

empress in the style they maintained, and several, including the notoriety La Paiva and Cora Pearl, even hired her courtier, Worth, for their dresses.<sup>103</sup> Here they may have acted less out of ruthlessness than from a sense of the impersonal conditions of the marketplace in which wealth determined social status. Since they had generally risen from working-class conditions, they well understood the power of money in the emerging age of capital.

Manet's *Olympia* is a work of enormous significance to the study of social art history of the modern era. The figure's ambiguous social status and subversion of the sacred tradition that allowed whores to be smuggled into visual production as Venuses created the conditions for questioning the contemporary aesthetic criteria for high art. Then, too, Manet's brilliant technique took no prisoners but left his viewers strewn on the Salon battlefield as so many wounded warriors. They sputtered and muttered, condemning his *esquisses* and *bauches*, when all the time they were rationalizing their discomfort with having to rethink the categories he so successfully challenged. For himself personally *Olympia* constituted one more link in the chain of problematized social realities and relationships that served to normalize his own contingent social status. As a sign of Second Empire society, the "amphibious" courtesan highlighted a major component of the glitz proffered by Napoléon III as cosmetic gloss to his authoritarian regime. But if the political commitments of 1848 had lost their former urgency, Manet found a way to probe the rottenness of the society's belly from underground, or, should we say, from the *demi-monde*.

### The World's Fair of 1867

The Second Empire appeared in all its glory for the last time at the Universal Exposition of 1867. A huge elliptical structure of iron and glass had been built on the Champ de Mars across the Seine on the Place de l'Alma, and the grounds surrounding it contained an artificial lake, a variety of sideshows, and the pavilions and booths of the various participating nations. The main exhibition space consisted of seven halls radiating from the center, including one devoted to contemporary art from around the world. In addition to the special exhibition of the fine arts in the international exhibition, the Salon of 1867 ran concurrently in the Palais de l'Industrie on the Champs-Élysées. Given the two venues of unequal stature, however, at least one critic believed that the public would see the Champs-Élysées show as a Salon des Refusés, that is, a show of also-rans shut out of the glitzier international show. As a result, he naively concluded that the artists would show themselves extremely indulgent and would even create a space for younger artists. He thought this appropriate in allowing the vast throngs drawn to Paris to decide for themselves the contested merit of the masters and their disciples.<sup>104</sup> Just the opposite occurred, however, the juries, responding to international rivalry, once again judged admissions severely, especially on the grounds of execution, and the independents

were completely shut out. The disillusioned rejectees again requested an official Salon des Refusés, but the several petitions were turned down by the administration. Both Courbet, who was unhappy with the way three of his works were hung in the international exhibition, and Manet, who had been denied his place in the preferred display of French painting and was wary of rejection in the secondary venue, organized their own private retrospective shows on the fairgrounds. The two leaders of their respective takes on realism built their pavilions back to back on the Place de l'Alma, the rural-realist and the urban-realist at last joined in battle against the Academic and bureaucratic dinosaurs.

In taking his case to the public with a private show, Manet presented a revealing manifesto in the preface of his catalogue. He emphasized the need of an artist to be seen, an opportunity denied him so often by the Salon juries. He then justified his methods that critics persistently condemned as *ébauches* and *esquisses*:

The artist does not say today come and see flawless works, but come and see sincere works. It is the effect of sincerity that imparts to his work the character of protestation, when in fact the artist only considered rendering his impression.

M. Manet never wished to protest. . . . He has only sought to be himself and not another.<sup>105</sup>

He further noted that in exhibiting one finds "friends and allies for the struggle"—affirming the primal value of the Salon des Refusés and his role in the new movement. Despite Manet's remonstrance, however, and a remarkable sampling of his production, the Alma show culminated in critical and public failure.

He also responded to his marginalization with an unusually large panoramic glimpse of the city and the fairgrounds that he painted between June and August of 1867, coincident with the production of *The Execution of Maximilian* (fig. 9.34). Typical of topographical printmakers, Manet seized on a few key landmarks like the columnar French lighthouse at the left, the huge elliptical exhibition hall, and the English electric lighthouse of prefabricated metallic parts at the right to summarize the grandiosity of the scene. He chose his viewing station on the Trocadéro hillside on the bank of the Seine opposite to that of the Champ de Mars, at the intersection of the rues Vineuse and Franklin, and, using a low vantage point and telescoping the distance, concentrated on the *flânerie* of strollers and loiterers along a path bordering the circular lawn external to the fairgrounds. Since the Seine and its quays virtually disappear in this perspective (although the Pont de l'Alma, near the site of Manet's show, is conspicuous at the extreme left of the picture), the strollers appear much closer to the exhibition than would have been possible in actuality.

Once again, Manet enlarged *flânerie*'s frame of reference, including in his parade of sightseers a gardener watering the lawn in the left foreground,

9-34 Edouard Manet, *The Universal Exposition of 1867*, 1867. Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo.

two working-class women identified by their dumpty figures and clothing, a *cocotte* and her *entremetteuse*, a bourgeois couple, an *amazon* or female horse rider, two street kids, two classic *flâneurs*, three imperial guardsmen on break (one of them slouching on the lawn), and in the right foreground closing off the composition is a dandified Léon Leenhoff trying to rein in his huge dog. (Manet shows that he still has an eye for the latest fashion, especially in the women's dresses, where the crinoline has been supplanted by more plain-fronted, narrower, and shorter skirts.) This cross-section of Parisian society appears much more scattered than the tightly knit clusters of *Concert in the Tuileries*, with wider gaps between the groupings and about shifts in their distances from the frontal plane. None of the types represented reveal the slightest interest in the exposition or in penetrating its potentials: the gardener turns away from the view as he hoses, the working-class women pause to address one another, the *cocotte* and her companion cruise the area, the bourgeois couple and the two dandies are fixed on the balloon, the horsewoman is clearly indisposed, the street urchins recline on the grass, the guardsmen are taking a break from patrolling the grounds, and Léon strolls right out of the picture. This is no celebratory or optimistic view of French material and cultural progress as touted by the official rhetoric surrounding the Exposition Universelle, but a vivid picture of Manet's sense of alienation. Blocked from a singular official opportunity to be viewed by an international public, Manet expressed his disappointment in the form of an externalized view of the event that touches only on its periphery. His only representation in the institutional venues was indirect, in the form of his portrait by Fantin-Latour, and even then the critics preferred to gang up on the subject rather than the artist. Gautier, now a paid government hack

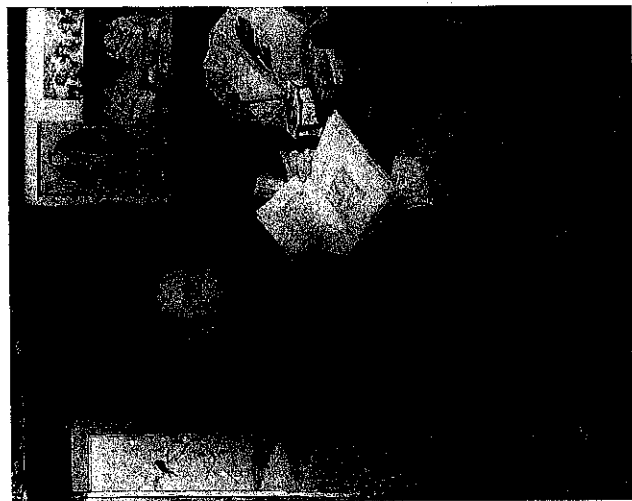
and member of the Salon jury, castigated the model for keeping his head covered with a top hat while sitting for the portrait, hinting at his regal arrogance: "If Monsieur Manet wished to suggest by this singular behavior that he considered himself the equal of a Spanish nobleman *vis-à-vis* the king-public, he should have to reproach himself for doing an injury to the talent of Monsieur Fantin-Latour."<sup>108</sup> Manet's disappointment could only have been compounded by news that his friend Albert de Balleroy received a medal for his showing in the 1867 Salon.

The hot-air balloon rising out of the composition at the upper right—an apparent metaphor of future progress but in this instance more akin to the bubbles of a *vanitas* theme—points symbolically to the vanishing hopes of Manet for international exposure and recognition. Ironically, the balloon was part of the fair's daily attractions and tethered to the earth by a cable (evident in Manet's painting). Engineered for *ascensions capitives*, the balloon took visitors into the air like some sort of elevator, never actually getting free of the ground.<sup>109</sup> This is no nod to his friend Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon)—an aeronautical pioneer as well as photographer—for it emblemizes the failure of his experiments rather than their success.<sup>108</sup> Nadar's immense balloon, *Le Cééant*, crashed ignominiously in every attempt he made since its trial flight on 4 October 1863, and in the process he lost an enormous personal investment. Hence the balloon's presence in the picture is a metaphor for what Manet perceived as the sham spectacle of the 1867 Exposition Universelle.<sup>109</sup>

### Portrait of Zola

Emile Zola, soon to emerge as one of France's leading realist novelists, had early ventured into art criticism to make ends meet. A boyhood chum of Paul Cézanne, he identified with the independents who breached the walls of the academic fortress with the Salon des Refusés. He took on the establishment by mounting a formidable defense of Manet and dissecting the jurors who had rejected the artist's recent submissions in his serial review of the 1866 Salon in *L'Événement*. He praised Manet as an artist of conviction and uncompromising temperament, and advised would-be art collectors to invest in his paintings for a "place is marked for Manet in the Louvre."<sup>110</sup> Manet expressed his gratitude to Zola in a note on 7 May and looked forward to meeting him to thank him in person. Several months later, on 1 January 1867, Zola published another piece on Manet, this time a more developed essay (issued as a pamphlet later that year) inspired by a visit to the artist's studio to review the projects he planned to submit to the Exposition Universelle. To express appreciation of his sprightly journalistic publicity, Manet offered to do Zola's portrait for the next Salon of 1868.<sup>111</sup>

The young writer (then only twenty-seven) posed from late 1867 through early 1868, and Manet depicted him at almost full length in profile seated in his study against an emblematic array of personal possessions



9.35 Edouard Manet, *Portrait of Emile Zola*, 1868. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

and mementoes that identify his creative tastes (fig. 9.35). It is less a study of a singular personality than an attempt to define a creative mind by the things that he chooses to surround himself with in his working space. In this sense, the portrait serves as one more projection of Manet's haunted ego, a strategic meeting of minds between artist and model that provided a convenient mask for the painter's troubled persona. Zola is Manet's "secret sharer." I think of the work as a double portrait whose manifold allusions tell us as much about the invisible painter as the visible sitter. Zola's peculiarly vacant gaze toward the right of the painting and flat, silhouetted presentation actually allows for more intense scrutiny of the background accessories. In this reading, the *Portrait of Zola* becomes a pretext for a legacy of modernist creativity.

Zola nevertheless considered the portrait one of Manet's finest hours and was proud to be its subject—a harmonious resolution of a complex image.<sup>112</sup> His review of 1868 implies that he identified himself completely with the painter's aims. One obvious tip-off to Manet's intention is the calculated spread of books on the desk that gives prominence to the pamphlet Zola issued in the artist's defense: it is tilted at the same angle as the open book in Zola's hand, and the title, bearing Manet's name, is framed by the feather of Zola's quill pen jutting out of the porcelain inkstand along the same diagonal. Although the author's name is also glimpsed above the title, the faded miniscule letters put the emphasis on the painter's name, which does double-duty as a signature. As if this conspicuous gesture was not enough, self-assertion, Manet located a monochromatic reproduction of *Olympia* just above Zola's tract. His parodic touch is revealed by the nodding glance of the courtesan in the direction of Zola, a sort of inside joke connected with the writer's vigorous defense of the work he unabashedly termed the artist's masterpiece.

Above the *Olympia* is an etched print by Goya of Velázquez's *Los Borrachos* (*The Drinkers*), another reference to the painter's personal take on the art of the past with still another witty aside. Zola defended Manet against accusations of plagiarism from the Spanish masters, arguing that though he may have begun in their debt he soon discovered his individual voice and now no one of sound mind could find in him "only a bastard offspring of Velázquez and Goya."<sup>113</sup> In addition, Zola holds in his hand a volume of an important encyclopedic series on the history of art by Charles Blanc

former director of the Beaux-Arts administration during the Second Republic. Fired for his republican views, Blanc devoted the remainder of his career to his writing projects, including the copiously illustrated *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles*, which enjoyed a huge reputation and constituted a major sourcebook for Manet. Blanc's section on the Spanish school described *Los Borrachos* as "a prodigy of palpable reality, of sturdy, brutal, violent naturalism."<sup>114</sup>

Just to the left, also on the clipping board hanging above Zola's desk, is a colored woodblock print of a sumo wrestler by the Japanese printmaker Utagawa Kuniaki II (1835–1888), a Japanese contemporary of Manet's. This interest in Japanese art—whose flatness, bold coloring, absence of contrasting dark and light areas, and, to Western eyes, eccentric perspectives, reinforced modernist taste—is also seen in the Japanese screen that serves as a bookend to the Kuniaki and guards Zola's privacy. In discussing Manet's simplified tonal scheme in his monograph, Zola countered the commonplace that his work imitated popular imagery and claimed it would be more accurate to compare it "with Japanese prints that resemble it by their eccentric elegance and magnificent touches."<sup>115</sup> As Fautin-Latour's *Atelier in the Batignolles* demonstrated, Manet and his circle shared a more than perfunctory interest in the mania that would subsequently be termed *Japonisme*. All told, the clipping board forms a synecdoche of Manet's modernity—a fragment of older art plus Japanese influence culminates in *Olympia*.

No doubt the image of the wrestler is another of those shared symbols, alluding to Zola's description of Manet as "a fighter of conviction" (*un lutteur convaincu*)<sup>116</sup> and metaphorically highlighting Zola's willingness to do battle with the Beaux-Arts system. The presence of the Japanese artifacts signals as well the importance of the exhibition at the popular Japanese pavilion at the Exposition Universelle the year before. Chesneau's review of the Japanese display invoked terms such as invention, avoidance of symmetry, quotidian themes, and realist accuracy that Zola associated with Manet's work. Chesneau even denied the superiority of Western representation of the human figure modeled after the ancient Greek tradition. Japanese artists substitute for stereotyped academic gestures "a lively feeling, a very profound science of the expressive character of the human form. In this respect, their drawings are superb in vigor and precision." He then referred to Hokusai's drawing albums on display, whose sketches catch the most complicated gestures of the human body "with an incomparable verve, a sureness of hand, and a flow of imagination, a charm and spirit of observation."<sup>117</sup>

Chesneau began his discussion with a preamble on the superiority of Japanese culture to Chinese, and a plea to regard Japanese civilization as equal to the European. The important role Japanese culture assigned to women, the powers of invention, and industrial and technological progress implies a vast potential that Western peoples should respect. He mentioned that since the first American steamship sailed into Tokyo Harbor,

the Japanese, quick learners, have established their own dockyard and constructed steamships to ply the seas with their newly produced exports. Here he touches on the imperial issues in the wake of Commodore Matthew Perry's forced opening of the Japanese ports in 1853, and the mad scramble of Western nations to attain favored trading status with Japan.

