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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF MODERN ART
VOLUME 4

Art in an Age of Civil Struggle 1848–1871

Albert Boime

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10 The Franco-Prussian War, the French Commune, and the Threshold of Impressionism

It was déjà vu all over again. Although the Paris Commune sprang from a complex set of historical circumstances, it immediately invoked memories of the insurrection of June 1848. In addition to disgust with the loss of the war with Prussia, the misery of the four-month siege of Paris, and the struggle of republicanism against dynastic rule, the working class reacted to the moderates' brake on socialist aspirations at an opportune moment to redress social and political inequities. All of which combined explosively into revolutionary action and civil war. Despite its brevity (18 March to 28 May), the Commune remained the largest urban insurrection in modern European history until the Warsaw uprisings of 1943–1944: somewhere between twenty-five and thirty thousand men, women, and children lost their lives in the street massacres of the Commune's last days. In addition, the more than fifty thousand sentences meted out to prisoners taken during and after the Commune, including over four thousand deportations to the islands of New Caledonia in the South Pacific, made it the most extensive judicial repression of the century. It not only destabilized social relations and discredited the infant Third Republic's claim to democratic rule, but it engendered such violent counter-reactions in its aftermath that it left a permanent scar on the French body politic. By threatening conservatives and moderates alike in their attachment to property, the event profoundly affected art and literature as well as politics for many years afterward. Even liberal intellectuals, who had consistently attacked the materialism of the Second Empire and were bound in sympathy to the working classes, moved to the right in their revulsion from the excesses of the "mob."

Until quite recently, the Commune was off the radar screen of most art historians who specialized in studies on impressionist thematics.[1] Yet my own investigation of its impact on this modernist formation demonstrates that it was central to its development as a movement and to its content. As the Communards retreated from their urban stations, they set official buildings on fire to cover their flight. Ironically, it had been the work of

"Haussmannization" to eradicate the threat of insurrection, and now this very "modernity" was turned inside out. When it was all over and the last barricade destroyed, Paris lay in ruins. The working class—previously evicted from its old place in the city's center to make room for progress—had reclaimed Paris only to wreak vengeance on the new society and its monuments. So it appeared to the bourgeoisie, whose goal was not only to restore the look (as it existed in memory) of the now despised Second Empire, but to insure that the last remaining signs of the Commune disappeared from urban view.

In *The Civil War in France*, Karl Marx sets out a justification for the Communards' use of fire to cover their retreat, since the government of Versailles had stigmatized the burning of buildings as a crime against the state and proceeded to hunt down its enemies as suspect of professional incendiarism. Noting that in war, "fire is an arm as legitimate as any," he declared:

> To be burned down has always been the inevitable fate of all buildings situated in the front of battle of all the regular armies of the world. But in the war of the enslaved against their enslavers, the only justifiable war in history, this is by no means to hold good! The Commune used fire strictly as a means of defence. They used it to stop up to the Versailles troops those long, straight avenues which Haussmann had expressly opened to artillery-fire; they used it to cover their retreat, in the same way as the Versaillese, in their advance, used their shells which destroyed at least as many buildings as the fire of the Commune.

After emphasizing that the Communards understood that their opponents cared less for the lives of Parisians than for Paris buildings, Marx elaborated:

> If the acts of the Paris working men were vandalism, it was the vandalism of defence in despair, not the vandalism of triumph, like that which the Christians perpetrated upon the really priceless art treasures of heathen antiquity; and even that vandalism has been justified by the historian as an unavoidable and comparatively trifling concomitant to the titanic struggle between a new society arising and an old one breaking down.[2]

I will treat the impressionists more extensively in volume 5, but for now it should be noted that their formation in the years 1871–1874 brackets the critical period of rebuilding Paris following the brutal hammer blows of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune—Victor Hugo's "l'année terrible." In this concluding chapter, I wish to problematize the technique and content of the painters to open up the possibility of a connection and, at the same time, attempt to deal with the inherent contradiction of their avant-garde position and what I will characterize as their Third Republic compromise. I will argue that the impressionists preeminently politicized

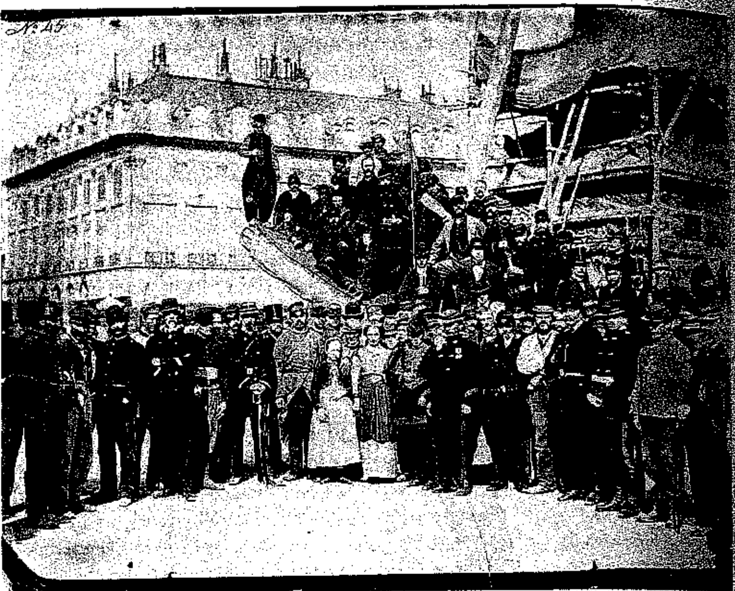
their creations by reimagining and reconstructing symbolically their partially destroyed country and disrupted social hierarchy.[3]

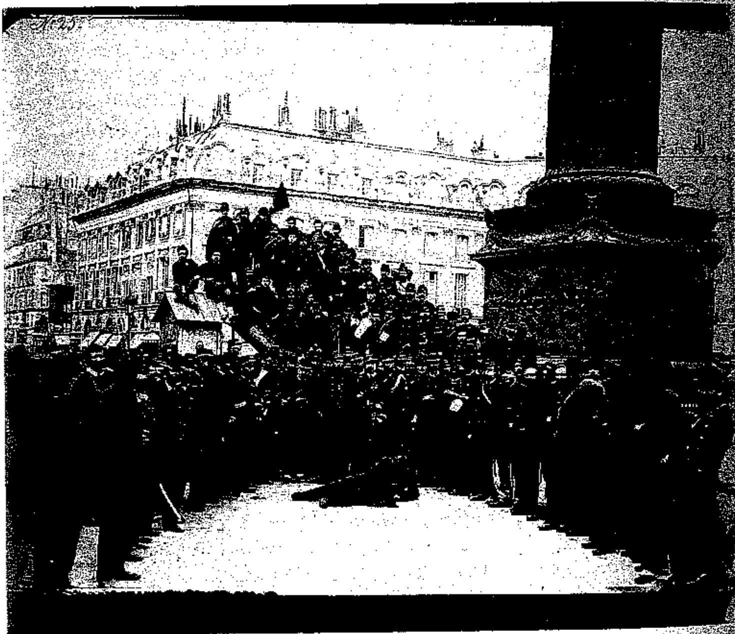
T. J. Clark concludes his searching account in *The Painting of Modern Life* with his central theme that the impressionists failed to "find a way to picture class adequately" and ultimately to forge an authentic iconography of modern life.[4] He sees the impressionists bound by the major myths of representing Paris and its suburbs as sites of recreation, leisure, and pleasure, a world of nature to be enjoyed on weekend excursions. By so doing, they fudge class relations and suggest their fluidity in the public spaces of entertainment. Although Griselda Pollock specifically faults Clark's analysis for its incapacity to embrace a female-experienced modernity, both would agree that what structured the terrain of Manet and his followers was the hierarchy of class and gender during the Third Republic that regulated the unequal exchange between men and women in the urban spaces.

In one of his rare but trenchant allusions to the Commune, Clark includes in a footnote a quotation from a Communard that speaks of the retaking of central Paris by "the true Parisians" who had heretofore been relegated either to the peripheries or to ghettoized communities by Haussmannization.[5] These "true Parisians" were the working classes segregated in outlying *quartiers*, essentially rendered invisible and incapable of organized protest by Second Empire gerrymandering. This is a clue to the unmistakable impact of the Commune on the structuring of social relations in its aftermath.

For what is most remarkable about the short-lived Commune is its picturing of modern life in all of its social potential and its uniting of people across the bounds of nationality, sex, and class. This is most strikingly revealed in the group photographs of the participants by the "true reporter of the Commune," Auguste Braquehais (figs. 10.1–2).[6] I suspect that these photographs were done for, and preserved by, people sympathetic to the Commune, and many of them show neighborhood barricades guarded by those who made them and who were prepared to defend them. The photographs often display a cross-section of Communard society including members of the working class not shown at their regular occupations. Usually, photographers posed laborers in their specific workaday activities and particular costume, establishing an updated version of the picturesque social types so familiar in popular imagery. Braquehais, however, shows them emancipated from their assigned niche in the social hierarchy and proudly manifesting their amplified potential in the more egalitarian space established under the Commune.

In the several group photographs taken at the base of the soon-to-be-demolished Vendôme Column, we see working-class men and women not only posed in ceremonious gestures heretofore reserved for the privileged classes, but even disrupting the formality by striking their own idiosyncratic attitudes. One worker, balancing himself on the edge of an upraised cushion destined to absorb the shock of the falling debris, places his hand





OPPOSITE

10.1 Auguste B. Braquehais, *Communards Posing at the Base of the Vendôme Column*, photograph, 1871. Collection Daniel Wolf, New York City.

10.2 Auguste B. Braquehais, *Communards Posing*, 1871. Photograph. Collection Daniel Wolf, New York City.

TOP RIGHT

10.3 Cham, *Souvenirs et regrets*, wood engraving from *Le Monde illustré*, 6 April 1872.

across his abdomen in mock imitation of the famous Napoleonic gesture, while in another example a Federal in full-dress uniform sprawls on the ground in the front ranks of his more decorously poised colleagues. Such deviations from the formal group photograph attest to the sense of liberation and newly won confidence experienced by the previously socially disadvantaged participants.[7] It is noteworthy that the reactionary caricaturist Cham mocked the defeated ex-Communards by depicting them restored to their subjugated working-class niche, dreaming of their previous moment of glory under the Commune (fig. 10.3).

The Commune had tried to carve out a democratic public space where people of all classes could meet and interact on a plane of equality and participate in the critical decisions that affected their daily lives. I would not wish to over-idealize the flawed efforts of Communard leaders, but only to point out that the opening they created inspired a whole host of novel social possibilities. Much of their innovation had its roots in the new organizational forms generated out of the transformation of Paris and the liberalization of the Second Empire in its final years.[8] Courbet, for example, wrote home at the height of Commune optimism on 30 April 1871: "Paris is a true paradise! No police, no nonsense, no exaction of any kind, no arguments! Everything in Paris rolls along like clockwork. If only it could stay like this forever. In short, it is a beautiful dream. All the government bodies are organized federally and run themselves."[9] Despite their fumbling and differences, the Communards shared a hope of maximizing the

freedom and autonomy the city offered and of making these available to all classes and groups. The cessation of normal work and trade during the brief Commune period granted a rare opportunity to working-class men and women to promenade along the boulevards and in the parks and to mingle with other classes during weekdays. Workers and bourgeois queued up in the same lines and argued with one another on the streets. Upper-class and working-class women organized together in behalf of their mutual needs, and artisans in the uniform of the National Guard protected the boulevards and the municipal buildings. Together, representatives of every class and station helped build barricades and keep a lookout for sneak attacks by the Versaillais. Not only did the Communards reclaim the streets; they also renamed them in honor of the Commune.[10]

Communards rejected the "official" public city created by Napoléon III and Haussmann and took up what had been considered the marginalized, fragmented aspects of Parisian street life. Thus they shifted the trivial and marginal to center stage and in the process incurred the detestation and fear of ruling governments everywhere. The mainstream Western press vilified them as unspeakable monsters and savages who had to be suppressed at any cost.

Let me backtrack for a moment and recapitulate the events leading up to this world-historic moment. Napoléon III's debacle in Mexico severely weakened the Empire, creating conditions that turned a quest for diplomatic success into military disaster. The French government vigorously opposed the Hohenzollern candidature to the vacant Spanish throne in July 1870 and seized upon it as a stratagem to humiliate Prussia and restore confidence in the imperial court. Under intense French pressure, King Wilhelm of Prussia made his nephew withdraw his acceptance of the Spanish crown. The war party in the Tuileries, however, hoped to squeeze more out of the situation and demanded an apology and assurances that it would not happen again. When Wilhelm refused to be pressed that far, the emperor's bellicose entourage steered the nation into a war for which it was ill prepared. French forces suffered one defeat after another, and by the end of August 1870 their main army had been soundly thrashed and surrounded at the fortress of Sedan. On 2 September 83,000 French troops, with the emperor himself at their head, surrendered. News of the emperor's defeat set the stage for the upheaval in Paris. Two days later the Second Empire was overthrown and a provisional Third Republic proclaimed in Paris.

As the enemy approached the capital, the elite bourgeois remnants of the Corps Législatif organized a Government of National Defense, mobilizing all of its local resources—including unprecedented working-class units of the National Guard—to withstand the expected siege. The siege began on 19 September and lasted four months, with the city subject to heavy bombardment from Prussian artillery. Since working-class militants had been inducted into the National Guard and armed, the chiefs of the provisional government gradually grew alarmed at the possibility of an

insurrection on the order of June 1848. They thought it less inimical to their interests to negotiate with the foreign foe than to empower the working classes and persuaded the populace to capitulate to the Prussians on the grounds that continued resistance would lead to total annihilation.

Meanwhile, the working people of Paris, exploiting their advantage, began organizing themselves during the period between September 1870 and March 1871. Vigilance committees were set up in each district of the city, charged with the mission to prevent sabotage of the city's defense network and monitor the actions of the authorities. A Central Committee, made up of the representatives of the districts, was organized, and finally, in the early days of March the Federation of the National Guard (hence the other term *Fédérés* or Federals for the Communards) was established. The aspiration of these working-class organizations to bring about radical changes in the social structure found expression in the demand for the democratic election of a municipal council, the Paris Commune. The capital had been deprived of self-government since the French revolution of 1789, and government power invested in a police and bureaucratic apparatus peaked under the Second Empire.

In nationwide elections for the new National Assembly held in Bordeaux in February 1871, events took on a sinister cast. Most of the country rejected the revolutionary ideas of Paris, resulting in a National Assembly comprising mainly monarchists of all stripes and a mere handful of republicans. Adolphe Thiers headed the interim government they formed as chief of the executive power, leaving unresolved the nature of a permanent government. Before adjourning, the body agreed to meet next at tranquil Versailles rather than radical Paris. The preliminary peace treaty between France and Prussia was signed in Versailles on 26 February 1871, with France ceding the greater part of Alsace and Lorraine to the victor and agreeing to pay a war indemnity of 5 billion francs. Prussian troops were to remain on French soil until the National Assembly ratified the treaty.

