

WORLD EXHIBITIONS AND EDUCATIONAL NATION-BUILDING: FRENCH TEACHERS DELEGATIONS TO PARIS IN 1867

Las exposiciones universales y la construcción de espacios educativos nacionales: delegaciones de maestros primarios franceses a París en 1867

Klaus Dittrich*

The Education University of Hong Kong

Keywords

World exhibitions
France
Paris
Nation-building
Standardisation
Primary education

ABSTRACT: Nineteenth century world exhibitions served as meta-media for the circulation of educational knowledge. Focusing on the *Exposition universelle* in Paris in 1867, this article discusses how the French Ministry of Public Instruction made use of the exhibition in order to communicate with its subordinate personnel. Primary teachers from all over France were invited to Paris. Pedagogical lectures were held. As evidenced by their reports, teachers brought new ideas back to their rural workplaces. The exhibition thereby facilitated the standardisation of a national educational space which in itself was part of the larger process of the educationalisation of the world.

Palabras clave

Exposiciones universales
Francia
París
Nacionalización
Estandarización
Instrucción primaria

RESUMEN: En el siglo XIX, las exposiciones universales sirvieron de meta-media para la circulación de saberes educativos. Este artículo focaliza la *Exposition Universelle* de París de 1867. El ministerio de instrucción pública francés invitó a maestros de educación primaria de todo el país a la capital y se organizaron conferencias pedagógicas para los delegados. Después de los viajes, los informes de los maestros indican la difusión de nuevos saberes en las diferentes regiones. De esta manera, la Exposición Universal contribuía simultáneamente a la estandarización de un espacio educativo nacional y a la creación de un mundo más educacionalizado.

INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the high time of world exhibitions coincided with the implementation of state education systems in European and other sufficiently sovereign countries. This coincidence of the educationalisation of the world (Tröhler, 2017) and exhibitionary practices was visible right from the first two world exhibitions in 1851 and 1855. These events in London and Paris respectively contributed to the mutual discovery of the French and British industries and thereby triggered vivid debates on technical education on both sides of the Channel (Lembré, 2013: 121-164). The second London

* **Correspondence to:** Klaus Dittrich. The Education University of Hong Kong – kdittrich@eduhk.hk

How to cite: Dittrich, Klaus (2025). «World Exhibitions and Educational Nation-Building: French Teachers Delegations to Paris in 1867», *Cabás*, 34, 16-32. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27909>).

Received: 23 september, 2025; Final version: 16 october, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NonDerivatives 4.0 International

exhibition in 1862 introduced an educational exhibit into its encyclopaedic classification which put for the first time an emphasis on elementary instruction.

The *Exposition universelle d'art et d'industrie* in Paris in 1867 continued and expanded the practice of educational exhibits. The exhibition, as Edouard Vasseur's (2023) monograph has recently demonstrated, was intricately woven into the politics of Napoleon III's Second Empire. According to Volker Barth (2007:12), it presented the "materialised ideology" of its big organisers, notably the two Saint-Simonian engineers, sociologists and economists Frédéric Le Play and Michel Chevalier. It featured a unique palace on the Champ-de-Mars whose ingenious layout aimed at presenting the exhibits from all countries and all fields of human activity in the most rational way. Education appeared in group ten that featured "objects especially exhibited in order to improve the moral and physical condition of the population". More precisely, two classes targeted the education of children and adults respectively. Class 89 was dedicated to the "materials for and methods of teaching children", while class 90 focused on "libraries and apparatus used in the instruction of adults at home, in the workshop or in schools and colleges" (Commission impériale, 1867:8). The 1867 exhibition, then, was the first French event to highlight education as one of its key parts.

The educational classes resulted in French and foreign participation. The French Ministry of Public Instruction, since 1863 under the leadership of Victor Duruy, prepared an exhibit in order to advertise its achievements and agendas. Embedded in a rhetoric that was simultaneously imperial, Catholic and progressive, building layouts featured the material aspects of the schools. Textbooks and other educational devices were presented in collaboration with private publishers and producers. Student works were collected from all over France, including writing samples, drawings and needle works (Defodon, 1868:12-38).¹ Addressing the sector of higher education, the Ministry also arranged for the publication of thirty-eight monumental reports on the progress of the sciences and letters in the last twenty years. From beyond France, rural schoolhouses from Illinois, Sweden and Prussia as well as a Saxon educational pavilion in ancient Greek style prominently featured in the park that surrounded the main exhibition palace. These foreign presentations would have a deep impact on French debates on compulsory schooling and engendered the feeling that France was lacking behind in this domain (Dittrich, 2008).

Despite the understandable desire to feature successes at the world exhibition, there was a shared conviction among the French educational bureaucracy that primary education was deficient. This not only concerned the big question of obligation and gratuity as well as the competition between the state and the Catholic church on the control of mass education. It also concerned many other aspects, including the methodologies applied in the classroom that had a direct effect on the knowledge students would master. Organised through the Guizot Law of 1833 and reformed with the Falloux Law of 1850, the Second Empire promoted the further expansion of public primary schools. The liberal and secularising minister Duruy tackled the issue, but his law of 10 April 1867 failed to make primary instruction compulsory. The universal exposition reflected this ambiguous state of affairs.

Addressing the challenges outlined by Duruy, a subscription was launched in late 1866 in order to fund the trips of primary teachers from all over France to the universal exposition in the following year. With female primary instruction only partially institutionalised, primary teachers in 1860s France—those who were delegated to Paris in August and September 1867—were male instructors who in the majority managed an ungraded school in a rural setting on their own. Only half of them had passed through teacher training institutions (Jacquet-Francillon, 1999). For them, the exhibition would serve as a professional training programme.

¹ ANF, F/17/9385, Exposition universelle de 1867. Comité d'Admission (classes 89 et 90). Classe 89. Matériel et méthodes de l'enseignement des enfants.

Transnational perspectives have been at the forefront of innovative scholarship in the history of education for the last decades (Fuchs/Roldán Vera, 2019; Alix/Kahn, 2023). Eckhardt Fuchs (2018), Damiano Matasci (2015), Stéphane Lembré (2013) and many others have shown how world exhibitions played a fundamental role for the transnational circulation of educational knowledge. When attending world exhibitions, nineteenth-century education experts pursued three distinct transnational practices. Firstly, world exhibitions enabled experts to learn from abroad, that is to transfer foreign knowledge into their own institutional context. Secondly, world exhibitions allowed experts to represent their educational achievements which often resulted in nationalistic displays that claimed the superiority of one country over its competitors. Thirdly, world exhibitions made a contribution to international cooperation and reconciliation in the field of education (Dittrich, 2013).

