The Art of Postcolonial Politics in the Age of Empire:
Haiti's Object Lesson at the World's Columbian Exposition

i Introduction

In 1893, the City of Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition at Jackson Park, to celebrate, a year late, the quadricentennial of Christopher Columbus' landing in the Americas. It is remembered as, 'the most elaborate and extensive public exhibition produced by the United States in the nineteenth century' and was an attempt by the postcolonial US to upstage the increasingly lavish displays of superlative modernity and imperial prowess that had been hosted by European nation-empires in preceding decades.[1] Beyond the host nation's objectives for this event, it also created an opportunity for other New World republics to be 'part, albeit briefly, of the cosmopolitan concert of nations, to be one with the modern community of values, beliefs, and concerns' and to assert their sovereignty and economic potential on a world stage of an unprecedented scale in the Americas.[2] All nineteen independent American nations sent exhibits to represent themselves at this event. Six of these invested in their own pavilions and so led the way in developing the experimental project of defining and displaying American nationhood to international audiences: Haiti was among this group of precocious postcolonial states [Figure 1].[3]

The shared revolutionary, anti-colonial histories of participating American republics were key features of each of their exhibition sites, with statues erected to national heroes and declarations of independence on display for all to see. Haiti's pavilion matched these patterns claiming its place within the brotherhood of Pan-American nations. Yet, to date, Haiti's presence at the World's Columbian Exposition has largely been understood as a site of protest and African diasporic solidarity, which

has positioned it in antagonistic opposition to the United States and separated it from wider Pan-American display at the fair.[4] Certainly, the US and Haiti were established upon radically different revolutionary principles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Haiti's founding by a group of self-liberated ex-slaves, who officially designated the national citizenry 'black' and declared their new nation an anti-slavery state, was a threatening challenge to all slave economies led by white elites across the Atlantic world. In Sibylle Fischer's words, this was Haiti's 'contestatory potential': the founding principles for which it was known internationally, earning it the moniker: The Black Republic.[5] However, this article argues that over a century later, Haitian politicians did not deploy the nation's contestatory potential at the Columbian Exposition but, rather, emphasised its conformity to a Pan-Americanism rooted in European values, traditions and discourses of western modernity.[6]

Through an examination of the Haitian case, this article proposes a fresh reading of Chicago's World's Fair of 1893, as a significant site for the display of postcolonial nationalism during the Age of Empire. The majority of studies examining world's fairs and expositions in this period have interpreted them as the decadent celebrations of Europe's imperious nation-empires and the America's ascendant hemispheric hegemon.[7] However, beyond the US, studies examining the display of postcolonial nationhoods are minimal. This article contributes to the modest existing scholarship that has begun to explore these world's fairs as significant spaces in which modern postcolonial, as well as imperial, nationalisms were being forged.[8] It opens with a surveying of the geopolitical dynamics that prompted the US to invite Haiti to this event, going onto offer an analysis of Haiti's published exhibition catalogue and the material culture presented as an embodiment of the Haitian nation at this event, particularly focussing on its display of artworks. These latter analyses give insight into

the aspirations of Haiti's politicians and social elites in the late nineteenth century, whilst, more broadly, adding to our understanding of how America's emerging postcolonial republics sought to validate their position within the western world order.[9]

ii Understanding Haiti's Presence at Jackson Park

At the time of the World's Columbian Exposition, the US did not have an empire to exhibit in the way that Britain had at Crystal Palace in 1851 or France had at the Exposition Universelle in 1889. Nevertheless, Chicago's fair did include exoticised displays of distant lands and foreign peoples amongst which was a foreshadowing of their empire to come. At this event, most such displays were concentrated in a mishmash amusements area known as the Midway Plaisance: a strip of concessions organised by new pseudo-scientific notions of evolutionary anthropology underpinned by racist and white supremacist ideologies. These trivialising displays of the entertaining and exotic imitated the paraphernalia of imperialist expansionism that characterised European expositions in this period. In fact, the Midway also hosted manifestations of the European imperialist drive: the most notable example being the Dahomeyan Village, staged by French labour contractor Xavier Pené.[10] It was in this setting that the US offered a representation of Hawaiian territory – a diorama of the Kilauea Volcano – which was soon to be annexed.[11] These same racial-spatial logics resulted in the widespread exclusion of displays representing the United States' black citizens at Jackson Park.[12] This omission reflected the fair's staging in the era of Jim Crow Laws in the South and de facto racial segregation and disenfranchisement across much of the North, both legacies of the system of enslavement that had been abolished only three decades earlier.

With these domestic and foreign policies of the US in mind, the nature of Haiti's presence – and indeed its appearance at all – at the Columbian Exposition can seem

remarkable. Just over two decades after the fair, Haiti would be invaded and occupied by US Marines (1915–34). Many scholars contend that this occupation is anticipated in US representations of Haiti during the nineteenth century: Matthew Smith, for example, has argued that in the age of empire reporting about Haiti in 'US papers … barely cloaked the agenda of US imperialism.'[13] We might, therefore, expect to find Haiti alongside Hawaii as one of the Midway's commercialised sites of cultural alterity and proto-imperial dominance. Similarly, given the marginalisation of US African Americans and the demeaning misrepresentation of Dahomeyans at the fair it seems surprising that the Black Republic was invited to represent itself.[14] Yet, Haiti was one of only nineteen foreign participants that erected a national pavilion within the area of the fairgrounds known as the White City. This area, in contrast to the Midway, presented an ostentatious exhibition of all that was seen to embody modern civilization: high culture, scientific innovation, industry and technological prowess. It was here, within the United States' opulent show of ascendant modernity, that Haiti's government was invited to participate by US Congress.

ii.i Making Sense of Haiti's Invitation to the Columbian Exposition

Making sense of Haiti's formal invitation and positioning at the Columbian Exposition requires consideration of the renewed political significance of Pan-American security, collaboration and prosperity for US foreign policy in the Age of Empire. As a loose set of ideas and a sporadic political practice, Pan-American cooperation had existed from the early nineteenth century: growing out of postcolonial American Republics' common struggle to secure independence. This is most often traced back to the first proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823: which asserted US dominance in the western hemisphere, thereby extending protection against European colonisation to other independent America nations.[15] However, by this time Simón Bolívar had already stated

a desire to foster ‘americanismo’ in 1815 and had organised the first Pan-American Congress in Panama in 1826. Yet Bolívar’s desire to unify Spanish America as a “culturally homogeneous and politically unified block” made him wary of inviting nations who fell outside of this project, such as Haiti, the US and Imperial Brazil.[16] Brazil and the US did, in the end, receive invites.[17] However, due to additional fears of inciting black insurrection at home and a concern with alienating Atlantic powers outside of the Americas, Bolívar did not invite Haiti.[18] This was a particularly cutting decision, given the recent history of Haitian support for Spanish American independence movements. Haiti’s first ruler, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, allowed Francisco de Miranda to stop in Jacmel in 1806 before he set sail for the South American mainland in a (failed) attempt to overturn Spanish colonial rule.[19] A decade or so later, Alexandre Pétion, President of the Southern Republic of Haiti, provided moral and material aid to Bolívar himself, before he set out to pursue independence movements in Spanish America in 1815 and 1816, thus enabling Bolívar to become Latin America’s ‘Great Liberator’.[20] As Chantalle Verna explains, this exclusion was evidence of “the ongoing challenges Haiti’s leaders would face in their pursuit of foreign ties”.[21]

From the US perspective, it was not until the eighteen-eighties with Europe in the ‘throes of colonisation fever’ beginning to partition Africa that pursuit of Pan-American solidarity again became a priority. This refocussing was spurred by concerns about European re-conquest in the Americas and potential challenges to US hemispheric dominance.[22] In this context, as the Spanish-American war in Cuba looked ever more likely, the strategic importance of Haiti was heightened creating diplomatic opportunities for the Caribbean republic.[23] Across the nineteenth century, the US and various European powers had competed in attempts to try and establish a strategically

placed coaling station for their naval fleet at Môle St. Nicolas: a bay in North-west Haiti, located along the Windward Passage (between Haiti and Cuba) en route to the Panama Railroad and planned Canal.[24] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the US renewed these negotiations, as successive Haitian leaders – including Florvil Hyppolite, Haiti's head of state (1889-1896) at the time of the Chicago Fair – used the Môle as a bargaining chip in foreign relations.[25] Hyppolite was a shrewd politician who achieved something that had eluded many other Haitian heads of state to that point – lasting peace within the republic. He dedicated his early years to eradicating the political disunity that predated his presidency, which foreign powers had often exploited to foment insurrections in their own interests. With this base of domestic political unity, Hyppolite's administration was in a strong position to conduct diplomatic negotiations and withstand intense foreign pressures, including the US gunboat diplomacy which accompanied iterations of the Môle negotiations. Levine has speculated that US desire to acquire the Môle territory may have been a motivating factor for issuing Haiti with an invitation to participate in the Columbian Exposition.[26] However, it seems likely that Haiti would have received this invite regardless given the rising importance that prominent US officials attached to creating a more formal expression of a Pan-American community at this time. Indeed, when the Môle negotiations finally collapsed in April 1891 the Columbian Exposition was still two years away.[27] The outcome had no discernible repercussions for Haiti's planned presence at the event.

In 1889, the US government hosted the First International Conference of American States in Washington D.C., which Haiti attended alongside all other independent states in the Americas (except the Dominican Republic). The International Union of American Republics (IUAR) (which later became the Organisation of American States) was founded at the conference: giving tangible and lasting diplomatic

form to the imagined Pan-American community. These initiatives had been the long-held idea of US Secretary of State James G. Blaine. His brand of Pan-Americanism has been accused of having 'pecuniary motives' and caring 'less about hemispheric egalitarianism' than expansion of US trade and territory.[28] Nevertheless, Blaine's functional Pan-Americanism, spurred him to encourage a broad hemispheric participation at the Columbian Exposition. Following on the coattails of the 1889 Conference, Blaine allocated W.E. Curtis, US director of the IUAR's Commercial Bureau, a budget of $100,000 to seek out exhibits from all American nations for the fair.[29] Consequently, all seventeen American republics that attended the conference (as well as the US and the Dominican Republic) participated at the fair in some form.

