte Monumentale de l'Exposition," *Revue Illustrée de l'Exposition Universelle*, 25 June 1900, 126.

30 Gustave Flaubert, *Salammbo*, trans. J.C. Chartres (1931; reprint London, 1963), 26–27.

31 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 290–91, 225, 44–45.

32 For example, its appearance in the Porte Monumentale is referred to as the City of Paris in Moynet, "La Porte Monumentale," 188; and also in Bournand, "L'Entrée," 38.

33 This relationship continued in his later work; see Frederic Lees, "Portrait Statuettes: A New Fashion in French Sculpture," *Architectural Record* XIII, (March 1903), 221–33; see also Jean des Vignes Rouges, "Paul Moreau-Vauthier, Sculpteur," *L'Art et les Artistes* 27 (July 1933): 342–45.

34 See, for example, Richard Thomson, *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889–1900* (New Haven, 2004), 1–7, for an analysis of Jules Dalou's 1899 *Le Triomphe de la République* as a successful example of more typical Republican ideology.

35 See Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, 2001), who demonstrates that the female goddesses of the first Republic were depicted in antique dress; Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (Berkeley, 1985); and Tricia Cusack, "Introduction: Art, Nation and Gender," *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*, ed. Tricia Cusack and Sighle Bhreathnach-Lynch (Aldershot, 2003), 1–11.

36 On changing status of allegory, see Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London, 1977); and Paul De Man, "The Rhetoric of Temporality," *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism*, 2nd revised ed., Theory and History of Literature Series, vol. 7, ed. Wlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse (Minneapolis, 1983), 187–228. For use of allegory in France, see Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne Into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789–1880*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, 1981); and Antoine de Baecque "The Allegorical Image of France, 1750–1800: A Political Crisis in Representation," *Representations* 47 (Summer 1994): 111–43.

37 Argus, "Feuilles de Carnet: La Parisienne de la Porte Monumentale de l'Exposition," *La Mode Illustrée*, 8 July 1900, 336.

38 G. Moynet, "La Porte Monumentale," 188; and a subsequent similarly titled article, G. Moynet, "Place de la Concorde La Porte Monumentale," in *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, III, 34: "qu'une bonne-femme, construite suivant la formule, avec une couronne murale et une tunique à la romaine, jurerait singulièrement avec l'architecture fantaisiste de M. Binet…. Il a campé, sur le couronnement, une femme, en costume moderne, la tête coiffée du symbolique vaisseau de la Ville de Paris, en guise de couronne." See also Bournand, "L'Entrée," 38.

39 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 195–96.

40 Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*, 7, notes the importance of the symbolism of this sculpture in 1855 at the outset of her seminal work.

41 See Silverman, "The 'New Woman,' Feminism, and the Decorative Arts in Fin-de-Siècle France," *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Baltimore, 1991), 150; Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago, 2002); Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture," *American Historical Review* 103 (June 1998): 817–44; and Mary Louise Roberts, "True Womanhood Revisited," *Journal of Women's History* 14 (Spring 2002): 150–55.

42 Silverman, "New Woman," 150.

43 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 288–93. On the fair as a whole promoting a consumerist vision, see Williams, *Dream Worlds*, 64–65.

44 The modernism of the statue was often noted; see *Guide Bleu du Figaro à l'Exposition de 1900* (Paris, 1900), 1.

45 Garb, *Bodies*, 87, and more generally, 81–113; Iskin, *Modern Women*, passim.

46 C. de Tours, *Guide Album du Touriste. Vingt jours à Paris pendant l'Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Paris, 1900), 118–19; quoted in Moret, "Images de Paris," 94.

47 Leora Auslander, "The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France," *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, ed. Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough (Berkeley, 1996), 79 and passim, argues that at the beginning of the century women's consumption primarily marked class and family values, and that not until the second half of the century did women's consumption come to be seen as valuable to the nation. On patriotic consumption, see also Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 195–96; and Davis, "'Fine Cloths,'" 87–88. On the construction of the female shopper, see Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, 2001).

48 Jan Glier Reeder, "The House of Paquin," *Textile and Text* 12 (1990): 10, which is a useful source on Paquin; see also Jan Glier Reeder, "Historical and Cultural References in Clothes from the House of Paquin," *Textile and Text* 14 (1991): 15–22; Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History* (Oxford, 1988), 149–50, 257–60; Dominique Sirop, *Paquin* (Paris, 1989); and Iskin, *Modern Women*, 217–18.

49 On copies of *La Parisienne*'s dress, see Argus, "Feuilles," 336. Reeder, "House," 12, convincingly argues Paquin's importance, noting that she opened a London branch in 1896, with other branches to follow before 1914 in Buenos Aires, Madrid, and New York; she was the first French woman given the Legion of Honour in Commerce in 1913; and she promoted the *directoire* line from 1905, although Paul Poiret, who used it beginning in 1908, is usually given credit. On the mannequin of Paquin, see Steele, *Paris*, 150.