In contrast to these transnational approaches, this article, focusing on the French context, adopts a more decisively national perspective on world exhibitions. It argues that world exhibitions, in concert with other media, played a structural role in processes of educational nation-building. This not only happened through the preparation of national exhibits, but also through using them as a means to mobilise stakeholders all over a national territory. World exhibitions could only have this function in countries where they were regularly held. This was the case in France and, to a minor degree, in the United States (Provenzo, 2012). In this case, world exhibitions did not only serve for horizontal expert-based communication from one country to another. They were also transmission belts for vertical, essentially top-down, communication, from the central Ministry to its subordinate teachers.

This article argues that the teachers' delegation to the 1867 world exhibition contributed to the creation of a more homogeneous national educational space. The first part looks into the organisational arrangement of the visits and is mostly based on archival files of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. The second part analyses the pedagogical lectures that were offered to the teachers in Paris and additionally draws on the volumes, published one year later, that collected all the lectures. The last section focuses on one particular teacher who participated in the scheme. Based on his report preserved in the archives, it provides insights in how one delegate perceived the exhibition in general and the educational arrangements in particular. Despite the distinctly national lens adopted here, this episode from French educational nation-building elucidates the globally wide-spread processes of nationalisation and educationalisation at the critical juncture around 1870 (Gotling, 2025).

1. INVITATION TO PARIS: A SUBSCRIPTION FOR TEACHERS TO VISIT THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION

In a frontpage article signed by its editor Louis Bréton, Hachette's *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* of 17 November 1866 officially announced the launch of a subscription that would allow primary instructors from all over France to attend the universal exposition to be held the following year in Paris (Bréton, 1866). One week later, Charles Robert, councillor of state, secretary general of the Ministry of Public Instruction and strong supporter of free and compulsory primary schooling alongside Duruy, provided more information (Robert, 1866). He stressed the professional aspect of the exhibition's educational classes. Classes 89 and 90 would less address the general visitors, but primarily allow teachers to compare the different systems of education of the participating countries and would thereby contribute to their own professional development. Unfortunately, the article deplored, teachers in France, despite their intellectual standing, would not be affluent enough to attend and profit from the exhibition out of their own pocket. Hence the initiative to enable groups of teachers to attend the event in Paris.

The announcement made explicit reference to previous practices. Nineteenth century international exhibitions attracted organised visits of various kinds. This had started in Britain with organised workers' tours to the Crystal Palace exhibition in 1851 (Strong, 2014). In 1862, more than 750 French workers had been sent across the Channel to study the exhibition and industrial facilities in various British cities. It was the prominent Lyon businessman François Barthélémy Arlès Dufour, a key figure of the world exhibitions of the Second Empire, who had come up with the idea that was soon taken up by the imperial authorities. Similar schemes for workers were again put in practice in 1867 (Vasseur, 2023:50,175-178).

Building on these experiences, the proposed teachers' scheme was quantitatively and qualitatively more comprehensive. The goal was to bring one instructor from each canton to Paris.² The participants were to be selected by their peers, inspired by the practice of the workers' delegations. Formally, this elevated their status and turned them into delegates on behalf of their colleagues. Municipalities or associations could also nominate more teachers provided that they covered the costs. The scheme offered one week of free sojourn in Paris. Delegates were supposed to study the exhibition, especially from an educational point of view. Efforts were made to make the sojourn as instructive and profitable as possible. The organisers also hoped that the delegates by means of contact to colleagues would further spread their new knowledge in their home environments.

The Ministry outsourced, so to say, the organisation of the visits to a private organisation, the *Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Still, the committee was mainly composed of high-ranking officials from the Ministry of Public Instruction. Robert was the president of the organisation. Pierre Philibert Pompée as well as the deputy in the Corps législatif Hippolyte Chauchard, rapporteur of the law of 10 April 1867, served as vice-presidents. Anatole Duruy, cabinet chief of his father, was secretary, while Charles Defodon and a certain Pichard, primary inspector of the Seine department served as adjunct secretaries. Léon was treasurer. Many committee members were also involved in the exhibitionary committees for the classes 89 and 90 as well as the international jury. Although the Minister was officially not involved, Duruy placed reliable confidants in the committee and was therefore in control of the scheme. Even though the *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* made the project appear as the realisation of a desire expressed by the teachers themselves, clothing it into a veil of democratic empowerment, it was virtually a private initiative of Duruy and its closest collaborators (Geslot, 2012:355).

The 1867 show was the first world exhibition that profited from a rail network sufficiently dense and connected beyond borders to allow a substantial flow of national and international visitors. As a result, one could now fully make use of the railway system to bring teachers to the capital in a convenient and timely way. The delegates profited from a 50% reduction with most railway companies which also applied to those teachers who purchased their ticket individually. Here it paid out to have Auguste Perdonnet, president of the Société des chemins de fer de l'est and important expert on technical education as a member of the commission.

The *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* regularly furnished lists of subscribers. Duruy, with five hundred francs—the largest single donation, and the commission members appeared as first on the list (Anonymous, 1866a:1181). Notables and businessmen donated in some cases large sums of money. For example, Ferdinand de Lesseps, under whose leadership the Suez Canal would be opened in 1869, gave one hundred francs (Anonymous, 1866b:1231). The aforementioned Arlès Dufour donated the same amount for teachers from Lyon which were jealously watched over by the administrators from the Rhône department for that they would indeed be attributed to teachers from that city.³ The large mass of subscribers were

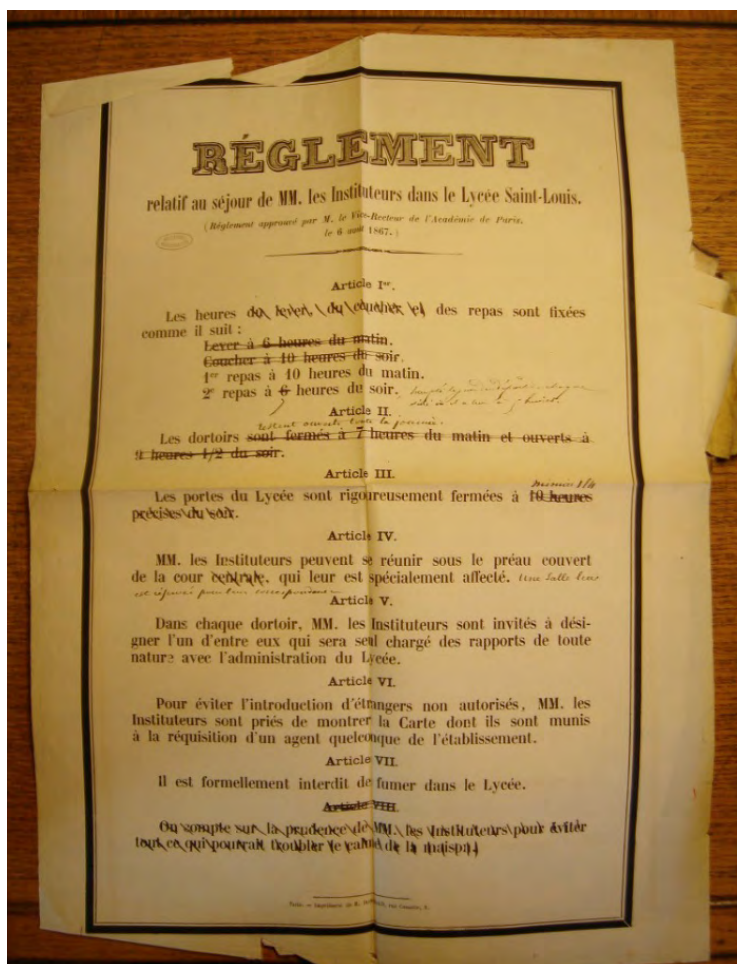
² ANF, F/17/9378, *Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, 1866.