In *Designing Pan-America*, Gonzalez argues all US world's fairs from 1884–1901 sought to give physical form to Pan-American ideals of 'unity and exchange', whilst serving pragmatic political and economic agendas. In response to the 'astonishing and disgraceful' evidence showing 'that the commerce of the various American nations and colonies South of the US is mainly with Europe', Perry Belmont – in a bill submitted to US Congress in 1888 – proposed a world's fair be staged 'to stimulate more intimate commercial and social relations' between republics in the Americas.[30] Blaine's new IUAR was perfectly situated to take up Belmont's challenge. Led by Curtis, the IUAR's Commercial Bureau staged a variety of Pan-American displays. Predictably, it offered a pragmatic 'commercial exhibit' that contained samples of staple crops, manufactures and popular imports from all eighteen American Republics outside of the United States. More surprisingly, the Bureau also invested in displays that sought to represent a distinct sense of 'shared Pan American heritage'.[31]

To do so the Bureau collaborated with the fair's Ethnology Department: who organised numerous indoor and open-air displays, including a series of "Outdoor Living

Exhibits", featuring "native people of America, who are living in their native habitations".[32] Adjacent to these pseudo-authentic sites of human display, the Ethnology department erected a replica of the Spanish Convent of La Rabida: where Columbus had stayed whilst seeking support for his first historic voyage to the New World. It was to this site that Curtis's Bureau made a contribution, complementing innumerable celebrations of the fair's namesake scattered across Jackson Park – in the form of ornamental fountains, monumental sculptures and visitor souvenirs.[33] Ironically, these cultural displays which sought to convey a distinctive Pan-Americanism exposed the extent to which US organisers conceptions of American identity leaned on the imperialist and white supremacist ideologies that had shaped the exposition models created to celebrate Europe's nation-empires in preceding decades. Putnam's live displays of 'native people of America' did not confine performers within enclosures; indeed, they have been interpreted as spaces which afforded Native Americans the opportunity to resist denigration and effect change. Yet, these were objectifying displays, designed to encourage voyeuristic consumption and so were in the mode of a human zoo.[34] These exploitative exhibits clearly emulated the hierarchical and racist display of colonised peoples at preceding European expositions. Similarly, the veneration of Columbus celebrated Old World conquest by putting the archetypal European imperialist centre-stage at this American extravaganza.

The US brand of Pan-Americanism promoted by the World's Columbian Exposition, and enshrined in the IUAR's exhibits, may have been self-interested, pecuniary and reliant on European traditions, yet it was indisputably central to the fair's conception, motivating the US to procure strong representations from other American Republics. Most of these nations staged commercially focussed displays within the huge themed buildings that the US erected. Mexico, for example, contributed national

displays within the departments of: Mines and Mining, Agriculture, Transportation, Women, Machinery and Manufactures, Fisheries and Liberal Arts.[35] Haiti was one of only six invited American Republics that invested in the construction of its own pavilion: an autonomous domain in which it could assert its own brand of postcolonial, Pan-American nationhood.

ii.ii Displaying 'Undeniable Progress' and Peace: Haiti's Aspirations in Chicago

To document Haiti's participation at the Chicago Fair, the Haitian government commissioned the publication of an exhibition catalogue entitled *Haïti à l'Exposition Colombienne de Chicago*.[36] The text outlines a rationale for Haiti's pavilion, details a 'definitive list' of its contents, and opens with a short dedicatory text from President Hyppolite, which declares that under his governance 'Haiti [must] affirm its place in the concert of progressive nations'. Further into the catalogue, Haiti's ability to realise this aspiration is directly linked to being present at late-nineteenth-century expositions as these are described as opportunities to, show to 'the eyes of the civilized world the undeniable progress [Haiti] had made' since declaring its independence.[37] Haiti was not the only American republic to see world's fairs this way. Just two years earlier, Mexican Minister Manuel Fernández Leal explained that for Mexico these international expositions provided the opportunity, '[to become] part of the admirable group of countries that, sharing ideals, ambitions, and trends, advance together, led by progress.'[38]

As Tenorio-Trillo has reminded us, in his masterful study of Mexico at World's Fairs, 'in the late nineteenth century all worldwide events took place within the economic and political context established by imperialist expansions and rivalries.'[39] In this context, both Haiti and Mexico were relatively new, 'peripheral and powerless nations' when compared with the established imperial powers of Europe and the

ascendant American hegemony of the United States. These dominant western nations were, not coincidently, the host nations for the largest and most extravagant expositions of the era: great celebrations of modernity at which they claimed for themselves full possession of all the most prized values or 'universal truths' of the age. Progress and civilization, alongside commerce, science and technology, were preeminent among these values. They were standards by which western nations measured themselves, their competitors and the wider world. These values functioned as markers of modernity, while their lack could be cited as justification for imperialist advances. To be in possession of these values was to be a modern nation: accepted by the international community as a fully sovereign and integrated territory, demanding parity in diplomatic and trading relationships.

The late-nineteenth-century governments of Haiti and Mexico knew their position in the western world order was precarious. For these newer nations, Tenorio-Trillo has argued that world's fairs offered a chance to 'learn, imitate, and publicise…possession of [modernity's] universal truths … to consolidate their national and international integrity.'[40] Yet, in their comments above, neither Hyppolite, nor Leal, make an outright claim that their nations' are 'progressive', 'civilized' and so modern, *yet*. Instead, their statements are careful to: convey admiration for these modern values; express desire to fully possess them in the future and; claim that their presence at world's fairs will demonstrate their nations' efforts and achievements on the path towards attaining modernity.

Developing these sentiments, the introductory section of Haiti's pavilion catalogue acknowledges two main obstacles to the nation's recognition as modern by the international community: negative foreign perceptions that Haiti is a national project

doomed to failure and that it is fraught with political instability. To articulate the first of these, the catalogue recalls the words of the first Bishop of Cap-Haïtien:

> In Europe and in America, … [Haiti is considered] as a sort of barbarous country, without industry, almost without commerce, without culture, inhabited by degenerate beings … and inevitably to disappear in the near future.[41]

The catalogue's response is to highlight the technical and scientific skill of a young 'fervent generation' of Haitians who, it notes have trained in Paris and, are 'licensed in Law, Medicine Pharmacy … Political and Economic Sciences [and] Engineering'. These claims to modern, European-accredited expertise are followed by a monumentalising, evolutionary narrative that echoes western modernity's self-celebratory chronicling of its place at the apex of a racialized human history. It states:

> the peoples of history, the races have passed the torch through the centuries … Asia has yielded to Greece; Athens to Rome; …[in] our age the West has conquered the East … it is the New World, the modern Prometheus.[42]

Drenched with allusions to modernity's 'universal truths', this text ends with a bold assertion that reverses detractors' prophecies of doom for Haiti envisioning, instead, an ascendant nation with a future full of potential: 'That we are in the West; That we are young … we have the right … to say with reason … the future is ours.'[43]

Significantly, in the context of the Columbian Exposition's Pan-American theme, this assertion of ascendant Haitian potential is made via claiming Haiti's position within the western hemisphere, within that 'New World' full of innovation, which it has christened the 'modern Prometheus'.[44] In fact, elsewhere in the catalogue Haiti itself was dubbed 'the daughter of Columbus' a claim given material form in the Haitian pavilion through the prominent display of the anchor from Columbus' flagship,

the *Santa Maria*, which was shipwrecked off the coast of Cap-Haïtien during his first voyage to the New World.[45] These rhetorical and material statements asserted 'the primacy of Haiti in the history of the Americas, making it clear that the quadricentennial being celebrated in Chicago was part of a transnational hemispheric history of which the US was only an element.'[46] Moreover, echoing the florid rhetorics of western modernity in its pavilion catalogue and display was not merely a self-aggrandizing statement of Haitian aspirations: it signalled the desire of Hyppolite's administration to demonstrate that a prosperous postcolonial Haiti would share western nations' worldviews and so could integrate into the 'concert of progressive nations'.

Taking a similar tack with problematic perceptions of Haiti as politically unstable, the pavilion catalogue acknowledged the country's recent history of political unrest and its consequences:

> the Republic has been devastated: the blood of its fellow-citizens has flowed … its money has been squandered, the countryside has been depopulated, imports have considerably diminished.[47]

Pre-empting further criticism, it also mentioned the nation's 'over 80 year' history of 'incessant civil wars, which … still prevent [Haiti] from prospering as it should.'[48] As these excerpts recognise, in the eighteen-nineties, though Haiti had been independent for almost a century, the country had much to prove.