Soon the new government went about its main task of subduing revolutionary Paris. In the early hours of 18 March 1871, regular troops, now the Versaillais, made an effort to disarm the working-class battalions of the National Guard, by capturing its artillery installed on the high ground commanding the city: Montmartre, Belleville, and Chaumont. But women who had set out to market began to crowd around the soldiers and sounded the alarm. National Guardsmen rushed to their assembly points, while soldiers in the regular forces began to fraternize with the people and refused orders to fire at them. Late in the evening the rebels seized the Hôtel de Ville and hoisted a red flag over it. The Central Committee of the National Guard was now in control of the city—the first workers' government in history.

The Versaillais pulled out of Paris, allowing the Communards to take over the city and consolidate their position, thus exposing a coherent and identifiable presence easily targeted for reprisal. Thiers literally disowned

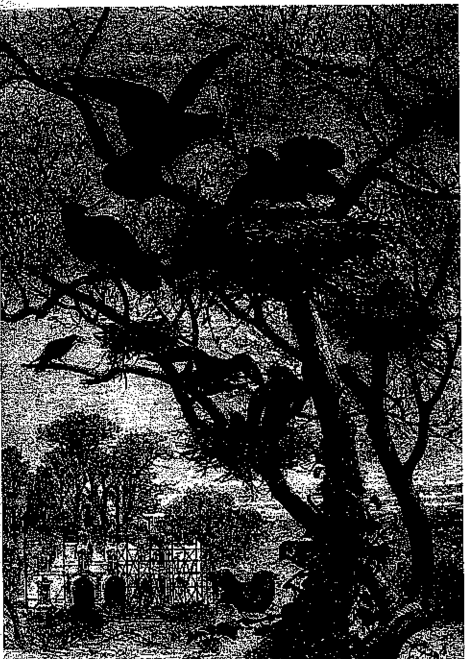
one segment of civil society within a certain geographical zone, and by abandoning territory formerly under the jurisdiction of the government, the Versaillais recapitulated in the domestic realm the territorial losses in the recent Franco-Prussian War. This may explain the terrible vengeance the enraged Versaillais (many of them former Prussian prisoners released to aid Thiers) wreaked on the Communards in the last week of May, bent, as it were, on exorcizing the double humiliation. Edmond de Goncourt wrote with personal invective three days after the end of Bloody Week:

> It is good that there was neither conciliation nor bargain. The solution was brutal. It was by pure force. The solution has held people back from cowardly compromises. The solution has restored confidence to the army, which learned in the blood of the Communards that it was still able to fight. Finally, the bloodletting was a bleeding white; such a purge, by killing off the combative part of the population, defers the next revolution by a whole generation. The old society has twenty years of quiet ahead of it, if the powers that be dare all that they may dare at this time.[11]

Yet those left in Paris were wholly within their right to organize control of the institutional structures, and did so through the democratic process. The Communards were in fact a more representative body of the populace than their counterparts at Versailles. At this moment, the working class and their bourgeois allies created a historical coalition that totally transformed both power and gender relations. External pressures forced them to develop new identities and mutual bonds: women, for example, advanced in this environment, forming clubs and actively participating in the decision-making process. Their presence on the barricades during Bloody Week made them infamous in the international press, which especially singled them out for the most barbed assaults.

The frantic suppression of the Commune and the enormous swell of literature devoted to justification of this suppression is proof of the threat to the bourgeoisie of the suspension of traditional hierarchy. It is certain, moreover, that the conservative form the early Third Republic assumed in the aftermath was decisively shaped by the Commune. The ruthless extermination of thousands of Communards and the mass deportation of thousands of others abruptly destroyed the Left and created a vacuum in the class structure. The loss of such a large segment of skilled workers recalled the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when the pursuit of the Huguenots led to a massive transfer of talent from France to the rest of the world. In the later period as well, the politically motivated working classes were not merely politically invisible but physically absent, although the new French government persuaded a part of the peasant population to migrate to Paris to replace them. The city that the impressionists now confronted was one systematically bombarded and ravaged by Prussian and Versaillais bombs and Communard covering fires, and one depleted of its artisanate class. It was this absent but indexical body of militant manual workers, both male and female, and a physically present but psychologically intimidated bourgeoisie, that populated the environment of early modernist visual practice. Thus the fluidity of class relations and the gender inequality inevitably shaping the subjective construction of the modern may owe a significant debt to the Commune.

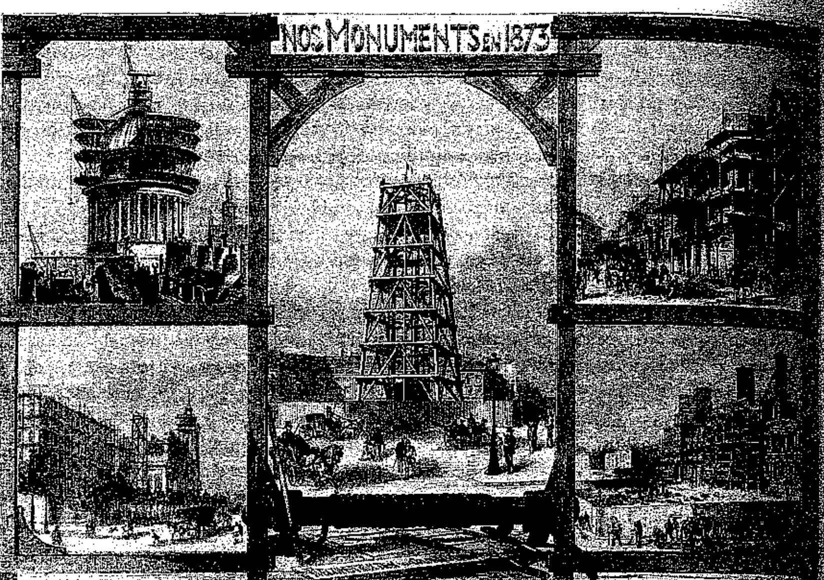
The problem for the conservatives and their fearful moderate allies was how to preserve the semblance of what in fact had been realized in part by their avowed enemy, since the Communards realized in actuality what had mainly been uttered rhetorically by the Versailles government. Here the new role of the public space in modern life was indispensable, in providing an opportunity for the mingling of the classes in the streets while yet masking their social and spiritual dissonances. The authentic republic—the Commune—had to be demonized to make a space for the inauthentic Third Republic and its democratic pretense. Here it could mobilize the power of its predecessor to generate glamorous spectacles and luxuries close enough for all to see and even to touch (if not to buy), an outward show so dazzling that it could conceal the dark contradictions within.

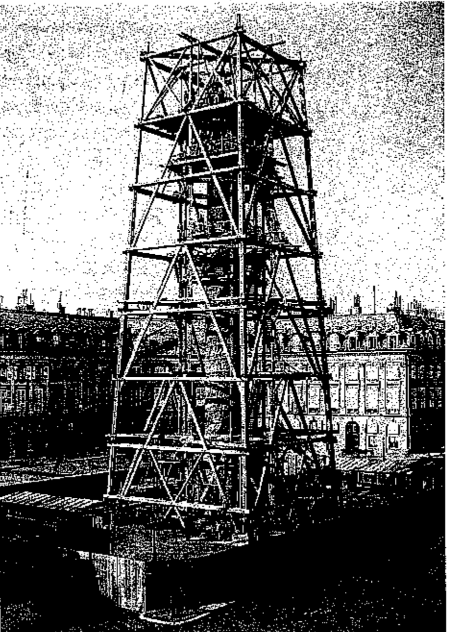


10.4 *Rebuilding*, wood engraving from *Illustrated London News*, 8 April 1871.

The devastation that struck Paris in this period gives rise in the aftermath to the reigning metaphors of regeneration and restoration, both visually and textually (figs. 10.4–5). Little by little, one commentator observed, Paris regains its old appearance [*physionomie*], "that is, its appearance prior to the Commune, the siege and the National Guard . . ."[12] Another critic sighed: "Before the war, before the Commune! Here are the words that crop up again and again so often beneath the pen of the chronicler; one is able only gradually, and by a series of painful examples, to give an idea of the perturbation that these lugubrious events have caused."[13] In July 1871 newspapers gleefully reported that the civil engineer Alphand, a crucial player in Haussmann's park system, was already putting his talents to work restoring "to its original state . . . the lawns of the Trocadéro!"[14]

The Third Republic's obsession with effacing the traces of the Communard presence is seen in its unexpected outrage at the toppling of the Vendôme Column—the beloved symbol of the Bonapartists. Courbet was scapegoated for the event, since he had publicly proposed during the siege to unbolt it and move its pieces to the Hôtel de Monnaie.[15] Yet this identification becomes





OPPOSITE

10.5 Karl Fichot, *The Principal Monuments of Paris during the Course of the Year 1873*, wood engraving from *Le Monde illustré*, 20 December 1873.

10.6 Charles de Marville, *The Restoration of the Vendôme Column after the Commune*, albumen, 1871. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

less important to the conservatives than the fact that its destruction was wrought by the Commune (fig. 10.6). The symbolic nature of its restoration is seen in the fact that the refurbished statue of Napoléon was hoisted to the pinnacle on the same day that the remains of Versaillais generals Lecomte and Thomas (shot in the mêlée on 18 March) were transplanted from Montmartre to the Père Lachaise cemetery and honored in a highly publicized ceremony.[16] Both events signaled the government's dedication to rectifying and redeeming the actions of the detested Communards.

An entire cottage industry cropped up devoted to the documentation of the defeat of the Commune and the gutted buildings and burned rooftops left in its wake. Photograph albums of the destroyed façades of once-beautiful buildings served as memorials to the destructive effects of political radicalism. The lavish quarters and parks built under Haussmann had been reduced to charred timbers and piles of rubble. Despite the frightful appearance of Paris in June 1871, however, the thoughts of Goncourt and his friend, the art critic and moderate republican Philippe Burty, turned to the possibilities of renewal: "We speak of the sad state of things and we see no resurrection for France except through her admirable capacity for hard work, through the ability to work day and night which other countries do not have . . ."[17] Is it a coincidence that Burty, soon to become one of the leading apologists for the impressionists, commends the artists in his review of the second impressionist exhibition of 1876 for being "hard-working," and lauds their efforts in the first show of 1874 for clarity, freshness, and the "virginal" rendering of the general aspect of the landscape?[18] Thus scenes of the impressionists are complicit with the subsequent intensive campaign to rebuild Paris and its beautiful suburbs, coinciding with the official line of the period. It is not by chance that Monet exits Paris at the end of 1871 to reestablish his career in the suburb of Argenteuil, or that 1871 is often taken as the starting date for the formal emergence of impressionism and even Manet's incipient break with the past. Recalling his moves just after the suppression, Renoir stated: "When order was restored to Paris, I rented an atelier on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs."[19]

Key patrons of impressionist scenes, including their dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, Jean-Baptiste Faure, Théodore Duret, Gustave Caillebotte, Ernest Hoschedé, Victor Chocquet, Henri Rouart, Georges Charpentier, Edmond Maître, and Georges de Bellio, also rejected the Commune principle.[20] Ironically, the impressionists continued the direction of their work of the late 1860s, forging a continuity with the Second Empire analogous to Thiers's government undertaking the rebuilding of Paris according to the shape it had taken under Napoléon III. Reclaiming the space physically was insufficient for the victorious; they also had to reclaim it symbolically in representation. Once the military and political work was accomplished, the urban and intraurban sites transgressed by the Communards needed to be reinvested and reappropriated once again for bourgeois culture. The Communards had constructed a new identity for themselves and in the process

gave that urban space a new identity. What made the Commune insurrection unique was not its seizure of the means of production, but its appropriation and transformation of a particular sector of civil society. Although the city center in the modern epoch is inevitably the site of popular insurgency, the worker-Communards, victims of Haussmann's architectural and social reorganization, descended into the center to reclaim the public space from which they had been evicted, to reoccupy streets they formerly inhabited.[21] Their dismantling and transformation of that social and physical space, however, differed from changes made by previous governing bodies only in its class perspective.

Throughout French history, as royal pageants, entries, and coronations demonstrate, new ruling regimes carved out zones of control as an act of legitimation and to promote a narrowly conceived class identity. Often, this implied recapturing the symbolic space of a previous regime and deleting and replacing its signs of authority. This remaking of the social signage required the talents and skills of art producers to create the required trappings, to retrace the route to power, and then to recreate history. The impressionists, whether unconsciously or not, would recover the Parisian territory from the *canaille*, who had rejected the privileged organization of that space, and reinvest it with bourgeois sensibility and symbolic value.

There is a telling testimony by the critic Armand Silvestre, who hung out with the impressionists in their favorite haunts in the period just prior to the opening of their first group venture. Remembering the vibrant spectacle of Montmartre and the lively encounters in the Café Guerbois, he declared:

> I was attracted to the area shortly after the war by the combination of its material and intellectual advantages. Paris, still breathing from the final convulsions of civil war, had a deep yearning for quietude and forgetfulness of the past. Flowers were already beginning to grow from the blackened ruins, and to show themselves from among the blood-stained cobbles. Inanimate matter, no more than men, is not made to suffer protracted grief. It is true that one thought a bit about those who had been proscribed by the government, but youth, infatuated with sunshine and spring, had reasserted its rights. Only deep thinkers wondered how long the shock of this recent jolt would last. Because beneath these surfaces, so rapidly calmed, like those of great lakes after a storm, there seethed a dark pool of hate and anger, and, in these mysterious depths, bubbled crazy desires for revenge and expiation. What was to become of the mind condemned to live amid such currents? Would French art and its sacred precincts survive for long after this catastrophe? We experienced anxiety about all this in the face of the apparent indifference of a crowd whose revolts had been too high-pitched to be so suddenly appeased.[22]

Silvestre suggests here the psychological motivation for impressionist activity in the wake of the recent upheavals, activity sparked as much by a

preoccupation with the political conditions as with the future of French art. This is a group distanced from the crowd (*la foule*) yet yearning to appease it. Significantly, when Silvestre reviewed the first exhibition of the impressionists he praised "their pleasant colors and charming subjects," whose influence he felt would extend to all contemporary art by reinvigorating the range of pictorial possibilities.