It is significant that in 1868, the year of the completion and exhibition of *Portrait of Zola*, a new era opened for Japan. The official change began in January 1868 with the adoption of the word *Meiji*, meaning "enlightened government." The foreign intrusion that led to the 1854 Treaty of Kanagawa with Perry proved to be the catalyst for the overthrow of the reigning Tokugawa shogunate and the restoration of the Tenno, or Heavenly King (known as Mikado in the West). The Tenno, once the ultimate power had been forced into seclusion by the shoguns, or feudal overlords, who actually conducted the affairs of state. Since 1603 the shoguns descended from the house of Tokugawa, but its steadily declining power and prestige reached its nadir with the signing of the treaty with Perry. Anti-foreign forces orchestrated by the *daimyo* (feudal chieftains) and their samurai eventually overthrew the system and transferred power back to the emperor who inaugurated the Meiji Restoration and the emergence of Japan as a modern state.

The French imperialists (along with other Western powers) had entered into diplomatic relations with Japan as early as 1858, marking the end of more than two centuries of general isolation and sparking the internal conflict that led to the overthrow of the Bakufu (as the administration of the shogun was called).<sup>18</sup> The treaty contained a most-favored-nation clause and guaranteed the right of foreigners to reside and trade at key Japanese ports. Between the years 1864 and 1868, the French minister to Japan, Leon Roches, cultivated a special relationship to the shogunate to secure special trading privileges in rivalry with the British minister, Sir Harry Parkes. The French played a pivotal role in modernizing first the Tokugawa regime and then the fledgling Meiji government. Roches's emphasis on trade introduced the Bakufu to lift the restrictions on the export of silk and silkworm eggs to France, and secured a mutual agreement on a Société Française d'Exportation et d'Importation that would make Japan a French market. In the end, French engineers and military experts helped modernize Japan and in turn Japanese products circulated in France (and England) to inform and inspire the modernist movement.

Both the shogunate and the Meiji government participated in the French Expositions Universelles as part of their export trade; in 1867, for example, many of the exhibits in the Japanese pavilion were bought by collectors eager to participate in the new trend. Dealers in antiques or art studios in Paris seized the opportunity to pander to the growing taste, while Japanese entrepreneurs and their representatives energetically promoted the export of their products and moved to expand the market. The real breakthrough was the fair of 1867, when Japan won four of the sixty-four

gold medals. That same year Manet's friend Astruc extolled the Japanese talent for synthesizing naturalism and artistry and declared: "Let us make ourselves Japanese!"<sup>19</sup> Thus the appearance of the Japanese artifacts in Zola's portrait not only affirms the cutting-edge position of artist and sitter, but corresponds to the wider role of French imperialism in international diplomacy. The availability of cultural materials providing a fresh visual stimulus required above all these diplomatic and commercial channels aimed at increasing French prestige in international waters.

### Manet and Civil War Abroad and at Home

Napoléon III's ambitious design of extending French influence to the Far East overlapped with his desire to establish an economic and religious beachhead on the shores of the United States. The internal disruptions in the United States sparked by the American Civil War allowed both British and French conservatives—generally favorable to the South and King Cotton—to make economic and political hay while the Union was embroiled in its nationwide struggle. Despite a declared policy of neutrality by both England and France, British sea rivalry with the United States allowed ship builders to skirt the law and manufacture raiders for the Confederacy while France seized the moment to install a puppet regime on the throne of Mexico.

It is a tribute to Manet's political awareness and liberal politics that he depicted two key incidents connected with these historical events that disclose sympathy with the Union side. His early observations on the status of blacks in Brazil and the startling role of the West Indian maid in *Olympia* are both of a piece with his support of the North. Support of the Union by French liberals like Manet also revealed a desire to bring about modifications of the political structure of the Second Empire. Denied direct and programmatic efforts at reform, they acted vicariously by an enthusiastic display of affection for the United States and its republican institutions. The failure of the Mexican expedition set the stage for the Second Empire's collapse, and here again the liberal opposition—including Manet—contributed to that outcome by their agitation on behalf of the United States during the Civil War.

### *The Kearsarge and the Alabama*

On Sunday, 12 June 1864, the U.S. steamer *Kearsarge* lay at anchor in the Scheldt, off Flushing, Holland. It received the message that the notorious Confederate cruiser the *Alabama* was then docked for repairs at the French port of Cherbourg. The *Alabama*, built in England, was an exemplary specimen of the last phase of predominantly wooden naval manufacture and was manned by daring officers and a well-disciplined crew. Its mission from the moment of its launching was to inflict as much damage as possible on

Northern merchant shipping around the world, ruin the Union carrying trade and force influential shippers to press the federal government for a peaceful settlement with the South. The *Alabama's* unmatched record of destruction (fifty-five Union merchant ships, one battleship, and the looting of nearly a dozen others), demoralized the carrying traders and hindered their activities.

Denied access to their own ports by the effective Union blockade and thus denationalized, the *Alabama* and other Confederate corsairs remained the high seas dependent on the sympathy of friendly foreign powers for their necessary pit stops. These long jaunts at sea, however, often had a deleterious effect on a ship's ability to operate, as would be shown in the case of the *Alabama*. A Southern agent had engaged the famous Birkenhead Ironworks of the Laird brothers on the Mersey River across and over from Liverpool to build the *Alabama*, protecting the project from the neutrality policy of the Crown by omitting military hardware and drawing up plans without apparent belligerent intentions. As reported by Marx and others, leaked news that the corsair's battery and projectiles were manufactured and installed elsewhere sparked a controversy about British violation of neutrality and complicity in the outfitting of Confederate warships. Although British shipyards were still subject to suspicion, they eluded the Union spies and local authorities thanks to the benign neglect fostered by British maritime rivalry with the United States.<sup>120</sup>

American merchant shipping appeared invincible in 1860, and British conservatives gladly accepted Confederate gold and cotton in return for raiders and supplies. On occasion, British sailors and officers even staffed the cruisers, and although this complicity was more mercenary than ideological, its long-range effect was to further undermine United States' merchant traffic. The gradual liquidation of the once flourishing American carrying trade and the reduced threat to its own shipping now encouraged a more confident and stringent British policy on the neutrality laws, ultimately leading to the dismantling of the Confederate shipbuilding program.<sup>121</sup> In the end, however, thanks to the Confederate raiders Britain regained its trade superiority on the high seas and held on to it until World War II.

Captain John Winslow was the commander of the *Kearsarge*, whose dual mission was to destroy Confederate raiders operating out of Europe and protect American trade vessels. Although the *Alabama* was designed for maximum speed and maneuverability, the *Kearsarge*, built for search-and-destroy missions, enjoyed a decided advantage in size and guns. The commander of the *Alabama* was also unaware that during the *Alabamas* perpetual seafaring its powder had deteriorated, another deficiency that proved fatal in his duel with the *Kearsarge*. At first hesitant, he finally accepted Winslow's challenge, and the two vessels sailed toward one another seven miles beyond Cherbourg harbor on Sunday, 19 June 1864. The French ironclad frigate *La Couronne* escorted the *Alabama* outside the limit

of French waters then immediately steamed back to port. Meanwhile, an English steamer, the *Deerhound*, flying an English yacht flag, approached the scene of action and proceeded to stand by in close observation.

The two antagonists traveled at full steam, engaging in a circular strategy of fighting, each steering around a common center. The *Alabama's* crew, confident of easy victory, fired first but missed its target; the *Kearsarge* then advanced and sustained two more harmless broadsides. When within 900 yards of the *Alabama*, it opened with its starboard battery. The firing of the *Kearsarge* cannons was more precise, and the *Alabama* suffered far more casualties and material damage. His crew decimated, his rudder and propeller disabled, Captain Raphael Semmes reluctantly surrendered to Captain Winslow as his sinking ship failed to enter the neutral waters of the French coast. The entire encounter lasted ninety minutes.

The mysterious British yacht, the *Deerhound*, now played a decisive role in the outcome. The *Deerhound* rescued several wounded aboard the *Alabama*, including the captain, thirteen officers, and twenty-six sailors (some of whom were British mercenaries) and took off for Southampton, thus enabling Semmes and part of his crew to evade capture. But the once mighty terror of Northern commerce was no more; in a dramatic visual display it shot up out of the water in a perpendicular position and went straight down stern first. The duel at sea inevitably became the stuff of Second Empire spectacle: Cherbourg was a popular resort, and an excursion train from Paris arrived that Sunday, bringing hundreds of tourists who were unexpectedly favored by the spectacle of a sea fight. At least fifteen thousand spectators on the southern heights above the harbor observed an event that monopolized the conversation of Parisian society long afterward.

Manet's imagination was riveted by the event in an era when battle painting, heretofore almost always depicted in a romantic manner, began to assume a more photographically accurate appearance. At the moment the encounter took place, his *Dead Christ and the Angels*, an attempt to rejuvenate religious painting in a realist mode, was on view at the Salon of 1864, and now he eagerly seized the opportunity to picture a topical event with majestic associations. Here was an episode of international consequence, involving a key moment in the American Civil War whose implications were revealing of the Southern bias on the part of British and French conservatives, who were infinitely more sympathetic to the *Alabama's* adventurous crew than to the singular-minded staff of the *Kearsarge*. His urgency is demonstrated by his exhibition of the marinescape in July in the window of Alfred Cadart's print shop and gallery at 79, rue de Richelieu.<sup>122</sup>

Manet's design focuses on the *Alabama* on the verge of sinking, stern first, with all her jibs still set to make for the shore and neutral waters (fig. 9.36). The horizontally disposed corsair is set off by a small French sailboat speedily approaching it at a sharp angle from the left, flying the French colors and the blue-framed white flag of pilot boats. Its ostensible aim is the rescue of the wounded, one of which is seen floating in the water near-



by clutching some flotsam and jetsam. The English steamer that rescues Semmes and others is seen way off on the distant horizon at the extreme right, thus deceptively giving the French pride of place in the rescue mission. The *Kearsage*, off to the left on the horizon, is almost totally obscured by smoke and explosions. The emphasis on the French sailboat bounding to the rescue diminishes in significance the visual presence of the American and English vessels, and is the apparent key to Manet's thematic intention.

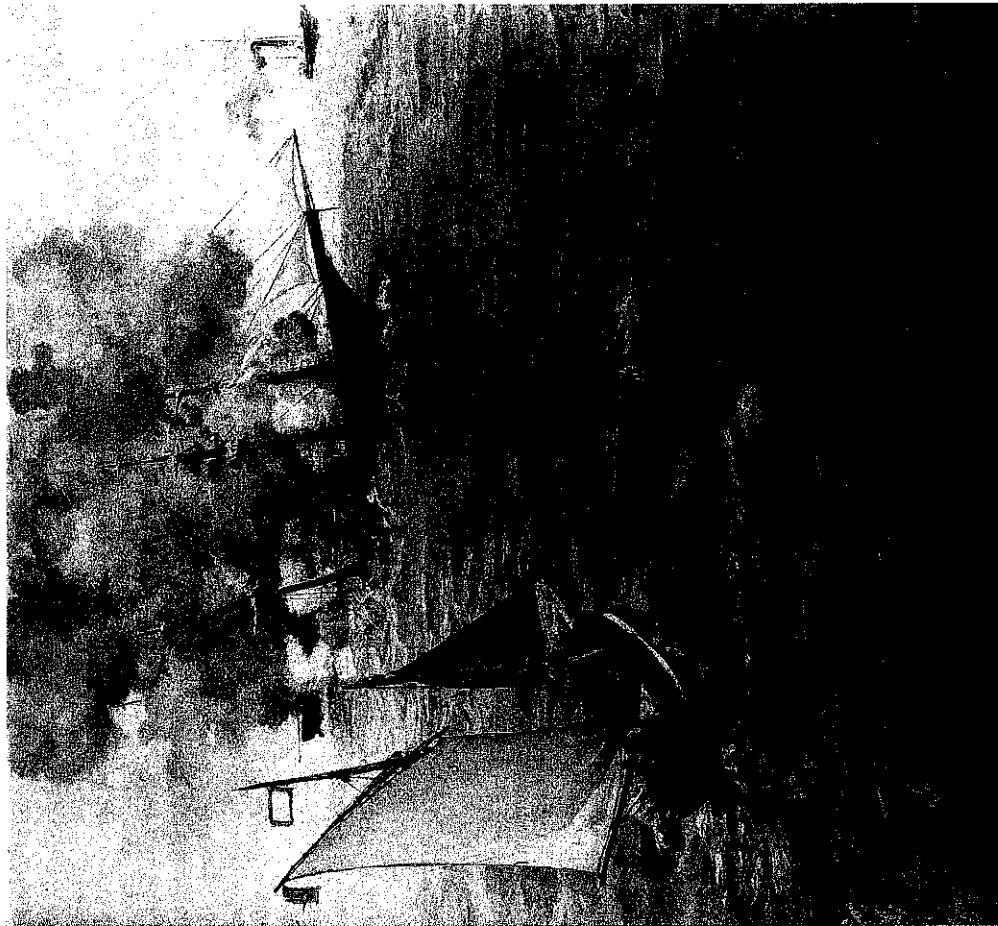
It is curious to learn that public revelations of clandestine sanction of a Confederate shipbuilding program in France and violation of neutrality emerged less than a month prior to the showdown of the *Kearsage* and the *Alabama*. In late April the French press announced that the *Shenandoah* and the *San Francisco*, two Confederate corsairs built in Nantes, had been launched. But it was not until the arrival of the *Alabama* at Cherbourg that the status of the Confederate corsairs in France sparked a national debate on illegal Southern efforts in France. At that time, Captain Semmes and his crew were feted in port by pro-Southern supporters, and William Dayton, the American minister, complained. The embarrassing publicity surrounding the sinking of the *Alabama* and pressure from Union sympathizers, the American minister, and his consul-general forced the government in 1862 to disown the program it had initially, if clandestinely, sanctioned.<sup>25</sup>

Thus to a large extent both the duration of the war and especially this specific incident could be laid at the doorstep of Napoléon III and his sympathies toward the South. By encouraging the South's efforts and hoping for recognition, both France and England prolonged the war and the war's fallout. The government of Napoléon III had proposed a plan for joint mediation with Great Britain and Russia in October 1862 to end the European economic crisis brought about by the stress in the cotton and exporting industries, but the liberal faction suspected that mediation would result in imposition of arbitration by force and opposed every form of intervention. The liberal newspaper *La Presse*, read by Manet, observed that the proposal for mediation had nothing to say about ending slavery, the only condition clearly favored the South in that it involved a suspension of the blockade. In the end, the British and the Russians rejected the proposal, and the American minister to France Dayton designated it as a propaganda ploy to mollify manufacturers and workers at home.