³ ANF, F/17/9378, Letter of Aubin (inspecteur de l'académie du Rhône) to the Ministry of Public Instruction, Lyon, 27 July 1867.

ordinary teachers who gave modest amounts.⁴ By August 1867, 36,000 francs had been collected (Geslot 2009:234).

At that stage, more than three thousand teachers made their way to the capital. They arrived to Paris between 20 August and 21 September in four series of seven to eight hundred teachers, each time from a different set of départements. For eight days, most of the instructors stayed in elite lycées that were prepared for accommodating them during summer vacation (in the first place Lycée Louis-le-Grand, Lycée Napoléon, Lycée Saint-Louis) while some found private rooms. Those who stayed in the Lycée Saint-Louis, for example, had to follow strict rules. A draft of a poster on house rules stipulated a schedule that prescribed getting up at six in the morning, bedtime at ten at night, rooms locked during the day with only the courtyard open, a ban to bring strangers inside and no smoking allowed. Some of the more paternalistic rules were crossed out on one archival copy and deleted from the final version (see Image 1).⁵

Image 1. Annotated draft poster with regulations for teachers staying in the Lycée Saint-Louis in Paris



Source: ANF, F/17/9379. Photograph of Klaus Dittrich.

⁴ See ANF, F/17/9380 for lists of subscribers from different départements.

⁵ ANF, F/17/9379, Annotated draft poster “Règlement relatif au séjour de MM. les instituteurs dans le Lycée Saint-Louis”, ca. 1867.

In order to facilitate the teachers' sojourn, various arrangements were made. The office of the *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire* served as an information point for teachers. The *Société pour l'instruction élémentaire* was also involved, organising accommodation, night lectures and guided visits to the exhibition. Organisers communicated with the exhibition authorities to obtain reduced entrance fees.⁶ Parisian teachers volunteered to show the guests around in the capital. The organising committee prepared a charged official programme. Getting up early was indeed necessary, as lectures often started already at seven in the morning. Visits of museums, to the exhibition, to ministry were organised. Key administrators of the Ministry accompanied group visits.⁷

To the regret of Duruy, not all the materials of the Ministry could be allocated in the palace of the Champ-de-Mars. Therefore, an additional exhibition, especially with the teachers' delegations in mind, was set up in a provisional barrack in the garden of the Ministry's seat at rue de Grenelle. Three rooms were full of students' works as well as pedagogical objects and literature (Defodon 1868:109-178). On 14 August, Empress Eugénie paid a visit to this exhibition, providing official blessings. All the delegations would have an audience with the Minister when visiting the exhibit in rue de Grenelle. High-level meetings did not stop at the ministerial level. On 2 September, seven hundred teachers were received in the Tuileries palace by the Emperor Napoléon III who commended them for their zeal in fulfilling their task (Vasseur, 2023:179).

On 19 September, a big banquet was organised for the teachers and presided by Robert with the participation of many other high-ranking administrators, including committee members, rectors, inspectors and school directors (see Image 2). The numerous toasts pronounced at the event indicate a joyful atmosphere (Defodon, 1868:186-206). Reporting on the gathering, Charles Sauvestre, deemed it opportune to mention that, when toasting, the proviseur of the Lycée Napoléon addressed the primary instructors with "mes chers collègues". This overcoming of boundaries between the two orders, between the academic and non-academic branches of the education system, signalled a new form of recognition to the guests.⁸

Image 2. Invitation to the banquet organised for teachers on 19 September 1867



Source: ANF, F/17/9385. Photograph of Klaus Dittrich.

⁶ See the correspondence in ANF, F/17/9379.

⁷ ANF, F/17/9379, Brochure "Visite des instituteurs à l'Exposition universelle de 1867. 4e série. Du vendredi 13 septembre, au soir, au samedi 21 septembre, au soir", ca. 1867.

⁸ ANF, F/17/9383, Newspaper clipping "Banquet des instituteurs à l'Exposition" par Ch. Sauvestre, ca. 1867.

2. PEDAGOGICAL LECTURES: THE URGE FOR NEW METHODOLOGIES

This symbolic dilution of boundaries also found expression with the key events of the travel scheme, the pedagogical lectures (*conférences pédagogiques*) organised at the Sorbonne. Gustave Fabien Pillet, the chief of primary instruction in the Ministry and a key pillar of Duruy's work due to his long experience and anticlerical credentials (Horvath-Peterson, 1984:54), put together the programme and pre-selected the speakers. Only hot topics and the most competent speakers, he argued, would attract and profitably entertain the teachers. Such topics would include explanations of the latest laws and policy orientations, the material organisation of schools, hygiene, gymnastics or music. Contents that could easily be found in publications would be superfluous. Duruy rejoiced about the suggestions and annotated Pillet's letter with the statement: "Je trouve tout cela excellent".⁹ The minister then proceeded to invite the potential speakers, making clear that he wanted the talks to be lively and with a real impact on the teachers: "J'attache d'ailleurs la plus grande importance à ce que ces conférences, dans lesquelles la pensée et les vues de l'administration supérieure se trouveront développées, soient préparées avec soin; pour qu'elles produisent quelques résultats, il importe qu'elles soient à la fois intéressantes et d'une utilité réelle et pratique."¹⁰ With a certain patriarchal attitude the minister invited some of his key personnel, reminding them politely to put an effort in their talks and not to digress into idiosyncratic worldviews. As an additional control mechanism, the speakers had to hand in their script beforehand.

The idea of high-calibre speakers lecturing on emerging issues was put in practice as planned. The first lecture was held on 21 August. Pompée (1868) gave an overview of the world exhibition in general and the educational exhibits in particular. Robert talked about the recent school law of 10 April 1867. He boosted the law as of equal importance to the Guizot Law of 1833. With its stipulations against gender-mixed schools and the obligation for municipalities to establish girls' schools, Robert exalted the law as the "real creation of female primary instruction" (Robert, 1868:22). Following the understanding of different male and female spheres, the law would enable girls to receive a distinct but equal education to that of boys so as to prepare them for their future tasks of companion to their husband and mother. In addition, Robert stressed that the law made primary education free of charge for more categories of children. He reassured his audience that this would not result in a loss of income for teachers. Robert in conclusion appealed to the teachers to turn the new law into a success.