50 Paquin's husband, Isidore, directed the administrative side of the business until his death in 1907, but played a far less visible role than Jeanne; see Reeder, "House," 10.

51 Reeder, "House," 12.

52 For a brief survey of the rich literature on gender and consumption, see Jane Gaines, "Introduction: Fabricating the Female Body," *Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body*, ed. Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog (London, 1990), 10–13. For a refutation of the commonly held notion that production was gendered masculine while consumption was gendered feminine, see Auslander, "Gendering," 79–112; and Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life, 1860–1914* (Manchester, 1999).

53 Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (New York, 1978), 150. For statistics that disprove the myth, see James F. McMillan, *Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Women in French Society, 1870–1940* (Sussex, 1981), 55–58.

54 See, for example, *L'Aurore*, 14 May 1901, and 23 April 1901; and Argus, "Feuilles," 336.

55 Quoted in Jullian, *Triumph*, 42.

56 See, for example, the *Guide Bleu*, 1, which describes the Porte as "une courageuse tentative et un effort louable vers un art nouveau. La Porte monumentale est l'œuvre d'un fervent de l'Orient et s'impose à notre admiration autant par le modernisme de sa structure que par l'éclat de sa décoration polychrome." See Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 5 and passim, on how the meaning of "art nouveau" and "style moderne" changed between 1889 and 1900.

57 As an example of one of the many cartoons that depicts her as a prostitute, see "La Parisienne bien Parisienne," where the figure reveals her knickers and breasts, telling tourists they cannot enter her without giving a little present, *Gil Blas illustré hebdomadaire* 10, 28 (13 July 1900): 4.

58 Nélia Dias, *Le Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (1878–1908): Anthropologie et Muséologie en France* (Paris, 1991).

59 Criticus, "Moeurs: Les Provinces et les Colonies Françaises," *La Critique*, 5 August 1900, 1189.

60 Paul Combes, "Paris en 1400: La Cours des Miracles," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, II, 22.

61 *Guide Bleu*, 20.

62 Collet, "Premiers Musées," 111.

63 See, for example, Louis Farges, "La Province à l'Exposition: La Bretagne," *Magasin Pittoresque*, 15 July 1900, 421.

64 "Les Vieilles Provinces," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), II, 265; see similar complaints in Criticus, "Moeurs," 1189.

65 Charles Fromentin, "La Provence à l'Exposition," *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 1 June 1900, 555. Etienne Bentz, who would later be active in Marseilles's colonial exposition, designed the architectural reconstruction while Mr. Martin-Ginouvier was responsible for the artistic direction.

66 Pierre Pasquini, "'La vraie' Mireille," in Pascale Picard-Cajan, ed., *Arlésienne: le Mythe?* exh. cat., Arles, Museon Arlaten (Arles, 1999), 165–88, shows the importance of her domestic position in the Félibrige mythology.

67 Fromentin, "La Provence," 555.

68 "Echos," *La Cigale* 25, 6 and 7 (May–June 1900), 120.

69 Fromentin, "La Provence," 555.

70 G. Moynet, "Palais des Fils, Tissus et Vêtements," *Encyclopédie du Siècle—L'Exposition de Paris (1900*), II, 432.

71 Moynet, "Le Palais du Costume," vol. 1, 246.

72 Moynet, "Le Palais du Costume," vol. 1, 246.

73 Georges Cain et al., *Musée Rétrospectif des classes 85 et 86: Le Costume et ses Accessoires à l'Exposition Universelle international de 1900 à Paris* (Saint-Cloud, 1900), 68–72.

74 On the creation of the definitive Arlésienne see Pascale Picard-Cajan, ed., *Arlésienne: le mythe?* exh. cat., Arles, Museon Arlaten (Arles, 1999).

75 Quoted in Ulrich Lehmann, *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity* (Cambridge, 2000), 256.

76 Roger Marx, "Exposition Centennale de l'Art Français," in *Exposition Universelle de 1900: L'Art Français des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1900), 9. As both curator of the centennial exhibition and Inspecteur Général des Musées des Départements, Marx was an important figure at the exposition, and in relations between Paris and the provinces.

77 Président de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille [Augustin Féraud], Marseilles, to M. le Commissaire Général de l'Exposition Universelle [Alfred Picard], Paris, 20 May 1898, F 12/4303, Archives Nationales, Paris.

78 James Boyd Hargrove, "Serious Pleasures: Sensuality, Programmatic Display, and Sculptural Aesthetics in France 1870–1900," PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005, 221, gives a fine overview of the building's decorative program, both in sculpture and painting, focusing on the role of the nude.