Following its violent revolutionary birth, after a thirteen-year struggle that included the suppression of counter-revolutions from France and Britain, Haiti's first four decades saw repeated regime change, division and territorial shifts. The country's early leaders successively refashioned Haiti as an empire, as a nation divided between a southern republic and a northern monarchy, and as an imperial power: annexing and occupying the neighbouring Dominican Republic (previously the Spanish colony of

Santo Domingo) from 1822–44. Once the period of 'unification' collapsed, with the Dominican Republic's declaration of independence, Haitian governance up to the eighteen-nineties swung between periods of relative stability and periods of contested and short-lived leaderships. By the end of the nineteenth century, this legacy of political turmoil left Haiti tackling derisive accounts of its governance: such as that published by Spenser St. John, former British Minister Resident to Haiti, in 1886. He stated, 'the history of [Haiti] … is but a series of plots and revolutions.'[49]

The response of Haiti's exhibition catalogue was to focus on present-day Haiti: to assert the good character, 'high wisdom', determination, popularity and 'political reforms' of Haiti's current Head of State, Florvil Hyppolite.[50] Alongside acknowledgements of the nation's unsettled political past, these assertions demonstrated that Haiti's politicians understood how their nation was perceived internationally; that the country needed reform; and that under Hyppolite it was moving into a new era of peace and stability. Haiti's use of the Chicago Fair as a platform upon which to demonstrate political harmony following a protracted period of turmoil was by no means unique. Indeed, across the nineteenth century, Mexico had been similarly beset by a turbulent history of national governance characterised by power struggles that were an outgrowth of its wars of independence. As a result, Tenorio-Trillo has argued the 'greatest achievement' Mexico had to display at Paris' fin-de-siècle expositions was peace.[51] For these New World nations demonstrating political stability was a crucial step towards gaining international recognition and equality of diplomatic and trading relationships not just with the US, but with the leading nations of the Old World too. Indeed, Historian Julia Gaffield reminds us that 'only decades' before Haiti, it was the United States, through the American Revolution, that had initially prompted

‘international discussion about the integration of new states into the community nations in the Atlantic World.’[52]

Securing recognition as an independent and fully sovereign state, worthy of admittance to the community of modern western nations, was a shared Pan-American challenge inaugurated over a century before the Columbian Exposition. Yet, in many ways, this late-nineteenth-century American extravaganza functioned not only as an assertion of US power and prosperity but also of the ascendancy and intransience of a postcolonial community of nations in the New World. Undoubtedly, due to its population being majority non-white and formerly enslaved ‘debate about Haiti’s participation in the international community of recognized nations had a racial dimension that was unique.’[53] Indeed, this certainly contributed to Haiti’s struggles for official recognition of its sovereignty from leading foreign powers: France withheld this till 1825 and the US till 1862. However, at the Columbian Fair, Haiti’s politicians used the platform offered to draw attention to the aspects of its national struggle that it shared with surrounding republics of the Americas: claiming Haiti’s place among the Pan-American community in the hope that this would ensure lasting recognition.

ii.iii Haiti’s Pavilion: Commissioning a Site of Protest and Race Pride?

To try and translate its ambitious goals for the Chicago Fair into something material Haiti’s government formed a bipartite exhibition committee. An Internal Commission, consisting of nine Haitian notables, was tasked with preparing the exhibition to be housed inside Haiti’s pavilion. Among its members were Fabius Ducasse (Secretary of State in the Department of Public Works and Agriculture) Dulciné Jean-Louis (writer and newspaper editor), Dalbémar Jean Joseph (Minister of Haiti in Paris) and other notable persons.[54] The role of this Internal Commission was complemented by an External Commission tasked with representing Haiti on the fairgrounds during the

event. The latter was made up of two individuals: Charles A. Preston, who had served as Haiti's Minister in Washington D.C., and renowned African-American abolitionist and civil rights activist Frederick Douglass, who was the only non-Haitian to serve on the commissioning body.[55] A contemporary newspaper explained, it was upon Preston that 'most of the work of installing the exhibit has devolved'.[56] Meanwhile Douglass, who was seventy-five at this point, played a high-profile role in representing Haiti at public functions. Indeed, it was due to his 'eloquence' in publicly defending Haiti through his 'rigorous word' during his time as US Consul to the country (1889–91), including during the Môle negotiations, that he was offered this role by the Haitian government.[57] If anyone could effectively communicate the significance of Haiti's presence at an American event, it was Douglass. Yet his ideas about which agendas could be furthered through the Haitian presence did not necessarily match the set of national goals that Hyppolite and his government had in mind.

In 1892, Douglass was sent a letter on behalf of Hyppolite inviting him to take up the position as External Co-commissioner of Haiti's pavilion. This correspondence reveals Hyppolite's acute awareness that if Douglass was to accept this role, the agendas motivating him to do so would differ from those compelling Haitian politicians, merchants or entrepreneurs to invest in this project. Therefore, instead of repeating the Pan-American political goals outlined in the pavilion catalogue, Hyppolite suggests to Douglass that a shared transnational racial agenda could be furthered through his involvement:

> [As Co-commissioner] you will be prepared to realize one of your dreams … and the ardent desire of the PRESIDENT OF HAITI … of seeing our common race definitely rehabited in numerical considerations through the invitation of Haiti.[58]

Hyppolite's expression of a connection with Douglass through commonality of race, here, is an exemplary articulation of diaspora. Since the nineteen-sixties, this term has been used to describe a grouping together, literally or figuratively, of peoples of African descent across national boundaries for a variety of purposes, including: the pursuit of overlapping political and cultural interests.[59] Increasingly, in recent years, diaspora has been reconsidered as a term that can, or should, designate a process, a strategic action or a critical practice rather than a grouping of people.[60] It is this latter understanding of diaspora, as a strategic articulation, that captures what I think is Hyppolite's knowing deployment of kinship here.[61]

Indeed, in the same period political opponents of Hyppolite in the Caribbean accused him of promoting a much more localised sense of racial identity that amounted to a politically profitable Haitian exclusivism. Robert Love, a Bahamian doctor and clergyman who advocated for black majority rights and education across the Caribbean, was exiled from Haiti by Hyppolite for political 'mischief-making'. From his new residence in Jamaica in 1890, Love complained that under Hyppolite Haiti had 'strayed so far from the true idea of a development of *race* – the idea of 1804 … that I have heard authoritative voices speak of LA RACE HAITIENNE.'[62] Love was certainly not a dispassionate observer of the Hyppolite administration. Yet, his accusation made just two years before Hyppolite's letter to Douglass warns against a reading of that invitation as proof that promoting black internationalism was a priority for Haiti's government at the Chicago Fair.

Nevertheless, whether diasporic solidarity was indeed an 'ardent desire' of Hyppolite's for this project or was more of a hook to ensure Douglass' involvement, the offer was accepted and Douglass took Hyppolite at his word. As Co-commissioner, Douglass used his position to ensure an increased presence for African-Americans on

the fairgrounds. On 2 January 1893, the day that the Haitian pavilion was dedicated, Douglass gave a public speech at Quinn Chapel a Methodist Episcopal Church and 'home to the oldest African American congregation in [Chicago]'.[63] Reminding listeners of Haiti's revolutionary founding, Douglass took this opportunity to promote the cause for African-American civil rights in the United States. He spoke powerfully of Haiti's 'contestatory potential', its anti-slavery struggle for independence and its radical symbolic significance as a representative of racial blackness in an era of imperialism predicated on white supremacy.[64] The challenging ideals Douglass invoked here were not as prominent in other speeches he gave in his capacity as the Haitian pavilion's Co-commissioner.[65] His focus and tone also noticeably contrast with the strategically compliant and diplomatic language employed by Haiti's pavilion catalogue to describe the significance of the Haitian presence in Chicago. Yet, despite this discontinuity, it is the ideals expressed in Douglass' Quinn Chapel speech that have been echoed most loudly in extant secondary literature on the subject. For example, historian Barbara J. Ballard has argued Haiti's presence at the fair was a site of challenge: the 'bright and shining exception' to imperial discourses at the World's Columbian Exposition.[66]

Countering the deliberate omissions of the fairs' central organisers, Douglass also provided space for other black citizens of the US to present their work or to campaign at the Haitian pavilion.[67] In advance of the exposition, activist Ida B. Wells had gathered a small group of likeminded individuals who together produced a pamphlet titled *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, which Douglass permitted her to distribute from Haiti's building. It provided qualitative, quantitative and graphic visual evidence of racism and racially-motivated violence ingrained across US society, within institutions such as the justice and penal systems. [68] This document forcefully presented a challenge to racist

ideologies expressed at the Fair and so in using the Haitian pavilion as a place of distribution made it a site of protest. Additionally, Douglass made a space for playwright William Edgar Easton to stage a performance of his latest production, *Dessalines, A Dramatic Tale*, inspired by the Haitian Revolution.[69] The play presented a highly-fictionalised account of the life of Jean-Jacques Dessalines: Haiti's first Head of State. In his preface, Easton tells us he took 'liberties' with history to help 'build up a healthy and substantial race pride'.[70] Citing such evidence, Renée Larrier and Christopher Reed call upon the concept of diaspora to explain what was significant about the Haitian pavilion in the context of the wider fair. Larrier concludes that Haiti's pavilion 'functioned as a site of resistance and diasporic reconnection', while Reed suggests, '[i]f there was anywhere on the fairgrounds that diasporans could familialy call home and meet, it was the Haytian Pavilion'.[71] Yet, in using the diaspora descriptively – to define the space within the pavilion or the people who met there – the issue of agency in articulating diaspora is glossed over.

Certainly, US African Americans were publicly articulating diasporic ties with Haiti here and using those for political and social activism. Existing analyses have demonstrated this through Anglophone text-based sources: transcripts of Douglass' speeches, Well's pamphlet and Easton's play.[72] Yet, there is little indication in these sources that Haitian members of Haiti's exhibition committee were seeking to create a site of political challenge and diasporic reconnection. Hyppolite's invitation to Douglass could be cited as a reciprocal expression of diasporic solidarity. However, the motivations for Hyppolite's articulation have been called into question. Furthermore, his invoking of a diaspora connection appears in private correspondence and this agenda was not prominently repeated in the published expressions of intent made in Haiti's pavilion catalogue. Therefore, to suggest that the Haitian pavilion's primary

significance was as a site of African diasporic challenge or reconnection is to elide Haitian motivations for being present at this event.

One of the ways that we can seek to further access these Haitian perspectives is through an examination of the material culture of Haiti's presence in Chicago: the display of thousands of objects that was sourced, selected and collated by the Internal Commission. Of course, this methodological approach, analysing objects displayed, has its own challenges. The physicality of objects can suggest stability and objectivity. However, 'the fixity of an object's physical presence cannot deliver guarantees at the level of meaning' which is constructed, open to interpretation, and shifts over time.[73] This fact of impermanent, fabricated and historically contingent meaning poses a specific set of analytical challenges, which impact upon attempts to tease out curatorial motivations or intentions from objects displayed.