Various speakers talked about the *Sociétés de secours mutuels entre instituteurs et institutrices*. These institutions that stood in the liberal French tradition of mutual aid societies distributed risks in case of hardship for the teaching profession. Pillet himself spoke about the primary instructor's task to simultaneously serve as secretary to the mayor in small municipalities. This secretarial function was a burden for many instructors and often resulted in conflicts. Pillet was particularly qualified for this talk, as, in addition to his function in the Ministry of Public Instruction, he served as mayor of Marly-le-Roi in the Seine-et-Oise department. Not without paternalism, Pillet recommended the teachers to be accurate in their work, to follow the rules and not try to make or interpret them, and, above all, not to politicise.

For the lectures on general pedagogy, the Ministry invited the key figures of the "pedagogical Renovation" (Giolitto, 1984:4) in France. Michel Charbonneau (1868), director of the *Ecole normale primaire* in Melun, Augustin Théry (1868), *recteur de l'académie* de Caen, and Eugène Rendu (1868), *inspecteur général de l'instruction publique*, were all authors of influential and often re-edited handbooks on teaching methodology (Charbonneau, 1862; Théry, 1853; Rendu, 1858). The talks were based on the latest

⁹ ANF, F/17/9385, Letter of Fabien Pillet to Victor Duruy, June 1867.

¹⁰ ANF, F/17/9385, Draft letter of Victor Duruy to invited speakers, ca. 1867.

pedagogical thinking. They aimed at reducing the reliance of teachers on memorisation and recitation. This approach, to believe the speakers, was still widespread, but increasingly pathologised as purely mechanical. Against the “old routine”, they concurred that the “Socratic method” would be the way forward. Basing themselves on dialogues and interrogation, teachers should not present the facts but let children discover them on their own. Teachers should become accoucheurs who assist students in bearing their own ideas, in this way configuring students from passive receivers of information into active agents in the classroom. The three experts advised their audience to meticulously plan their class in a coherent way.

Marie Pape-Carpentier was the only female speaker and talked about the field on which she was the uncontested leader in France, the kindergarten (*salles d’asile*) and the application of its methods to the first years of primary instruction (Pape-Carpentier, 1868). In this way, Pape-Carpentier as well contributed to the debate on teaching methodologies. Backed by Duruy who assisted at the first of her five talks, she argued that teaching has to become more practical and that object lessons are the right way forward. She provided various examples with objects she brought to her lectures.

This preoccupation with methodology was the core of the lecture series and, one can argue, the core of the ministerial investment in the exhibition and its related activities. The educational laws of 1833 and 1850 prescribed the subjects that primary schools needed to offer, but did not define a clear methodology. Normal schools had come into being, but in practice classrooms saw a muddling-through with often unclear methodological approaches. Duruy and his collaborators deemed it necessary to convince the teachers that this business as usual would no longer be possible. Too many students would leave schools illiterate. Their message was that new inductive methods were necessary. The insistence of Charbonneau, Théry, Rendu and Pape-Carpentier indicates that many teachers indeed lacked a sense of methodology and planning and did not apply the circular of 1857 on the pedagogical direction of primary schools, that had already hinted at the problem. This document, authored by Rendu under Duruy’s predecessor Gustave Rouland, aimed at making instruction more “profitable” to rural communities, without mechanical memorisation and endless dictation, turning mathematics, for example, into a “course of popular logic applied to the needs and relations of everyday” (Rouland, 1893:716). Instead of discussing grammatical subtleties and abstractions, schools should make instruction substantial, interesting and profitable, as also Robert demanded in his lecture. In this context, Charbonneau advertised the intuitive method that he contrasted to the provision of abstract definitions. Relying on as much visual aids as possible, the intuitive method would go hand in hand with an interrogative approach (Charbonneau, 1868:6-7). The pedagogical lectures in the summer of 1867 thereby saw the beginning of the rise of the intuitive method as an educational future technology that would see its climax during the Third Republic (Ubrich, 2014).

While the simultaneous method was figured out as the best classroom regime, a certain standardisation of timetabling came into being and general methodological considerations promoted the intuitive method, a curriculum for the different subjects was not yet in place. Therefore, finally, various lectures approached pedagogies for the different subjects of primary education: the compulsory subjects reading, writing, arithmetic as well as history and geography, freshly made mandatory by the law of 10 April 1867, and optional subjects such as drawing, music and agricultural education. These lectures revealed the problem of mid-nineteenth century pedagogy. The lectures barely provided practical skills on how to teach these subjects. Instead, they often recurred to abstract concepts and historical analogies reaching back to Antiquity. On the backdrop of the preceding talks on general methodologies that urged for simplicity and applicability, these subject-based lectures almost appeared as negative teaching examples. There was indeed no institutionalised pedagogical science yet.

After the closure of the exhibition, the lectures were published in three volumes under the title *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l’Exposition universelle*

de 1867 (Anonymous, 1868). These volumes had a remarkable success. Standardised demands reached the ministry from all over France. In this regard, the volumes served to further spread the experience of the universal exhibition in the territory.¹¹ This confirms again that the impact of world exhibitions went well beyond the immediate time and space when and where they were actually held, but knowledge circulated in much further circles. But how was the exhibition and the pedagogical lectures actually received by the target audience of teachers?

3. TEACHERS' REPORTS: EMBRACING PEDAGOGICAL PROGRESS UNDER IMPERIAL GUIDANCE

Delegates had to submit a report on their stay in Paris. Michele Strong (2014:223-227) has argued that artisans' reports from world exhibitions constitute a specific nineteenth-century literary genre (see also Pellegrino, 2012). The same can be said of teachers' writings, as the reports on the 1867 exhibition can be placed in a larger framework of French teachers' reports. In 1860, Minister Gustave Rouland solicited rural instructors to write on the needs of primary education from the point of view of the school, the pupils and the teacher (Nicolas, 2012). The submissions revealed many grievances and Robert himself authored several reform-oriented books based on the 1861 memoirs. Jules Malgras, *inspecteur d'académie* in Epinal, addressing the delegates on the improvement of school houses and their equipment, explicitly referred to the memoirs of 1861 and their criticism of the material conditions (Malgras, 1868:164-165). The 1867 educational exhibit and teachers' visit can thus be seen as the ministerial response to the 1861 inquiry, or at least as part of a continuous dialogue between the administration and the teachers.