The Critical Reception

Trying to persuade James Tissot—an exile in London since the end of the Commune—to join with him and his colleagues in the first impressionist exhibition, Degas exhorted his friend to put aside all commercial concerns and think patriotically: "So forget the money side for a moment. Exhibit. Be of your country and with your friends."[23] This appeal to nationalism on the part of one of the key organizers of the show leads us to a critical examination of the curious mixed reception of the impressionists at their inaugural exhibition in April 1874, one that ran the gamut from muted praise to bitter invective. (It is also true that even some of the most abusive reviewers found something positive to say about the qualities of individual works.) Almost all complained about the incompleteness of the efforts and lack of clear definition of the forms, despite the praise for the look of freshness and "elements of renewal and progress" produced by the sketchy technique. But the label of radicalism so often leveled at the participants stigmatized the show as a subversive political act. We may well inquire just why it is, given their qualities of escapism and unconstrained freedom that we so much admire today, that the impressionists were perceived to be inimical to the state's interests in 1874. The answer to this lies in the overdetermination of their reception in the light of the experience of the Commune. Their group formation, experimental diversity, look of difference, and antihierarchical content and technique made them suspect to conservative spectators still influenced and threatened by the bitter memories of the outrageous actions of the Commune.[24] Emile Cardon, for example, writing for *La Presse*, entitled his caustic appraisal "L'Exposition des révoltés."[25] Another commonly used term to describe the group was *intransigeants*, a specific political allusion to the extreme left wing of Spanish radicalism in 1873.[26] In actuality, this period of hostility lasted for only a short time, and by the late years of the decade the impressionists were more accurately understood as representatives of the post-Commune and anti-Commune era.

This conflict is played out in the contradictory signals communicated by the critics during the reception of the impressionists, particularly evident in a review by Zola of the independents in 1876. He claims that Monet's pictures communicate to him "une impression de jeunesse, de belles croyances, de foi hardie et enflammée." This is the utopian, restorative side that Zola shared with the impressionists in the wake of the Commune, but

at the same time he characterizes Monet, Pissarro, and their colleagues as "revolutionaries" whom he predicts are destined to transform the French school in twenty years.[27]

Perhaps one of the most telling reviews in this respect is one by a leading republican feminist, Maria Deraismes, who was writing in outrage over the rejection of Eva Gonzalès, a former disciple of Manet, by the Salon jury of 1874. Deraismes claimed that it was Gonzalès's affiliation with the realist Manet that led to her rejection, and that for the conservatives the realist is to painting what the "radical is to politics." She went further in relating this kind of thinking to the current wave of reaction:

> Manet is a realist, but so was Courbet. Therefore from realism to the Commune there is but one short step. In this case, it is not just a question of a school, but a question of general security. Oh, the depth of politics![28]

Deraismes goes on to contrast the differing attitudes of the realists, whom she characterizes as the "*sincères*," and the conservatives, whom she describes as the "*non-sincères*," emphasizing the explicit links between aesthetic principles and political ideologies. Written less than two months after the closing of the first impressionist exhibition, Deraismes's words clarify the wellsprings of contemporary hostility toward the newcomers, with whom she could identify as a persecuted feminist.[29]

By the late 1870s, however, both the impressionists and the liberal feminists could make claims to public legitimation and respectability. In 1878 the Republic seemed stable enough for the feminists to organize the first French Congress for Women's Rights, articulating a moderate program wholly acceptable to the future Opportunists of the early 1880s. Although the impressionists' second exhibition in 1876 continued to arouse intense controversy, it did so because the work now had legitimate claim to a niche in the Parisian art world.[30]

It is a tribute to their success that distinguished critics of the leading journals now descended into the arena to take their measure. The violently anti-Communard paper *Le Gaulois*, whose tirades against the insurgents fired up the Versaillais pending their invasion of Paris and which remained staunchly opposed to amnesty, was surprisingly sympathetic to the impressionists from the start.[31] Its reviewer had kind words to say for the entire group, including Cézanne, and concluded by apologizing for his lack of space to discuss the painters in detail, adding that "we would be very happy to see the artists of this new society succeed." He declared that their efforts deserve to be encouraged, because with slight resources they are making a valiant attempt that promises a bright future.[32] In 1876 another reviewer for the same paper confronted the accusations of aesthetic subversion as coded references to political subversion and asked for public understanding:

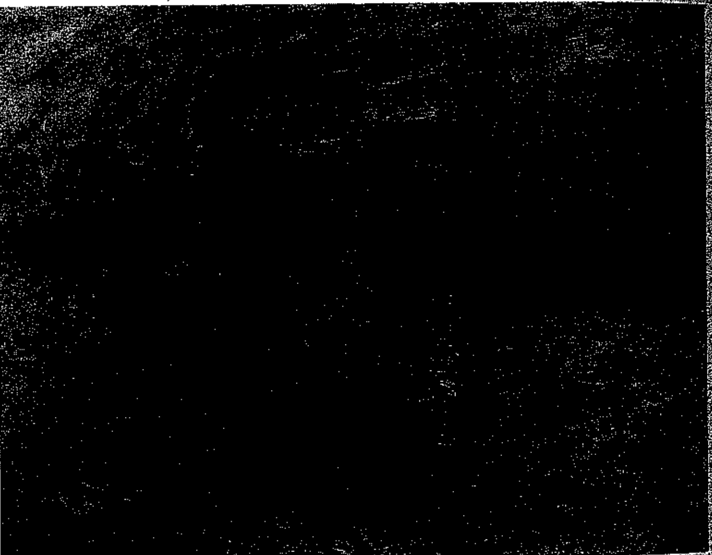
> Are these artists who for a second time are appealing directly to the public revolutionaries as some love to repeat, when they are not being treated idiotically as communards? No, of course not. They are dissidents at most, associated and organized for the purpose of showing the ensemble of their work under optimal conditions unavailable in the Salon.

He admonished the public not to judge them too hastily, and that it not be put off by some "inevitable exaggerations at the dawn of a new school whose disciples possess not only the qualities of youth, but also the general defects that go with it. . . . It should consider only one thing, the new idea, the fertile renewal of the French school, the affirmation in a word, of an art principle whose results could be considerable." He then admonished his readers to momentarily step outside the range of aesthetic discourse, and rhetorically inquired: "Isn't it consoling, in the aftermath of our disasters, to witness a young generation, full of life and vigor, willing to forgo for the sake of a noble conviction an easy success in another genre, to sustain often unjust criticism, sometimes even discomfort, in order to uphold an idea it has made an article of faith?"[33] Finally, Silvestre could deploy an analogy with music to underscore his related response: "As for me, I find here the mildness of a perfect concord after an avalanche of dissonances. It is not an orchestra, it is a diapason."[34] What counts for Silvestre and the reviewers of the *Gaulois* are the implications in their work of regeneration and renewal, and these overshadow the technical flaws inherent in their experimental and youthful exuberance.

Philippe Burty's defense of the impressionists is motivated in large part by ideological desire, and harks back to his conversation with Edmond de Goncourt on the rebuilding of the French nation. The purification of the landscape—both urban and suburban—meant first removing from it the souvenirs of the recent catastrophes and then reinvesting it symbolically through the new aesthetic formulation. He delighted in the "amiable" look of their sites and their "virginal" representation.[35] What counts representationally is neither the presence of the "human race" nor the physicality of property, but the "illusion of light and freshness" and "the masterly harmonizing" of all the elements in nature. The potential threat to this harmony—the disruptive "human race" or "mob"—is suitably repressed. Yet the "harmony" in reality can only be achieved at the expense of "hard-working" French laborers and symbolically represented by the impressionist "*go-aheads*" (Burty's English) such as Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro. The aesthetic and intellectual "workers" of the bourgeoisie need to be recruited to metaphorically contain the threat of the working classes who in principle have access to the same spaces of leisure.

Nevertheless, the timing of the impressionists' entry insured a controversial reception for their positivist solutions. Tucker shrewdly interpreted Monet's *Impression, soleil levant* (Impression, Sunrise) as a possible "vision

of a new day dawning" for France (fig. 10.7).[36] Yet less than a year before Monet painted the picture, Louise Michel, the revolutionary feminist, wrote a poem during her deportation to New Caledonia for her participation in the Commune, including the verses: "L'avenir grandira superbe / Sous le rouge soleil levant" (The future will swell superbly / Under the red sunrise).[37] It should be recalled that there remained Communard prisoners who were still being tried, deported, and executed at the time the exhibition of the independents opened on 15 April 1874.[38] The fact that the drama of the Commune was still unfolding preserved the ascendance of the conservatives, who kept up the pressure on left-leaning politics. Both in their organization and in their venue the impressionists implicated themselves in the current radical political discourse. Organized as an artists' cooperative, the group appeared as an independent collective aimed at undermining the authority of the official system. Their novel technical recipes—striking many spectators as bordering on decorative and industrial design—gave an artisanal cast to the look of the exhibition. Thus, they were indirectly identified with the Fédération des Artistes de Paris, the Commune's organization for artists presided over by Courbet, who grouped decorative and industrial artists with the fine artists to create ties with the artisanate. Louis Leroy, who coined the term impressionism, claimed that wallpaper in its primal state was more developed than Monet's *Impression, soleil levant*, and even Burty and Silvestre, early apologists for the group, associated the

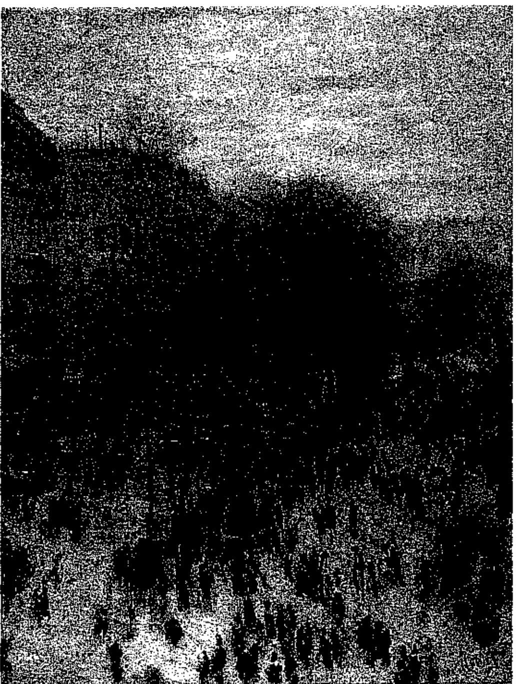


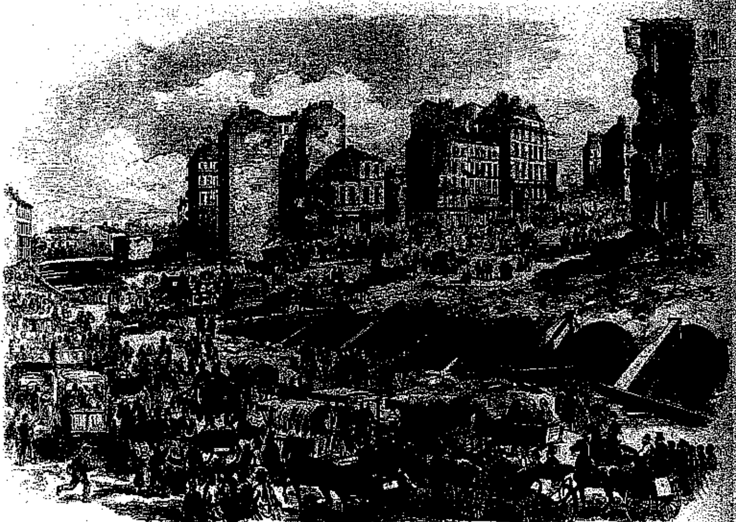
10.7 Claude Monet, *Impression: Sunrise*, 1872. Musée Marmottan, Paris.

independents with the "*décorative*." Etienne Carjat claimed that in this case a "worker . . . could replace the artist," and warned that they could end up as "sign painters working for coal dealers and moving men." In the circumstances of 1874, such symptoms identified by the critics implied an ambiguous and even benevolent attitude toward the Commune and suspicion of the government.

It has not yet been previously noted, but the fact that they chose to exhibit in the photographer Nadar's former studio at 35, boulevard des Capucines, already surrounded their collective debut with a political aura. First of all, the street was the scene of heavy fighting during Bloody Week, when the Versaillais, advancing down the rue Caumartin, attacked the barricade of the rue Neuve des Capucines at the boulevard's entrance.[39] Although Nadar personally disapproved of the moment of the Commune and predicted that its poor timing would lead to inevitable massacre, his reputation for supporting left-wing causes gave rise to rumors about his arrest in early June 1871. He also concealed in his rooms two prominent escapees of the Commune, Félix Pyat and Jules Bergeret, and persuaded Thiers (who imagined Nadar to have been shot) to give Bergeret and his wife a safe conduct and false papers.[40] Burty went out of his way to identify the location as the house of "the famous photographer Nadar, compared in his youth from his long fiery red hair, and the swiftness of his walk, to a wandering comet"—a not-so-subtle hint at the photographer's politics.[41] Thus Nadar's old signboard left on the vacated premises of the boulevard des Capucines already implicated the first impressionist exhibition in the memories of the insurrection.

At the same time, the hostile critics were not totally off the mark in reading the novel forms of impressionism as a counter aesthetic discourse. To reclaim the space of Paris the impressionists had to recode the concept of everyday life to give the illusion that the utopia envisioned by the Communards had in fact been realized within bourgeois society. This fiction was presented through the elevated perspectives that grasped the traffic of pedestrians and carriages on the boulevard as an anonymous crowd comprising all classes treated equally, as Ernest Chesneau put it when he referred to Monet's *Boulevard des Capucines* as an "indecipherable chaos of palette scrapings" (fig. 10.8). Although the elevated vantage point (socially expressed through the top-hatted observers on the balcony at the right) and absorption in the everyday content of public spaces is itself a giveaway of the artist's class position, the result is the antithesis of the monumental and historical and thus of conventional hierarchy. In this sense, the memory of the Commune forces the painters to affirm the relative identity of the social spaces they depict and give up the idea of their immutability. The shared memory of the disrupted infrastructure impinges powerfully on their imagination as they seek to heal the social wounds (fig. 10.9). The continually changing space they study is a social product shaped anew every day and is antihierarchical in time and space.





OPPOSITE

10.8 Claude Monet, *Boulevard des Capucines*, 1873. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.

10.9 *The Ruins of Paris: Porte Maillot and the Avenue de la Grande Armée*, wood engraving from *Illustrated London News*, 24 June 1871.

Further, the notion of swarming humanity had always struck conservatives like Thiers as the threatening tidal wave ready to engulf the dominant class. The blurry "black tongue-lickings" down in the street were always only one step away from the mob, the demonstration, the insurrection. The anonymous brush gestures may be faceless and stripped of their individual objectivity, but this was true also of the ghosts of the recently crushed rebellion threatening at any time to be reincarnated in the floating mass of people. The antidemocratic formulator of "crowd psychology" Gustave Le Bon, whose ideas were decisively shaped by his experiences during the siege of Paris and the Commune, noted that crowd-pleasing images evoked by such words as "democracy, socialism, equality, liberty, etc.," are "the most ill-defined" and "vague" and lend themselves to manipulation.[42] Analogously, the "ill-defined" impression of an anonymous multitude in the exhibition could be just as easily read as the movement of the swarming mob. Thus the Commune's threat to authority could still be conjured up in the reception of the scenes of the impressionists and explains in part the venomous response of some conservative critics.