In January 1863 the French government put forward a second mediation effort, this time a unilateral proposal that the Union open a dialogue with the Confederates at a neutral site to determine whether their interests were irreconcilable. This attempt met with no more success than the first, and invited the ridicule of Secretary of State William Seward, who demanded of France in effect to advise the insurgents first to recognize the Union as a first step in a cessation of hostilities. The Orleanist *Revue des deux mondes* was also critical, describing the proposal as a "sterile" gesture whose only result was to suggest that France desired a restoration of peace in America

OPPOSITE

9.36 Edouard Manet, *The Battle of the Kearsage and the Alabama*, 1864. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.



Once again progressive newspapers criticized the armistice proposal for its conspicuous omission of the slavery issue.

In Manet's painting, the lone sailboat conspicuously flying the French colors and changing the sinking vessel exemplifies the paltriness and even the absurdity of the government's efforts to intervene in the American civil

war. As it now symbolically speeds to the rescue with its limited resources its last-minute heroic effort is represented by Manet as too little, too late. The emphasis given to the surging briny seascape, tilted almost on a vertical to allow for maximum extent, establishes a billowing field that all the more heightens the isolation and feeble status of the pilot boat. France's encouragement of Confederate hopes for recognition played no uncertain role in the continuing bloodshed, and its half-hearted efforts at mediation culminated in the disaster at Cherbourg. The subject of a great nation first promoting the efforts of a pawn in its own foreign policy schemes and then withdrawing its support under pressure to allow its "dupe" to suffer alone the consequences of unexpected circumstances is the central theme of Manet's other notable Civil War picture, *The Execution of Maximilian*. It is no coincidence that Manet again exhibited his *Kearsarge and Alabama* at his independent exhibition of 1867, the year of his reconstruction of Maximilian's downfall.

#### *The Execution of Maximilian*

Napoléon III's pro-Southern stance has been explained in the context of his Mexican policy. A divided United States, with a Southern ally bordering Mexico, would present the most propitious circumstances for a French-supported puppet on the throne of Mexico. Despite the many motivations prompting the expedition to Mexico, it is unlikely that the idea of founding an empire in Mexico would have been entertained by the French government if the Civil War had not totally absorbed the energies of the United States. Once the South was defeated, the French expedition found the only foothold it possessed. Thus the Mexican debacle represented not another foreign policy failure connected with the Civil War. If it is true that French intervention in Mexico ruined the Second Empire, then the example of the United States, as French liberals used it, contributed to the outcome. Lincoln's reelection forced the French government to consider its impact on both domestic and foreign policy, as it aroused the liberation position and menaced the empire in Mexico.

Just twenty years earlier, America itself had gone to war with Mexico, and in the end acquired the territory needed to complete its sweep to the Pacific. The Monroe Doctrine—originally formulated in 1823 for a specific time and place—now allowed America to rationalize its expansion at the expense of the European powers on its continent. President Polk declared war in 1846 in the face of sharply divided opinion. In retrospect his action can be seen as an aggressive grab of a neighbor's land, but his secretary of state expressed his intent in terms that have by now become common place in manipulative statecraft: "We go to war with Mexico solely for the purpose of conquering an honorable and just peace."<sup>125</sup> America would decisively over an inferior opponent. One of the few Mexican officers to distinguish himself was the young Mejía, who, together with Maximilian and

Mirafón, was later to die at the hands of his own countrymen in another fratricidal conflict. The war with Mexico ended in 1848, the year Europe was swept by revolution and Louis-Napoléon came to power.

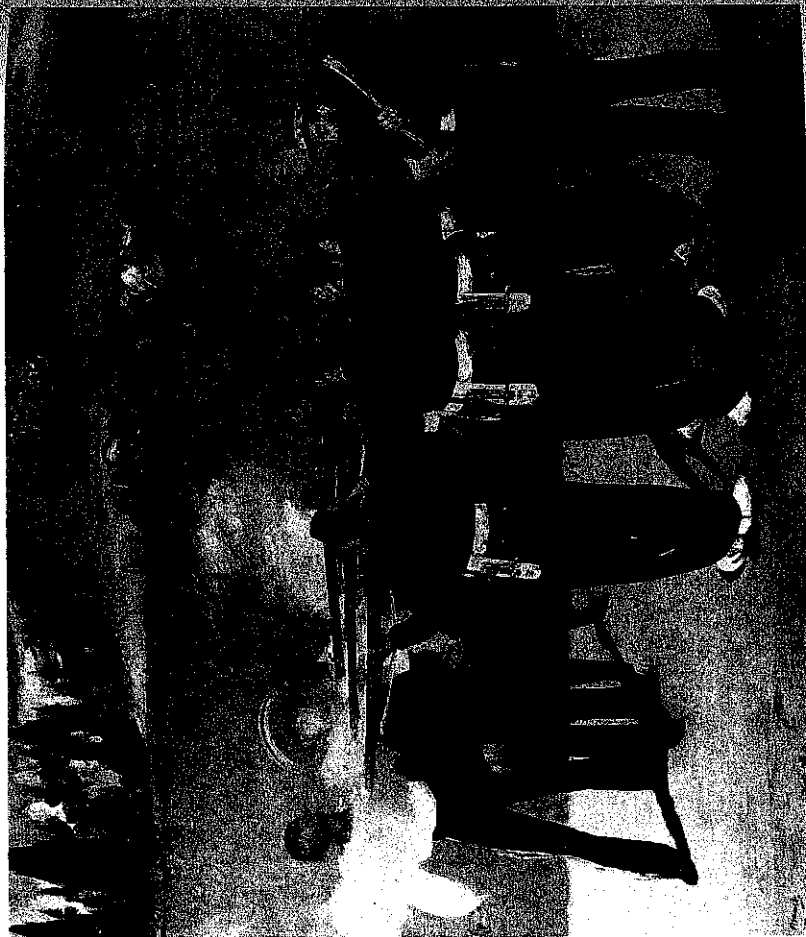
Just prior to the Civil War and the French intervention in Mexico, America's annexationist spirit made itself felt a second time; there was national clamor for the occupation of Mexico itself, especially Sonora and Chihuahua.<sup>126</sup> Mexico seemed on the verge of being swallowed up by her neighbor, an eventuality that seriously disturbed the governments of Spain, France, and England. Napoléon III foresaw America's destruction of all Latin influence in the New World and ultimate mastery of world trade on two oceans. His wish, encouraged by the aspirations of the empress and her advisers, was to check by Latin Catholicism the expansion of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism and to establish a French economic grip in the New World. And he could not get out of his mind the embittering memory of his uncle's cession of the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803—one of the worst transnational real estate deals in history. On the pretext of trying to collect its debts from the unstable regime of Juárez, France joined in a tripartite agreement with Spain and England to send an expedition to Mexico. Difference of objectives and tactics soon caused disagreement among the allies, and when the others re-embarked the French remained, eventually launching a full-scale war against Mexico and engineering Maximilian's ascent to the throne of a Catholic Empire. Although they suffered a severe defeat at Puebla (5 May 1862), reinforcements were sent and eventually the French forced the surrender of Mexico City on 10 June 1863.

Napoléon III took advantage of the American Civil War, the unfolding of which was closely related to the events in Mexico. He, the empress, and their supporters tactically favored the South (which welcomed the French intervention in Mexico), for a victory over the North could enable the Confederacy to ally itself with Maximilian and supply France with enormous economic privileges. The primacy of King Cotton stimulated French dreams of expansion, and the French legacy in the South further encouraged the Mexican venture. Once the Civil War ended, however, America turned to the Mexican problem, diplomatically pressuring Napoléon III to hastily withdraw his supporting forces, and leaving Maximilian's empire in ruins.

The entire episode was clouded from the outset in ambiguity and deception. The most deceived of all was Archduke Maximilian (whom the British journalists labeled "archdupe"), a Habsburg noble motivated by the romantic sentiments of Viennese light opera. Their belated recognition of French duplicity led to Maximilian's death and to his wife Carlotta's mad-ness. Napoléon III's lack of wholehearted commitment to the project resulted both from America's proximity and from sharply divided opinion at home; a strong appeal to patriotism (except in the early stages of the expedition when French "honor" was at stake) did not suit the occasion,

and French people wondered why their soldiers lay dying in defense of Mexican soil. In addition, the venture placed heavy economic burdens on the French, now faced with increasing taxes in financially hard times, often genuine affection for Maximilian could not obscure the costs of the Mexican expedition.

It is partly in the context of sensitivity to contemporary parallels with these nineteenth-century events and the continuity of their justificatory rhetoric that provides the point of departure for my interpretation of work that, like *Olympia* and *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, has already been subjected to much systematic scrutiny and analysis.<sup>127</sup> Despite several fascinating readings of the picture, its eccentricities—and conventionalities—remain unresolved in the critical literature. Finally, I believe that Manet's work



OPPOSITE  
9.37 Edouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian*, 1867–1868 (signed and dated 19 June 1867). Städtische Kunsthalle, Mannheim.

created under the impact of sensational headlines as a kind of documentary—takes on fresh meaning in an age of mass media, which make of sensational events an immediate and pervasive experience.

On 19 June 1867 Maximilian was executed by the Mexican liberals near Querétaro, together with his loyal generals Miguel Miramón and Tomás Mejía. By coincidence, the event fell on the third anniversary of the battle of the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama*, and Manet, ever alert to such coincidences, would have connected the two events to the Civil War and the failed foreign policy of Napoléon III. Not long after the incident Manet began his composition, which exists in five versions—four oil paintings and a lithograph (fig. 9.37). Although Manet's contemporaries noted that the project contradicts his stated antagonism to history painting, in this instance he again took up the challenge of past art in an effort to reinvigorate a traditional genre that had fallen on bad times. He would have been motivated by critics in the 1860s complaining of the absence of the vital historical picture. Additionally, he still needed to justify his choice of profession in a large-scale, multifigured work of contemporary historical import. Like his master Couture, whose ambitious *Romans of the Decadence* was also a proof of capacity, Manet had to deal directly with the legacy of history painting both as a test of strength in his battle with his critics and as a supporting medium for communicating personal ideas.

*Maximilian* was thus one of the supreme challenges of his career, and its conception coincides with a period of profound anguish, one aspect of which was his anticipated exclusion from the arts section of the Exposition Universelle of 1867. It was not fortuitous that Manet chose for his subject in this fateful time an event of military notoriety. His earliest encouragement as an artist came from his maternal uncle Edmond Fournier, a captain in the artillery, who gave his young nephew an album of lithographs by Nicolas Toussaint Charlet, perhaps the foremost military draftsman of the nineteenth century.<sup>128</sup> Manet's apprenticeship with Couture exposed him to several of the master's official commissions dealing with military motifs. The first major artist to befriend him was Auguste Raffet, second only to his teacher Charlet as a military specialist.<sup>129</sup> Raffet's fame derived mainly from his lithographs of army life, in which he treated with remarkable feeling the movement of massed troops and the everyday behavior of the common soldier. Finally, the Second Empire's imperialist policies stimulated a revival of military painting—an extension of the emperor's desire to participate in the Napoleonic legend. Thus, of all the categories of history painting in this period, the most popular was that of the military scene.

It was undoubtedly Horace Vernet who contributed most to the transformation of the battle picture, at once rendering the anonymous aspect of modern military encounters and divesting them of allegorical associations. In his magnum opus shown at the Salon of 1845 (see volume 3), *Capture of the Smalah of Abd el Kader*, the vast panorama (over sixty feet long) of the French seizure of the mobile camp of the Algerian resistance leader, Vernet



depicts a string of several episodes lacking any central focus or dominant accent.

Obsessed with military exactitude, Vernet compensates for the general anonymity with specificity of detail. More scrupulous than his predecessors, Vernet studied uniforms, carefully collated military documents, interviewed combatants, and went over the actual terrain upon which the battles were fought. He completely identified with the military, using vernacular and slang and telling war stories as if he were an old veteran. This play-acting is also reflected to a degree in his work, which often conveys a theatrical quality and bluster more appropriate to the melodramatic moment of the "cavalry charge" that would one-day climax Holly-wood Westerns.

Despite the artificial atmosphere of many of Vernet's works, however, his individual soldiers radiate authenticity, and he enabled the French public—troopers and civilians alike—to bask in the glorious exploits he portrayed. It is no exaggeration to state that Vernet was the most popular painter in France from the Restoration through the Second Empire. Although his special exhibition at the Exposition Universelle of 1855 was the crowning event of his career, his greatest triumphs occurred under the reign of Louis-Philippe, whose favorite scheme, the Galerie des Batailles at Versailles, marked the climax of the old-fashioned taste for epic battle scenes. But in the twilight of his career Vernet extended his influence further as official painter to Napoléon III; in 1854 he spent several months with the French army in the Crimea, sketching sites and taking notes for projected series of paintings glorifying the exploits of Napoléon III's imperial army. The one major work emerging from this project was *The Battle of Alma* (Crimea, 20 September 1854), exhibited in the Salon of 1857, and he left unfinished another major commission from the Second Empire, *Napoléon I Surrounded by Marshals and Generals Dead on the Field of Battle*—and these works incidentally revert to the traditional visual and ideological focus on a dominant warrior.