Undoubtedly, the presence, absence or particular placement of objects within an exhibition – analysed alone – cannot be assumed to constitute evidence that a certain ideology or, in this case, political policy has motivated a curator or committee. Additionally, logistical difficulties, budget limitations and the competing interests of various stakeholders mean that the intentions of exhibition curators are rarely, if ever, fully realised as planned. Finally, there is the ever-present distance between curatorial intentions and the interpretations of different audiences, including historians, who each bring their own epistemological universe to their decoding of an exhibition. However, with an awareness of these methodological constraints, an analysis focussed on the material culture of an exhibition can provide novel and unique insights when supported by an awareness of the historically-specific contexts within which that exhibition was conceived, created and has been received. In this case, an analysis of Haiti's pavilion display will be supported by a consideration of: objects' provenance; the domestic and

foreign policy interests of Haiti and the US at the time of the fair; comparative displays staged by other American republics; and a surveying of local press responses to Haiti's display.

iii 'Full of Promise for the Future': Haiti's Object Lesson

On the 2 January 1893, during the Haitian pavilion's dedication ceremony, Director-General of the Fair, Colonel George R. Davis, announced: '[w]ith a sagacity that is full of promise for the future, Hayti is preparing to give an object lesson'.[74] Like other major national participants at this World's Fair, Haiti was primarily represented on the fairgrounds by a collection of objects housed inside its own building. In this Haitian-governed space the nation's 'contestatory potential' could have been deployed to forcefully challenge and disrupt the worldviews on offer. However, Davis' assessment of the Haitian display as 'full of sagacity' suggests that the exposition's organisers' did not perceive it to be unsettling or defiant, but, rather, a complement to the wider landscape of the fair. Similarly, when the Haitian pavilion opened its doors to the public, on the 24 June 1893, it received very positive responses from the local press.[75] The *Chicago Daily Tribune* wrote approvingly of 'The Black Republic's Interesting Building' and focussed on the array of tradable commodities Haiti presented.[76] Haiti's object lesson was made up of items from state collections and private individuals. Both of these were weighted towards displaying goods for export. These included raw materials, manufactured goods and most extensively varieties of coffee as well as sugar-cane and related products. Through such displays, Haiti's Internal Commission – like other American republics – presented a vast advert aimed at attracting international trade, private investment and the opening up of new markets for Haitian products. This strategy was in line with the traditional purposes of world's fairs, which were a

'particularly important place for the advertising of industry before the turn of the century and the rise in specialised trade fairs'.[77]

What is more surprising, is the amount of space within Haiti's object lesson that was reserved for objects of a different kind: historical relics, maps, books and journals, examples of craftwork and a range of artworks. These objects accounted for around a third of the pavilion's exhibits.[78] They were not being displayed as sample commodities or symbols of the nation's natural riches awaiting economic exploitation. These articles had different roles to play. Among this collection, there were over thirty works of visual art: 'crayon views', paintings and sculptures. It is through these objects, selected by Haiti's Internal Commission, that we can explore how the Haitian Government went about achieving the aims it set out in the pavilion catalogue: of demonstrating progress towards modernity, of claiming Pan-American affinity and of achieving lasting recognition from the international community.

iii.i Panoramic Views of Haiti's Economic Potential

Most numerous among the works of visual art displayed within Haiti's pavilion was a series of 'crayon views' of Haiti's major cities.[79] These were publicised as some of 'the articles that attracted most attention' by a contemporary reviewer.[80] The exhibitor was a private individual named W. Watson. It seems likely that this is the same Watson who operated a photographic studio in Port-au-Prince in the eighteen-eighties and eighteen-nineties, whose 'views of town scenes … and political personalities' were regarded as of excellent quality.[81] Only one image is known that appears to depict Watson's series of views at the Haitian pavilion: this was printed in Bancroft's *Book of the Fair* [Figure 2].[82] It is a low-quality image taken of one of the rooms inside the pavilion and shows some of Watson's images hanging on the walls at a distance. It is not possible from this image to conduct an in-depth formal, aesthetic or content analysis of the images, and

they are not known outside of this context. However, the descriptions and detail given in Haiti's pavilion catalogue does provide some insight about these objects.

Watson's images were listed by subject within the Haitian pavilion's catalogue, in a section titled 'Beaux-Arts'.[83] They comprised over fifteen 'Panoramas de Port-au-Prince', including works depicting the National Palace, the National Bank, the Chamber of Deputies, a central market, a customs-house, a flotilla of Haitian vessels and a wharf in the capital city. These were accompanied by a further set of thirteen crayon views of towns and cities outside of the capital, 'Panoramas des villes du Cap, des Gonaives, de Jacmel, des Cayes et de Jérémie', which depicted their infrastructure, historic landmarks and economic and military capabilities.[84] Under Hyppolite's government 'impressive advances in public works' had been undertaken to modernise and renovate Haiti's urban centres. From the minimal descriptions given in Haiti's pavilion catalogue, it is clear that many of these projects – which included restoration of old customhouses, improvement of water distribution, construction of iron bridges and new markets as well as the installation of terrestrial telegraph services – are among the sites depicted in Watson's views.[85] Additionally, from what can be discerned of the images photographed *in situ* in Bancroft's text, it is clear that Watson's series parallels colonial era projects that mapped and recorded the territory of Saint Domingue, whilst documenting the colonies' achievements. Most notable amongst these are the series of views created by Nicholas Ponce and published on the eve of the Haitian Revolution (1791).[86] Yet, as depictions of postcolonial Haiti, Watson's views also mark a significant departure from these French colonial projects. They chart the nation's progress since the expulsion of the French and in their framing and visualisation of Haiti's towns, cities and landscapes they give material form to the new nation's mastery over its own territory.

It is clear from the descriptions of other American republics' art exhibits at the Columbian Exposition that they featured similar views of their nations' topography and technological advances. Bancroft's description of the Costa Rican pavilion, for example, noted paintings of the Cordilleras: striking mountain ranges that bisect the nation's landscape. While Bancroft enthuses that these images show 'scenic wonders', whether they were rendered with artistic skill is unclear as his focus remained on the useful information this exhibit conveyed about Costa Rica: described as 'a country rich in raw materials' with 'excellent postal and telegraph systems' as well as railroad connections between the Atlantic and Pacific.[87]

In this same vein, Tenorio-Trillo has drawn attention to a significant display of José María Velasco's paintings of Mexican landscapes, which dominated Mexico's art exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1889. Among these was his *Cañada de Metlac* (1897). This painting presented a tropical Mexican landscape featuring the Citlaltépetl volcano. Situated in the foreground and juxtaposed against the remarkable natural features of the landscape is a locomotive making its way along a curved railway track that traverses a ravine. Tenorio-Trillo explains that this landscape was typical of railroad paintings common since the eighteen-seventies. These, he explains, 'responded to [the] pragmatic economic interests' of railroad companies who routinely paid for artistic vistas of the infrastructure they created. When displayed within a world's fair setting, Velasco's painting served as an 'advertisement for the industrial transformation of Mexico', for, as Tenorio-Trillo aptly explains, in the late-nineteenth century 'a steel track over wild and untamed nature was unequalled as a symbol of progress.'[88] Much like Velasco's painted tropical landscape that incorporated a new feat of Mexican engineering, Watson's photographic views were much more than scenic depictions of Haitian cityscapes. These were images that advertised social progress, industrial improvements and

technological advances under President Hyppolite. These 'crayon views' presented a progressive, modernising Haiti: a stable country that could be traded with, full of commercial potential and ripe for private investment.

Additionally, the physical form of Watson's exhibit also connoted Haitian progress. The term 'crayon views' may evoke a notion of bucolic landscapes, but the phrase actually indicates an innovative production process used to augment the finish of an early form of photographs.[89] While paintings 'had to construct …modern forms through their styles and content' the very 'existence of photography was itself [a] proof of modernity'.[90] Therefore the materiality of Watson's views, being a product of cutting-edge photographic processes, expressed technological progress. Furthermore, these views were displayed within the Haitian pavilion to mimic another innovation in this medium: the photographic panorama. Hung in a single horizontal line around a room inside the Haitian pavilion, they formed an unceasing view that imitated the innovative visual technology featured in attractions across the fairgrounds.[91] This selective panorama of Haiti was designed to immerse the viewer and bring them closer to a positive personal experience with a country that the exhibition's Internal Commission felt was 'unknown to most, or what is worse, poorly understood'.[92]

Aside from conveying these primary lessons in social progress and economic potential, Watson's views also suggested other messages. Firstly, there were images that would have asserted the country's sovereignty: depictions of artillery at Citadelle Laferrière, a historic symbol of Haitian resistance to invasion, and at the imperially desired territory of Môle St. Nicolas. These would have offered a counterbalance to images inviting investment, by reminding rapacious investors or imperialist neighbouring states of the country's proud history of defending itself. Secondly, there were a series of pictures that drew out Haiti's cultural parity with the United States.

Most notably, in terms of religious culture, Watson's views only appear to have represented sites relating to Christian worship.[93] No venues associated with the practice of Haitian Vodou were listed. Of course, in the late-nineteenth-century US, Christianity was an established and familiar belief-system, widely practiced, and heavily woven into the fabric of society. Vodou, in contrast, was much maligned and misunderstood in the US, where it was largely associated with barbarism, backwardness and cultural alterity.[94] The popular, lurid and sustained attention that the Bizoton case received outside of Haiti is indicative of these perceptions.

The Bizoton case was an instance of child abuse that occurred just outside of Port-au-Prince in 1864. A man named as Congo Pellé, his sister Jeanne and six other individuals were executed for the murder of Pellé's niece, Claircine. Haiti's detractors made much of this case and the subsequent execution; one of the most prominent being the sensationalist account of Spenser St. John, the British Consul in Haiti at the time. He reported that the accused were alleged to be cannibals who had sacrificed the young girl in a ritual "connected with the Vaudoux".[95] Such sensationalist accounts of this one-time crime circulated widely in the international press, being used to reinforce negative ideas about Vodou and social depravity in Haiti. Indeed, looking at press coverage in Haiti at the time of the case, Kate Ramsey has shown that Haitian politicians were keenly aware of the ways in which the Bizoton case would be wilfully misconstrued by those "reading from afar [who] …will see a fact from which to generalize."[96] Whilst Haiti's ruling classes sought to counter such damaging depictions of their country, this was largely not out of a desire to recuperate the image of Vodou. Indeed, many among these elite groups shared outsiders' prejudices about the religion and so were at pains to distance the image of Haiti abroad from association with its practices. Therefore, the

omission of exhibits related to this religion of Haiti's majority population from the nation's pavilion at the Columbian Exposition did not only reflect foreign prejudices.