Pierre Rouland¹² was a fifty-two year old teacher at Neuvy-Pailloux with thirty-three years of experience in public instruction. Based on these details, he belonged to the "Guizot generation" (Nicolas, 2012:73-75) of teachers who joined the profession shortly after the passing of the homonymous law in 1833. Rouland was a delegate of the second series to represent the city of Issoudun and the Indre department, arriving to Paris on 28 August 1867. His report of fifty-four manuscript pages is preserved in the archive (see Image 3).¹³

Rouland's report testifies to an unbroken belief in progress. He put his essay under the motto "L'enseignement doit suivre les progrès de la civilisation, en nécessité d'une réforme de l'Instruction en général." The first paragraph started with the statement: "Nous vivons au milieu de l'époque la plus extraordinaire peut-être qu'ait jamais vue l'humanité." The most important characteristic of this fabulous era, according to Rouland, was that knowledge was not anymore the privilege of a small elite and spread to all people. However, not everything was perfect, he warned, thereby developing a typical theme that is still with us today. Rouland saw progress everywhere, but only education would lack behind. In the whole reform movement, education has remained stationary, he argued, and needed to be urgently reformed. Old-fashioned instruction would not be relevant anymore, he argued, an education related to real life would be needed. In order to produce enlightened men and patriotic citizens, one would need to give up routines and spread practical knowledge to everyone, Rouland embraced the official message. This went hand in hand with support for the Second Empire: "Vive l'Empereur, le père du peuple et de la patrie! Vive l'Impératrice!"

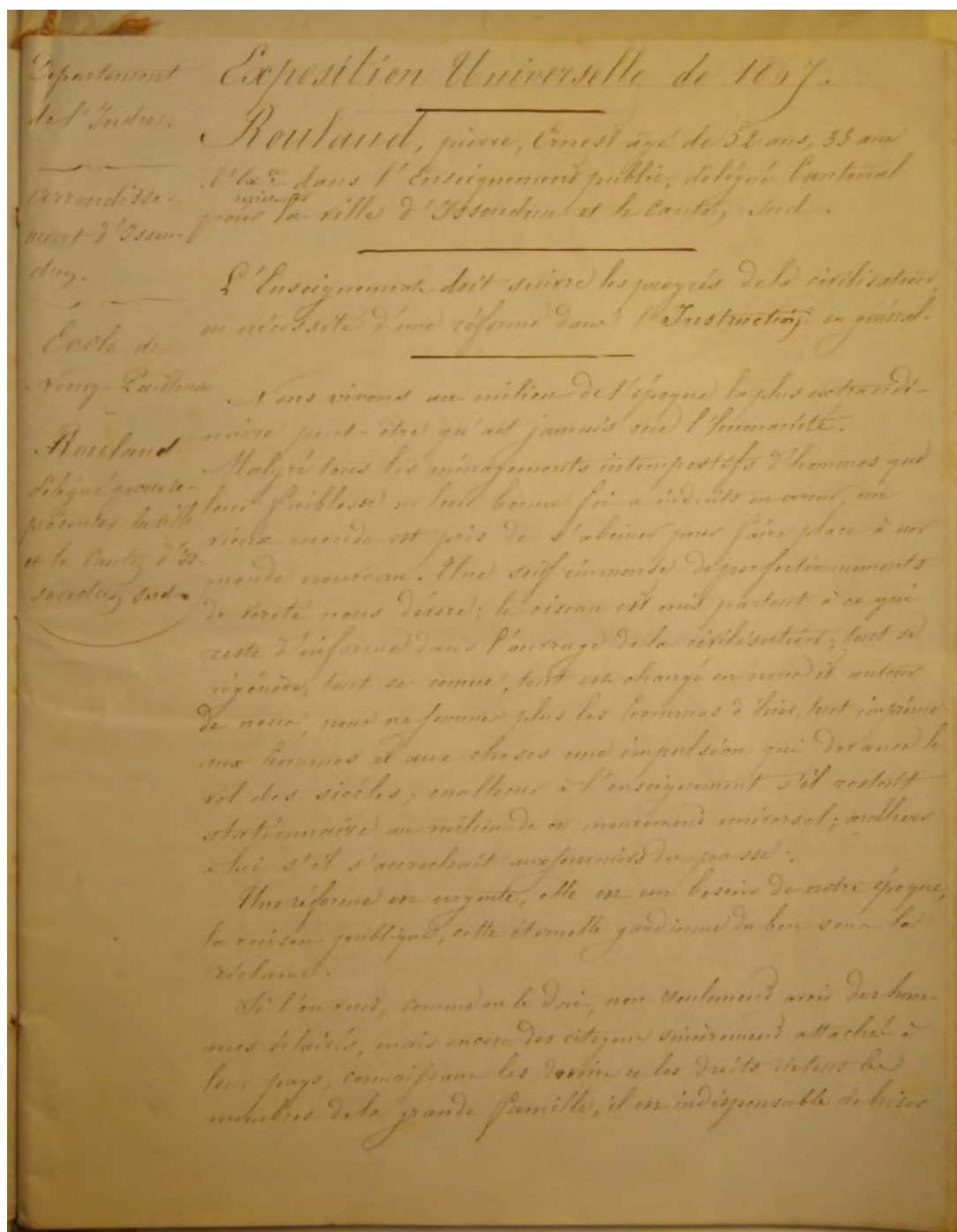
¹¹ See ANF, F/17/9383 for related correspondence.

¹² He had no family connections to the previous minister of public instruction Gustave Rouland.

¹³ ANF, F/17/9385, Pierre Rouland, manuscript report "Exposition universelle de 1867", Neuvy-Pailloux, 19 September 1867.

Vive le Prince Impérial!", Rouland wrote in order to officialise his adhesion to the imperial regime. He also used similarly devotional language for Duruy. Rouland thereby proclaimed the imperial regime as the best guarantor of educational progress. Emperor and Minister, Rouland was convinced, had recognised this trend. Things would now move in the right direction under the enlightened guidance of Louis-Napoléon, Duruy and devote progressive teachers like himself.

Image 3. First page of Pierre Rouland's report on the Universal Exposition of 1867



Source: ANF, F/17/9385. Photograph of Klaus Dittrich.

Rouland summarised his schedule in a table. In the mornings, he attended the lectures in the Sorbonne. He even did so for three more days after the end of the official programme, attending the events of the following third series. The afternoons were reserved for visits. On the first day he paid his first visit to the universal exposition. On the second day he went to the Imperial Farm in Vincennes. On day three he paid a visit to the Louvre. The following afternoon he inspected the *Corps législatif*, as the parliament was called under the Second Empire, and the Senate on which occasion he saw Napoléon III. On the fifth day he went to see the palace in Versailles. The next day he went to the agricultural annex of the exhibition in Billancourt. The following day he made his way to the Ministry of Public Instruction where he was shown around both in the offices and the special exhibition. It was here that he met Duruy. Finally, he visited the Champ-de-Mars for a second time. Unfortunately, Rouland did not write what he did in the evenings and restricted his report to the official programme.