Vernet died in 1863 but his impact is immediately discernible in the generation of military painters emerging during the Second Empire who were deeply preoccupied with historical accuracy. Since their aim was the aggrandizement of Louis-Napoléon, it may also be said that this preoccupation with exactitude entailed a concern for contemporaneity. As shown previously, official policy advocated monumental commissions depicting the crucial civil and military events of the Second Empire, emphasizing the artist's ability to "give an air of reality to the fact which narrative cannot achieve . . . and preserve the image of contemporary personages in a precise and certain manner, show them to us actively engaged, indicate the disposition of the locales, the exact style of their clothes, reproduce, in short, the physiognomy of the era whose events it traces."<sup>10</sup> As we have also seen, Chesneau described military painters in the Exposition Universelle of 1855 in terms reminiscent of contemporary criticism of the realists: "Today our

battle painters are less artists . . . than chroniclers, editors of military bulletins. They report the facts and nothing but the facts."<sup>11</sup>

Among the younger artists most influenced by Vernet were Ernest Meissonier, Adolphe Yvon, and Isidor Pils. Although Meissonier's *Napoléon III à Solferino*—an episode from the Italian campaign in 1859—projects the emperor in the central role, his protagonist does not participate heroically in the action but calmly views the event from a strategic position above. Yvon's exhibition of *The Capture of the Tower of Malakoff* in 1857, which depicts an episode from the Crimean War, elevated him to a leading position among the military artists of his generation. An immense battle scene recalling in many ways Vernet's *Capture of the Smalah*, it exhibited an entangled mass of combatants in which friend and foe are barely distinguishable. Yvon was thankful that Napoléon III did not personally command the French troops in Crimea, since the artist felt himself at liberty to express his reconstruction of the engagement in a wholly contemporary format. In his words, he seized the opportunity

to abandon the conventional tradition of placing the spectator square in the center of the battle. The authentic combatants, the soldiers, engage directly in bodily struggle; they are the heroes, disregarding rank, from general to simple trooper and bugler. Here is an energetic confusion, the blows aimed and struck amid the fusillades and shell explosions. The splendor of the victory is in direct proportion to the bitterness of the resistance; finally, the body language of the conquered should be, in my opinion, worthy of the fury of the conquerors.<sup>12</sup>

Unlike Vernet, whose soldiers generally display bluster and exuberance, Yvon shows a wide range of emotional states and physical gestures, conveying every attitude from hesitation to gung-ho ardor. He tried to suggest by physiognomic distortions the inward effect of combat: while Vernet's troopers relish it, Yvon's suffer its consequences, both physically and psychologically.

Absent from Yvon's work is the heroic warrior exemplified by Gérard and Gros and the free-swinging champions of Vernet. The soldier of the later nineteenth century could no longer be visualized as either classic warrior or mindless conqueror: he was looked upon as a pawn in a chess match acting on orders from a remote headquarters; he did not make personal decisions but functioned obediently as part of a mass whose every move was dictated by an impersonal authority.<sup>13</sup> Pils's remarkable *Zouaves in the Trenches of 1859* and *Battle of Alma* both typify this new approach: in the former, the Zouaves (an elite fighting cadre modeled after a North African model), their impersonality guaranteed by their hooded parkas, wait to be moved like beads strung along the wires of an abacus; in the latter, the troops move mechanically into position to execute a maneuver preparatory to battle (figs. 9.38 and 8.15). As we saw in the previous chapter, one critic, though he admitted the painting, complained that the *Alma* lacked



9-38 Isidore Pils, *Zouaves in the Trenches*, 1859. Present whereabouts unknown.

"the inspiration and bellicose fever of true combats," and that the artist translated too literally the official report:

His artillerymen and turcos [Algerian troops] execute a maneuver whose unfolding is ingeniously expressed, nothing more. These guys act as if they are at home, tranquil, indifferent, without care for balls or bullets, lacking warrior transports.<sup>134</sup>

The critic had not outgrown the bombastic visual rhetoric of the *Galérie des Batailles* and failed to grasp that Pils's soldiers were simply obeying orders.

This sense of the documentary and the humbler attitude that underlies it were picked up by the youngest of the military painters, who would later be celebrated for their portrayal of the Franco-Prussian War. One of these was Paul-Alexandre Protais, who enjoyed great popularity thanks to his successful pendants shown in the Salon of 1863, *Morning, before the Attack* and *Evening, after the Attack*.<sup>135</sup> Absorbed by the psychological stress experienced by soldiers in the field, Protais avoided direct combat scenes in favor of the moments prior to engagement and the feelings in the aftermath. It was a formula that appealed to his adoring middle-class patrons who were undoubtedly guided by the knowledge that Napoléon III himself purchased the two works for his private collection.

Military painters were abundantly represented in the Exposition Universelle of 1867, and their pictures were incontestably the most popular. Alexandre noted the "military infatuation in that epoch," and Chesneau wrote that in France, "modern battle painting, of all the genres, guarantees for those who exploit it the most rapid popularity."<sup>136</sup> Manet's attempt to redeem a desiccated history genre through his military theme corresponded to this condition of heightened public awareness of the battle picture.

Even the critic Théodore Duret, Manet's close friend and future biographer, found it necessary to devote a major section of his *Les Peintres français en 1867* to the battle painters, and his discussion, often ignored in the Manet literature, supplies many clues to Manet's treatment of *Maximilian*.<sup>137</sup> The author begins by singling out Vermet for praise, because, despite the artist's flaws, he expressed himself freely and not as a government hack: "In all the pictures where Horace Vermet has fixed on canvas the soldiers of his time that he directly observed, he produced authentic works of art, works rendering visible, in an original form, a wholly interior and vivid side of things." Vermet, then, was one of the few who overcame the limitations of having to paint a commemorative event; most military artists had neither the natural aptitude nor the imagination to treat programmatic assignments. Duret lamented Vermet's passing in 1863, which he felt left a void among the painters of his category, at the current head of which he placed Yvon.

Although Duret acknowledged the new direction established by the younger painter, he was especially hard on the artist for the way in which he exaggerated individual emotional states in the *Matlakoff*, a work exhibited in the Exposition:

The most complex and terrible emotions expressed by the human animal in combat—rage, the bloodthirstiness, the fury of the unchained beast, the terror of some, the anger, the delirium of others—are difficult to render even by the most talented artist, and M. Yvon, totally out of his depth, has simply replaced them in his work by atrocious grimaces.

Duret proscribed exaggerated emotional expression in art, and his major criticism of the romantic movement was its melodrama: "The overemphasis, an often inflated style, exaggeration of movement, gestures, and action" were essential errors.

But if he deplored certain characteristics of early nineteenth-century movements and of the current military group, he considered them manifestly superior to what he called "the modern school," which lacked noble themes and dealt trivially with contemporary life. Having built up to this conclusion, he pessimistically warned that, unless circumstances were radically altered, the total degradation of French painting was inevitable. These observations must have affected Manet, since Duret's analysis provides a vantage point for understanding the conception and development of *Maximilian*. Confronted with the animosity of both public and critics in that fateful year, Manet took up the challenge of one of the traditional genres. His choice of the military theme—setting aside for the moment the impact of the immediate event that inspired it—was not picked at random: it was the unique category of history painting conveying elements of contemporary life, and it was regressive in terms of his primary focus, it was the least inimical to his taste for modernity. He could, moreover, easily

rationalize his regressiveness by assuming the attitude of a graphic reporter recording a major contemporary event. Finally, military scenes were the greatest crowd-pleaser, and we know that the *Maximilian* was particularly motivated by Manet's need to ingratiate himself with the public.

Duret's negative observations on the melodramatic aspects of romantic painting and the strained expressions in Yvon must have compelled Manet to rethink the character of the military picture. While the precedent of Goya's *Massacres of the Third of May, 1808* is invariably invoked in connection with *Maximilian*, none of its raw eloquence or bombastic rhetoric is present in Manet's work. Manet's flat delivery clearly understates his case, even though—again unlike Goya—he depicts the event at the moment of maximum violence. His uninflected rendering of the scene is abetted by even lighting—totally at odds with the explosive contrast of light and dark in the Goya. Manet glimpsed the irony in the historical reversal of the thematic roles of the protagonists: in the Goya Napoleonic aggressors suppress insurgents, whereas in Manet's picture insurgents suppress Napoleonic aggressors.

Manet's lack of emotional expressiveness and detached approach to point-blank execution shares several features with the matter-of-fact realists among the contemporary military artists, including Protals, Guys, and Meissonnier, and otherwise adopted the prevalent trend in the depiction of military events. If later he criticized Meissonnier's *Cuirassiers, 1805*—"everything is in iron, except the armor-plates [*cuirasses*]"—he nevertheless analogously reduced everything to homogenized substance and took over from Meissonnier the cool, passionless view of military experience.<sup>146</sup> Unlike the work of this artist and the others, the *Maximilian* is essentially a well-documented reconstruction, an attempt to portray a contemporary occurrence as accurately as possible. Also common to their work is its singular omission of distinguishable heroes and foes, with courage here defined, if at all, by the way the protagonist accepts his obliteration. Furthermore, Manet almost entirely abandons formalized gestures and central focus, and the fact that the firing squad is diagonally disposed from a point closest to the spectator than to the victims involves the spectator directly, as if he were peering over the shoulders of the executioners. Although, unlike the majority of his peers working in this genre, Manet could only inform himself from the eyewitness accounts of others, he nevertheless endeavored to collect the most reliable material, and his several versions of the picture attest to conscientious preparations. His method was confirmed by his later statement to the painter Henri Detouche: "Undertaking a history painting after the chronicles of the time is equivalent to the description of an individual in his passport."<sup>149</sup>

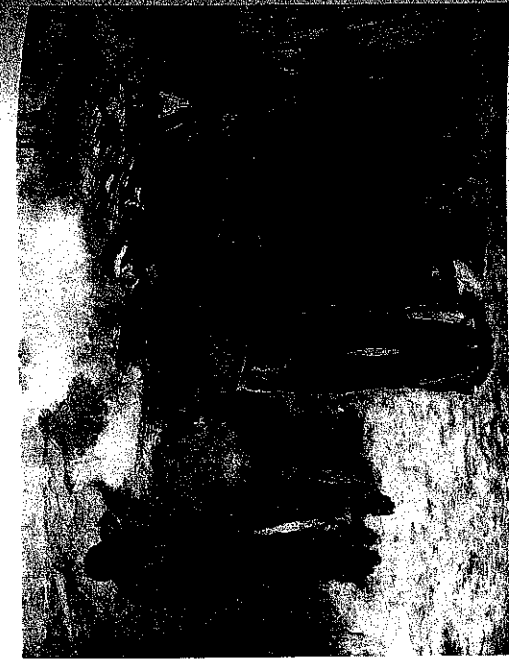
One major source of information about the execution—heretofore neglected—was American newspapers: news and diplomatic dispatches were funneled through Houston, New Orleans, and New York, in natural consequence of the significance of the event for the United States.<sup>148</sup> Indeed,



9.39 Execution of Maximilian, wood engraving from *Harper's Weekly*, 10 August 1867.

Napoléon III and Eugénie received the news of Maximilian's death in a coded cablegram from Washington. Threatened by a major foreign power on her border in apparent violation of the Monroe Doctrine, America was perhaps even more caught up in the events than France. The French quite naturally monitored the American press, continually quoting it in their leading journals. On 10 August 1867 America's most important illustrated newspaper, *Harper's Weekly*, published an extensive account of the execution and illustrated it with a remarkable drawing based on eyewitness testimony (fig. 9.39).<sup>141</sup> Whether it is reconstruction or on-the-spot transcription is uncertain, but in several details it follows very closely the written accounts available in Paris. In any case, it is an astonishing document, apparently unique, and one that Manet must have known, since it displays several motifs used by him in the several versions of his picture.

It is generally accepted that the first of these versions is the Boston *États*, an unfinished and contradictory attempt abandoned before it could be satisfactorily resolved (fig. 9.40). For this work Manet planned to garb the executioners in Mexican guerrilla costume, but further revelations prompted him to reconsider their uniforms and contributed to the abandonment of the picture. The most curious of these figures is the barely visible officer at the extreme right facing outward and leaning on a saber, the right half of his body cut off by the picture plane; his head is placed frontally while the rest of the body stands in profile, creating a disjunctive relationship between the two parts. The fragmented and contradictory character of this figure, and especially its failure to hold itself in the

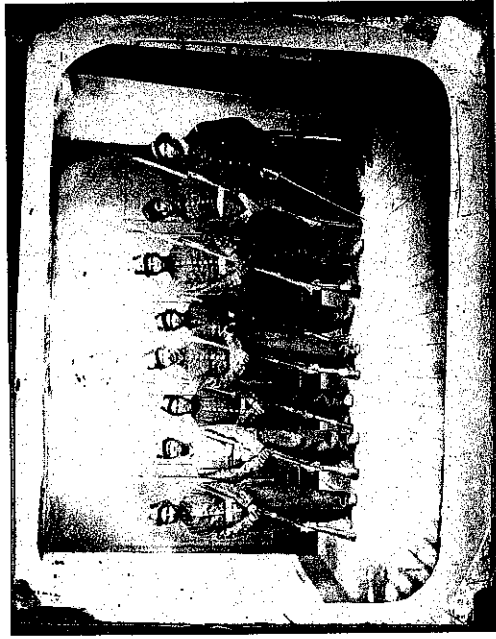


9.40 Édouard Manet, *The Execution of Maximilian*, ébauche (undrapainting), 1867. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

composition, suggest a last-minute addition. It may well have been an artistic factor in his decision to quit this version.

This partial figure derived ultimately from the Harper's illustration. At the far left of the magazine sketch, two fighters are seen standing in reserve behind the firing squad of five men. The one on the right, shown in profile, wears a sombrero, flared trousers, and riding chaps and leans on a drawn saber quite like the trooper in Manet's painting. The other figure behind him looks outward toward the spectator, like the head of the figure in the Boston *ébauche*. Unlike the neighboring officer in the illustration, he wears a uniform resembling that of the sergeant in the subsequent versions of Manet's picture. It may be inferred that Manet had progressed on the Boston canvas to the point of fixing the soldiers in reserve responsible for delivering the coup de grâce, when he made the discovery of the Harper's illustration. Bent on including the two figures of that design, he ended with a confused synthesis that all but vitiated his composition. This would explain the somewhat perplexing character of the costumes, which Manet clearly began the Boston version with Mexican guerrilla costumes. Passages around the headgear of the firing squad resemble the *tepeal* of the Harper's picture. What must have added to Manet's confusion is the mixed uniform style in the newspaper sketch, whose motley character conveyed an authentic effect: in actuality, the *juaristas* were ill-equipped and their guerrilla forces wore the costume of the *campesino*.