Vodou was heavily regulated in late-nineteenth-century Haiti with many laws in place to limit or prevent practices associated with the religion.[97] These legal constraints were indicative of both the diplomatic allegiances that Haitian politicians had made with the Vatican (declaring Roman Catholicism the state religion in 1860), whilst also alluding to the social prejudices that many of Haiti's Francophile elites harboured against expressions of the nation's African cultural heritage.[98] Historically, the syncretic practice of Vodou in Haiti had developed among the nation's enslaved African ancestors in colonial Saint Domingue; though it may not have been recognised by the state in 1893, Vodou was widely practiced in Haitian society. However, the Internal Commission seems to have made a very deliberate decision to omit visual references to the religion. There is also no evidence of any reference in the display to Kreyòl: the language spoken by the majority of Haitians. The pavilion's catalogue was produced in French (a minority language predominantly spoken by the nation's governing elites), which remained Haiti's only official language till 1987. Likewise, it is worth noting, here, that among the art objects displayed in this Haitian national exhibition no space was dedicated to displaying distinctive forms representative of popular culture such as Vodou *drapo* (flags or banners associated with the practice of Vodou).[99] By omitting all of these various cultural forms associated with Haiti's majority population, the Internal Commission obscured key elements of the nation's African cultural heritage and of the Haitian masses' living present.

iii.ii French Connections: The Day-Dream of a Diasporan Artist

Featuring as a focal point of Haiti's object lesson at the Columbian Exposition, was a sculpture that exemplifies the way in which the elite milieu shaped this display of

Haitian nationhood. This artwork was created by Haitian-born, Paris-trained, diaspora artist Louis-Edmond Laforestrie. It was entitled *La Rêverie* (or *The Daydream*) and depicted a reclining male nude of Caucasian appearance in white marble [Figure 3]. Amongst reviewers present at the opening of the Haitian pavilion in June 1893, this object seems to have attracted particular attention. One noted:

> In the center of the main hall is a marble statue called "La Reverie," by a Haytian sculptor named La Forrestrie [*sic*]. It represents a youth nude, and seated on the ground, with his hands locked in front of one of his knees. It was exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1874 and took the second gold medal. It is obviously a work of great merit.[100]

Accomplished artistic skill is shown in the carving, contrasts, expression and finish of this marble figure. In line with the typical form of neoclassical sculpture, Laforestrie positioned the figure in a way that allowed him to represent the developing musculature of an ideal male physique. In sources reviewing *La Rêverie* at the Paris Salon, the work was described as depicting a melancholic, yet careless Italian shepherd, while another review listed this work under the title *Greek Peasant Dreamer*.[101] Unsurprisingly, in the context of a World's Fair with its attendant displays of competitive nationalism, Laforestrie's earlier neoclassical titles were dropped. Yet, the piece was not christened with the Haitian demonym, but rather the geographically anonymous *La Rêverie*.

American audiences praised the work for its style and success. Indeed, it certainly seems that *La Rêverie* succeeded in striking a chord of cultural resonance with audiences in the United States. Unlike Watson's 'crayon views', the interest expressed in Laforestrie's figurative work was not due to its optical depiction of Haiti, but rather in its artistic quality and past accolades. A review in the *Chicago Daily Tribune* refers to 'the splendid marble statue called "La Reverie" by a native artist' which it was again noted '…was on exhibition at the Paris Salon in 1874 and 1875 and took the second

gold medal there'.[102] This past mark of esteem from the Paris Salon shows was clearly of significance in terms of *La Rêverie's* reception. However, this was not so extraordinary an accolade for the Haitian artist who had trained as a sculptor in Paris and had evidently spent most of his life living and working there alongside distinguished family members. Most notable amongst the latter was his brother Charles Laforestrie who had been Haitian Minister in Paris and commissioner of Haiti's unrealised presence at the Exposition Universelle of 1889.[103] It is therefore the Parisian milieu that provided the context for this work's creation.

In Paris, Laforestrie had trained under Charles-Auguste Lebourg a student of the much-celebrated French artist François Rude, and it is in one of Rude's ground-breaking sculptures that we can find the inspiration for *La Rêverie*. Rude is perhaps now best-known for his creation of *La Marseillaise*, one of the sculptural groups decorating the *Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile*: a globally recognisable Parisian monument and enduring symbol of French nationhood. However, it is Rude's earlier work *Neapolitan Fisherboy* to which Laforestrie's *La Rêverie* bears striking resemblance. Rude's *Fisherboy* was a marble statue depicting a nude youth sitting on the ground, leaning gently forwards to play with a tortoise. The work had been a sensation at the Paris Salons of 1831 and 1833. It was a work of landmark importance due to its various controversial departures in style from strict classicistic parameters. Due to its success and innovation Rude was awarded the *Légion d'Honneur* and striking similarities between his *Fisherboy* and *La Rêverie* make clear that this award-winning sculpture had an influence on Laforestrie, as it did on many others.[104] There are parallels in the posture and positioning of the subjects of each sculpture, the materials selected and even Laforestrie's decision to seat his figure on a fishing net directly mimics Rude's work. Formal analysis of *La Rêverie* and tracing of its art historical inspirations in Paris

demonstrate the deep influence that Parisian cultural forms had on the still fledgling Haitian elite, which continued to lean on French cultural-political norms as it constructed a national image and aesthetic for international consumption post-independence.

The presence of *La Rêverie* within this national exhibition revealed much about the social status and worldview of those selecting and curating Haiti's display. Haiti's Internal Commission successfully exploited the French-ness of Laforestrie's practice for the cultural capital it offered as an artwork with international appeal. In doing so, they made clear that the Haitian display in Chicago was a vision profoundly shaped by the cosmopolitan values and experiences of the country's domestic and diasporan upper classes. It also seems that the positive reception *La Rêverie* received at the Chicago Fair impacted the vision of national heritage that Haiti's government wanted to preserve for future generations. The pavilion catalogue makes clear that Laforestrie was the private exhibitor of *La Rêverie* at the Columbian Exposition, however, by 1912 this neoclassical figure had become an acclaimed part of the Haitian national collection, being exhibited within the National Palace in Port-au-Prince.[105]

iii.iii A Francophile Vision of American National Heroes

Haiti's revolutionary history was presented at the Columbian Exposition by a set of portraits and historical artefacts. Under 'Epoque Coloniale' the pavilion catalogue listed: a bust of Toussaint Louverture and a painted portrait of Alexandre Pétion.[106] The bust of Louverture was also created by Laforestrie, while the portrait of Pétion was painted by Colbert Lochard. Louverture and Pétion were two of Haiti's national heroes, both of whom had been involved in the fight for Haitian independence at the beginning of the century. Pétion is remembered as the first President of the Republic of Haiti. He was born in the era of slavery but as a free *personne de couleur* and had been educated

in France. Crucially, given the fair's Pan-American theme, Pétion was an obvious choice for commemoration having provided aid to Simón Bolívar during his campaigns to liberate Latin America. Louverture was also an obvious choice: being the revolution's most internationally celebrated leader. Yet, he was a complex figure: a literate ex-slave and subsequent landowner who used slave labour; a black revolutionary who led the enslaved of Saint Domingue to liberty, yet often treated former slave-owners with compassion.[107] During his lifetime, he was recognised as a 'Great Man' of history – compared favourably to George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte. The feats he achieved during the revolution made him an icon across the Atlantic World: an enduringly powerful, yet fiercely contested, figure. Before the Civil War in the US context, Matthew J. Clavin has shown that Louverture's memory triggered vastly divergent responses. For slave-owners and white supremacists, he was an enigmatic figure of fear. For the enslaved and free people of colour, he was a heroic symbol of liberty and black political autonomy. He also featured prominently in abolitionist rhetoric and print culture: inspiring the laudatory tributes of William Wordsworth and the radical oratory of Wendell Phillips. Post-war, at the time of the Chicago Fair, public memory of Louverture remained powerful and multifaceted.[108] In fact, the image of Louverture stands alone among those of Haitian revolutionary leaders, as a symbol able to evoke black sovereignty and 'race pride' while resonating with a Francophile vision of Haitian nationhood. This would have enabled Laforestrie's bust to function on a variety of levels.

Alongside the entries for these portraits of Louverture and Pétion, the catalogue listed a collection of other objects relating to the country's revolutionary history. Among these was a 'collection of documents relating to recognition of the independence of Haiti'.[109] It is notable that the documents listed were not those

produced domestically to declare the nation's independence, but rather papers presented by external governments through the course of the nineteenth century in official recognition of Haiti's postcolonial sovereignty. This is a subtle, but significant difference in an era of imperialist aggression, when Haiti was the only independent nation in the Caribbean, existing in the shadow of a growing hemispheric power and seeking greater recognition from the 'concert of progressive nations'.[110] As a printed copy of Haiti's independence proclamation has only recently been found (2010), there may have been pragmatic factors governing this selection of materials for this Haitian display.[111] Yet, Haiti's declaration of independence in 1804 was not immediately met with official recognition by leading foreign nations. Given that Haiti's political leaders had to struggle for many decades to gain full recognition of Haitian sovereignty, not least from the Columbian Fair's hosting nation, these documents held great symbolic importance as they marked the moments when the legitimacy of Haitian sovereignty was not only declared, but was ratified by the community of nations.