Berthe Morisot's academic teacher, Joseph-Benoît Guichard, was shocked to see her work exhibited with "les fous" at Nadar's in 1874. His explanation for some of the paintings on view was "madness," a similar kind of answer proffered to explain the actions of the Communards. Guichard wrote to Morisot's mother about her works on display: "If Mlle Berthe is set on doing something violent she should pour petrol on these things and set them alight rather than destroy all she has done so far."[43] Here Guichard makes allusion to the bloodthirsty, inebriated image of the Communard woman constructed by the conservatives as a *pétroleuse*. This image of the unsexed female pouring kerosene on buildings and setting them on fire had been exploited to execute hundreds of women and adolescent females and import thousands more to the penal colonies. Marx wrote regarding the *pétroleuse* that the "story is one of the most abominable schemes that has ever been invented in a civilized country."[44]

The Right like the Left often symbolized the Commune as a militant female, but for the right she brought fiery destruction rather than social justice. Although women participating in the defense of Paris during the Prussian siege were praised for their courage and patriotism, these same attributes were downplayed when displayed by the female activists of the Commune.[45] The issue of gender did not come up until women fought for social justice. Then the mythical *pétroleuse*, the female incendiary who flouted her true nature, provided the Versaillais with a demonized image of the Commune's warrior maid. Bertall's wild and roughly attired female—a satire of Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People*—on the barricade waving a red flag was typical (fig. 10.10). As seen in Dubois's malevolent caricature, her emblems are not the liberty cap or the level of equality, but the petrol can and the torch (fig. 10.11). Even more telling, Girard's sketch

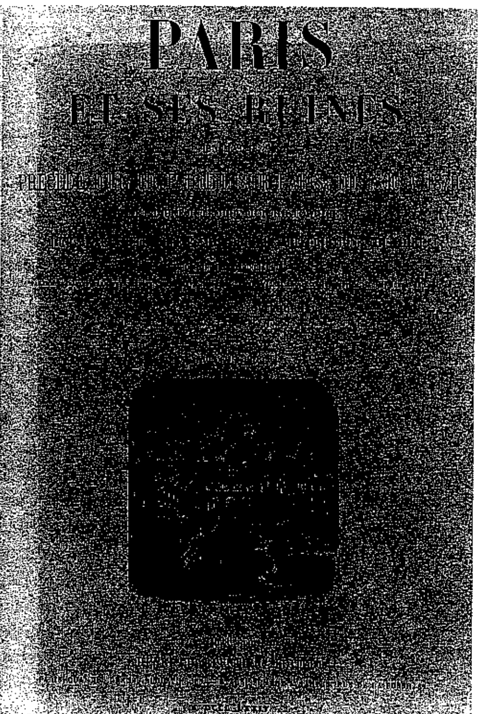
10.10 Bertall, *La Barricade*, colored lithograph, 1871. Reproduced in *Les Communeux 1871*, no. 37.

10.11 Dubois, *Une pétroleuse*, lithograph, 1871. Reproduced in *Paris sous la Commune* (1872).

10.12 Eugène Girard, *The Emancipated Woman Shedding Light on the World*, lithograph, 1871. Reproduced in Series J. Lecerf, no. 4. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

of a wild-eyed incendiary captioned, "La Femme, émancipée, répandant la lumière sur le monde" (fig. 10.12).

The basic contradiction of the conservative Third Republic is that it springs from protest against the Second Empire and Bonapartism and yet is forced by the Commune to reconstitute them in their cultural guise. The acute pain of bourgeois Parisians in the face of the abrupt end of prosperity and the rebuilding of Paris is seen most dramatically in the publication of Victor Fournel's *Paris et ses ruines en Mai 1871* (fig. 10.13). The former cynical critic of Haussmannization before 1870 changed his tune when confronted with the devastation of the Commune. He fulminated against the vandals who laid waste to the "splendor" of the monuments and boulevards created by the Second Empire. He saw the irony of Shakespearian tragedy in the destruction of the "Haussmannienne epic" by three successive plagues of bombardment, siege, and civil war. Although firmly convinced that Bismarck and Moltke had aimed at the start at destroying Haussmann's Paris, he saved the nastier part of his diatribe for the "depraved professors of civil war and anarchy" who brought Paris to its catastrophic finale with the "now dishonored name of the *Commune*." After retracing the glory that was Paris, he lauds the administration of Thiers for rebuilding even Bonapartist monuments like the Vendôme Column. Glimpsing the stirrings of a resurrection, he adds: "Now it remains only to wash away the blood, to erase the traces of battle, to dress the wounded, to bury the dead, to raise up the ruins, to bring about a rebirth of order, security, work, to repair the disasters of the two sieges."[46]



10.13 Title page from V. Fournel, *Paris et ses ruines* (1872).

The work of Zola, the contemporary and early defender of the impressionists, may be seen as prototypical of the group's response to the Commune.[47] He published the first book of the Rougon-Macquart series in 1871, shortly after the Commune. *La Débâcle* (1892), the nineteenth and last but one of the series of novels, brings to a thundering near finale the great saga of the natural and social history of a family during the Second Empire, while the final novel, *Le Docteur Pascal* (1893), ends with a vision of the brave new world of science and progress about to be born. *La Débâcle* concludes obsessively on a note of rebuilding, with Jean Macquart walking "into the future to set about the great, laborious task of building a new France." Paris, destroyed by fire, is compared to "the

field ploughed up and cleansed so that the idyll of a new golden age might spring up into life." Zola's equivocation here seems to correspond to the ambiguous position of the impressionists: as the fire and smoke from the buildings billow upward, a great clamor could be heard, "maybe the last death-cries of the shot victims in the Lobau barracks, or perhaps happy women and happy children eating out of doors after a nice walk or sitting in outside cafés." Thus the impressionist vision already displaces the horrors of civil war.

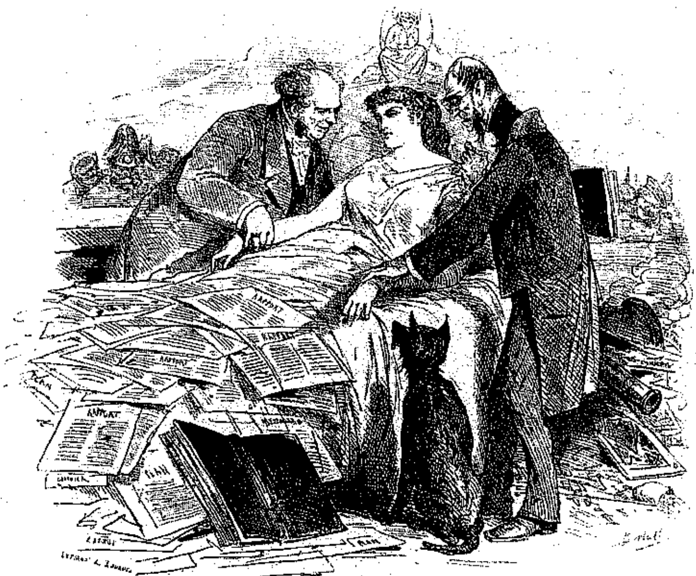
After having just undergone a series of traumatic shocks, Jean suddenly experiences an extraordinary sensation:

> It seemed to him, as day was slowly dying over this burning city, that a new dawn was already breaking. Yet it was the end of everything, fate pursuing its relentless course in a series of disasters greater than any nation had ever undergone: continual defeats, provinces lost, milliards to pay, the blood-bath of the most dreadful of civil wars, whole districts full of ruins and dead, no money left, no honour left, a whole world to build up again. . . . And yet, beyond the still roaring furnace, undying hope was reviving up in that great calm sky so supremely limpid. It was the sure renewal of eternal nature, the renewal promised to all who hope and toil, the tree throwing up a strong new shoot after the dead branch, whose poisonous sap had yellowed the leaves, had been cut away.

Here is precious testimony from a writer who had been close to Manet and his followers, and stated in retrospect as if it had been thought for the first time. Zola was writing history as he recalled it and as he had lived it, and the "great calm sky so supremely limpid" could only have been a metaphor resonating with his memories of the past. This corresponds exactly to the sentiment of a letter written by Zola to Cézanne in July 1871, soon after the streets of Paris had been cleared of the debris of war and Communard bodies and the month Zola launched the Rougon-Macquart series in print: "I have never been more hopeful or desirous of working. Paris is being reborn. As I have often told you, our reign has begun!"[48]

This was the mandate to the impressionists during a period of conservative political backlash. Impressionism retraces the damaged sites of the Commune, urban intersections, parks, and streets and presents them as bright, flourishing spaces. It glosses the ruins and minimizes the tension of the postwar culture, promoting the official political ideology with unofficial aesthetic effects. It strategizes in behalf of a pre-civil-war idyll and privileges a "return to normal" exuberance that extends Haussmannization into the present. Impressionism deals with this contradiction by depicting its motifs from increasingly weird angles and points of view and by employing blurry outlines, spectral objects, and hidden and disguised features of the landscape sites. Impressionists had to find a way of appearing modern, advanced, and positivist, while returning to prewar cultural ideals of leisure and pleasure. They continue to represent recreation, resort life, the private garden and park, but by revealing it as transient and ephemeral they rid their imagery of nostalgia. In this way, they managed to keep up the pretense that it was the same old Paris, and still link their activities to the positivism and materialism of modern life expressed in Third Republic science, entrepreneurialism, and colonialism.

By year's end, *L'Illustration* could publish a cartoon showing a bedridden France being attended to by a pair of physicians each grasping one of her wrists and uttering their pronouncements (fig. 10.14). The pessimistic "Docteur Tant-Pis" (Doctor Much Worse) and the optimistic "Docteur Tant-Mieux" (Doctor Much Better) express this dual attitude in the wake of the hammer-like blows of the two sieges. Doctor Much Worse intones: "The crisis has been terrible! So much the worse! Such a crisis will inevitably be followed by others. Lost health, debilitating infirmities, foreseeable disorganization, shock to the moral system, sick brain, lack of energy, beliefs destroyed, deplorable symptoms; everything must be changed, everything to be redone, little hope." But Doctor Much Better delivers the benign diagnosis: "The crisis has been serious! So much the better! Henceforth, her health can only improve. Forewarned by the past, she will follow a wise diet; she will avoid imprudent actions, deviations, and mistakes; a little reflection, plenty of work, and everything will be restored to normal."[49]



10.14 Bertall, *Le Docteur Tant-Pis et le Docteur Tant-Mieux*, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 1871.

Degas internalized this psychological state in the immediate aftermath of the two sieges, escaping to the United States in the autumn of 1872 at the suggestion of his brother René to recover and reorder his priorities. Americans were for Degas a "new people" who had forgotten more of "their English origins" than he expected. After a short stay in New York, he made his way to New Orleans where his mother's family lived, and where his brothers Achille and René worked in the cotton trade owned by their uncle. The uncle, Michel Musson, was a wealthy cotton broker and exporter of cotton to France and England. Coincidentally, Degas arrived at a time when Louisiana and, indeed, the entire South itself were still recovering from the devastating effects of the Civil War and trying to find their way through the chaos of Reconstruction. Thiers himself had likened the Communards to the southern Confederacy, and perceived himself as a sort of French Lincoln.[50] Degas's family had been proslavery and had joined other brokers in encouraging French intervention in the Civil War in favor of the Confederacy. In punishment, Major General Butler—the ruthless Union officer charged with the occupation of New Orleans after its capture—taxed Musson's firm (along with the others who joined the boycott) to help relieve the city's starving populace.[51] Degas's correspondence demonstrates that he shared his family's racist position, attesting as well to his conservative social bias. He seemed genuinely amused to learn that the Louisiana press deigned "to give Mr. Thiers expert advice on republicanism." He delighted in seeing blacks still serving whites, especially the women "of all shades," and responded warmly to the "contrast between the business offices with their bustle and order and the immense, black animal vitality . . ."[52]

"I am thirsty for order" (*J'ai soif d'ordre*), Degas writes to his friend and patron Henri Rouart on 5 December 1872. And he closes with a show of pride in his brothers' success: "They will make a great fortune."[53] The novelty and possibilities of the United States fascinates him, and at the same time he feels a need to discipline himself to emulate the business success of his brothers. His mind is teeming with fresh ideas ("that would take ten years to realize") and he plans a series of sketches later to be reworked in Paris. A subsequent letter of 18 February 1873 to his friend James Tissot in London likens his valuable mental assets to an insurable cotton bale, and expresses the wish that there were insurance companies who dealt in his particular brand of assets.[54] Here Degas consciously conceives of his ideas as commodities to be disposed of as those of his brothers, thus declaring himself as an emerging entrepreneur in his own right.