Rouland intensively reflected on the lectures that he attended. For example, he thought about the way how to handle big classrooms. The simultaneous and mutual method would need to be applied according to the size of the classroom. From his own experience with a class of one hundred fifty students, the “*méthode simultanée mutuelle mixte*” was the most appropriate. The question of discipline was important to him, surely after he had listened to the lecture of Maggiolo who linked discipline to progress. “*Sans elle pas de progrès*”, Rouland noted in his report, warning at the same time that a military glacial silence would not serve neither. He distinguished between a “*discipline extérieure*” or “*apparente*” which exists only on surface and a “*discipline intérieure*” or “*réelle*” that regulates action and edifies the spirit of the students. In any case, education should not be based on punishments and fear anymore. Rouland was also happy about the decline of gender-mixed schools because they needed too much surveillance by the teacher. Segregation would make many things easier.

Following Théry’s lecture on pedagogy, Rouland underlined that careful planning of classes would be necessary. Every hour and every day of the week needs to be planned, he urged, implying that this was not a common practice. The instructor needs to be aware of the methods and contents to employ. Both has to be adapted to the specific situation, otherwise no meaningful connection with the pupils could be built up. He also stated, in accordance with the bureaucracy, that knowledge applicable to all circumstances of life should be conveyed. Theories and grammatical susceptibilities would be out of place. Rouland, thus, connected the lectures to the practical questions that he encountered in his everyday work.

When discovering the classes 89 and 90 on the exhibition ground, Rouland might have followed an itinerary that was provided on a leaflet printed by the Ministry. This hand-out suggested the teachers where to enter the exhibition and which way to follow, so that they would start their visit directly with the exhibit of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The proposed itinerary included all objects of the two classes and ended with students’ works from Bavaria.¹⁴ We ignore whether he indeed followed the itinerary or whether the exhibition featured too many distractions that made a planned visit illusory.

In any case, compared to his paragraphs on the lectures, Rouland’s report is shorter, more descriptive and less inspired when addressing the educational exhibit. He shortly mentioned some instructional maps of France and school layouts that seemed to have caught his attention. Rouland saw the various students’ works in the main palace and in the Ministry’s building without, however, elaborating on them. His passages on the foreign exhibits are more insightful. Rouland first described the Prussian schoolhouse and its interior in an objective manner and shortly touched upon Saxony. What indeed drew his attention was the furniture

¹⁴ ANF, F/17/2757, Exposition universelle de 1867. Ministère de l’instruction publique. Itinéraire à suivre pour visiter, au palais et dans le parc du Champ-de-Mars, l’Exposition scolaire des travaux d’élèves et des moyens d’enseignement, ca. 1867.

in the Swedish schoolhouse that he judged of high quality and in his eyes revealed the Swedish genius (see also Lundahl/Lawn, 2015). Spain as well received a surprisingly good verdict. The United States impressed him with their free schools that were high in number. Rouland came to the conclusion that there is less illiteracy in the United States than in France, but that the overall knowledge of the population would still be higher in his own country. He also deplored that the metric system was not taught on the other side of the Atlantic. Rouland thus balanced between a recognition of foreign models and a certain insistence on the superiority of French practices.

Rouland got the message. He either sincerely embraced the progressive vision presented at the exhibition and in the lectures, or he was at least capable of opportunistically displaying such a stance in his official writing. Rouland's report shows how Louis-Napoléon could embody progressive pedagogies and appear as the guarantor for the continuation of the educationalisation process. The teachers' reports had a performative dimension. Self-censorship, a certain opportunism to support official policies as well as a desire to please the superiors and to align with expectations becomes apparent. Maybe it was because Rouland was particularly skilled in meeting these expectations that his report has been preserved in the archives. But it remains difficult to estimate what he really thought, how he really experienced Paris, what he discussed with his peers from other départements. The sincerity of his writing is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, the large number of teachers on the rails, the exhibitions grounds and the lecture halls of the Sorbonne, as well as the massive reporting certainly mobilised the profession.

4. CONCLUSION

The summer of 1867 saw an imperial coordination of Parisian life (Geslot, 2008:1). A gay crowd of visitors flocked into the cafés, restaurants, museums, theatres and other places of interest (Neuhaus, 2024). French primary teachers could partly join and profit from this “dernier galop” of the Second Empire. The teachers' delegations to the 1867 world exhibition were an unprecedented initiative that required a massive organisational effort. The Ministry tried to control what the teachers would see, hear and experience in Paris, even though some activities were outsourced to private or semi-private organisations for practical, financial or symbolic reasons. This resulted in a seduction of the teachers (Vasseur, 2023:50), as well as a reconciliation between the regime and its teachers (Geslot, 2009:236). The teachers' visits therefore leave a double impression of a paternalistic embrace and professional emancipation.

In 1867, the Second Empire successfully monopolised the embodiment of the highest form of educational progress and civilisation. The entire reform-oriented elite of the Ministry was involved in the scheme. The reformers not only laboured towards an expansion of primary schooling, but also its *aggiornamento* in light of practical pedagogies that would overcome old routines. Driving this “classroom struggle”, as Marcelo Caruso (2015) has somewhat martially termed this process, was the ultimate goal of the 1867 scheme.

While the institutionalisation of education under the sign of progress went on unhindered in the decades to come, the ideological underpinnings would fundamentally change. The conspicuous adherence to the imperial regime would soon be outdated. Teachers would become convinced republicans, if they had not already been so (Ozouf/Ozouf, 1992). Therefore, the experience of 1867 needs to be confronted to the following Parisian universal exposition in 1878 when the practice of pedagogical conferences was repeated in a completely changed political context. The Third Republic was about to overcome the stagnation of the moral order regime, bringing the preparation of the Republican school reforms into full swing. Teachers delegations climaxed with the Paris International Assembly (*Ecole internationale de l'Exposition*), a vast enterprise of science popularisation, into which the lectures for primary instructors were integrated on the occasion of the 1900 exhibition.

The 1867 subscription scheme contributed to the nationalisation of France and the creation of a unified national educational space. World exhibitions were indeed meta media (Geppert, 2004:13), combining the exhibits as such with lectures, study tours and the circulation of printed matter, including massive reporting in pedagogical journals and the distribution of retrospective reports. In his lecture, Pompée declared that instructors had come together in Paris in order to engage in a mutual learning process, “to see us, to know us, to understand us” (Pompée, 1868:16). More than that, he wanted teachers to take their experience home. Every school should become a local permanent exhibitions, Pompée urged. In a similar vein, Théry told the delegates in his talk:

“Vous allez retourner à vos postes, comme des soldats qui ont reçu des armes nouvelles. Ces armes, vous les emploierez vaillamment contre l’ignorance, contre les mauvaises méthodes, contre la routine. Vous n’oublierez jamais que le pays compte sur vous pour le sage développement de l’intelligence de ses enfants et que, selon les paroles récentes de notre Empereur, c’est aux modestes écoles que, grâce à un enseignement religieux, moral et patriotique, reviendra l’honneur de préparer et de consolider l’avenir de la France!” (Théry, 1868:39)