There are no known images of either Laforestrie's Louverture or of Lochard's Pétion on display at the fairgrounds. The latter is also unknown outside of this context, although Lochard has been remembered in Haiti as a notable nineteenth-century artist who 'contributed to the development of a sense of national identity' through 'European-style portraiture … of national leaders and heroes'.[112] The Haitian pavilion's catalogue indicates that Laforestrie's bust of Toussaint Louverture was within the national collection when it was exhibited in Chicago. A recent newsletter, produced by the Haitian Institute for the Protection of National Heritage (ISPAN), suggests this same sculpture is still in the national collection, having been recovered from the rubble of the National Palace in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake.[113]

Aesthetically, this bust of Laforestrie's depicting Louverture is also an example of neoclassical sculpture and, so, 'European-style portraiture' reflecting the artist's Parisian training.[114] As with Watson's 'crayon views', these portraits of Haiti's national heroes had their counterparts in the displays of other American nations at the fair. For example, situated atop a tower on the exterior of the Venezuelan pavilion was a bronze statue of Simón Bolívar and inside hung another portrait of him by the Venezuelan-born painter Arturo Michelena who was also trained in Paris.[115] Again, among a group of 100 artworks displayed by Brazil was a painting entitled *Proclamation of Brazilian Independence*, as well as a painted portrait of Tiradentes, and a sculpture of José Bonifácio (two Brazilian national heroes).[116] Also present within the fairgrounds were numerous artistic representations of the United States' first President, as well as 'various Washington relics'.[117] In fact a replica of the defining neoclassical sculpture of Washington, originally created in the eighteenth century by the famed French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon, was among these.[118] It is clear then that the Haitian commission's inclusion of artistic renderings of its national heroes in neoclassical style was part of the much wider pattern of francophile Pan-American display at this and other nineteenth-century expositions.

In analysing Mexico's extensive exhibits at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889, Tenorio-Trillo highlights a parallel tendency of admiration for all things French. He notes that analyses of this period often label it 'the history of Mexico's *afrancesamiento*' or francophilia. Yet, this veneration was not just about admiration of French aesthetics, fashions, education or even philosophy. 'For Mexico' Tenorio-Trillo argues 'Paris was the arbiter of progress, as it was for all of the nineteenth-century, Western world.'[119] Indeed, the city has been famously dubbed the capital of the nineteenth century.[120] He explains, therefore, that in following Parisian practices,

institutions and values 'Mexican elites were not seeking to be French specifically, merely to be modern' and he recognises that 'Mexican emulations were an echo of a wider process that included many other nations.'[121]

Of course, the veneration of French culture, institutions and educational traditions by Haiti's postcolonial elites in the late-nineteenth-century expressed a more complex set of conflicting issues given that France was the Imperial power Haiti expelled to achieve independence. Yet, much like the reliance of US politicians on European values and worldviews revealed by the Chicago Fair's dedication to Columbus, Haiti's artistic visualisation of its founding fathers at Jackson Park exposed the francophile national identity privileged by its elites. Indeed, Haiti's governing classes had presided over a transition from French rule to a postcolonial independence that preserved many of the colonial era's value-systems, institutional structures and cultural traditions, including the continued practice of educating Haiti's elites in Paris.[122] Moreover, many within Haiti's ruling classes were of French descent, with family ties in the metropole and cosmopolitan lifestyles lived between Haiti and Paris. Fortunately for Haiti's politicians, their nation's French cultural heritage and its elites continued connections in French society played into a wider Pan-American fixation on Paris: perceived to be the epicentre of western modernity.

Further complementing this Pan-American francophilia, Haiti's Internal Commission seems to have entirely omitted exhibits relating to Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Across the nineteenth century, attitudes towards Dessalines had been mixed and changeable. It wasn't until the early-twentieth century and the centenary of Haitian independence that state-sponsored veneration of this revolutionary figure became an accepted national practice in Haiti: its most notable expression in 1904 being the inauguration of a new national anthem, the 'Dessalinienne', named in his honour.[123]

Before this, Dessalines remained popular among Haiti's masses, 'revered … as a founding father' and enshrined in Vodou historiography as a god-like, warrior figure 'emblematic of African military dynamism'.[124] Whether he was African-born, or a Creole of African descent, has been debated in recent years.[125] Nevertheless, of all Haiti's revolutionary leaders, he was (and still is) most associated with Haiti's African cultural heritage. Girard reports that 'early Haitian historians' were cautious in their descriptions of Dessalines, noting his courage and military decisiveness, 'while lamenting the corruption and despotism that characterised his rule.' Even Thomas Madiou, who sought to rehabilitate the memory of Dessalines in Haiti, adhered to this pattern during a speech given in 1875. He stated: 'shuddering with horror and admiration, we do not know whether to condemn or absolve him … he was barbaric in the face of colonial barbarism'.[126] Such ambivalent accounts were undoubtedly influenced by the narratives of 'nineteenth-century non-Haitian authors [who] generally portrayed [Dessalines] as a bloodthirsty brute' following 'his decision to massacre most of Haiti's white population' after declaring independence in 1804.[127]

Yet, Dessalines' popularity among the Haitian masses ensured that he was not completely disavowed in post-independence Haiti. In fact, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards his memory had been instrumentalised by successive Haitian leaders, including Lysius Salomon and Antenor Firmin, in attempts to gain mass support for their political causes.[128] President Hyppolite erected a marble mausoleum to Haiti's first head of state in Port-au-Prince in 1892 and linked himself rhetorically with the memory of Dessalines 'the Liberator'.[129] However, the symbols, myths and rhetoric that a political leader draws upon to assert and consolidate their leadership at home can differ vastly from those they chose to align with when representing their nation abroad. This was certainly the case for the Hyppolite administration, which chose to venerate the

memory of Dessalines in Port-au-Prince in 1892 and to elide it at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It seems Dessalines' radical revolutionary force and Pan-African identity was not what Haiti's late-nineteenth-century leaders wanted to evoke in Chicago.

In contrast, as noted above, these values did complement the agendas of US African-American playwright William Edgar Easton, who sought to engender 'race pride' through the staging of his play *Dessalines* at the Haitian pavilion. This disparity in the envisioning of Haiti's revolutionary history by the pavilion's object lesson and Easton's play suggests a diasporic disconnection, rather than reconnection, between the US African Americans and Haitians using Haiti's pavilion at this event.

More than anywhere else in Haiti's object lesson, it was in representing their revolutionary heroes that the Haitian commission had an opportunity to subvert the imperialist and racist values embedded within the wider landscape of the fair by asserting the radical terms of its independence. Yet the decision of Haiti's Internal Commission to omit Dessalines and selectively focus their display at the Columbian Fair on Louverture and Pétion, founding fathers associated with Enlightenment values, French ancestry, Pan-American solidarity, and the modern practices of skilled statescraft suggests this was not a project of national representation that sought to distinguish itself from the world order enshrined within the grounds of the fair, but rather to harmonise with it.

iv Conclusion

Six-months after the fair's closing, in an article for the *Washington Bee* Frederick Douglass recalled the artworks displayed at Haiti's pavilion to explain how perceptions of Haiti had been altered by the nation's representation at Jackson Park. He stated:

> Haiti was a surprise to those who visited her pavilion. The American people had been led to believe that Haiti … was descending deeper and deeper into barbarism. When they say [*sic*] pictures of her towns and cities; the dwellings of her people; the public buildings, such as the bank of Port-au-Prince and the great iron market … the surprise and admiration increased.[130]

Though Haiti had declared its independence almost ninety years before the Columbian Exposition, its display remained a revelation to Americans who visited. As Haiti's own pavilion catalogue repeatedly acknowledged, in the eighteen-nineties the nation remained marred by outsider perceptions of political volatility, economic uncertainty and social backwardness due to 'all kinds of attacks from the foreign press'.[131] As a result, this presence in Chicago was conceived as a diplomatic project that would introduce Haiti anew to international audiences, opening 'the eyes of the civilized world' to a more positive image of Haiti's cultural identity, history, economic potential, political stability and social progress.

In many ways, this late-nineteenth-century representation of Haiti's nationhood, paralleled the promotional projects that would be staged by newly independent Caribbean nations in the second half of the twentieth century. As colonial rule finally began to give way to anti-colonial resistance *en masse,* Jamaica led the way in the Caribbean breaking away from the British in 1962 to become an independent postcolonial nation. As Claudia Hucke has recently documented, 'travelling exhibitions of Jamaican art were utilised after independence to project and shape an image of the new nation abroad' being 'an instrument of self-promotion coupled with diplomatic and economic interests'.[132]

These projects, such as the touring show *Face of Jamaica* (1963-4), centred on projecting a distinctive Jamaican identity, deliberately distinguished from British-ness.[133] Post-independence, 'rural landscapes', 'genre scenes' and 'the

acknowledgement of the country's African roots' became key markers of this distinctiveness in the art that Jamaica toured internationally. Hucke highlights that the example of early-twentieth-century Haitian art was crucial to the shaping of these markers of Jamaican-ness in the 1960s. Under US Occupation from 1915, forms of art that focussed on Haiti's indigenous American and African heritage as well as celebrating Vodou and the daily lives of Haiti's majority population flourished, gaining audiences at home and abroad. These changes were bound up with the rise of Indigenism and, later, Noirisme in Haiti: anti-colonial cultural and political movements that eschewed claims to French-ness and European-ness, thereby profoundly reshaping the terms of Haitian national identity.[134] These twentieth-century styles of Haitian art, which would become increasingly valuable commodities in the international domain by virtue of displaying markers of a distinct cultural Haitian-ness, were a far cry from the neoclassical sculptures and Francophile portraiture that defined the art of Haiti's postcolonial politics at the Columbian Exposition. Yet postcolonial Haiti emerged into a very different world than the Caribbean nations of the 1960s onwards.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, deep in the throes of slave insurrection and pursuit of national independence, Haiti had been regarded internationally as a revolutionary pariah state. A century later, Haiti's governing classes sought to confirm their position in communion with the dominant economic and political powers ordering global interactions. By the 1890s Haiti had secured official recognition from all other major powers, but the nation-state model it embodied was not yet 'the most universally legitimate' political form: the imperial mode of governance remained supreme.[135] Haiti had to define its nationhood in relation to the geopolitical realities of the nineteenth century.

In 1893, in order to ensure their claims to sovereignty at the Columbian Exposition were recognised and recognisable, Haiti's Internal Commission emphasised their nation's place in the West, alongside the host nation, as an integral part of the Pan-American community. Haitian politicians, understood that in the eyes of many visitors 'while the US was the promised land – other American republics were "promising nations"'[136] and their object lessons in Chicago had much to prove. Nevertheless, Haiti's politicians unswervingly asserted the country's proud revolutionary history and autonomy, whilst boldly engaging in the new art of defining postcolonial nationhood.

v Appendix

Figure 1. Exterior view of the Haitian pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. Unattributed photograph. Copy belongs to the author, source: Period Paper.