It is no coincidence that in this same letter Degas announces to Tissot that he is in the process of completing a major picture provisionally called *Intérieur d un bureau d acheteurs de coton à Nlle. Orléans, Cotton Buyers Office* (fig. 10.15). He stated that it was "destined for Agnew," and that it should be sold in Manchester, "to any cotton spinner" particularly desirous of having a fine representation of his trade. He even knew that in Manchester

10.15 Edgar Degas, *The Cotton Office, New Orleans*, 1873. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau.

there was "a wealthy spinner, who has a famous collection. A fellow like that would suit me perfectly, and Agnew even better. But let's be cautious about it, and not count our chickens too soon." Despite the cautionary note, it is clear that Degas has exploited his brothers' business both as subject matter and as conduit to an expected Manchester buyer—who is both purchaser of the family's cotton and a collector of art! The painter used his time in America to launch a new entrepreneurial venture and carefully selected the content with an eye to the client. As with Monet and Renoir, the dislocation and economic hardship caused by the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune predisposes Degas to begin his career afresh from the ground floor up. He originally planned to take the work directly to London, and at Tissot's prompting even considered settling there, where his friends were selling their work at high prices. He made the cryptic remark that if he did go there he would first have "to sweep the said place a little, and clean it by hand."[55]

This remark, like the painting itself, is a displaced metaphor of his own desires for a "reconstructed" life in post-Commune Paris. Degas described his image of the interior of a cotton broker's office as a "vital picture if ever there were one," with about fifteen figures energetically crowding around a table covered with cotton samples. The picture, completed in 1873 but not exhibited until the second impressionist show of 1876, gives us a rare insight into the briskness of new urban industry recovering from the onslaught of civil war. It represents the Degas family enterprise in full force: his uncle is seated in the foreground carefully inspecting a cotton sample, his brother René is seen reading the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, his brother Achille leans against an open window at the left while awaiting the outcome of a transaction, while others examine the cotton at the central table, look at ledgers at a desk, or engage in miscellaneous clerical tasks behind the cashier's window. Although not everyone is busily at work, what struck critics was the sense of bristling energy coming through the unusual depiction of the office. The figures appear unrelated compositionally, randomly scattered throughout the scene and falling into casual poses that seemed both peculiarly American and bourgeois at the same time. Once critic observed that the scattered and detached figures reminded him of "a wholesaler's shop on the rue du Sentier"—the Parisian garment district.[56]

This allusion to the frenetic activity of the rue du Sentier thus suggests a larger frame of reference for Degas's picture. It is located in the second arrondissement not far from the Bourse, or stock exchange, the financial heart of the capital. It is bounded on the north by the *grands boulevards* and on the east by the boulevard de Sébastopol. During the Commune, the Bourse was cordoned off by the National Guard and the neighborhood sealed off except to inhabitants and shop owners. Its strategic location brought down heavy fighting all around it in the final days of May, especially in the vicinity of the barricaded zones on Sébastopol and rue Montmartre.[57] Almost all retail and wholesale commerce had ceased during the Commune, decisively affecting one of the impressionists' major patrons, Ernest Hoschedé, a textile merchant who owned a shop on the rue du Sentier.[58] Although set in the United States, Degas's scene exploits American alacrity and diligence as a model for a French regeneration, and its many traits of self-identification attest to his own desire for an entrepreneurial jump start. It is in this sense that we may understand his active role in the organization of the first impressionist exhibition, a cooperative business enterprise legally authorized under the rubric Société Anonyme des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs, etc. He and his colleagues were embarking on a commercial venture with brand-new "commodities" targeted for a middle-class clientele. This was their collective participation in the rebuilding and healing process, for themselves as well as for the nation.

The Impressionist Agenda

I want to begin this section with the case study of Gustave Caillebotte, both patron of, and participant in, the impressionist collective. He was the youngest (born 1848) and most well off of the group, and the most conservative in style and content. His major works attest to a thorough assimilation of the rhetoric of the fledgling Third Republic trying to define itself in the wake of the Commune and in opposition to the formidable monarchist bloc. Although listed as a potential member for the first show, he joined the group for their second exhibition, held at Durand-Ruel's gallery, 11, rue Le Peletier. Independently wealthy, he not only amassed an extraordinary collection of impressionist works that he eventually bequeathed to the Louvre but he also paid for or otherwise subsidized the painters' later exhibitions. A vivid pictorial souvenir of Caillebotte's milieu is the painting by Jean Béraud, *Une soirée dans l'hôtel Caillebotte*, exhibited at the Salon of 1878, which conveys the luxurious surroundings and haute-bourgeoisie circle of the family that includes diplomats, aristocrats, high-ranking military officers, and bankers (fig. 10.16).

This is not a group that harbored sympathetic feelings for the Commune. Indeed, the family, of old Norman stock, had a long history of counterrevolutionary activity dating from the French revolution of 1789.[59] Caillebotte's father expanded the fortune of the family's textile business by supplying bedding to the imperial army of Napoléon III. During the

10.16 Jean Béraud, *A Soirée in the Hôtel Caillebotte*, 1878. Private Collection, Paris.

Franco-Prussian War, Caillebotte served in the Garde Mobile de la Seine for nine months, a privileged and safe bastion for the sons of the well-to-do.[60] Soon after his discharge, he entered the studio of Léon Bonnat, soon to become one of the regime's favorite official artists. Bonnat's political sympathies were with the moderate republicans, and following the termination of the war with Prussia he traveled to Spain to wait out the period of the Commune.[61]

Caillebotte accepted the call of Burty for a class-based modernism that secures the prerogatives of the bourgeoisie while conveying the illusion of a shared public space. Nowhere is this more apparent than in *Paris Street, Rainy Weather*, his most monumental work (approximately seven by ten feet), which plunges the spectator into a vast public space bathed in the cool fresh air of a drizzly day (fig. 10.17). The scene represents pedestrian traffic at a starburst intersection formed of the crossing of the rues de Moscou, Turin, St. Petersbourg, and Hambourg in the vicinity of the Pont de l'Europe. For many scholars this work has become the canonical example of modernity, inextricably linked with the depiction of Haussmannian Paris. The district was planned from the start as a residential zone for the grand bourgeoisie and almost entirely constructed within the artist's lifetime. Here was a microcosm of the impeccably clean, wide, and uniform look imposed by Haussmann's boulevards, countering the unsanitary, crooked, densely packed and dark urban picturesqueness of the old city. At the same time, the sight of the uniformly and impeccably groomed bourgeois pedestrians strolling (either singly or in pairs) isolated from the others also prompts thoughts on the effects of Haussmannization on their behavior and psychology. Scholars seek answers to the question: To what extent are these wandering strangers, regimented yet seemingly unconnected psychologically, the result of their modern environment?

The critics reviewing the impressionist exhibition of 1877 did not mention the fact of the pedestrians' isolation, suggesting that their comportment seemed entirely consistent with the expected norm of street interaction. They complained about the uniformity of the surface treatment that made secondary details and accessories such as paving stones and umbrellas as important as the main elements of the composition. Despite the methodical perspectival scheme, the picture's consistent allover handling of the surface lacked the accents of some ordering principle. They observed the modern costume and contemporary physiognomies of the figures in the foreground, for example, who seemed to have taken their umbrellas "from the racks of the Louvre [department store] and the Bon Marché."[62] Thus there is recognition of the new society's bourgeois orientation, with the feeling, however, of a homogeneous surface that fails to distinguish between paving stones, umbrellas, and the human participants.

At least two critics perceived the rain in metaphorical terms, as a cleansing action. Lepelletier claimed to see the "sidewalks and paving-stones washed by the waters of the sky, like the old bricks of Amsterdam by the Dutch housewives," while Jacques saw "well-built, sumptuous houses" jutting out "on to a pavement that is washed, clean, measured with a patience . . ."[63] The sanitary action of the rain on the paving-stones was a gratifying recollection of the social "cleansing" and purification of the streets once stained by the physical presence as well as by the blood of the Communards. Although the wide Haussmannian boulevards were designed in part to forestall the type of barricade that so effectively blocked off the old narrow streets of semi-medieval Paris, the worker-engineers of the Commune still managed to forge monumental barricades across the boulevards with the Second Empire's own paving stones. Indeed, "les pavés sanglants" become a pervasive metaphor for both the supporters of the impressionists and the enraged reactionaries who wanted to scrub Paris clean of Communard traces.[64]

10.17 Gustave Caillebotte, *Paris Street, Rainy Weather*, 1877. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

The conspicuous treatment of the paving stones and their rain-drenched and light-reflecting radiance symbolically constitute a Paris restored to its pristine Haussmannian appearance and a Paris recuperated for the bour-

geoisie. The even distribution of emphasis on the surface and seemingly random placement of the figures further allows the painter to imagine an egalitarian public space. I have found two working-class types among the pedestrians, both observed within the background space framed by the umbrella of the couple in the right foreground: one is a house painter in a smock carrying a ladder seen just behind the head of the male, and the other is a house servant just exiting a shop at the right of the woman's head. Caillebotte can theoretically claim to have depicted a public space with no purposeful hierarchy of social content or privileged theme, but in fact the diminutive working-class figures—represented with their specific occupational attributes—do constitute a minor note in this "snapshot" of the modern thoroughfare. Hence whether it be Monet's blurry atmospheric effects or Caillebotte's more methodical treatment of the surface, the effect of both is to neutralize the physical presence of the potential insurgent threat in their midst.

Le Pont de l'Europe, one of three major Parisian street scenes that Caillebotte showed in the impressionist exhibition of 1877, celebrates Haussmann's transportation system (fig. 10.18). Here Caillebotte focuses on the new Paris, choosing a vista constructed under the Second Empire and the locale of heavy fighting during the Commune (fig. 10.19). Part of the new network of boulevards that reorganized the flow of people and commodities, it inevitably became an important strategic site for the Communards. Victor Fournel, weeping over the destruction of Haussmann's Paris and railing against the wicked Communards, tried to recover the pristine memory and magisterial importance of the site:

> The Place de l'Europe is perhaps one of a kind; at its central core is a bridge of cast iron one hundred meters wide that spans innumerable junctions of the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest: three thousand five hundred kilograms of cast iron were used in the arches of this monumental bridge. At the Place de l'Europe the streets of Vienna, Madrid, Constantinople, Saint-Petersburg, Berlin and London all converge.[66]

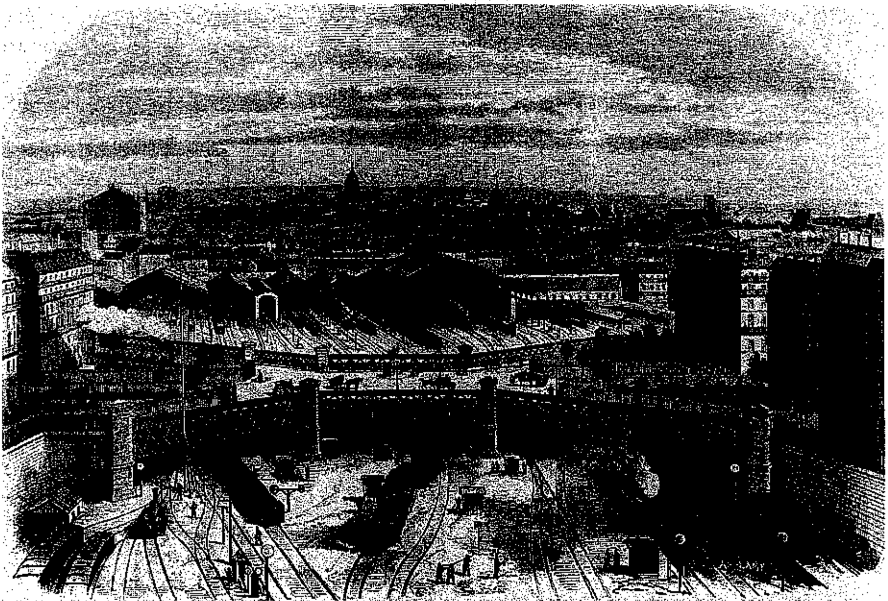
Fournel's work aimed at a restorative policy, but such a policy had to be predicated on never forgetting the "Communard executioners" always waiting in the wings for their opening. Caillebotte responds to this agenda by setting out the modern metropolis with all of its remarkable engineering feats to now function as awesome spectacle overwhelming its potential dissidents.

In the painting we are looking down the rue de Vienne, with the Place de l'Europe at the left and the railroad yard at the lower right. Gazing contemplatively into the yard below is a young worker in a smock, who casually leans on the iron parapet of the recently constructed Pont de l'Europe. Moving toward the spectator at a brisk pace along the sidewalk is a bourgeois couple, conversing and strolling in a spacious ambience that suggests

OPPOSITE

10.18 Gustave Caillebotte, *Le Pont de l'Europe*, 1876. Musée du Petit Palais, Geneva.

10.19 A. Lamy, *The Pont de l'Europe and the Gare Saint-Lazare*, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 11 April 1868.



freedom of action. Although the perspective lines converge on the couple, the worker is positioned so prominently in the foreground that he sets up a visual opposition to them. As Herbert suggests, this opposition between bourgeois and worker is seen in the other figures as well, with the laborers on the inside of the walkway captivated by the metal trusswork—a metonym for industrial practice—and the upper-class types on the outside distanced from this realm and uninhibitedly engaging in a flirtatious exchange.[67] Thus although present in the same space as the bourgeoisie, the potentially unruly classes are shown as totally absorbed in their own world of industry and work and allow their social superiors to go about their business free from disturbance.

Caillebotte's plunging perspective again conveys the dynamic rhythm of the city restored to its functions. The conspicuous metallic girding that commands the composition expresses the technological potential of the new Paris. If it disrupts the picturesque look of the old city, it provides a visual metaphor for both the mixing and separation of the classes in a modern urban and industrial space. This is all the more persuasive when we learn that the smartly dressed stroller accompanying the elegant woman is Caillebotte himself, and that the scene is in a neighborhood that adjoined his own: the Quartier de l'Europe, a new residential district so-called because several of its streets were named after the capitals of Europe. Hence his self-representation in the industrial zone signifies his own personalized desire for the emblematic opposition and fusion of the classes in a neighborhood close to his own. Devoted to the signifiers of contemporary urban life, he maintains a distance consistent with the lifestyle of the privileged bourgeoisie. It is in this sense that the painter meshes his work with the ideological proclivities of the moderate republican regime.

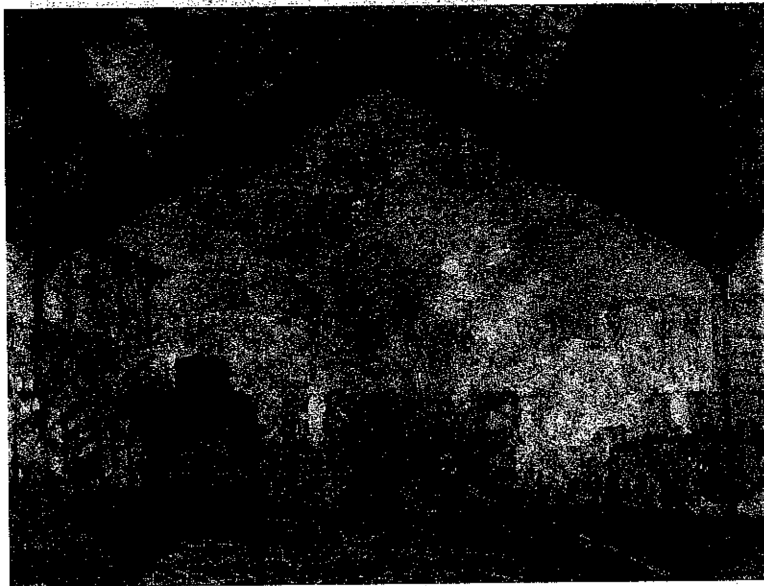
The iron trellises of the Pont de l'Europe fascinated other impressionists in the 1870s, seen in a memorable example of an important series of railway imagery by Monet (figs. 10.20–21). Monet's *Le Pont de l'Europe*, one of several of his contemporary views depicting the Gare Saint-Lazare, would seem to be at the opposite pole of the political spectrum by taking us down into the trenches, into the infernal realm of the railroad yards and their denizens. Looking up from the edge of the suburban *quai* to the imposing metallic bridge dramatically crossing over to the rue de Rome, we see one of the six streets that converged on the immense construction that spanned the yards of the railway station. At the left is a puffing locomotive attended by two railway workers, who stand facing it as if transfixed by the technical marvel. The spectator looks on the scene from a slightly higher level, so that it appears as if the trainmen are on a lower level. The entire scene is shrouded in puffing clouds of smoke and steam rising to the top of the picture and blending with the atmospheric conditions in the sky.