Duruy, eventually, considered the scheme an outright success that promoted educational progress in France:

“La récente visite des instituteurs à Paris aura, je n’en puis douter, la plus heureuse influence sur les progrès collectifs de l’enseignement primaire. Jusqu’ici l’instituteur rural, placé dans un isolement relative, souvent gêné et embarrassé par les exigences de l’enseignement non moins que par les devoirs multiples de sa position, quelquesfois effacé et presque entièrement laissé à lui-même, ne pouvait soutenir son zèle que par l’effort d’un dévouement qui devait tôt ou tard finir par lâcher prise. Maintenant que tous, représentés par un grand nombre élu par eux-mêmes, sont venus se retrouver dans une communication fraternelle, sous les yeux et avec les encouragements de Votre Majesté et de Sa Majesté l’Impératrice, ils ont pu comprendre que leur isolement avait cessé et que mon administration vaillait sur chacun d’eux, comme sur tous. Ils ont pu comprendre que cette fête dont l’Exposition universelle a été l’occasion n’était que le commencement de communications aux moyens desquelles tous leurs efforts seraient complés, et cantuplés par leur union avec l’effort de tous.”¹⁵

As Duruy explained and explicitly welcomed, previously disconnected parts of France were brought into interaction and much more substantially subjected to ministerial power. Teachers working largely on their own were brought in touch with their peers from other parts of France for the first time, forming henceforth a more coherent group. This connects to Eugen Weber’s (1977) influential book *Peasants into Frenchmen*, although in this case the title of its French translation (1983), *La Fin des terroirs* (“the end of regionality”), is even more explanatory. Weber described a “disintegration of local cultures by modernity and their absorption into the dominant civilization of Paris and its schools” (Weber, 1977:486). Local disintegration and national integration were two sides of the same coin.

Volker Barth (2007:226-228) saw the 1867 world exhibition as an “enormous normalisation enterprise”. The educationalisation of France, the continuous implementation of formal education, in the French case under a strong central Ministry that aimed at uniformity over all the territory under its jurisdiction was a tangible aspect of this normalisation process. The 1867 events allow to empirically decipher how a central Ministry tried to impose its agenda.

¹⁵ ANF, F/17/9385, Draft letter of Victor Duruy to Louis-Napoléon, ca. 1867.

This nationalisation process did not only occur in France. Simultaneously, it reshaped education all over Europe (Westberg/Boser/Brühwiler, 2019) and beyond, for example in Japan (Duke, 2009) and some decades later in China (Frölich, 2017). Curiously, it was exactly nation-building that triggered transnational educational transfers. All countries carried out nationalising educational reforms by learning from each other. Damiano Matasci (2025:16) reminds us by paraphrasing Anne-Marie Thiesse (1999) that there is not anything more international than the construction of national education systems. Pedagogical debates around the intuitive method and object lessons circulated beyond national and continental borders (Roldán, 2025). This suggests that this French episode was part of the educationalisation of the world which was after all a global process (Tröhler/Lenz, 2015).

World exhibitions simultaneously allowed to transgress borders and to consolidate nationalisation processes. They brought together the horizontal axis of transnational expert interaction and the vertical axis of corporate communication within the bureaucratic structures of the Ministry. This article discussed the latter aspect. But the 1867 universal exposition allowed Duruy, against the claims of other nations, to stage his institutions as at the forefront of civilisation. Concomitantly, it triggered transnational learning processes, if we think of the French interest in the Prussian school house and the pedagogies around it that would contribute to further reform French primary education in the following decades. The year 1867 also saw the opening of international secondary schools in the vicinity of Paris and London, a Franco-British cooperation that had been initiated at the preceding 1862 exhibition in London and that aimed at bringing the two homogenising national cultures closer together. At the core of all these processes where a variety of communicational nodes came together, world exhibitions were indeed ideal observatories for the educationalisation of the world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alix, S.-A., Kahn, P. (2023). “Édito - Pour une histoire transnationale de l'éducation”. *Recherches en éducation*, 50, <http://journals.openedition.org/ree/11450>
- Anonymous (1866a). “Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867”. *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire*, 34 (49), 1181-1184.
- Anonymous (1866b). “Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867”. *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire*, 34 (51), 1231-1232.
- Anonymous (1868). *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Hachette.
- Barth, V. (2007). *Mensch versus Welt. Die Pariser Weltausstellung von 1867*. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Bréton, L. (1866). “Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867”. *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire*, 34 (36), 1109-1110.
- Caruso, M. (2015). “Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the 19th Century”. En M. Caruso (ed.), *Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the 19th Century* (pp. 9-39). Peter Lang. <https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-03228-4>
- Charbonneau, M. (1862). *Cours théorique et pratique de pédagogie*. Dezobry, F. Tandou et Cie.
- Charbonneau, M. (1868). “De l'organisation pédagogique des écoles et spécialement de la méthode d'enseignement”. En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires ve-*

nus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867. Deuxième partie: Organisation pédagogique des écoles (pp. 1-22). Hachette.

Commission Impériale (1867). *Exposition universelle de 1867 à Paris*. Catalogue général. Dentu.

Defodon, Ch. (1868). *Promenade à l'Exposition scolaire de 1867. Souvenir de la visite des instituteurs*. Hachette.

Dittrich, K. (2008). "Die amerikanische Referenz der republikanischen Grundschule Frankreichs: Kulturtransfer auf Weltausstellungen im 19. Jahrhundert". En W. Gippert, P. Götte, E. Kleinau (eds.), *Transkulturalität. Gender- und bildungshistorische Perspektiven* (pp. 161-179). Transcript. <https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839409794-008>

Dittrich, K. (2013). "Appropriation, Representation and Cooperation as Transnational Practices: The Example of Ferdinand Buisson". En I. Löhr, R. Wenzlhuemer (eds.), *The Nation State and Beyond: Governing Globalization Processes in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century* (pp. 149-173). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-32934-0_8

Duke, B. C. (2009). *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890*. Rutgers University Press.

Frölich, H. (2017). *Des Kaisers neue Schulen. Bildungsreformen und der Staat in Südchina, 1901-1911*. De Gruyter Oldenbourg. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110558869>

Fuchs, E. (2018). "'Transferierte' Praktiken. Die deutsche Unterrichtsausstellung auf der Weltausstellung in Brüssel 1910". En K. Berdelmann, B. Fritsche, K. Rabenstein, J. Scholz (eds.), *Transformationen von Schule, Unterricht und Profession. Erträge praxistheoretischer Forschung* (pp. 131-144). Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-21928-4_7

Fuchs, E., Roldán Vera, E. (eds.) (2019). *The Transnational in the History of Education: Concepts and Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17168-1>

Geppert, A. C. T. (2004). "Città brevi: storia, storiografia e teoria delle pratiche espositive europee, 1851-2000". *Memoria e Ricerca*, 17, 7-18.