Figure 2. Interior image of exhibits within the Haitian pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893. Printed in H. H. Bancroft's, *The Book of the Fair* (New York, 1894), p.915.

Figure 3. Louis-Edmond Laforestrie, *Rêverie*, 1875, Marble, 100 x100 x 62cm. Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse (France), No. Inventaire: 828D. Credit: Hugo Maertens.

[1] Most recently Paris' Exposition Universelle (1889) at which the Eiffel Tower had been unveiled: R. Reid Badger, 'Chicago 1893' in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, eds. J. E. Findling and K. D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC; 2008), p.122.

[2] M. Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley, 1996), p.8.

[3] Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and Costa Rica also sponsored their own pavilions. Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, and Uruguay contributed displays to central buildings at the fair. Canada, which was a semi-autonomous dominion of the British Empire at this time also erected its own pavilion: M. P. Handy, *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago, 1893), pp.108–10, 116, 126, 144, 154.

[4] See, for example, B. J. Ballard, 'African-American protest and the role of the Haitian pavilion at the 1893 Chicago world's fair' in *Multiculturalism: Roots and Realities,* ed. C. J. Trotman (Bloomington, 2002), pp.108-24; R. Larrier, 'DuSable, Douglass, and Dessalines: The Haytian pavilion and the narrative of history' in *Ecrire en pays assiégé Haiti: Writing Under Siege*, eds. M.A. Sourieau and K.M. Balutansky (Amsterdam, 2004), pp.39–59.

[5] S. Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham, NC, 2004), p.37.

[6] A number of recent works have questioned how radical Haitian policy was post-independence. See, for example, D.P. Geggus, 'Epilogue,' in *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed., Geggus (Columbia, SC, 2001) 247-250; P.R. Girard, 'Did Dessalines plan on exporting the Haitian Revolution?' in *The Haitian Declaration of Independence: Creation, Context, and Legacy*, ed., J. Gaffield (Charlottesville, VA, 2015). For discussion of the formation of discourses of western modernity see: S. Hall, 'The West and the Rest: discourse and power' in *Formations of Modernity*, eds. S. Hall and B. Gieben (London, 1992).

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[7] See, for example, J. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, 1999); T. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, 1988); P. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: History of the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs* (Manchester, 1988); T. Bennett, 'The exhibitionary complex' *New Formations*, iv (1998); R.W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago, 1984); R.W. Rydell, J.E. Findling and K.D. Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, DC: 2000).

[8] Tenorio-Trillo; L.L. Rezende, 'The raw and the manufactured: Brazilian modernity and national identity as projected in international exhibitions (1862–1922)' (Royal College of Art Ph.D. thesis, 2010).

[9] Haiti had dedicated resources to being present at a number of international expositions before 1893, including: New York Crystal Palace, 1853; Great London Exposition, 1862 and a planned, but unrealised, presence at Paris' Exposition Universelle of 1889. Haiti also hosted a national exposition under President Salomon in 1881. Following the Chicago Fair, Haiti continued to invest in pavilion displays at major global events including Paris' Exposition Internationale in 1937, as well as hosting the Exposition Internationale du Bicentenaire de Port-au-Prince in 1949. For more on the latter see, for example: K. Ramsey 'Vodou, Nationalism, and Performance: The Staging of Folklore in Mid-Twentieth-Century Haiti' in *Meaning in Motion,* ed., J.C. Desmond (Durham, NC, 1997) pp.345-378; M. Smith, *Red and Black in Haiti: Radicalism, Conflict, and Political Change, 1934-1957* (Chapel Hill, 2009); L. Twa, *Visualizing Haiti in U.S. Culture, 1910-1950* (Burlington, VT, 2014).

[10] At the time of the Fair, the Fon people of Dahomey were engaged in a series of wars with the French state in an attempt to resist colonisation. Pené's display demeaned the West African performers it featured as Dahomeyans: presenting them as warmongering savages and prompting virulently racist readings of their objectified bodies by fair-going audiences. Bancroft, pp.877-8; R.W. Rydell, 'A cultural Frankenstein? The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893' in *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893*, eds. N. Harris et al.

(Chicago, 1993), p.162; Ballard, p.113

[11] This process was completed in 1898, but had begun at the time of the Columbian Fair with the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893: E.P. Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington, DE; 2000) pp.122–4.

[12] I.B. Wells (ed.) *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition: The Afro-American Contribution to Columbian Literature*, ed. R.W. Rydell (Chicago, 1999 [1893]).

[13] M. Smith, *Liberty, Fraternity, Exile: Haiti and Jamaica after Emancipation* (Chapel Hill, 2014), p.285; See also: J.N. Léger, *Haiti: Her History and Her Detractors* (New York, 1907), pp.300-341; L.J. Janvier, *La République d'Haïti et ses Visiteurs* (Paris, 1883); P. Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Monroe, ME.; 1994); G.A. Ulysse, *Why Haiti Needs New Narratives* (Middletown, CT.; 2015).

[14] Following Millery Polyné, when referring to US citizens of African descent I use the term US African American; in recognition that the term American is one with hemispheric reach. M. Polyné, *From Douglass to Duvalier: US African Americans and Pan Americanism* (Gainsville, 2010), p.xv.

[15] Polyné, p.17; R. Logan, *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776–1891* (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp.368-396; L.L. Montague, *Haiti and the United States, 1714–1938* (Durham, NC; 1940), pp.173–95.

[16] C.F. Verna, *Haiti and the Uses of America: Post-U.S. Occupation Promises* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2017) p.25.

[17] Though neither actually attended: Brazil due to ongoing territorial disputes with the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata (aka Argentina) and the US because both of its delegates failed to arrive at the Congress.

[18] E. Bassi, *An Aqueous Territory: Sailor Geographies and New Granada's Transimperial Greater Caribbean World* (Durham, NC; 2016), pp. 168-9.

[19] P.R. Girard, 'Did Dessalines plan on exporting the Haitian Revolution?'

[20] R.A. Gonzalez, *Designing Pan-America: US Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin, 2011), pp.4, 9; Bassi, pp.142-171; A. Ferrer 'Haiti, free soil, and antislavery in the revolutionary Atlantic' *American Historical Review*, cxvii, i (February 2012) pp.40-67; Polyné, p.17.

[21] Verna, p.25.

[22] Montague, p.177.

[23] Julia Gaffield has demonstrated that much about Haiti's early-nineteenth-century foreign relations was shaped by such political opportunism. J. Gaffield, *Haitian Connections in the Atlantic World: Recognition after Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 2015).

[24] K. Salt, 'The Haitian question' (Purdue University Ph.D. thesis, 2011) pp.38–9.

[25] Smith, pp.270–272; Logan, p.368; See: Copy of letter from F. Hyppolite, 28 December 1888, General Correspondence, Frederick Douglass Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Montague, pp.149, 176.

[26] US President Benjamin Harrison issued a proclamation inviting all nations to participate in the World's Columbian Exposition in 24 Dec. 1890. R.S. Levine, *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, 2008), 232; See also R. Gentil and H. Chauvet, *Haiti à l'Exposition Colombienne de Chicago: Avec une Liste de ses Produits Exposés et des Notices de M. Dulciné Jean-Louis* (Port-au-Prince, 1893), p.9.

[27] For more detail on the Môle negotiations see, for example: Montague, pp.176-177; 147-161; Polyné, p.48-53; Logan, pp.434-453; D. Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour and National Independence in Haiti* (Cambridge, 1979 [New Brunswick, NJ, 1996]) p.140

[28] Montague, p.154; Crapol; Polyné, p.30.

[29] Rydell, Pelle and Findling, pp.40–1.

[30] Gonzalez, pp.1–15, 36.

[31] Gonzalez, 36.

[32] The Ethnology department was headed by Frederic Ward Putnam, curator of Harvard's Peabody Museum. For more on Putnam and Native American displays at the Chicago Fair see: Rydell, *All the World* pp.55-69; J.B. Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago, 1991), pp.109-111; Handy, pp.1091-2. M. Rinehart, 'To Hell with the Wigs! Native American Representation and Resistance at the World's Columbian Exposition' *The American Indian Quarterly*, 36, 4, (2012), 403-42.

[33] Handy, p.166.

[34] P. Blanchard et al., *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Empire* (Liverpool, 2008).

[35] Handy, pp.134.

[36] Gentil and Chauvet.

[37] Gentil and Chauvet., pp.3, 8–12: All quotations from this text have been translated into English by the author.

[38] Quoted in Tenorio-Trillo, p.12.

[39] Tenorio-Trillo, p.18.

[40] Tenorio-Trillo, pp.3–4.

[41] Quoted in: Gentil and Chauvet, p.8.

[42] Gentil and Chauvet, pp.51–2.

[43] Gentil and Chauvet, pp.51–2.

[44] These assertions about the essence and value of Haitian national identity, rooted in claims to its 'New World' identity can be read as a foreshadowing of the Indigéniste movement that would develop in Haiti in the early-twentieth century.

[45] Gentil and Chauvet, p.9.

[46] C. Forsdick, 'Exhibiting Haiti: questioning race at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893' in *The Invention of 'Race': Scientific and Popular Representations* eds. N. Bancel, T. David and D. Thomas (London, 2014), p.241.

[47] Gentil and Chauvet, pp.9–10.

[48] Gentil and Chauvet, p.30.

[49] Spenser St. John, *Hayti or, the Black Republic* (London, 1884), p.xv.

[50] Gentil and Chauvet, pp.9-10.

[51] Tenorio-Trillo, p.5.

[52] Gaffield, *Haitian Connections*, p.6.

[53]Gaffield*, Haitian Connections*, p.9.

[54] These were: M. Jérémie; M. Stephen Lafontant; Pére Jaouen; Me. Karnès Gourgue; M. F. Cauro; M. T. Mirambeau. Larrier also names 'Dr. Dehoux a former director of the Ecole de Médecine': 'L'Exposition de Chicago' *Moniteur*, 4 Feb. 1893, 3–4; Larrier, 45.