Almost all of the critics commented on the near indecipherability of this and the other six views of the station exhibited in 1877. Typical is the

OPPOSITE

10.20 Claude Monet, *Le Pont de l'Europe*, 1877. Musée Marmottan, Paris.

10.21 Claude Monet, *Gare Saint-Lazare*, 1877. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



remark of *Le Gaulois* critic Louis de Fourcade, who, while appreciating the picture's merit, claimed that all the vapor made it "look like an illegible scrawl."[68] One of the most sympathetic reviews of the railroad series was written by Georges Rivière, writing in the new journal *L'Impressioniste*:

> Like a spirited, impatient beast stimulated rather than fatigued by the long journey [the locomotive] has just finished, it shakes its smoky mane, which billows against the glass roof of the vast hall. Men swarm around the monster like pygmies at the feet of a giant. . . . We hear the shouts of the workers, the sharp whistles of the engines blasting their cry of alarm, the incessant noise of iron and the formidable and heavy huffing and puffing of the vapor.[69]

OPPOSITE

10.22 Claude Monet, *The Railway Bridge, Argenteuil*, 1874. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

10.23 Claude Monet, *The Roadbridge at Argenteuil*, 1874. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Monet has set up the picture to contain the presence of the working classes, even openly invading their work space to do so. The melding of nature and artifice in the alembic of steam, sunlight, smoke, and clouds creates a new atmosphere that dissolves key aspects of modern life and history. Rivière gratefully sees the workers reduced to pygmy-like status in the shadow of industrial power, and their shouts are not a call to arms but responses to the overwhelming complexity of the new technology.

This went well with the republicans' optimistic forecast of the role of railroad technology in the future of France. As in the case of America, the railroad introduced the modern corporate system, coordinating on a vast scale the processes of production and distribution and establishing a managerial elite dear to the heart of the utopian capitalists. The railroads also required vast amounts of capital that not only conduced to centralizing industrial technology but also stimulated the growth of the stock exchange for trading and speculating in railroad securities. Deraismes wrote in 1873 that the coalitions of capital and organizational efforts for railroad expansion furnished a model for large-scale social cooperation. As she noted:

> In this vast organization, wholly analogous to a mechanism ingeniously put together, each employee, each worker, constitutes an indispensable spring, no matter if he is lowly or elevated. There the greaser of the wheels, the engine stoker, and the switchman are as necessary as the engineer and the director. From this results the idea of equality of the services: not that we are pretending that there is an equivalence in the quality and value of the functions, individually considered, but because from the general point of view, there is an equality of indispensability. Aside from this, each employee feels himself as useful, by virtue of his contribution, as the top person in the hierarchy.[70]

Similarly, Monet's indistinguishable workers could be rationalized in the same way as Burty, Mallarmé, and other moderates generally rationalized impressionist informality and lack of compositional centrality in democratic terms—their painted presence was no less important than any other dab or "cog" in the well-oiled machine.

The French railroad system lost 835 kilometers of rail when the Prussians annexed Alsace and most of Lorraine, and many railway stations and lines were badly damaged during the war and the Commune. These events entailed a drastic shakeup of the rail industry throughout the 1870s.[71] In 1876 and 1877 both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies appointed commissions to study the railway in relation to the state, culminating with the Freycinet Plan of 1878, which called for the government to take over ailing lines and reorganize the system. Monet's choice of the railroad station owned by the Chemin de Fer de l'Ouest could hardly have been arbitrary, since the Gare Saint-Lazare was the oldest, largest, and most important station serving Paris. It serviced long-distance lines to Normandy and Brittany and heavily used commuter lines to Argenteuil and other towns west of Paris and around its periphery. This network embraced such fashionable seaside resorts as Boulogne, Deauville, and Trouville, which had early on attracted the impressionists, and included Monet's hometown, Le Havre. During the Commune, service at Gare Saint-Lazare was either suspended for long periods or interrupted, and it served as a bastion of defense for the Communards.[72] Departing from this station was also incommodious at that time because passengers were systematically subject to searches by the National Guard. Here and at the Place de l'Europe there was a major showdown between the Communards and the Versaillais under General Clinchant.[73] Monet's series of a bustling, thriving railway industry not only recuperates the station for the bourgeoisie and celebrates a national comeback, but may also yield an insight into his own optimistic anticipation of the possibilities of unconstrained mobility.

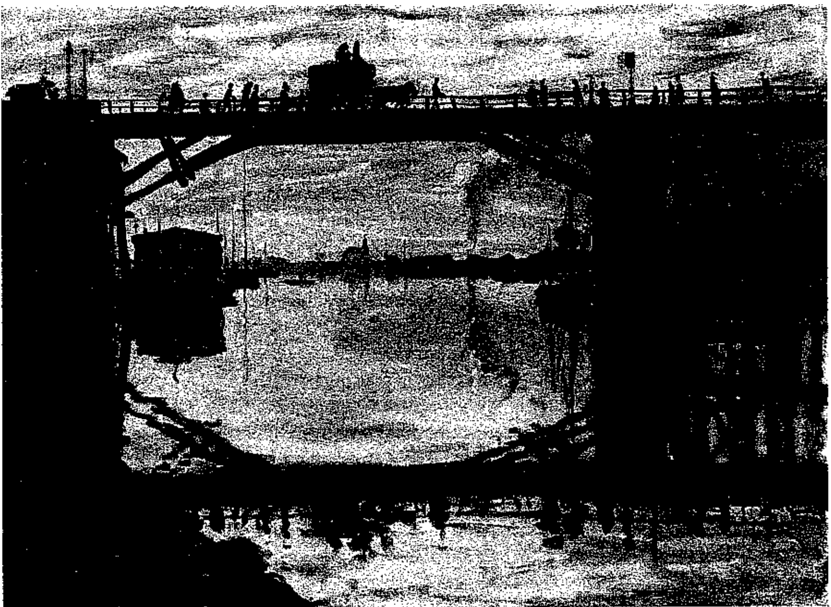
Lying between Paris and Pontoise is Argenteuil, the goal of steady suburban flight in this period, where Monet took up residence at the end of 1871. Here Monet became preoccupied with the impressive railway bridge, rebuilt after its demolition during the Franco-Prussian War, as well as the nearby highway bridge that had also been destroyed and reconstructed. Monet would paint these bridges many times between the years 1872 to 1874 (figs. 10.22–23). In this instance, what I would call his obsessive interest in the reconstruction of these bridges as a metonym for the regenerative national impulse predisposes him to include views of them under repair (figs. 10.24–25).

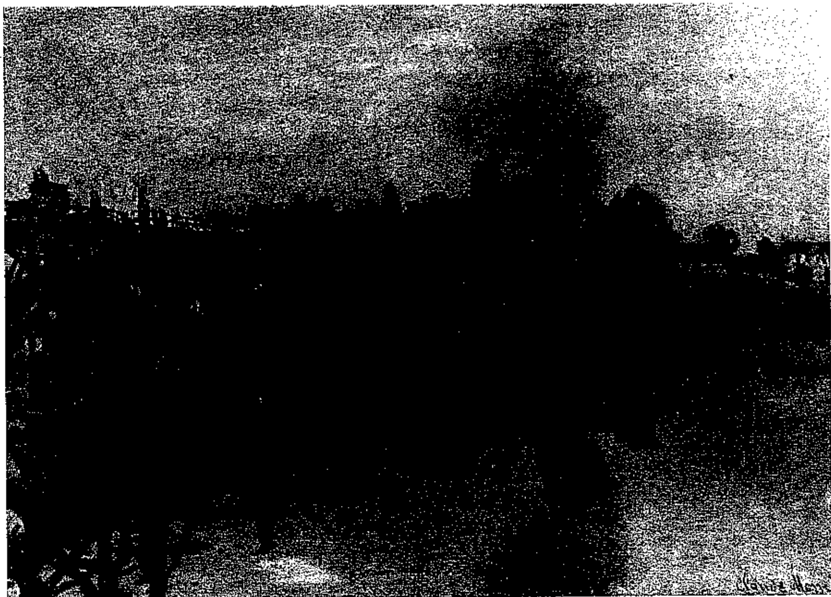
Argenteuil, still tied to the apron strings of Paris, had been going through a rapid growth spurt prior to the war; while parts of it were still quite rural, others had become heavily industrialized. Factories dotted the landscape and polluted the river, but it held its own as a resort for the Parisian bourgeoisie and gained a reputation (since 1867) for its sailing facilities. But it paid dearly for its part in the war. The Prussians, who had used the town as an observation post for their artillery, had extracted a special fine of over 15,000 francs from the inhabitants on leaving. Its factories had been shut down and both its bridges destroyed. The pedestrian and highway bridge, which led directly to Paris, had been burned down by the French

OPPOSITE

10.24 Claude Monet, *The Wooden Bridge at Argenteuil*, 1872. Private Collection. Photo courtesy of Christie's, London.

10.25 Claude Monet, *The Road-bridge at Argenteuil under Repair*, 1872. Collection Late Lord Butler of Saffron Walden, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.





army in its retreat toward the French capital in the autumn of 1870. The railway bridge, a few hundred meters upstream, had suffered the same fate. It had been blown off its concrete pillars and lay in the water, its cast-iron girders sagging as if made of some soft material (fig. 10.26).

Despite this physical destruction, the town was already recovering from the upheavals by the time Monet arrived. The two bridges were girded in scaffolding, and Monet's two studies of the roadbridge under repair attest to the continuity of everyday activity though reconstruction remains incomplete. Pedestrians walk to and fro on the bridge, while below a steamboat belching smoke prepares to sail beneath one of the arches. Here the prominent timbers of the scaffolding enveloping the stone piles seem to work as part of the wooden remnants of the old structure and create the effect of pontoons. Monet thus integrates the scaffolding with the bridge itself and minimizes the appearance of ruin and repair. This is seen even more strikingly in a second study of the unfinished bridge in 1872, this time looking through the opening of a single arch. Monet's high viewpoint and muted, almost silhouetted framework of the scaffolding and its reflection in the water frame the distant view of the river rather than call attention to the scaffolding itself. This framing function is further reinforced by the stark simplicity and symmetry of the design. Through the opening we see signs of activity and progress, and high on the roadbridge we see a bustling traffic of pedestrians and a rolling horse-drawn carriage.

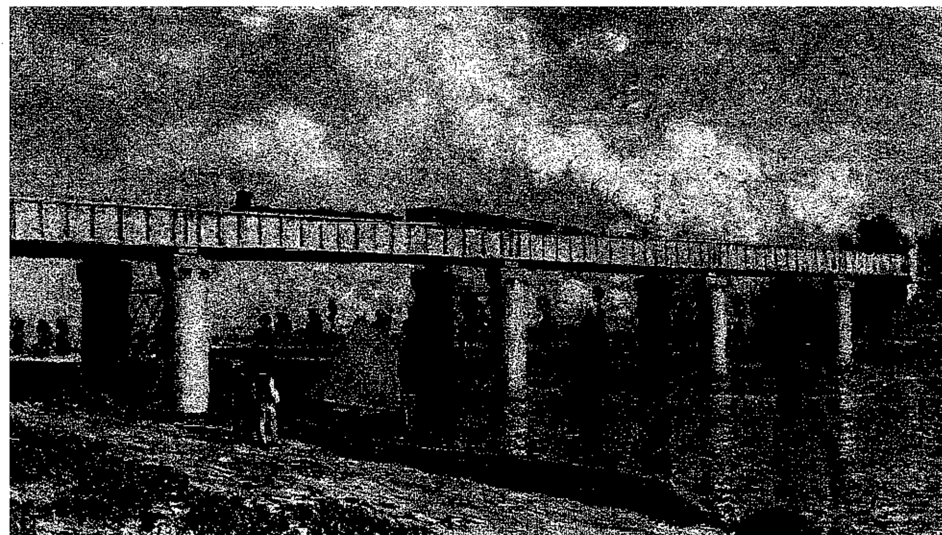
10.26 *Le Pont d'Argenteuil*, 1871. Photograph. Collection Viollet, Paris.

Monet's 1873 painting of the new railroad bridge, *The Railroad Bridge Viewed from the Port*, is an unmistakable paean to French industrial and

spiritual recovery (fig. 10.27). The gleaming iron trestle rests on elegant columns of poured concrete and spans the river from a height and vantage point that dominates the landscape. Trains hurtle across the bridge in both directions, while below sailboats cavort in pleasure, thus reassuring the spectator that commercial and leisure pursuits proceed apace and are inseparable from modern living. The topos of the admiring spectators in the picture spells it out more directly, recalling those inside cover illustrations of American school texts projecting a bright future with two adolescents watching a parade of technological marvels. But Monet's unprecedented luminosity, color, and daring brushwork imbue the renovations with the look of modernity, and surpass the school illustration by divesting the scene of its anecdotal and sentimental potential.

Thus it is altogether unsurprising that the independent impressionists espoused with more conservative artists the primary aims of the government. Although lacking a willing dynastic head, conservatives expressed their position through a call for a revival of the *monarchie chrétienne*. Everywhere in France pilgrimages were organized to famous shrines and the church preached a veritable crusade. The National Assembly, dominated by monarchists, voted on 24 July 1873 to erect a great basilica of the Sacred Heart (*Sacré Coeur*) on Montmartre—the site of the Commune's origins—to expiate the sins of the nation and the crimes of the Communards. France had to atone for the frivolity of the Second Empire, whose disorders had brought down the fires of heaven.

10.27 Claude Monet, *The Railroad Bridge Viewed from the Port*, 1873. Private Collection, London.



Zola observed the ethereal qualities of Puvis de Chavannes's *L'Espérance* in the Salon of 1872, a sort of compromise image of the period striding both official and avant-garde camps (fig. 10.28). Puvis's picture tries to counter the negative stereotypes of a prostrate Paris then circulating in popular illustration, but is itself steeped in the visual rhetoric of these allegories (fig. 10.29). He deployed conventional allegorical language to make the point about the recent travails: a pubescent girl surrounded by signs of regenerative springtime holds an olive branch as token of peace against a contrasting backdrop of low-keyed emblems of waste and ruin. It may not be a coincidence that one of the earliest patrons of the impressionists, Henri Rouart, owned a replica of this work, whose original title was *Hope Blossoming on the Ruins*.[74] It was sold to him by Durand-Ruel and praised by Armand Silvestre in his preface to an album of prints of the paintings in the dealer's gallery including the young impressionists. Silvestre's interpretation of the young girl as a "flower hanging on the lone green branch in this ravaged sector, flower drooping towards the earth, flower of the sweet soil of the Nation," recalls his metaphorical comments on the budding impressionists gathering their forces as summer blossoms began shooting up from the blood-stained cobblestones.[75]

In this painting Mother Nature has been replaced by her nymphet daughter, awaiting impregnation and the conception of a revivified nation. This Parisian daughter substitutes for a virgin nymph, playing on the traditionally feminine characterization of nature and opposing the wild, uncontrollable nature of the female Communards so conspicuous in the right-wing imagery of the period. Disordered nature in the form of the female participants had to be dominated, but devastated French manhood in the period required something gentle and vulnerable like Puvis's *Hope*. Her turned-in feet and delicate gesture suggest passivity and incapacity to act aggressively as the Communard women: less a nurturing mother than a consoling angel, she soothes the anxieties of a distraught male populace needing to restore their lost manhood.