The discovery or knowledge of photographs taken and disseminated by François Aubert in *carte de visite* form showing the firing squad wearing standard Western military dress persuaded Manet to eliminate the moon-



9.41 François Aubert, *The Execution Squad*, contact print from the original glass negative, 1867. Musée Royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire Militaire, Brussels.

sistencies of the uniforms and depict conventional martial attire (fig. 9.41). In the later versions the sergeant in reserve appears in the traditional military costume of the period. Again, however, he is derived in part from the Harper's figure at the extreme left, as confirmed by the trousers: of all the soldiers, the sergeant alone wears no leggings, or gaiters, and his left trouser leg is identical with the exposed trouser leg of the Harper's officer. This resemblance not only comprises the rumpled contours and slightly bowed shape, but also the frontal position of the foot. Manet was extremely sensitive to such details, for it is obvious that he also adapted the tight stovepipe trouser legs and pointed shoes of the Harper's Miramón in the conception of his counterpart. Except for Maximilian (familiar enough to the French from photographs and portraits), the Harper's portrayal of the protagonist is surprisingly accurate, and may have assisted Manet in his reconstruction. Mejía, on the left, is shown with his hair combed close to his scalp and with dark skin suggesting Indian ancestry, while Miramón, on the right, has an oval face and debonair beard, exactly as Manet has depicted them. Although Manet brings the prisoners together with their hands clasped, in conformity with some newspaper accounts, Maximilian comes forward and dominates the group, as in the Harper's drawing. In both cases, the figure of Maximilian is placed on a diagonal with the legs apart and turned on its axis.

Still another unmistakable affinity between the Harper's image and all versions subsequent to the London fragment (the second in the series), is the prominent, thick wall behind the prisoners. Especially in the definitive tableau at Mannheim, it can be observed that Manet reproduced the

rounded cornice of the wall and its slight suggestions of individual adobe bricks. Manet relied heavily on this wall as a unifying device, and his absence from the London fragment may explain why he abandoned this second version as well. Apparently, he wanted the Boston and London compositions to depend solely on life-size figures for coherence, but, dissatisfied with the results, he then returned to the illustration for the wall motif. It is most conspicuously displayed in the lithograph, where it runs at right angles behind the figures, and the fact that in the same version the emperor wears his sombrero as in the Boston painting suggests that the wall was used here for the first time. It may be concluded that the *Harper* illustration reached Manet at a transitional stage in his work, compelling him to modify and ultimately abandon his first two versions, which incidentally, are most unlike all later pictures in the series.

Newspaper accounts of the execution in *Le Figaro* of 8 July and the *Mémoires diplomatiques* of 10 October substantially corroborate the data provided by the *Harper's* print.<sup>12</sup> They reported the presence of two Franciscan priests; that the prisoners were set at a distance of three paces from one another; that seven men were involved in each execution, including those in reserve. The *Figaro* further related that the execution procession had ended at the thick exterior wall of a cemetery, and provided these additional details: "The three benches with wooden crosses were adjoined to the wall; the three firing squads, composed of five men, each with two N.C.O.'s in reserve to deliver the coup de grâce, approached to within three paces of the condemned."<sup>13</sup> While these accounts vary slightly from the picture (mainly the reputed distance between the firing squad and the prisoners), the *Figaro* report confirmed that Mejía and Miramón were blindfolded, but that the emperor was not. The *Mémoires diplomatiques*, basing its account on the eyewitness testimony of Tudos, Maximilian's valet, claimed that there were four men on the firing line and three in reserve, but the *Figaro* text aligns with the *Harper's* drawing except for the report of three squads.<sup>14</sup>

Another contradiction in the accounts concerns the positions of the emperor and the generals; Tudos claimed that the emperor yielded his place in the center to Miramón, while the *Figaro* and most other reports declared that Maximilian stood in the middle.<sup>15</sup> Curiously, the text accompanying the *Harper's* illustration reported that Maximilian did in fact yield his place to the general, so that Manet seemed deliberately to have ignored the textual account in favor of the dissenting illustration. The source may also explain why Manet placed Mejía on the left and Miramón on the right of Maximilian, in apparent contradiction of the Tudos report.

The major variation in Manet's picture (excepting the obvious omissions) from the illustration and the newspaper articles is in the number of soldiers he introduced. Manet placed six on the line, one in reserve, and one off to the side who gives the signal to fire. The photographs of the firing squad mentioned earlier showed eight men, so that in number Manet's squad seems to follow the photograph rather than the illustration and the

textual reports. But a close look at the *Harper's* source reveals a somewhat remote figure in the left middle distance between the N.C.O. with the sombrero and the firing squad, who may be the officer ready to give the signal to fire. Hence, Manet could have derived the eighth figure from the illustration as well. Needing to isolate one figure, he brought one of the noncommissioned officers up on the line and made the squad consist of six men.

Another curious parallel between the *Harper's* print and Manet's definitive composition is the balanced distribution of formal and psychological emphasis. There are three main divisions: the soldiers waiting in reserve, the firing squad proper and the victims. Discounting the priests in the newspaper illustration, both works arrange the three divisions along a prominent diagonal and unify the whole by the horizontally disposed wall. In two cases, the protagonists exhibit a bizarre nonchalance and cool detachment: not only is the historical rupture on the Cerro de las Campanas enacted without remorse or regret on the part of the executioners, but the victims themselves behave with exceptional self-control and indifference, marked by the absence of tenseness in their bodies, and the lackadaisical N.C.O. leaning on his saber is complemented by the insouciant veteran calmly cocking his weapon. Although Manet tried to contrast the courage of the victims with the cool professionalism of their executioners, paradoxically they participate in an identical detachment, from which even the crowd of anxious spectators fails to detract.

Such balance and aloofness are notably absent from the Boston version: there the soldier in reserve waits in tense readiness for the tragic *déroulement*, as if conscious of the historical implications of the event, and his dominating presence overwhelms the composition. He imparts to the picture an aura of immanence and melodrama, a decidedly baroque or rhetorical character entirely opposed to that of his dispassionate counterpart in the later versions. Additionally, he is a fairly conventional figure derived from a prototype of older images of military executions. Here again the *Harper's* print interceded between the first and subsequent works in the series, monitoring Manet's romantic inclinations and showing him how to adopt his plan to the contemporary agenda he ultimately chose.

With the discovery of this source and the photographic documents, this figure proved to be untenable for his purpose. The transformation in the later versions is not only manifested in costume detail but in the figure's psychological disposition as well: at this stage Manet suppressed all overt drama from the scene. He conceived the sergeant's insouciant demeanor and made him key to unraveling the painter's meaning. For this figure Manet looked to Alexandre Protais, the most celebrated of the younger military painters. As already noted, Protais's fame rested on his psychological treatment of soldiers, and though his sincerity has been disputed, it does seem that he genuinely wished to de-glamorize war and its effects. A veteran of the Crimean War, he perhaps had to express his firsthand



experience in straightforward terms and not in false patriotic sentiments. His two triumphal pendants of the 1863 Salon, *Morning, before the Attack* and *Evening, after the Attack*, were shown again in the Exposition Universelle of 1867, where they repeated their earlier success (figs. 9.42-43).<sup>146</sup> Manet was attracted to the motif of the old veteran in the center of *Morning*, who coolly examines the lock of his musket just prior to engaging the enemy. In the specific gesture, general bodily posture, and even physiognomy, this figure bears an unmistakable affinity with Manet's sergeant. Their association is further reinforced by the slight variations in Manet's figure as it evolves in the different versions: in the London fragment the near-frontal position of Protais's head is more closely approximated, and in the definitive Mannheim picture Manet reproduced the buttons above and below the arm on the front of the blouse worn by Protais's soldier.

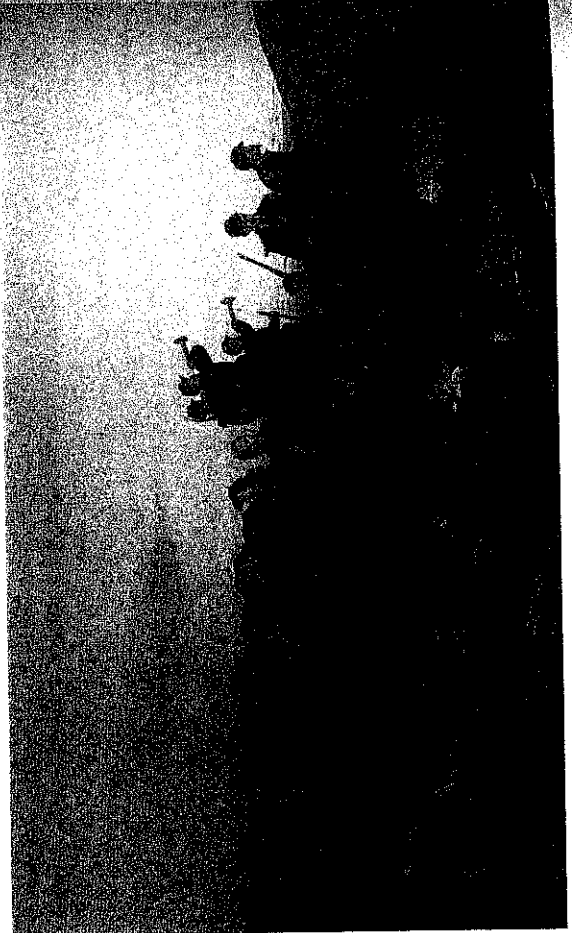
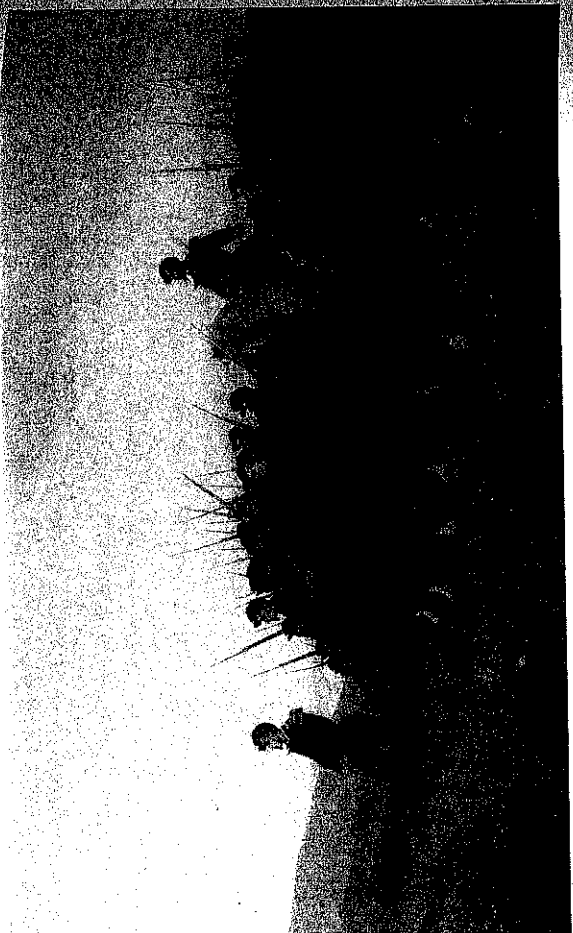
Even more significantly they share similar psychological attitudes: Protais's veteran is reserved and businesslike, in contrast with the fearful and anxious recruits just entering combat for the first time. Just as Manet's sergeant is detached from his surroundings, so Protais's professional soldier isolates himself from the recruits, who feel called upon to distinguish themselves in the line of fire. The meaning in both cases is analogous: to a romantic sensibility war presents an opportunity to demonstrate heroism and self-sacrifice, but this attitude is belied by those who habitually command, since they see war as a series of tasks that must be disposed of in a workmanlike manner. Maximilian's courageous confrontation with the firing squad is nullified by the sergeant's methodical gesture; just as the hopes and fears of the novices are rendered meaningless by the "pro" for whom war is a pay-as-you-go affair. If the better part of humanity may be manipulated through appeals to their patriotic sympathies, it is also true that the aristocratic classes are themselves victims of a gross deception known as the "Code of Honor." In this sense, Maximilian and the working-class recruits share a similar delusion: both are victimized by the related myths of aristocratic courage and proletarian patriotism, and both act under the aegis of what they believe to be their "cause" or "duty."

When news of the tragedy of Querétaro reached Paris, a critic compared Maximilian's execution to that of Maréchal Ney.<sup>147</sup> His comparison, betraying a large measure of agitation, is an index of the impact of this event on French society. The *Gazette de France* called the execution an "assassination" and labeled Juárez a "butcher."<sup>148</sup> Inevitably, the execution or assassination of a beloved figure in government or popular life profoundly disturbs the emotional state of a populace.<sup>149</sup> In one sense, this is owing to the aura of invincibility with which we are disposed to invest our leadership; but in another, it derives from a sense of guilt attending the vindictive pleasure the death of a charismatic figure in authority generates; we envy those in high position and secretly wish their downfall. For this reason assassinations become indelibly traced in the social consciousness. This is a complex phenomenon that cannot be analyzed here; suffice it to note that

OPPOSITE

9.42 Paul-Alexandre Protais, *Morning, before the Attack*, Salon of 1863, Exposition Universelle, 1867, Musée Condé, Chantilly.

9.43 Paul-Alexandre Protais, *Evening, after the Attack*, Salon of 1863, Exposition Universelle, 1867, Musée Condé, Chantilly.



the occurrence of one brings in its wake the memory of all the others, it is understandable that the critic recalled Ney and other assassinated French leaders: in recent history, the shock of successive assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King Jr., Robert Kennedy, Anwar Sadat, and Yitzhak Rabin recalls all the rest from Lincoln onward, establishing a collective psychical continuity compounded of reverence and vindictiveness.

This syndrome should be considered in order to gauge the terrible impact of Maximilian's execution on the French, and on Manet in particular. First there was stunned disbelief, then guilt feelings and emotional catharsis in the form of national mourning. Although France had been sharply divided over the intervention in Mexico (much like America during the Vietnam and Iraq wars), it genuinely adored the quixotic Maximilian. It not fortuitous that the exiled Victor Hugo, a bitter enemy of the Second Empire, cabled Juárez to plead for Maximilian's exoneration, for misguided Max had the stuff of a fairy tale prince, whose life mission was to redeem downtrodden people. Indeed, Napoléon III's whole abortive Mexican expedition could appear as a splendid adventure in the New World, not simply as the gesture of an imperialist opportunist pursuing a course of small ambition. Years afterward, during the Third Republic, the academic painter Jean-Paul Laurens could still exploit Maximilian's hold on the French imagination in a commemorative work, *The Last Moments of Maximilian*, a sympathetic rendering of the archduke consoling his distraught supporters (fig. 9.44).