Geslot, J.-Ch. (2008). "La Vie parisienne, entre culture et politique: l'exemple de l'Exposition universelle de 1867". En A. Deruelle, J.-L. Díaz (eds.), *La Vie parisienne, une langue, un mythe, un style* (pp. 1-10). Société des Etudes Romantiques et Dix-neuviémistes.

Geslot, J.-Ch. (2009). *Victor Duruy, historien et ministre (1811-1894)*. Presses universitaires du Septentrion. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.septentrion.40601>

Geslot, J.-Ch. (2012). "L'Empire et la technique. Le discours scientifique et la place des expositions universelles dans l'action culturelle du Second Empire". En A.-L. Carré, M.-S. Corcy, Chr. Demeulenaere-Douyère, L. Hilaire-Pérez (eds.), *Les expositions universelles en France au XIX^e siècle: techniques, publics, patrimoines* (pp. 347-359). cnrs editions.

Giolitto, P. (1984). *Histoire de l'enseignement primaire au XIX^e siècle*. L'organisation pédagogique. Nathan.

Gotling, N. (2025). *Interrogating Nation-Statehood and the Citizen in Curriculum Development: Comparative Historical Cases*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003475347>

Horvath-Peterson, S. (1984). *Victor Duruy and French Education: Liberal Reform in the Second Empire*. Louisiana State University Press.

- Jacquet-Francillon, F. (1999). *Instituteur avant la République. La profession d'instituteur et ses représentations de la monarchie de Juillet au Second Empire*. Presses universitaires du Septentrion. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.septentrion.46923>
- Lembré, St. (2013). *L'école des producteurs. Aux origines de l'enseignement technique (1800-1940)*. Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Lundahl, C., Lawn, M. (2015). "The Swedish Schoolhouse: A Case Study in Transnational Influences in Education at the 1870s World Fairs". *Paedagogica Historica*, 51(3), 319-334. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2014.941373>
- Malgras, J. (1868). "Organisation matérielle des écoles". En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Première partie: Législation scolaire; maisons d'école; hygiène (p. 155-180). Hachette.
- Matasci, D. (2015). *L'école républicaine et l'étranger: une histoire internationale des réformes scolaires en France, 1870-1914*. ENS éditions. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.enseditions.3851>
- Matasci, D. (2025). "L'histoire de l'éducation, entre internationalisation de la recherche et perspectives transnationales". *Histoire de l'éducation*, 163, 11-27. <https://doi.org/10.4000/1488x>
- Neuhaus, H. (2024). "Paris im Hochsommer 1867". *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 106 (2), 441-466. <https://doi.org/10.7788/arku.2024.106.2.441>
- Nicolas, G. (2012). *Quand les instituteurs répondaient au ministre. Mémoires des maîtres de l'enseignement primaire sous le Second Empire*. Presses universitaires de Rennes. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pur.43995>
- Ozouf, J., Ozouf, M. (1992). *La république des instituteurs*. Seuil.
- Pape-Carpentier, M. (1868). "De l'introduction de la méthode des salles d'asile dans l'enseignement donné aux plus jeunes enfants des écoles primaires". En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Deuxième partie: Organisation pédagogique des écoles (pp. 61-136). Hachette.
- Pellegrino, A. (2012). "Les machines: 'fées' ou 'monstrueux mécanismes'? Technologie et progrès dans les comptes rendus des travailleurs italiens aux expositions universelles (1878-1900)". En A.-L. Carré, M.-S. Corcy, Chr. Demeulenaere-Douyère, L. Hilaire-Pérez (eds.), *Les expositions universelles en France au XIX^e siècle: techniques, publics, patrimoines* (pp. 331-345). CNRS Editions.
- Pompée, Ph. (1868). "L'Exposition universelle de 1867". En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Première partie: Législation scolaire; maisons d'école; hygiène (pp. 5-18). Hachette.
- Provenzo, Eu. F. Jr. (2012). *Culture as Curriculum: Education and the International Expositions (1876-1904)*. Peter Lang.
- Rendu, E. (1858). *Manuel de l'enseignement primaire à l'usage des instituteurs*. Hachette.
- Rendu, E. (1868). "Pédagogie générale". En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Deuxième partie: Organisation pédagogique des écoles (pp. 41-60). Hachette.
- Robert, Ch. et al. (1866). "Souscription ayant pour but de fournir aux instituteurs les moyens de visiter l'Exposition universelle de 1867". *Manuel général de l'instruction primaire*, 34 (3), 1133-1136.

- Robert, Ch. (1868). "Commentaire de la loi du 10 avril 1867". En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Première partie: Législation scolaire; maisons d'école; hygiène (pp. 19-84). Hachette.
- Roldán Vera, Eu. (2025). "Presentación: La circulación de la enseñanza intuitiva en Europa y América latina, ca. 1870-1930: Perspectivas nacionales y transnacionales". *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, 21, 11-28. <https://doi.org/10.5944/hme.21.2025.41996>
- Rouland, G. (1893). "Circulaire du Ministre de l'Instruction public, relative à la direction pédagogique des Ecoles primaires, 20 août 1857". En O. Gréard (ed.), *La législation de l'instruction primaire en France depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours. Recueil des lois, décrets, ordonnances, arrêtés, règlements*. Volume III: De 1848 à 1863 (pp. 714-717). Delalain.
- Strong, M. M. (2014). *Education, Travel and the "Civilization" of the Victorian Working Class*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137338082>
- Théry, A. (1853). *Lettres sur la profession d'instituteur*. Dezobry et E. Magdeleine.
- Théry, A. (1868). "Pédagogie générale". En *Conférences pédagogiques faites à la Sorbonne aux instituteurs primaires venus à Paris pour l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. Deuxième partie: Organisation pédagogique des écoles (pp. 23-40). Hachette.
- Thiesse, A.-M. (1999). *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII^e-XX^e siècle*. Seuil.
- Tröhler, D. (2017). "Educationalization of Social Problems and the Educationalization of the Modern World". En M. A. Peters (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory* (pp. 698-703). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-287-588-4_8
- Tröhler, D., Lenz, T. (eds.) (2015). *Trajectories in the Development of Modern School Systems: Between the National and the Global*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315696898>
- Ubrich, G. (2014). *La méthode intuitive de Ferdinand Buisson. Histoire d'une méthode pédagogique oubliée*. L'Harmattan.
- Vasseur, E. (2023). *L'Exposition universelle de 1867. L'apogée du Second Empire*. Perrin.
- Weber, E. (1977). *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Chatto & Windus. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804766036>
- Weber, E. (1983). *La Fin des terroirs. La modernisation de la France rurale (1870-1914)*. Fayard.
- Westberg, J., Boser, L., Brühwiler, I. (eds.) (2019). *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling: Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13570-6>