The ruins of the Tuileries were surprisingly the subject of another major official painter of the period, Meissonier, who led the opposition to Courbet's entry in the Salon of 1872 for his participation in the Commune (figs. 10.30–31). Meissonier could represent the ruins from a conservative position as a warning and as an example of what French society had to surmount. (He himself associated this work with his *Barricade—Souvenir de guerre civile* of 1848, which carried a similar message.) He chose a spectacular perspective through the burned-out windows of the Salle des Maréchaux, fixing on the distant quadriga atop the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel—once the threshold of the Tuileries Palace. The far doorway through which we view the triumphal arch is flanked by two decorative shields commemorating the glorious Napoleonic victories of Marengo and Austerlitz. For Meissonier, "the two words shine in history, just as they shone over the ruins of the palace." Although the quadriga is seen from the rear as if leaving

10.28 Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Hope*, 1872. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

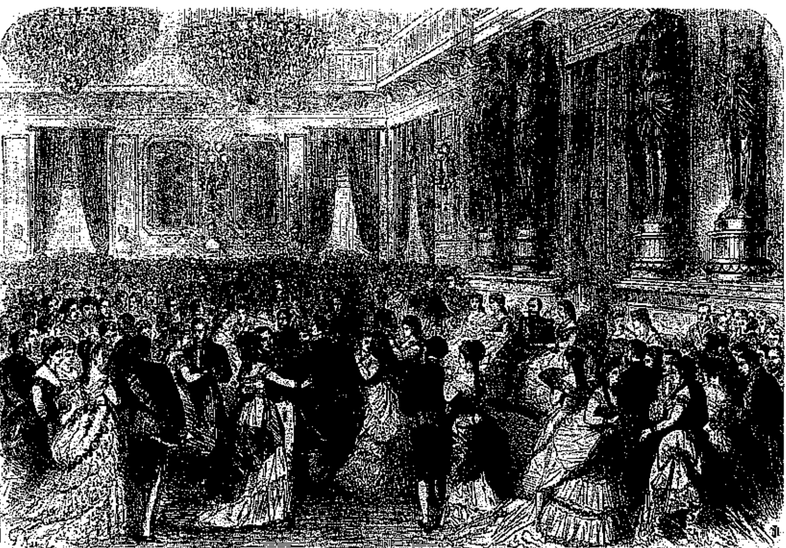
10.29 Title page from J. Claretie, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1870–71* (1872).

10.30 Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Ruins of the Tuileries, May 1871*, 1871. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
10.31 Alphonse Liebert, *Interior of the Salle des Maréchaux*, albumen, 1871. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

the scene—the painter lamented, "Victory turns away on her chariot; she abandons us!"—it nevertheless produces the illusion that it is rising above the ruins and riding triumphantly into the future. This interpretation is confirmed by the Latin text Meissonier affixed to the bottom: "The glory of the ancients remains beyond the flames—May, 1871."[76]

His pictorial fetishization of the Napoleonic moment of glory amidst the squalorous wreckage of the Commune was hardly unique, and explains the outrage of even the royalists over the destruction of the Vendôme Column. Popular illustration abroad featured the Salle des Maréchaux in the prewar era to convey the opulence of the regime (fig. 10.32). In the post-Commune period photographs and popular illustration focus on the Salle des Maréchaux as an emblem of the heroic past (fig. 10.33). One writer noted that amid the ashes and scorched walls he could make out a decorative shield with the ineffaceable inscription "Jena"—the battleground of Napoléon's decisive victory over the Prussians in 1806—which he admonished Parisians to preserve as a precious souvenir of the "great nation."[77]

The Tuileries ruins were to stand untouched for twelve years both as a sign of Communard crimes against the nation and as a warning against



10.32 *A State Ball at the Tuileries [Salle des Maréchaux]*, wood engraving from *Illustrated London News*, 6 March 1869.
10.33 M. Val Elven, *Ruins. Interior of the Tuileries. Current State of the Vestibule of the Salle des Maréchaux*, wood engraving from *Le Monde illustré*, 1 July 1871.

future revolution, an exhibition in its own right.[78] The embodiment of this elite theological and political program was Joan of Arc, symbol of both the militant church and the martyred victim. While she became the darling of the right wing, she could embody for all factions their longing for social stability, unanimity, and reconciliation. She represented the Third Republic's answer to Carpeaux's male genius of the *Danse*, and certainly to the failed male hero at Sedan. She also represents the Christianized version of the female warrior of the Commune, a depraved prostitute and virago. A striking example of this attitude in poetry is Victor de Laprade's "A Jeanne d'Arc," which captures the mood of the conservatives in the wake of foreign and domestic upheaval. It addresses itself to French women—"sisters of Joan"—admonishing them to raise a new generation of males devoted to France and ready to engage in illustrious combats in their mothers' honor. The conventional sexism of the poem explains the rush to celebrate Joan: the threat of actual women voting and soldiering in the wake of the Commune (in which they were particularly active) needed to be neutralized and displaced onto a transcendental sign which essentially safeguarded the male hierarchy. At the very moment when Joan was championed, the conservative backlash effectively squelched real women's rights and feminist agitation for those rights.

During the 1870s images of Joan of Arc could be seen everywhere in Paris. The most celebrated of all was the equestrian version by the sculptor Emmanuel Frémiet inaugurated on 20 February 1874, a little less than two months before the opening of the first impressionist exhibition (fig. 10.34). Depicting Joan as the militant Christian facing the Tuileries, it soon became a cult object; in 1878 Bishop Dupanloup of Orléans—hero of the fusionist party and hostile enemy of the Commune—suggested that Catholic women should assemble and lay flowers at the foot of the statue as a reply to the impending hundredth anniversary of Voltaire's death. (Moderate republicans gained increasing control of the Assembly and voted a national celebration of the centenary, and disgruntled conservatives organized a counterdemonstration at the base of Frémiet's statue.)

Erected on the Place des Pyramides near the site where the heroine was wounded during a battle against English invaders, the *Joan of Arc* was a highly charged political statement from the moment of its unveiling. The crowd at that event included several outspoken revanchists like Paul Déroulède who bewailed the loss of the Alsace Lorraine provinces. Indeed, the desire for the recovery of Alsace Lorraine after 1870 was one of the main props of French patriotism in this period and immediately politicized Joan of Arc, whose native region was Lorraine. At the same time, memories of the Provisional Republic's poor handling of the defense of Orléans during the Prussian siege of Paris also caused ill feeling at the time of the inauguration, especially since the suspicion that the Government of National Defense had sold the workers down the river fueled popular support for the Commune.

10.34 Emmanuel Frémiet, *Joan of Arc on Horseback*, bronze, 1899. Place des Pyramides, Paris.

The other side of Frémiet's production are his wild beasts, the flip side of his fascination for medieval heroes and saints. From the moment of its sensational appearance in the Salon in 1887, Frémiet's *Gorilla Carrying Off a Human Female* conjured up not only the "savage" of colonialized territories, but also a vision "of the lowest side of human nature" (fig. 10.35). The appeal of Frémiet's work to the conservatives lay in its encoding of the "terrible past"—now given its true identity. More than one anti-Commune writer classified the Communards with wild beasts and monsters; in an outburst of rage, Gautier wrote: "Des cages ouvertes, s'élancent les hyènes de 93 et les gorilles de la Commune."[79] Taine conjured up stampeding beasts, including bloodthirsty baboons,[80] while as early as 8 June 1871, Villemessant, the reactionary publisher of *Le Figaro*, combined both purgatorial and bestial metaphors in an editorial:

> There remains an important task for M. Thiers, that of purging Paris. Never has a better opportunity presented itself for curing Paris of its moral gangrene that has been consuming it for twenty years. . . . What is a republican? A savage beast.

10.35 Emmanuel Frémiet, *Gorilla Carrying Off a Human Female*, plaster, 1887. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

> Come on, honest people, a swift bold stroke to finish once and for all the vermin, both democratic and international. . . . We must track them down in their lairs like wild animals.[81]

The metaphorical representations of the crusading Joan of Arc and the rampaging great ape map the limits of conservative thinking in the post-Commune era.

What is most striking in this metaphor is its alignment with the nascent imperialist thought of the Third Republic, which paradoxically embarks on a colonial quest soon to overshadow the overseas involvement of the Second Empire. Thus domestic "barbarians" are equated with tribal peoples in West Africa to justify repression both at home and abroad. The Third Republic eventually had to confront the prospect that its imperialism had become barbarism, not its alternative. The opposition of imperialism versus barbarism will constitute one of the central themes of the next volume in this series, *Art in an Age of Empire, 1871–1914*, which takes up the rise and fall of the impressionists and their modernist heirs.

Coda: Menzel and the Transition to Empire

We have already examined the work of the German painter Adolph Menzel in relation to the Berlin revolution of 1848 and his developing conservative alignment with the Prussian ruling elite. Just the opposite of his French counterparts, Menzel could express a triumphalist version of history, as he did most effectively in several pictures glorifying the Hohenzollern regime on the eve and in the wake of the Franco-Prussian conflict. His *Coronation of King William I at Königsberg* (1865) was deeply imbued with the propagandistic policies of the regime that dictated the moment the king raised his sword and scepter as symbols of his divine right to rule while reciting the formula in the sermon given to him by the court preacher. The effect of the brief war was to generate a German national state, cause the fall of the French Second Empire, and, after bitter internal conflict, bring about the establishment of the Third Republic in France.

The harsh terms of peace—France was required to pay an indemnity of 5 billion francs and to cede Alsace and Lorraine—assured that the enmity between France and Germany would henceforth be a central issue of international relations. The German plan to annex Alsace-Lorraine was mainly a military decision, intended to protect Germany's flank on the Rhine in the event of future conflicts with France. But it also responded to a vociferous demand of German nationalists, and Bismarck needed their support. His overriding aim was the unification of Germany, and even before the French capitulation he had begun the complex and thorny negotiations with each of the South German states. They joined in fighting France, but it took all sorts of concessions, bribes, threats, and his considerable diplomatic skills before Bismarck induced the German states, Prussia's generals, and the king to accept his terms for a permanent union. When they did, William I was crowned once again, this time as Kaiser (emperor) in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on 18 January 1871.

The Second Reich (the first being the old Holy Roman Empire) was from its inception a powerful nation. Germany in 1871 was not only more

228–231.

124. G. M. Blackburn, *French Newspaper Opinion on the American Civil War* (Westport, Conn., 1997), pp. 100–101.

125. C. L. Dufour, *The Mexican War* (New York, 1968), p. 16.

126. D. Perkins, *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston and Toronto, 1963), p. 113.

127. 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-Bareau, *Manet: The Execution of Maximilian*, National Gallery (London, 1992).

128. R. Rey, *Manet* (Paris, 1938), p. 8.

129. Proust, *Edouard Manet*, pp. 22–23.

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

131. Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales*, pp. 224–225.

132. H. Jouin, *Adolphe Yvon* (Paris, 1893), p. 36.

133. E. Leclercq, *Caractères de l'école française moderne de peinture* (Brussels, 1881), p. 79.

134. O. Merson, *La Peinture en France* (Paris, 1861), p. 81.

135. 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."

136. A. Alexandre, *Histoire de la peinture militaire en France* (Paris, 1889), p. 274; Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales*, p. 224.

137. 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.

138. Proust, *Edouard Manet*, p. 105. Proust simply identified Meissonier's work as *Cuirassiers* and, while probably referring to the *1805* (Chantilly), may have meant *Friedland, 1807* (Metropolitan Museum of Art).

139. Cited in Sandblad, *Manet*, p. 120.

140. See D. G. d'Auvergne, "L'Empereur Maximilien," *Le Figaro*, 5 July 1867, where d'Auvergne noted that telegrams relating to the event came through New Orleans and were "transmitted from there to Europe by transatlantic cable"; also d'Auvergne, "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.

141. "The Execution of Maximilian," *Harper's Weekly* 11 (10 August 1867): 497.

142. D'Auvergne, "Exécution de Maximilien," *Le Figaro*, 8 July 1867; Sandblad, *Manet*, pp. 114–115.

143. The wooden benches were used in all Mexican executions, giving the prisoners the option of sitting down instead of standing on the ground: d'Auvergne, "Les Exécutions au Mexique," *Le Figaro*, 7 July 1867.

144. 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.

145. 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 Protais: '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. Crotty, *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 Etchings," *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 Picayune* (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 Tiburce 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. Milner, *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, 1985), p. 259.

5. Ibid., p. 276 n. 61.

6. For Bracquehais, see J. C. Gautrand, "1870–1871: Les Photographes et la Commune," *Photo-Ciné-Revue*, 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 1985): 59–70.

8. D. Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience* (Baltimore, 1985), p. 217.

9. *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, ed. P. ten-Doesschate Chu (Chicago and London, 1992), p. 416.

10. A. de Balathier Bragelonne, *Paris insurgé: Histoire illustrée des événements accomplis du 18 mars au*

28 mai 1871 (Paris, 1872), pp. 85, 125, 211, 243, 244–245, 279, 342, 389, 414–415, 423.