9.44 Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Last Moments of Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico*, 1882. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

For Manet, who elected to work out his personal trauma in concrete form, the shock of the execution must have been especially devastating. Sandblad was the first to call attention to the evidence of identification in Manet's work.<sup>150</sup> As previously shown, there are explicit autobiographical references in Manet's paintings of the 1860s presented in disguised form. These references point to a sense of personal insecurity and desire to camouflage his social relations, while his self-styled role of *flâneur* allowed him to escape his predicament by stepping into the shoes of another. Meyer Schapiro observed that Manet chose his subjects because they "related intimately to his person or outlook," and in the period of the *Maximilian* there were considerable pressures that could only have intensified his masking disposition.<sup>151</sup> As the eldest son, he had become head of his family when his father died in 1862; the following year he participated in the Salon des Refusés and legitimized his thirteen-year liaison with Suzanne in a civil ceremony, assuming some formal responsibility for Léon, who remained illegitimate. In the same period, he emerged as the nominal leader of the younger generation of realists. At the center of large constellations of human relationships, his disappointments of 1867 must have been bitter in inverse ratio to his grandiose projections; for at the moment when Manet conceived the *Maximilian*, he was grieving the loss of Baudelaire—the poet, to whom he was close, died on August 31—sustaining the attacks of critics who made short work of his private exhibition on the Place de l'Alma, shaking off the jeers of the public and generally considering himself the most persecuted artist in France. Years later, reflecting philosophically on this period of anxiety, he acknowledged the pressures he felt and stressed his need for patience, "because the attacks of which I have been the object broke my will to live. You just don't know what it's like to be constantly attacked."<sup>152</sup> The threat to his self-image on all sides and the pressure to maintain appearances led him to the desperate move of setting up his independent show, employing in the catalogue such metaphors as "combat" and "barling with equal arms" and referring to his critics as "adversaries." At loggerheads with the verdict of the Salon jury and his critics, he probably considered his exhibition on Place de l'Alma as his "Battle of Alma." Zola allegorized Manet's paranoid situation in the form of a group of stone-throwing urchins (the public) protected by the law (the critics) to whom Manet had fallen victim.<sup>153</sup> Given Manet's state of mind at that moment, it may be assumed that the figure of Maximilian is in some way a repository for the displaced projection of Manet's feelings about himself.

There are more tangible associations between the two men. A comparison of a photograph of Maximilian with Fantin-Latour's 1867 portrait of Manet reveals a startling resemblance between them (fig. 9.45). Although Maximilian's head is more oval, the similarity of high forehead, sharp nose, reflective eyes, and soft mouth is unmistakable. Both were blond with blue eyes, and both wore their carefully trimmed beards parted in the middle.

They were of the same age (born in 1832), fastidious about their dress, and obsessed with Spanish art and culture. Maximilian's aristocratic bearing was paralleled by Manet's worldly elegance, a fact that is evident from the illustrated comparison, where emblems of the emperor's rank are more than matched by the artist's dandified accessories. (Recall the reviewer's comments on Fantin-Latour's portrait of Manet that the sitter composed himself as "the equal of a Spanish nobleman vis-à-vis the king-publisher.") Whether or not the critic divined correctly, it seems certain that Maximilian's passionate ambition to rule finds an echo in Manet's hunger for official honors and public esteem. Maximilian's quest to Mexico surely would have evoked Manet's youthful voyage to Rio, as well as invoked memories of his sympathy for the oppressed peoples of Latin America. It is even possible that Manet was struck by the curious coincidence of all three names of the victims—Mejía, Miramón, and Maximilian—beginning with the letter "M," and felt that in some mystical way he participated in their fate. Maximilian's personal secretary noted that the emperor signed only his initial "M" on the drafts of documents submitted for his approval—a practice analogous to Manet's stamp on his rough drafts and sketches.

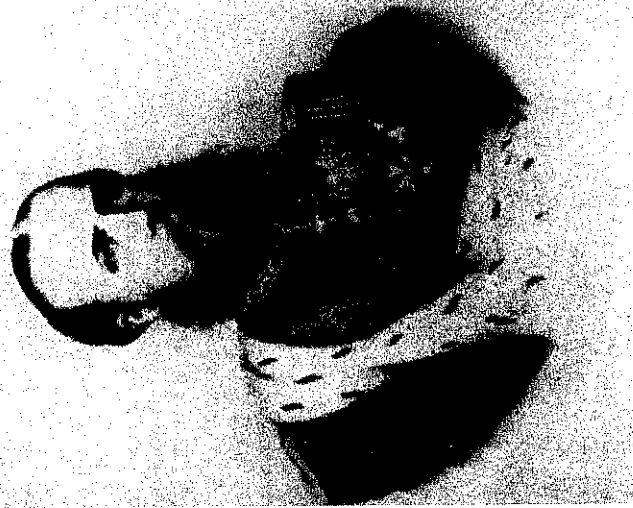
Yet the resemblance ends here. For if was Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, and not Manet, the celebrated *refusé*, who enjoyed all the worldly honors and baubles of prestige. He incarnated, indeed, these cret fantasies of all French *filles*: young, rich, aristocratic, intelligent, cultivated, and married to a beautiful princess, and wishing only to use his power to ameliorate the world's ills; and it is altogether unsurprising that Maximilian personified Manet's aspirations and fantasies, occupying a role desired by the artist and possessing those characteristics that he himself lacked. Where Maximilian seemed to rule, Manet felt hopeless where one had direction, the other was disoriented; where one belonged, the other felt isolated. Thus the emperor's person was made to order as a site for Manet's displaced projections, a distinct parallel existing between Manet's glorified self-image and the idealized body of Maximilian. Had Manet's sense of personal identity been stronger, it is possible that he would not have had to see himself in terms of this institutionalized image. At the same time, however, Maximilian was Manet's inescapable secret rival

so long as the emperor inhabited a lofty plateau, Manet's identity was insecure, since the position he coveted was occupied by another, and the disparity between the reality of his beleaguered situation and the exalted image of Maximilian could not have been more apparent in 1867. Maximilian could only have aroused in Manet ambivalent emotions of love and envy, admiration and vindictiveness.

The news of Maximilian's execution reached Paris at the end of June and the beginning of July, ironically coinciding with the whirl of festivities for the Exposition Universelle. Napoléon III and Eugénie were playing host to many of the crowned heads of state, and they learned of the event officially in the midst of preparations for the awards ceremony. At almost the same time, Manet was nursing his disappointment over the failure of his private show and found himself in a condition of the utmost nervous irritation. His awareness of the contrast between the activities of a high society from which he yearned for recognition and his currently dismal situation established the backdrop for his reaction to the news. One can only speculate on its immediate effect on Manet, and the length of time it took him to pull himself together. At any rate, it was Maximilian—the embodiment of his most cherished dreams—and not himself who had been executed, and Manet, inevitably torn between his affection and admiration on the one hand, and vindictive pleasure and guilt on the other, embarked on more production of cathartic consequence. It may be assumed that the identification with Maximilian constituted a severe psychological regression, since it entailed a partial renunciation of Manet's own identity, making him define his own role in terms of the role of the other. Thus Manet's normal proclivities were checked, and not surprisingly he sought resolution of his conflicts in a regressive pictorial mode. It was through this psychic process that the theme of Maximilian's downfall had become the stuff of Manet's projected triumph.

The image of Maximilian courageously confronting his annihilators is the heroic dream-projection of Manet himself—the exalted position between two others an inevitable reference to the Crucifixion—and constitutes what may be called the loving side of Manet's identification. (It was reported that Maximilian likened his betrayal and sacrifice to Christ, and Manet, who painted a *Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers* for the Salon of 1865, transformed his *sombrero* into a kind of halo.<sup>156</sup>) Simultaneously, the sergeant who prepares his musket for the coup de grâce acts out the vindictiveness Manet felt toward the rival who possessed everything he himself lacked. Manet is thus both victim and executioner, and the macabre equilibrium of the composition results from these mutually counteracting forces. Its power to move the spectator despite its apparent deadpan look resides in the ambivalently controlled energies of the artist's emotional state. The tension is further expressed thematically in the double-sided presentation of military virtue—the heroism of the condemned Maximilian and the callous indifference of the executioners. Indeed, I would suggest that instead

9.45 Photograph of Maximilian, ca. 1863.



of presenting an inexpressive picture, Manet communicates a pervasiveness of antithetical emotions that balance out pictorially. His "aloof" treatment is in reality the complement of Maximilian's brave passivity and of the soldiers' indifferent aggression: both the painter and his subjects react to the event with a kind of stoical restraint. When Manet terminated his series, he signed his definitive canvas "Manet 19 juin 1867," the date of Maximilian's execution—for he had in fact relived the tragic episode.

#### Manet and the Commune

The event dealt a severe blow to the prestige of the Second Empire, and it is not surprising that the Salon of 1868 was conspicuously lacking in works devoted to the subject. Only one artist who undertook the project, Jules-Marc Chametlat, managed to squeak past the jury with a pair of pictures, *Emperor Maximilian at the Capuchin Convent* and *Evening of the Execution of Emperor Maximilian (Querétaro, 19 June 1867)*, depicting the before-and-after of the incident, but these were more expressive of France in mourning than in soul-searching. Certain photographic documents were banned in France, and Manet himself experienced the general censorship in unofficial assurances that any attempt to exhibit his painting would be met with rejection; furthermore, the government flatly refused to authorize the publication of his lithographic version. Zola argued that what the censors found most objectionable in Manet's representation was the similarity of the uniforms of the firing squad to those worn by French troops, thus suggesting in the end that imperial France bore the heaviest share of responsibility in the death of Maximilian.

Zola's argument would be confirmed two years later following the collapse of the regime during the Franco-Prussian War and the repression of the Commune. In the wake of Napoléon III's surrender to Prussian troops at Sedan in September 1870 and the proclamation of a provisional French government, Paris mobilized all of its population to hold out against the Prussian invasion. Paris finally capitulated at the end of January 1871, and the provisional government established in the interim gave way to a conservative elected National Assembly that first met in Bordeaux and then moved to Versailles rather than a still rebellious Paris. Under the presidency of Adolphe Thiers, the nervous government attempted but failed to disarm the leftist contingent of the mobilized Parisian populace, and the radical municipal council declared the Paris Commune and called for a national insurrection against the Versailles government. But on 21 May the Versailles troops, strengthened by the addition of released Prussian prisoners, entered the city and in the next few days crushed the Commune with relentless fury. During what has become known as "Bloody Week," some 20,000–30,000 Parisians were killed and thousands more arrested and deported to France's penal colony New Caledonia. The brutal and wanton destruction of the Commune equaled the uncontrollable slaughter of the

American Civil War, and only its short duration saved it from the massive butcheries of its predecessor.

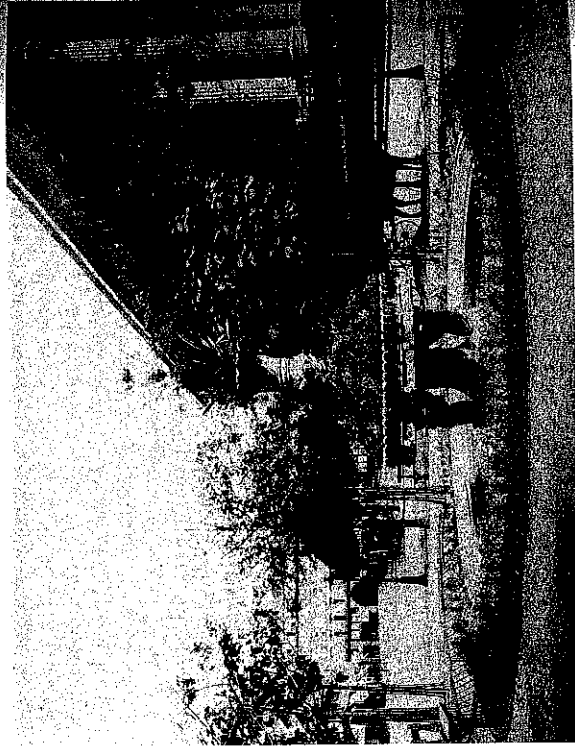
Manet's work of the 1860s demonstrated his intense awareness of the American Civil War and his own government's strategic association with it. He could not have missed the tragic parallels of the civil uprising of the Commune and its ruthless suppression with the bloodiest war in history, especially so soon after the fall of the Second Empire, whose sympathy for the South and incursion into Mexico fanned the flames of Southern expectancy for European recognition and hence its long-term survival. I believe it is no coincidence that his visual responses to this event invoke parallels with the American Civil War and his own work on *The Execution of Maximilian*. His acute sense of the topical is shown in his repeat exhibition of the *Kearsarge and Alabama* at the Paris Salon of 1872—the first official Salon following the Commune.

Théodore Duret, Manet's patron, friend, and biographer, wrote that the painter had entered Paris just prior to the end of the Commune and witnessed the bloody repression in the streets. And he noted somewhat tersely: "In a lithograph, entitled *La Guerre civile*, he pretty much synthesized the horror of that struggle and the repression that followed it" (fig. 9.46).<sup>152</sup> An unknown Commard, in the uniform of the National Guard, lies prostrate behind a barricade in the vicinity of the church of La Madeleine, and in the lower right-hand corner the upturned shoes and striped trousers of a comrade in arms wearing civilian clothes jut into the scene. The event took place at the intersection of the boulevard Malesherbes and the rue de l'Arcade, and the Madeleine is recognizable by the columns and grating in the background (fig. 9.47). Here one of the first massacres of Bloody Week occurred (on 23 May), when hundreds of National Guardsmen who had sought refuge in the church were executed near the barricade. The visible presence of the church hints at the conservative Catholic majority constituting the government responsible for calling down this bloody reprisal on the Commune and showing no Christian mercy in the treatment of prisoners. Signed and dated 1871 on a paving stone of the type used in the barricade construction, the lithograph was published three years later with the title "*Guerre civile*"—thus applying to the Commune the French label for the American war that had become a commonplace in the French press in the previous decade.

The other work of this period, *The Barricade*, brings together several of the ideas sparked by the decade-long epoch of civil struggle from 1861 to 1871 (fig. 9.48). Manet depicts a squad of Versailles mowing down a group of Communards beside their barricade. For his composition he traced the outlines of the lithographed version of his *Execution of Maximilian*, then reworked the design in ink and watercolor on the verso of the sheet. Though ending reversed in the lithograph, the firing squad here is identical to that of *The Execution of Maximilian*, reinforcing Zola's contention that Manet's uniformed soldiers allude to government complicity in



9.46 Edouard Manet, *La Guerre civile*, lithograph, 1871. Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



9.47 Charles de Marville, *Fontaine, Place de la Madeleine*, albumen, ca. 1870. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



9.48 Edouard Manet, *The Barricade*, lithograph, 1871. Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

the execution of its imperial client. The presence of the troops in *The Barricade* implicate the government in the destruction of its own citizens, and the dual reference to Maximilian and the Commune makes the point about the breakdown of traditional boundaries between foreign invasion and civil war.