[55] Ballard, p.117; Larrier, p.45.

[56] 'Hayti and Ceylon open up today' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 24 June 1893, 2.

[57] Correspondence from Haitian Secretary of State to Frederick Douglass, 2 Feb. 1892, Frederick Douglass Papers, LC. For more on Douglass and the Môle negotiations see: Polyné, pp.11-12, 25-55; W.S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1991), 367; Levine, *Dislocating Race,* p.232.

[58] Correspondence to Frederick Douglass, 2 Feb. 1892, Frederick Douglass Papers, LC.

[59] B.H. Edwards, 'The uses of diaspora' *Social Text*, xix, i (Spring, 2001).

[60] See for example: Edwards; S. Hall, 'Cultural identity and diaspora' in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. J. Rutherford (London, 1990); M. Nisbett, 'The work of diaspora: Engaging origins, traditions and sovereignty claims of Jamaican maroon communities' (University of California Ph.D. thesis, 2015), 1–6.

[61] L. Grossberg 'On postmodernism and articulation: an interview with Stuart Hall' in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* eds. Kuan-Hsing Chen and David Morley (London, 1996 [1986]), 141–2.

[62] Quoted in Smith, pp.267–9.

[63] M.J. Clavin, *Toussaint Louverture and the American Civil War: The Promise and Peril of a Second Haitian Revolution* (Philadelphia, 2010)*,* p.181.

[64] F. Douglass, 'Lecture on Haiti' (speech given at Quinn Chapel, Chicago, 2 Jan. 1893) reproduced at *Bob Corbett: Haiti 1844–1915* <http://www2.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/1844-1915/douglass.htm> [accessed 1 May 2012]

[65] Douglass gave another speech on 2 Jan. 1893 on the fairgrounds. Glen McClish has compared these two speeches noting differences in subject and tone. G. McClish, '"The Spirit of Human Brotherhood," "The Sisterhood of Nations," and "Perfect Manhood": Frederick Douglass and the rhetorical significance of the Haitian Revolution' in *African Americans and the Haitian Revolution* eds. M. Jackson and J. Bacon (London, 2010); F. Douglass, 'Dedication ceremonies: of the Haitian pavilion' reproduced at *Bob Corbett: Haiti 1844–1915* <http://www2.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/1844-1915/douglass.htm> [accessed 1 May 2012].

[66] Ballard, p.120.

[67] For more on US African Americans at Chicago and other US fairs see: Rydell, 'A cultural Frankenstein?', 144–50; M.O. Wilson, *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums* (Berkeley, 2012).

[68] Wells, 'The convict lease system' and 'Lynch Law' in Wells, pp.23–8, 29–43.

[69] Levine, pp. 232-3.

[70] W.E. Easton, *Dessalines, A Dramatic Tale: A Single Chapter from Haiti's History* (Galveston, TX, 1893) p.vii.

[71] Larrier, p.43; C.R. Reed, *All the World is Here! The Black Presence at White City* (Bloomington, 2000), p.172.

[72] See, for example, McClish; Larrier. Two important exceptions to this trend are: Salt; Forsdick, 'Exhibiting Haiti'.

[73] H. Lidchi, 'The poetics and politics of exhibiting other cultures' in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* ed. S. Hall (London, 1997), p.162.

[74] 'For Hayti's exhibit: the pavilion at Jackson Park is formally accepted' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 3 Jan. 1893, 11.

[75] 'Hayti and Ceylon' 2.

[76] 'Hayti's doors open' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 25 June 1893, 8.

[77] E. Mattie, *World's Fairs* (New York, 1998), p.7.

[78] This figure was calculated using the 'liste definitive des articles exposés' in the pavilion catalogue. Each type of item listed separately for each exhibitor was counted e.g. 1 sack of coffee, or 1 painting, or 3 pieces of a certain type of wood. Gentil and Chauvet, pp.77-112.

[79] Gentil and Chauvet, 97.

[80] 'Hayti's doors open', 8.

[81] M. Ayre, *The Caribbean in Sepia: A History in Photographs 1840–1900* (London, 2012), pp.286, 299.

[82] H.H. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (New York, 1894), p.915.

[83] Gentil and Chauvet, p.97.

[84] The number of views is not entirely clear from the lists printed; some subjects are pluralised suggesting that they may have been represented by more than one image Gentil and Chauvet, p.97.

[85] Smith, p.267; M. Péan, *L'Illusion Héroïque* (Port-au-Prince, 1977).

[86] M. Moreau de Saint-Méry and N. Ponce, *Recueil de Vues des Lieux Principaux de la Colonie Françoise de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1791).

[87] Bancroft, pp.913–4.

[88] Tenorio-Trillo, pp.114, 116.

[89] A practice in which crayon or pastel was applied either during processing or to finish a processed print.

[90] Tenorio-Trillo, p.118.

[91] Bennett, 82.

[92] Gentil and Chauvet, p.11.

[93] Four churches and a seminary listed as: 'Eglise St-Joseph, Ste Anne, Eglise Anglicane (Bird) Eglise St-Louis Gonzague, Pt. Séminaire college': Gentil and Chauvet, p.97.

[94] For a contemporary example in US popular media see: 'Back to savagery' *Chicago Daily Tribune,* 21 May 1893, 33.

[95] Smith, pp.106-7

[96] Kate Ramsey quoting from the Haitian newspaper *Le Moniteur*: K. Ramsey, *The Spirits and the Law: Vodou and Power in Haiti* (Chicago, 2011), p.84

[97] Ramsey, *The Spirits*.

[98] Smith, p.105.

[99] For more on art forms associated with Vodou, including *drapo*, see: D. Cosentino (ed.) *Sacred Arts of Haitian Vodou* (Los Angeles, 1995)

[100] 'Hayti and Ceylon' *Tribune*, 2.

[101] 'Chronique: gravures du numéro' in *L'Art Moderne*, ed. M. de Montifaud (Paris, 1876), p.24; 'La Semaine' *Paris à l'eau-forte. Actualité, curiosité, fantaisies,* 7 July 1875, 67.

[102] 'Hayti's doors open' 8.

[103] Laforestrie withdrew the Haitian presence from this event in early 1889 due to political unrest in Haiti: Copy of a letter from C. Laforestrie to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, 21 Feb. 1889: Commerce et industrie, F/12/3763, *Archives Nationale*, Paris.

[104] H.W. Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (London, 1986), p.112.

[105] 'Chronique des monuments et sites historiques d'Haïti' *Bulletin de l'ISPAN*, xviii, 11

[106] Gentil and Chauvet, pp.69, 81.

[107] For more on the complex life and mythologisation of Louverture see, for example: C. Forsdick and C. Høgsbjerg, *Toussaint Louverture: A Political Biography* (London, 2017); P. Girard, *Toussaint Louverture: A Revolutionary Life* (New York, 2016);

[108] Clavin, pp.11-29, 181; Forsdick and Høgsbjerg, pp.135-7, 140.

[109] Gentil and Chauvet, pp.69, 79.

[110] Gentil and Chauvet, p.3

[111] This printed copy was rediscovered by Julia Gaffield at the British National Archives: Gaffield, *The Haitian Declaration of Independence*

[112] A. Juste, 'Haitian Art' in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. K.A. Appiah and H.L. Gates, Jr., 5 vols. (Oxford, 2005), ii, 125–7.

[113] ISPAN stands for Institut de Sauvegarde du Patrimoine National. The 1 Nov. 2010 issue features recovery of 'le buste en bronze de Toussaint-Louverture, oeuvre d'Edmond Laforestrie': 'Chronique des monuments', xviii, 11.

[114] C. Célius, 'Neoclassicism and the Haitian Revolution' in *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, eds. D. P. Geggus and N. Fiering (Bloomington, 2009), p. 367; Janson, p.14.

[115] This was situated alongside historical relics including a sword belonging to Bolívar: Bancroft, p.917; Handy, p.144.

[116] Exhibited in the Fine Arts Building: Handy, p.929.

[117] Handy, p.153.

[118] Janson, p.42.

[119] Tenorio-Trillo, p.12.

[120] W. Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA; London, 1999); See also: *Paris Capital of the Nineteenth Century*: <http://library.brown.edu/cds/paris/> [accessed 10 January 2017].

[121] Tenorio-Trillo, p.20.

[122] G. Magloire, 'Haitian-ness, Frenchness and history' *Pouvoirs dans la Caraïbe: Spécial*, 1997, 18–40.

[123] J.C. Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (Berkeley, 1998 [1995]), p.28.

[124] P.R. Girard, 'Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Atlantic system: a reappraisal' *William and Mary Quarterly*, lxix, iii, (2012), 552-3; D. Jenson, 'Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the African character of the Haitian Revolution' *William and Mary Quarterly*, lxix, iii, (2012), 634.

[125] See the differing accounts given in: Jenson; Girard, 'Jean-Jacques Dessalines'

[126] Quoted in Célius, p.381.

[127] Girard, 'Jean-Jacques Dessalines', 549; See, for example, St John, *Hayti*.

[128] L.J. Twa, 'Jean-Jacques Dessalines: demon, demigod, and everything in between' in *Circulations: Romanticism and the Black Atlantic*, eds. P. Youngquist and F. Botkin (October 2011) <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/circulations/HTML/praxis.2011.twa.html> [accessed 26 November 2014]; Dayan, 26.

[129] Twa, np.

[130] Cited in Larrier, p.40.

[131] Gentil and Chauvet, p.11-2

[132] C. Hucke, *Picturing the Postcolonial Nation: (Inter)nationalism in the Art of Jamaica, 1962-1975* (Kingston, 2013), pp.xxiv, 139-164

[133] Hucke, pp.142-158.

[134] M-P Lerebours, *Haïti et ses Peintres de 1804 à 1980: Souffrances et Espoirs d'un Peuple* (Port-au-Prince, 1989), pp.173-213.

[135] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991 [1983]), p.3.

[136] Tenorio-Trillo, p.19.