11. J. and E. de Goncourt, *Paris under Siege, 1870–1871: From the Goncourt Journal*, ed. G. J. Becker (Ithaca and London, 1969), p. 312.
12. C. Monselet, "Courrier de Paris," *Le Monde illustré* 28 (10 June 1871): 354.
13. Petit-Jean, "Courrier de Paris," *Le Monde illustré* 29 (19 July 1871): 42.
14. P. Véron, "Courrier de Paris," *Le Monde illustré* 29 (15 July 1871): 34.
15. J. M. Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State* (New York, 1996), pp. 150–159.
16. "Translation des cendres des généraux Lecomte et Clément Thomas"; "Restauration de la colonne Vendôme: Mise en place de la statue de Napoléon Ier," *Le Monde illustré* 38 (8 January 1876): 22.
17. J. and E. de Goncourt, *Paris under Siege*, p. 316.
18. Burty's reviews appeared in English in *Academy* 9 (April 15, 1876): 364; *La République française*, 25 April 1874; in J. Lethève, *Impressionnistes et symbolistes devant la presse* (Paris, 1959), pp. 67–68.
19. A. Vollard, *Renoir* (Paris, 1920), p. 62.
20. L. Venturi, *Les Archives de l'impressionnisme*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939), 1:10; H. Adhémar, "Ernest Hoschedé," in *Aspects of Monet*, ed. J. Rewald and F. Weitzenhoffer (New York, 1984), p. 56; A. Callen, "Faure et Manet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., t. 83 (March 1974): 160. Charpentier belonged to an upper-class intellectual circle calling themselves "Les Tracqueurs," all of whom avoided the Commune save one who joined the insurrection as a lark, according to Dreyfous (Charpentier's close associate), in order to subvert it. During the siege of Paris, Charpentier served in the staff headquarters editing the reports of General Jules Trochu for the *Journal officiel*. Charpentier was a moderate republican, identified later with the Opportunists Gambetta, Lockroy, and Floquet; they rejected the Commune but decried the repression and later voted for amnesty. M. Dreyfous, *Ce que je tiens à dire* (Paris, 1912), pp. 257, 277–280; and *Ce qu'il me reste à dire* (Paris, 1913), pp. 158, 166; C. Becker, *Trente années d'amitié, 1872–1902: Lettres de l'éditeur Georges Charpentier à Emile Zola* (Paris, 1980), pp. 68–69. Rouart, the "grand bourgeois français," was a captain of artillery during the Prussian siege and evidently followed Degas, who served under him, in studiously avoiding the Commune. A. Alexandre, *La Collection Henri Rouart* (Paris, 1912), p. 18. For Maître, see F. Daulte, "A True Friendship: Edmond Maître and Frédéric Bazille," in *Frederic Bazille and Early Impressionism*, Art Institute of Chicago (Chicago, 1978), p. 29. Georges de Bellio descended from an old Romanian family and was related to Prince Georges Bibesco, an ordinance officer in the French army serving under General du Barail, whose cavalry formed part of Thiers's plan of attack against the Commune. Bibesco offered to use his influence to find Renoir a comfortable position in the military, and it was Bibesco who helped the artist again after he left Paris during the Commune and ran afoul of the Versailles military authority. Evidently, Bibesco introduced de Bellio to the painter. (R. Nicolescu, "Georges de Bellio, l'ami des impressionistes," *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art*, vol. 1, no. 2 [1964]: 213; G. Rivière, *Renoir et ses amis* [Paris, 1921], pp. 13–14; Vollard, *Renoir*, pp. 62–63.) Although Renoir's testimony, as recorded by Renoir, differs from Rivière's on the identity of the officer who offered assistance, the painter confirms Bibesco's early influence in behalf of his career. For du Barail's role in suppressing the Commune, see *Rapport du maréchal Mac-Mahon sur les opérations de l'armée de Versailles depuis de 11 avril, époque de sa formation, jusqu'au moment de la pacification de Paris, le 28 mai* (Paris, 1871), p. 4.
21. Goncourt, *Paris under Siege*, pp. 258–259, 279, 295.
22. A. Silvestre, *Au pays des souvenirs* (Paris, 1887), pp. 152–153.
23. M. Guérin, *Edgar Germain Hilaire Degas: Letters*, trans. M. Kay (Oxford, 1947), p. 39.
24. See A. Alexandre, "Durand-Ruel: Bild und Geschichte eines Kunsthändlers," *Pan Halbmonatsschrift* 2 (16 November 1911): 120.
25. E. Cardon, "L'Exposition des révoltés," *La Presse*, 29 April 1874.

26. S. F. Eisenman, "The Intransigeant Artist *or* How the Impressionists Got Their Name," in C. S. Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874–1886* (San Francisco, 1986), pp. 51–59.
27. E. Zola, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. H. Mitterand, 15 vols. (Paris, 1966), 12:970–971.
28. M. Deraismes, "Une exposition particulière: De l'école réaliste," *L'Avenir des femmes*, 5 July 1874.
29. Deraismes was a leader of the bourgeois feminist movement in France, and the resistance to this movement in the early years of the Third Republic provides an intriguing parallel to that of the independent artists in the period. She belonged to the moderate, antisuffrage wing of French feminism that threw its support behind the liberal republic. Her position coincided with that of center-left politicians like Edouard de Laboulaye, Edouard Lockroy, Victor Hugo, and Louis Blanc, who in turn supported her brand of French feminism. Like them she deplored the conduct of the Communards, but also advocated amnesty for prisoners and condemned the harshness of the retaliation and discriminatory verdicts rendered against the so-called *pétroleuses*. In 1873 she published *France et progrès*, a tract defending French culture in the face of defeat and meeting its accusers on their own ground, condemning the excesses of the Commune and ridiculing bourgeois fears of socialism, rejecting repression and opting in favor of "solidarity" of class, gender, and race, extolling republican patriotism, and anticipating a national rebound from the recent disasters. (M. Deraismes, *France et progrès*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1895–1896], 1:3–11, 146, 176–181, 186, 189–191, 224–248.) In other articles of the period she discussed the "regeneration" of France, calling for a mental healing rather than a resort to discipline and the forging of arms, and admonished the intellectuals to remain optimistic. The "mind worker" either believes in infinite progress and works with "une ardeur invincible," or lapses into despair and routine. The routinization of French society—a tempting route to take in view of the twin shocks to the system—would guarantee that anything out of the ordinary would be perceived as a danger to the state. She especially demanded the recognition of women's civil rights and the release of feminine energies as the basis for the progress of the battered state. (M. Deraismes, "La Régénération de la France," *L'Avenir des femmes*, 5 November 1871; "Soyons Francs," *L'Avenir des femmes*, 6 July 1873; P. K. Bidelman, *Pariahs Stand Up! The Founding of the Liberal Feminist Movement in France, 1858–1889* [Westport, Conn., 1982], pp. 57, 73–88, 99–105.)

    Despite her moderate proposals, Deraismes and her peers were highly suspect in the reactionary climate of the post-Commune period. In March 1873, M. de Goulard, Thiers's minister of the interior, refused to authorize Olympe Audouard's public lecture on "La Question des femmes," citing female conferences "as only a pretext for the gathering of numerous *over-emancipated* [*trop-émancipées*] females," and condemning Audouard's theories as "subversive, dangerous, and immoral." (L. Ricjer, "Silence aux femmes!" *L'Avenir des femmes*, 16 March 1873.) Clearly, the recent events had politicized the context in which bourgeois French feminism was struggling. The massive, extraordinary, momentous participation of women in the Commune proved such a threat to French patriarchy that conservatives attempted to stigmatize the participants as viragos and criminals. The legacy of the Commune for women was the image of the female incendiary—a frightening image of uncontrollable and therefore "subversive" women. As in the case of the impressionists and the academicians, women were divided into two categories: the savage *pétroleuses* who go berserk under stress, and the angelic females who remain at home or perform social nurturing like nursing. French society yearned for stability after the double trauma of war and civil disorder, and women's emancipation in the aftermath was viewed by conservatives and moderates alike as potentially disruptive of that stability. The feminist movement after 1871 would be bourgeois and liberal, but even this was considered threatening in the heated political climate.
30. As Philippe Burty, a republican with close ties to the Opportunists, wrote about the second exhibition: "This present attempt has been much better received by the public than the first, and this is not merely the impression of one who, as I do, personally sympathises with the feelings that prompt these artists as a body, but that of a paper also which is the organ of the purest academical doctrines, *La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité*, a weekly fly-leaf of the

Gazette des Beaux-Arts. The step is considerable, and was for many reasons to be foreseen. The public are fired with a kind of tender interest in this group of honest earnest-minded, hard-working, original young artists, men yearly victimised by the majority who bear tyrannous rule over the official Salon, its entrance, and its awards. They regard this exhibition with favourable eyes, as being both a tribute to their judgment and to men chiefly poor, who, in a country, in a society, that has no notion of the advantages of material or moral co-operation, have succeeded in forming an association among themselves, for their mutual benefit" (P. Burty, "Fine Art: The Exhibition of the 'Intransigeants,'" *Academy* 94 [15 April 1876]: 363–364).

31. The paper argued against amnesty as late as 1876: see "Echos de Paris," *Le Gaulois*, 10 April 1876.
32. L. de Lora, "Petites nouvelles artistiques: Exposition libre des peintres," *Le Gaulois*, 18 April 1874.
33. E. Blavet, "Avant le Salon: L'Exposition des réalistes," *Le Gaulois*, 31 March 1876.
34. Lethève, *Impressionnistes et Symbolistes devant la presse*, p. 78.
35. "Exposition de la Société anonyme des artistes," *La République française*, 25 April 1874.
36. P. Tucker, "The First Impressionist Exhibition in Context," in Moffett, *The New Painting*, p. 110.
37. L. Michel, *La Commune* (Paris, 1898), p. 346.
38. J. Vallès, *La Commune de Paris*, ed. M.-C. Bancquart and L. Scheler (Paris, 1970), p. 350n.
39. Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871*, trans. E. M. Aveling (London, 1886), p. 335.
40. R. Greaves, *Nadar; ou Le Paradoxe vital* (Paris, 1980), pp. 303–310.
41. P. Burty, "The Paris Exhibitions: Les Impressionistes—Chintreuil," *Academy* 5 (30 May 1874): 616. In his review in the French press he likened the illuminated site of Nadar's to "the passage of a fireball" [*le passage d'un bolide*]. See "Exposition de la Société anonyme des artistes," *La République française*, 25 April 1874.
42. G. Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (Marietta, Ga., 1982), pp. 96, 108n, 169.
43. Quoted in B. Denvir, ed., *The Impressionists at First Hand* (London, 1987), p. 85.
44. Marx's interview for the *New York Herald*, 3 August 1871, quoted in E. Thomas, *The Women Incendiairies* (New York, 1966), p. 168. The reporter agreed, stating that he had yet to meet with a single person who actually saw a woman with kerosene.
45. L. de Bernard, "Les Femmes de Paris pendant le siège," *Le Monde illustré* 28 (11 February 1871): 87, 89–90; V.-F.-M., "Les Incendiaires," ibid., 3 June 1871, pp. 342–343.
46. V. Fournel, *Paris et ses ruines en mai 1871* (Paris, 1872), pp. i–vi.
47. For Zola and the Commune, see R. Ripoll, "Zola et les Communards," *Europe* 46 (April–May 1968): 16–26.
48. J. Rewald, *Cézanne: A Biography* (New York, 1986), p. 91.
49. Bertall, "Le Docteur Tant-Pis et le Docteur Tant-Mieux," *L'Illustration* 58 (1871): 424.
50. Ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, p. 415.
51. A. Boime, "Thomas Nast and French Art," *American Art Journal* 4 (Spring 1972): 61–62.
52. M. Guérin, ed., *Lettres de Degas* (Paris, 1931), p. 5, 8.
53. Ibid., pp. 11, 13.
54. M. Guérin, *Edgar Germain Hilaire Degas: Letters*, trans. M. Kay (Oxford, 1947), pp. 29–32. The English edition contains several letters, including this one, not published in the original French edition.
55. Ibid., pp. 70–71.
56. M. Chaumelin, *La Gazette [des étrangers]*, 8 April 1876; cited in Moffett, *The New Painting*, p. 171.
57. Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871*, p 347.

58. A. Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century France*, ed. E. C. Carter II, R. Forster, and J. N. Moody (Baltimore and London, 1976), p. 154; Adhémar, "Ernest Hoschedé," p. 55.
59. M. Berhaut, *Caillebotte, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1978), p. 7.
60. R. Tombs, *The War against Paris 1871* (Cambridge, U.K., 1981), pp. 17–18.
61. J. Claretie, *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1883–1884), 2:134.
62. E. Lepelletier, "Les Impressionnistes," *Le Radical*, 8 April 1877, reprinted in K. Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte* (New Haven, 1987), p. 188.
63. Lepelletier, "Les Impressionnistes," *Le Radical*, 8 April 1877; Jacques, "Menu Propos," *L'Homme libre*, 12 April 1877; in Varnedoe, *Gustave Caillebotte*, p. 189.
64. Silvestre, *Au pays des souvenirs*, p. 152; E. King, *Descriptive Portraiture of Europe in Storm and Calm* (Springfield, Mass., 1885), pp. 490–491.
65. *Rapport du Maréchal Mac-Mahon*, p. 16; Goncourt, *Paris under Siege*, p. 235; M. du Camp, *Les Convulsions de Paris*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1878–1880), 2:347–348; E. A. Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune* (London, 1914), p. 318.
66. Fournel, *Paris et ses ruines en mai 1871*, p. 4.
67. R. L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London, 1991), pp. 23–24.
68. Moffett, *The New Painting*, p. 224.
69. Venturi, *Les Archives de l'impressionisme*, 2:312.
70. Deraismes, *France et progrès*, pp. 162–164.
71. See J.-J. Rovel, *Etude sur les chemins de fer envisagés au point de vue militaire* (Constantine, 1874); and the review of the book, "Les Chemins de fer au point de vue militaire," *La République française*, 22 June 1874.
72. Balathier Bragelonne, *Paris insurgé*, pp. 87, 158.
73. *Rapport du Maréchal Mac-Mahon*, p. 16; Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune*, p. 318.
74. Alexander, *La Collection Henri Rouart*, p. 42.
75. L. d'Argencourt and J. Foucart, *Puvis de Chavannes, 1824–1898*, Grand Palais (Paris, Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1976), pp. 114–115, nos. 91, 92.
76. V. C. O. Gréard, *Meissonier, His Life and His Art* (London, 1897), pp. 266–267.
77. M. Vauvert, "Les Tuileries," *Le Monde illustré* 29 (1 July 1871): 6.
78. K. Varnedoe, "The Tuileries Museum and the Uses of Art History in the Early Third Republic," in *Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza sullo sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIX e XX*, ed. F. Haskell, Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte (1981), pp. 63–68. Coincidentally, Meissonier exhibited his *Ruins of the Tuileries* in 1883 when the last remnant of the palace had been demolished. See P. Mainardi, *The End of the Salon* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 99, 101, 104.
79. T. Gautier, *Tableaux du Siège, Paris, 1870–1871* (Paris, 1872), pp. 372–373.
80. S. Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 73–92, 100–104.
81. M. de Villemessant, "Enterprise générale de balayage parisien," *Le Figaro*, 8 June 1871.

CODA

1. See the catalogue entry in C. Keisch and M. U. Riemann-Reyher, eds., *Adolph Menzel, 1815–1905: Between Romanticism and Impressionism*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (New Haven and London, 1996), pp. 350–354, no. 134.
2. Ibid., pp. 349–350, no. 133.
3. Ibid., pp. 345–348, nos. 130–131.
4. P. Dittmar, "'Der zwölfjährige Christus im Temple'—Zu einer Lithographie von Adolph