Speaking truth to power in its bald sympathy with the Communards and antipathy to the nascent republican regime of Thiers and MacMahon, Manet's lithograph remained unpublished during his lifetime. The wholesale massacre of the Communards went on day and night and lasted through 13 June, the government opportunistically seizing the occasion to exterminate once and for all every vestige of leftist opposition. These "legal" shootings by the Versailles were far more terrible than the slaughter during the battle, and shocked even the bitterest foes of the Commune. In a letter of 5 June 1871, Berthe Morisot's mother informed her that her brother Tiburce, a lieutenant in the Versailles army, had "met two Communards, at this moment when they are being shot . . . Manet and Degas! Even at this stage they are condemning the drastic

measures used to repress them. I think they are insane, don't you?"<sup>157</sup> Manet, of course, was no political radical and certainly no Communist. He could be classified as a moderate republican with profound sympathies for the underdog. During the Second Empire, he could be counted among the covert opposition whose feelings were expressed in the subjects of his *sfurtwre*. The two powerful works devoted to the Commune are both framed by Haussmann's buildings and continue to reveal him as the streetwise stroller seeking evidence of social and political injustice. Whatever "doubling" he experienced in his daily existence he channeled into socially constructive unmasking of the hidden deceptions of public life.



141. Archives Nationales, F21.65, 120; J. F. Schnerb, "François Bonhomme," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 4e sér., t. 9 (January 1913): 132ff.; K. Janke and M. Wagner, "Das Verhältnis von Arbeiter und Maschine im Industriebild: Rekonstruktion einer Bilderfolge zur Schwerindustrie von François Bonhomme," *Kritische Berichte* 5-6 (1970): 3ff.; L. Nochlin, *Guiseux Courbet: A Study of Style and Society* (New York, 1977), pp. 111ff.; P. Le Nouté, "Les Soldats de l'industrie de François Bonhomme: L'idéologie d'un projet," in *Les Réalismes et l'histoire de l'art*, ed. M. Estrella, special issue, *Histoire et critique des arts*, nos. 4/5 (May 1978): 35ff.; Weisberg, "Bonhomme," pp. 132ff.; Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition*, pp. 71ff.
142. Weisberg, "Bonhomme," pp. 134-135. For the relationship between Schneider's position in society and his taste, see A. Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century France*, ed. E. C. Carter II, R. Foster, and J. N. Moody (Baltimore and London, 1976), pp. 139, 141. Schneider typifies the new breed cultivated by the Second Empire; the son of a notary, he served his apprenticeship in a bank and as manager of a local ironworks. Then with his brother as the financier and negotiator, he laid the foundations of the great complex at Le Creusot, which became the leading producers of locomotives, steel rails, machinery, and armaments in France. He represented Le Creusot in the Legislative Assembly during the period 1852-1870 and held the appointed offices of minister of agriculture, commerce, and public works (during the presidency of Louis-Napoléon), and later, president of the legislative. The government named him to committees for the organization of the World's Fair and revered him as the founder of an immense industrial complex.
143. This approach is expressed in his own descriptions of pictures of Le Creusot prepared for the Ecole des Mines: "1er tableau: le marteau pilon, machines et figures; 2ème tableau: vue générale du Creusot, exploitation figures; 3ème tableau: forge de laminatoire à rails, figures." See Archives Nationales, F21.65, letter from Bonhomme to Tournois, 16 June 1857, and the accompanying sketches.
144. Morry started buying Meissonnier's work in 1852; see C. C. Hungerford, "The Art of Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonnier. A Study of the Critical Years 1834 to 1855" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1977), pp. 312-14, nos. 43-44, 46, 50. For Morry's direct contact with the painter (although at a later date), see Gérard, *Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonnier*, p. 287. Three of the seven works Meissonnier exhibited in the World's Fair of 1855 belonged to Morry.
145. C. C. Hungerford, "Ernest Meissonnier's First Military Paintings: II: 1814, The Campaign of France," *Arts Magazine* 54 (January 1980): 98ff.
146. M. de Maupas, *Mémoires sur le Second Empire* (Paris, 1884), pp. 526, 530-531; I. de Saint-Amand, *Napoleon III and His Court* (New York, 1898), pp. 55ff. *Une rise*, also unusual in its tumult, enjoyed a great success at the 1855 World's Fair. It shows two men putting an end to a fight in a cabaret. The central character, who steps in between the two rowdies and disarms the one at the right, bears a distinct resemblance to the emperor himself. We may recall that at this moment he was not only insuring peace at home by suppressing all factionalism but also waging war in the Crimea and intervening between Turkey and Russia. No wonder that he and Prince Albert—his ally in the Crimea—loved this work; the emperor bought it for 25,000 francs—astronomical for a genre picture—and then presented it to Albert as a gift. Naturally, the relationship between the first Napoleon and his nephew was earnestly advertised at the outset of the Bonapartist campaign, but it was gradually modified to demonstrate that Napoleon III could stand on his own two feet. The meaning of the pendants by Meissonnier is anticipated in the following statement by a Bonapartist apologist: "Un jour viendra peut-être où, au point de vue des intérêts de l'humanité, le plus beau titre de gloire de Napoléon Ier, ce sera d'avoir été le précurseur de Napoléon III." In C. Souhère-Berthelot, *Essai sur le caractère et les tendances de l'Empereur Napoléon III* (Paris, 1858), p. 339. For the Souffrier commission and its background, see Hungerford, "Ernest Meissonnier's First Military Paintings: I: The Emperor Napoleon III at the Battle of Solferino," *Arts Magazine* 54 (January 1980): 89-90; Hungerford, *Ernest Meissonnier, Master in His Genre* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 115-121; M. J. Goehlb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonnier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 150-151.

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CHAPTER 9

1. Manet's close friend, the poet and critic Zacharie Astruc, wrote in an 1860 exhibition review: "Tradition is only a pale principle of teaching; romanticism, a soul without a body, a curiosity of the library that cannot be of the slightest general practical usage. The future therefore entirely belongs to the young generation. They love the truth and devote all their ardor to it. The things made directly after nature have nowhere time or place. They will never go out of date and will remain beautiful!" Z. Astruc, *Le Salon intime: Exposition au boulevard des Invalides* (Paris, 1860), p. 108.
2. I am using E. Zola, *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, trans. B. M. Sherman (New York, 1964), pp. 1-54.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
4. Toché's notes were published in A. Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux* (Paris, 1937), pp. 170-180. See also B. A. Brombert, *Edouard Manet: Rebel in a French Court* (Boston and New York, 1996), for partial translation, pp. 370-371.
5. Quoted in Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, p. 376.
6. J. Baudouin, *Renoir, ses amis, ses modèles* (Paris, 1949), p. 53.
7. E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926), 1:12-13; *Manet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, ed. P. Courthion and P. Cailler, 2 vols. (Lausanne, 1935), 1:43.
8. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, 1:16.
9. This idea was inspired by Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, chapter 3 et passim.
10. *Ibid.*, 2:102-103.
11. N. Locke, *Manet and the Family Romance* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), pp. 116-118. This possibility is contested by Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, pp. 98-100.
12. A. Proust, "Edouard Manet: Souvenirs," *La Revue blanche*, February-May 1897, p. 168. In the expanded version of 1903, Proust left out this particular recollection.
13. M. J. Brisset, "Le Pêcheur des bords du Seine," *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1840-1842), 2:116.
14. Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, p. 211.
15. A. Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (London and New Haven, 1980), pp. 458-473.
16. A. Boime and A. Kossolapov, "Manet's Lost Infanta," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 42 (2003): 407-418. The precise picture he copied has not been documented, but most Manet specialists agree that he painted *The Infanta* when he registered in 1859 to copy.
17. A. C. Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven, 1977), pp. 155-156 and n. 108.
18. T. Reff, "Copyists in the Louvre, 1850-1870," *Art Bulletin* 46 (December 1964): 556; J. S. Boggs, "Degas Notebooks at the Bibliothèque Nationale II: Group B (1838-1861)," *Burlington Magazine* 100 (June 1958): 196, 200.
19. Boime, *Thomas Couture*, pp. 468, 407-414, 417-424, 468-469, 478-479. See also D. Ronart and D. Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet: Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. (Lausanne and Paris, 1975), vol. 2, no. 453 [hereafter referenced as "RW"] and the number of the illustration.
20. Manet's skillful cropping adapted an off-center figure to his favorite centering mode. This tendency to compositional centrality and symmetry in his early portraiture and copying practice has been analyzed by Andrew Brainerd in what he describes as the "Manet Matrix" (A. Brainerd, *The Infanta Adventure and the Lost Manet* [Michigan City, Ind., 1988], pp. 41-65). Another conspicuous trademark of the copy is the radiographic evidence of scraping in sev-

eral places: Michael Wilson and other scholars have called attention to the artist's singular propensity for scraping and rescraping down to the ground (M. Wilson, *Manet at Work*, National Gallery [London, 1983]; J. W. Barreau, *The Hidden Face of Manet: An Investigation of the Artist's Working Processes*, Courtauld Institute Galleries [London, 1986], pp. 28, 34, 37, 44-45, 85). These material traits substantiate the chemical evidence as analyzed by McCrone, whose findings on the pigments in two established early Manet paintings—*The Spanish Ballet* of 1862 and *Woman Pouring Water* of ca. 1858-1860 (RW 55, RW 20)—demonstrated unique optical and chemical properties common to all three, and that the white lead of the two control samples and that of *The Infanta* probably originated from the same production lot. (For the full text of the McCrone Report, see Brainerd, *The Infanta Adventure*, pp. 153-157.) This means that Manet and the author of *The Infanta* copy used the same pigments from the same supplier or suppliers in approximately the same time period. McCrone estimated the probability of coincidence in trace element concentration at one chance per billion—that is, an agreement almost as certain as a DNA identification. Finally, the scrupulous x-radiography and special photographic analysis by Kossolapov further confirms the validity of McCrone's findings in revealing aspects of methods—preparatory painted contours, the scraping down to the darker underpainting (*chaudé*), the modeling brushstrokes, heavily impasted light area, abrupt passages from light to dark—typical of other Manet paintings and once again pointing to the hallmarks of Thomas Couture.

21. A. Dayot, *Exposition des oeuvres de Thomas Couture* (Paris, 1913), p. 18.  
 22. T. Couture, *Thomas Couture (par lui-même et par son petit-fils)* (Paris, 1932), p. 118.  
 23. A. Proust, *Edouard Manet, Souvenirs* (Paris, 1913), pp. 31-32.  
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.  
 25. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, 1:25-26.  
 26. L.-A. Berthaud, "Les Chiffonniers," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1853), 2:191.  
 27. V. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris* (Paris, 1858), p. 327; E. Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City* (London, 1991), pp. 54-55.  
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 328.  
 29. H.-A. Fréjter, *Des classes dangereuses de la population dans les grandes villes*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1840), 1:80-86.  
 30. M. Fried, *Manet's Modernism* (Chicago and London, 1996), pp. 34-37.  
 31. A. C. Hanson, "Popular Imagery and the Work of Edouard Manet," in U. Finkbeiner, *French 19th Century Painting and Literature* (Manchester, 1972), pp. 142-143.  
 32. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, p. 327.  
 33. E. Lajer-Burchard, "Modernity and the Condition of Disguise: Manet's 'Absinthe Drinker,'" *Art Journal* 44 (Spring 1985), 20. Lajer-Burchard, however, in an attempt to theorize the notion of "disguise," reads into it several meanings that ultimately diffuse her thesis.  
 34. C. Simonds, *Paris de 1800 à 1900*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1900), 2:352-359.  
 35. K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Moscow, n.d.), p. 15.  
 36. Berthaud, "Les Chiffonniers," p. 196.  
 37. *Institute of Arts* 56 (1978): 109-131.  
 38. L. Lurine, *Catalogue des tableaux modernes composant le cabinet de M. J. V. (Paris, 1857)*, pp. 12-13.  
 39. J. Janin, "Le Gamin de Paris," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1853 ed.), 1:105-110.  
 40. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, p. 331.  
 41. Boime, "Thomas Couture's Drummer Boy," pp. 118-119.  
 42. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, pp. 338-341.  
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 333.  
 44. A. de Lacroix, "Le Flâneur," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1853 ed.), 2:112-117.

45. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, pp. 261-262.  
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 263.  
 47. C. Baudelaire, *The Complete Works*, ed. F. Scaurle, 2 vols. (London, 1966-1989), vol. 2, *The Poems in Prose*, pp. 38-59. I have deviated somewhat from Scaurle's translation to make it conform more precisely to the original.  
 48. Proust, *Edouard Manet*, p. 39.  
 49. During the July Monarchy, even a fisherman, for want of occupation, could be considered "a variety of flâneur." See Brisset, "Le Pêcheur des bords de la Seine," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1840-1842 ed.), 2:117. Siegfried Kraacauer has many interesting things to say about the aimlessness of the July Monarchy stroller, whose main object "was to kill time, not to give it a meaning." S. Kraacauer, *Opinions in Paris: Offenbach and the Paris of His Time*, trans. G. David and E. Mosbacher (New York, 1938), pp. 92-93. See also E. Wilson, "The Invisible Flâneur," *New Left Review*, no. 191 (January/February 1992): 90-110. Wilson shows that in one of the earliest accounts of the flâneur, the figure has an income that allows for idling, but is déclassé and "outside production." Wilson argues against Janet Wolff, who claims that the "literature of modernity describes the experience of men," and that the notion of the flâneur is an exclusively male concept. See J. Wolff, "The Invisible Flâneur: Women and the Literature of Modernity," in *Feminist Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 34-50. My position is closer to Wilson's, but the discussion has to be postponed until volume 5 of the Social History of Modern Art. See A. Boime, "Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* as an Allegory of Nostalgia," in *12 Views of Manet's Bar*, ed. B. R. Collins (Princeton, 1996), pp. 47-70.  
 50. C. Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. J. Mayne (Greenwich, Conn., 1964), p. 9.  
 51. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.  
 52. W. Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism* (London, 1983), pp. 35-66.  
 53. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, pp. 270-71; quoted in R. L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London, 1991), p. 44. Herbert neatly summarizes the history and various guises of the flâneur: *Ibid.*, pp. 33-57.  
 54. An interesting piece in the American journal *Art Review* noted that "no one who walks about New York in that receptive condition of mind characteristic of the artistic flâneur, can have failed to note the increasing love of color everywhere manifested." And it continued: "The glittering, metallic atmosphere of the metropolis and its suburbs throws the color of its streets into sharp relief. . . . Half-tones, demi-tints, subtleties of all sorts are missing." See C. Adams, "Color in New-York Streets," *Art Review*, September 1886, p. 17.  
 55. V. Fournel, *Paris Nouveau et Paris Futur* (Paris, 1865), pp. 90-92. Benjamin repeats Fournel's idea when he states that the flâneur "goes botanizing on the asphalt" (Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire*, p. 36).  
 56. N. G. Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception* (Lund, 1954), pp. 37-39.  
 57. A. C. Hanson, "Manet's Subject Matter and a Source of Popular Imagery," *Museum Studies, Art Institute of Chicago* 3 (1966): 61-80; Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition*, pp. 63, 65.  
 58. T. Reff, *Manet and Modern Paris*, National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 171-173.  
 59. Proust, *Edouard Manet*, pp. 39-40.  
 60. H. T. Tuckerman, *Maga Papers about Paris* (New York, 1867), p. 20. Tuckerman further notes, "He looked so exactly as in years past, that one could easily fancy he had sat there, like a picture on Titian's canvas, during all the intervening time."  
 61. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, pp. 321-322.  
 62. F. Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave; Written by Himself*, ed. B. Quarles (Cambridge, Mass., 1909), p. 38; F. Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1845), pp. 662-672.

92. York, 1855), p. 100.

93. G. Mauner, *Manet, Peintre-Philosophe: A Study of the Painter's Themes* (University Park, Pa., 1975), pp. 53-55.

94. Fournel, *Ce qu'on voit dans les rues de Paris*, p. 333.

95. Proust, *Édouard Manet*, pp. 39-40.

96. S. Buck-Morris, "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique*, no. 39 (Fall 1980): 119-124; Wilson, "The Invisible Flâneur," pp. 105-10.

97. See P. H. Tucker, ed., *Manet's Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Cambridge, 1998), for a comprehensive examination of the picture.

98. Kracauer, *Ophelia in Paris*, pp. 172-184.

99. Fried calls attention to the dynamic execution of the bird in flight as a point of contrast with the "silliness" of the motif, producing a sensation of "cognitive dissonance" that Fried interprets as allegorizing the relationship between eye and hand, "seeing and rendering." His formalized reading complements my perception of Manet's two registers of conflict. See Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, pp. 319-320.

100. Locke, *Manet and the Family Romance*, p. 22.

101. Boime, *Thomas Couture*, p. 397.

102. F.-F.-A. Béraud, *Les Filles publiques de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1839), 2:301-306.

103. Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition*, p. 94.

104. Janin, "Le Gamin de Paris," p. 110; Janin, "La Grisette," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (1833 ed.), 1:313. See also Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City*, pp. 55-56, 91.

105. Régier, *Des classes dangereuses*, 1:153-191.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

107. Janin, "La Grisette," p. 314.

108. Quoted in Brombert, *Édouard Manet*, pp. 114-115.

109. Proust, *Édouard Manet*, pp. 43-44.

110. E. Saunders, *The Age of Worth: Courtesan to the Empress Eugénie* (London, 1954), pp. 44-45.

111. P. Mérimée, *Correspondance générale*, ed. M. Parrotier, 17 vols. (Paris and Toulouse, 1941-1961), 1:480-481.

112. L. Étienne, *Le Jury et les exposants. Salon des Refusés* (Paris, 1863), p. 30; A. Paul, "Salon de 1863—Les Refusés," *Le Siècle*, 19 July 1863.

113. A. Boime, "The Salon des Refusés and the Evolution of Modern Art," *Art Quarterly* 32 (1965): 417-426. This "school" is what Fried refers to as "the generation of 1863" (Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, p. 7).

114. T. Thoré, *Salons de W. Bürger*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1870), 2:375-376.

115. F. Desnoyers, *Salon des Refusés. La Peinture en 1863* (Paris, 1863), p. 122.

116. D. Druck and M. Hoog, *Funkin-Latur*, National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 1983), pp. 167-180.

117. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-214.

118. A. Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France," *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century France*, ed. E. C. Carter II, R. Forster, and J. N. Moody (Baltimore and London, 1976), pp. 174-179.

119. E. Zola, *Salons*, ed. F. W. J. Hemmings and R. J. Niess (Geneva, 1959), p. 111.

120. For the interpretation of this picture, see T. Reff, *Manet: Olympia* (New York, 1977); T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* (New York, 1985), pp. 79-146.

121. A. Delvau, "L'Assistance publique à Paris," in *Paris Guide*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1867), 2:1879. In an earlier work, he blamed the male for sullying female purity: *Grandeur et décadence des grisettes* (Paris, 1848), p. 95.

94. V. Rounding, *Grandes Horizontales* (London, 2003), p. 11.

95. A.-J.-B. Duchâtelier, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1836), 1:329-330.

96. It has generally been assumed that Manet completed *Olympia* prior to leaving for the Netherlands in October of 1865, but the intimate connection between these two works suggests that Manet completed *Olympia* after returning from the Netherlands.

97. An idea inspired by my absorption in Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, pp. 23-184.

98. Quoted in G. H. Hamelton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven, 1954), p. 75.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 73; Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, p. 88.

100. T. Gautier, "Salon de 1844," *La Presse*, 28 March 1844.

101. Comtesse de la Vigne, *Les Usages du demi-monde* (Paris, 1909), p. 127. The author (who here uses a pseudonym) had been mistress of Napoléon III and known as "La Marechale."

102. M. Roseval, "Le Nègre," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, Province* (1840-1842 ed.), 3:308.

103. See also the discussions of the maid in S. L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," in H. L. Gates, Jr., ed., "Race," *Writing, and Difference* (Chicago and London, 1986), pp. 225-267; G. Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 277-287.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

105. Béraud, *Les Filles publiques*, 1:46-47.

106. J. P. Worth, *A Century of Fashion* (Boston, 1928), pp. 102-110.

107. G. Raymond, "Revue Artistique," *L'Illustration*, 16 February 1867, pp. 109-110.

108. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, 1:86-87.

109. T. Gautier, "Salon de 1867," *L'Illustration*, 18 May 1867, p. 310.

110. W. de Fonvielle, "Le Grand Ballon de l'Exposition Universelle," *L'Illustration*, 5 October 1867, pp. 219, 221.

111. It turns out that Nadar believed that the future belonged to heavier-than-air machines, but simply used the balloon trials as sensational displays to gain public support for his true pursuits. See N. Gosling, *Nadar* (New York, 1976), p. 13.

112. The *Géant* did make one more attempt in mid-August, after Manet had departed for Boulogne, but Nadar did not fly it this time—it was operated by Louis and Eugène Godard, assisted by M. Yon, who just barely saved it from another crash landing. See W. de Fonvielle, "Troisième Ascension du Géant," *L'Illustration*, 7 September 1867, p. 158.

113. Zola, *Salons*, p. 68.

114. T. Reff, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (January 1975): 35-44.

115. Zola, *Salons*, pp. 124-125.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

117. Quoted in Reff, "Manet's Portrait of Zola," p. 40.

118. Zola, *Salons*, p. 91.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

120. E. Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales dans l'art* (Paris, 1868), pp. 415-454.

121. R. Sims, *French Policy towards the Balfuk and Meiji Japan, 1854-95* (Richmond, Surrey, 1998).

122. Z. Astruc, "L'Empire du Soleil Levant," *L'Étendard*, 27 February 1867. See also Fried, *Manet's Modernism*, pp. 161-162.

123. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The Civil War in the United States* (New York, 1937), pp. 214-216.

124. F. J. Medli, *Great Britain and the Confederate Navy* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970), pp. 3-4; C. G. Hearn, *Grey Raiders of the Sea* (Camden, Maine, 1992), pp. xxii-xiv.

125. J. Wilson-Bareau and D. Degeuer, *Manet and the Sea*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (New Haven and London, 2003), p. 59.

126. S. Gavronsky, *The French Liberal Opposition and the American Civil War* (New York, 1968), pp.

124. C. L. Dufour, *The Mexican War* (New York, 1968), p. 16.125. D. Perkins, *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston and Toronto, 1963), p. 113.126. The most important of these studies are Sandblad, *Manet*, pp. 109-158; A. Boime, "New Light on Manet's Execution of Maximilian," *Art Quarterly* 36 (1973): 172-208. I have based this section to a large extent on my article. See also Edouard Manet and the Execution of Maximilian, Department of Art, Brown University (Providence, 1981); J. Wilson-Barreau, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian*, National Gallery (London, 1992).127. R. Rey, *Manet* (Paris, 1938), p. 8.128. Proust, *Edouard Manet*, pp. 22-23.

129. See Paris, Archives Nationales, F21.487, "Rapport à Son Excellence le Ministre d'Etat," n.d. [1856].

130. Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales*, pp. 224-225.131. H. Jouin, *Adolphe Yvon* (Paris, 1893), p. 36.132. E. Leclercq, *Caractères de l'école française moderne de peinture* (Brussels, 1881), p. 79.133. O. Merson, *La Peinture en France* (Paris, 1865), p. 81.134. M. du Camp, *Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle et aux Salons de 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866 et 1867* (Paris, 1867), p. 22. In which the author claims that *Morning, before the Attack* has "the rare merit to be a real picture from the perspective of art. . . . It attracts the crowd and rivets their attention."135. A. Alexandre, *Histoire de la peinture militaire en France* (Paris, 1889), p. 274; Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales*, p. 224.136. T. Duret, *Les Peintres français en 1867* (Paris, 1867), pp. 141-173. While this section is headed "L'Art officiel," it is primarily devoted to military painting.137. Proust, *Edouard Manet*, p. 105. Proust simply identified Meissonier's work as *Chirassien* and, while probably referring to the 1895 (Chantilly), may have meant *Friedland, 1807* (Metropolitan Museum of Art).138. Cited in Sandblad, *Manet*, p. 120.139. See D. G. d'Avèrigne, "L'Empereur Maximilien," *Le Figaro*, 5 July 1867, where d'Avèrigne noted that telegrams relating to the event came through New Orleans and were "transmitted from there to Europe by transatlantic cable"; also d'Avèrigne, "Exécution de Maximilien," *Le Figaro*, 8 July 1867; A. Cochut, "Nouvelles du Mexique," *Le Temps*, 18 July 1867; United States State Department, *Correspondence Relating to Recent Events in Mexico* (Washington, D.C., 1867), pp. 6-8, 10, 20-21.140. "The Execution of Maximilian," *Harper's Weekly* 11 (10 August 1867): 497.141. D'Avèrigne, "Exécution de Maximilien," *Le Figaro*, 8 July 1867; Sandblad, *Manet*, pp. 114-115.142. The wooden benches were used in all Mexican executions, giving the prisoners the option of sitting down instead of standing on the ground; d'Avèrigne, "Les Exécutions au Mexique," *Le Figaro*, 7 July 1867.143. It seems, however, that there were five men on the line, the traditional number of a Mexican firing squad, although it is problematic how many were kept in reserve: the night before the execution, the prisoners discussed having to confront "las cinco ballas." See the memoirs of Maximilian's private secretary, J. L. Blasio, *Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico*, trans. and ed. R. H. Murray (New Haven, 1934), p. 226.

144. Most accounts positioned Maximilian in the middle, with Mejía at his left and Miramón at his right, but it is uncertain whether this situation was relative to the spectator or to Maximilian. The Harper's artist and Manet both chose to interpret it as being from the spectator's

viewpoint. But Mejía must have been initially assigned to stand on the emperor's left, since the night before the execution Mejía recalled Christ's dying between two thieves and said he did not wish to be associated with the unrepentant thief on Christ's left. See Blasio, *Maximilian*, p. 226.146. Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales*, p. 226. An American observer at the World's Fair wrote: "Nearly five per cent of all the pictures exhibited in the French department were battle pieces. The three which from their real sentiment and vigor of drawing attracted the most attention were by Prouts: 'The Morning before the Attack,' the 'Evening after the Combat,' and the 'Return to Camp' . . . by . . . Bellanger." See *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867*, ed. W. P. Blake, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1870), 1:24.147. U. Ladet, "Bulletin du jour," *Le Temps*, 6 July 1867.148. Quoted in "France and Mexico," *New Orleans Bee*, 25 June 1867.149. J. F. Kirkham, S. G. Levy, and W. J. Croxy, *Assassination and Political Violence* (New York, 1970), p. 92.150. Sandblad, *Manet*, pp. 37-38, 42-45, 149-150. See also S. L. Faison, Jr., "Manet's Portrait of Zola," *Magazine of Art* 42 (1949): 165-168, where Zola becomes Manet's ideal self; and T. Reff, "The Symbolism of Manet's Frontispiece Enchings," *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962): 184-187, where the self-identification is developed in the context of Manet's prints.151. M. Schapiro, review of J. C. Sloane, *French Painting between the Past and the Present*, in *Art Bulletin* 36 (1954): 164.152. Sandblad, *Manet*, p. 149.153. E. Zola, "Le Public," in Courthion and Cailler, *Manet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, 1:66-67.154. T. Gautier, fils, "Salon de 1867," *L'Illustration* 49 (18 May 1867): 310.155. Sandblad, *Manet*, pp. 147-148. See also "The Act of Blood at Querétaro," *Daily Playmate* (New Orleans), 11 July 1867.156. T. Duret, *Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son oeuvre* (Paris, 1906), p. 125.157. D. Rouart, ed., *Berthe Morisot: The Correspondence*, trans. B. W. Hubbard (London, 1987), p. 73. Actually, Mme Morisot thought that the Manet in question was his brother Eugène, and it was only a few days later that she learned that Tibource had actually referred to Edouard.

## CHAPTER 10

1. But see now A. Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton, 1995); J. Millner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-1871: Myth, Reportage and Reality* (New Haven and London, 2000); H. Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)* (Chicago and London, 2002).2. K. Marx and V. I. Lenin, *The Civil War in France: The Paris Commune* (New York, 1988), pp. 77-78.3. E. Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York and Oxford, 1985), p. 177.4. T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York, 1983), p. 239.5. *Ibid.*, p. 276 n. 61.6. For Bracquemond, see J. C. Gaurand, "1870-1871: Les Photographes et la Commune," *Photo-Chronique*, February 1972, pp. 52-63.7. *Ibid.*, p. 61; J. Wiener, "Paris Commune Photos at a New York Gallery: An Interview with Linda Nochlin," *Radical History Review* 32 (March 1983): 59-70.8. D. Harvey, *Consistencies and the Urban Experience* (Baltimore, 1985), p. 217.9. *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, ed. P. ten-Doesschate Chiu (Chicago and London, 1992), p. 416.10. A. de Balachari Bragelonne, *Paris insurgé: Histoire illustrée des événements accomplis du 18 mars au*