Housing Identities: Displaying Race and Environment in Paris, 1870-1892

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This dissertation examines how full-size reproductions of human housing were used as a tool to visualize the racial and cultural identity of the Other in late nineteenth-century Paris. Displayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and the Exposition universelle of 1889, these houses were populated with live groups and purported to be scientifically accurate representations of non-Europeans, French colonial subjects, and historic groups. It argues that the subject of housing was a powerful vehicle through which to teach the public visually and demonstrates that Parisian viewers were uniquely poised to understand the scientific ideas that these structures embodied. This research is the first to analyze the intersection of architectural history, scientific race thinking, and the urban environment.

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Acronyms

BGAEU: Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte

HHH: *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Garnier's 1889 exhibit)

MNHN: Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle

RGA: *Revue Générale de l'architecture et des travaux publiques*

SAP: Société d'Anthropologie de Paris

SAMP: Société des amis des monuments parisiens

SZA: Société zoologique impériale d'acclimatation (1856-1870), Société zoologique d'acclimatation (1871-)

1.0 Introduction

When a group of 'Nubians' arrived in Paris in 1877, they were the first in a series human displays that occurred on an almost yearly basis at sites across the French capital. Ranging in size from 8 to nearly 80 people, the groups came from French colonial territories and beyond, or were costumed actors who represented historic epochs. Despite their distinctions, all the human exhibits had two things in common: their siting in Paris and their use of architecture, in the form of human dwellings, as the backdrop and frame for displays.

This dissertation analyzes why architecture was used to embody racial identity and reveals the connection between viewership, the urban environment, and ephemeral human displays. Planned by scientists, government officials, and architects, the architecture of human displays functioned as a physical manifestation of ideas about race, as colonial propaganda, and as reassurance of France's continued racial prosperity. By examining the parallel development of anthropology and architecture, this dissertation demonstrates the disciplines' shared concerns, priorities, and utilization of architecture as an indicator of racial identity.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the body of the Other was no longer sufficient for communicating racial difference. Indeed, because Europeans had spent over two centuries exploring, enslaving, and proselytizing the globe, the exhibited humans were at least familiar with the French language, as well as to European manners and dress. Yet the architecture that accompanied the exhibits belied these similarities and this knowledge. The qualities of architecture, such as construction, ornament, and material, were carefully selected to evoke the displayed race's origin as well as its intellectual and physical capabilities.

The exhibits were inextricably linked to and inflected by their siting in the built environment. In the decades that preceded the succession of human displays, Paris had undergone a substantial architectural and infrastructural overhaul. During the 1850s and 1860s, Emperor Napoléon III and Baron Haussmann had attempted to transform the Medieval city into the most modern European capital, with aesthetically unified buildings and up-to-date urban amenities. Yet, in 1871, these modernization efforts did not stop the Prussians from shelling the capital or the Parisian Communards from setting fire to countless buildings and streets. As the French feared that their race was degenerate after 1871, architecture became a tool for both empire building and re-assurance of their superior racial status. At the moment when human displays were most frequent, Paris remained visibly scarred from foreign invasion and civil war, Parisians were poised to read architecture as the manifestation of racial characteristics. In the web of late nineteenth-century race theory, a tangle of anxieties about self and Other, architecture became tangible and comprehensible evidence for the racial identity of historic, foreign, and colonial groups.

Each of the four chapters in this dissertation address a different site and type of human displays, from 1864-1889. During these years, race theory merged with architecture in the form of theoretical texts - with two-dimensional diagrams or drawings – and developed into full-scale multi-media displays. Chapter one examines the 1860s and early 1870s, and reveals how the architects Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc and César Daly actively bridged the gap between anthropology and architecture through publications, participation in scientific committees, and Exposition planning. Both Viollet-le-Duc and Daly engaged with the Parisian anthropological community and instructed scientists on how to use architecture as evidence for race theory. The exhibits at the Jardin d'Acclimatation from 1877-1886, which featured a single group in the same display space, are the subject of chapter two. In chapter three, we examine the 'village' format, or

grouping of buildings, as it occurred in the Senegalese Village at the Exposition universelle of 1889 on the Esplanade des Invalides. At the Senegalese Village, French males' anxieties about impotence were eased through the stereotypical African architecture and control of black bodies. Last, how Charles Garnier used to theory of Aryanism to grapple with concerns about French racial identity and modern architecture within in the context of the Exposition universelle of 1889 is explored in chapter 4.

This introduction situates the examples of human display within the architectural and scientific framework of late nineteenth-century Paris. Parisians had long been intimately aware of both their urban surroundings and the legibility of others. On the street, they 'read' strangers to deduce their personality and the arrondissement from which they came. When Napoléon III and Haussmann renovated Paris, they made the uniform apartment the primary type of dwelling and domestic environment and its ubiquity also made it the city's connective tissues. However, after the event of 1870-1871, the environment was viewed as one of the potential causes of racial degeneracy. The modern city had been designed to prevent societal upheaval and it had failed. As the remnants of destruction lingered in the city for up to two decades, Parisians were reminded of the precarity of civilization. The French government believed that the key to regeneration lay in mass education, which would reverse the perceived weakness of the nation. In the realm of science, anthropologists pondered the effects of environment on the formation of species. As French anthropologists feared that their methodology lagged behind their international competition, especially their German neighbors who had terrorized them just years earlier, architecture took on new importance as both a form of racial evidence and as a tool for visualizing race theories for the public. This history of public viewership, the centrality of the house in the Parisian imagination,

and anxiety about racial identity all contributed to how French viewers analyzed the architecture of human displays in the late nineteenth century.

1.1 Literature Review

By studying the buildings that accompanied human displays between 1877-1889, this dissertation straddles several disciplines such as architectural and urban history, critical race theory, and post-colonial studies. It examines the creation of race theory and the use of architecture as a tool for both concretizing racial and responding to French anxiety about their own racial status. The French created these buildings as a way of grappling with the seemingly precarious status of their whiteness and racial superiority. By situating these structures within the altered and scarred architectural fabric of urban Paris, it engages with secondary literature on modernity and viewership, spectacle and World's Fairs, nationalism and colonial policy, anthropology and human displays. While each chapter will address a collection of texts, this introductory section will focus on the overarching themes and sub-disciplines.

Scholarship on human displays is vast and this is certainly due, in part, to the long and complex history of displaying humans. For example, as early as 1501, an exhibit of 'Eskimos' was held in Bristol.[1] Human displays have manifested in diverse forms such as historical re-enactment, cadaver dissection, life casts, and public execution.[2] With the proliferation of these practices across European capitals, the study of human displays becomes all the more complicated.[3] However, the

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[1] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 41.
[2] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture,* 34-45.
[3] See, for example, Rikke Andreassen, *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015).

space, architectural backdrops, and siting of human displays in any location has not been addressed. This dissertation thus attempts to re-construct how visitors would have experienced and understood the exhibits, as well as how exhibition planners attempted to make them comprehensible. Their legibility was contingent on historical time period and, of course, the location of the displays. Because this study argues that the human displays that occurred in the French capital catered to Parisian visual literacy, the literature review that follows will focus on two studies that most thoroughly address human displays in Paris.

In *Villages noirs,* the authors Jean-Michel Bergougniou, Remi Clignet, and David Philippe examine human displays in Paris from 1870-1940. Their analysis follows the often unknown European impresarios who brought the groups to France, including displays that occurred in Paris and the provinces, and who are often overlooked or unnamed in other accounts. Their analysis revolves around two key points; first, they argue that term "human zoo" is misleading because it negates the subtlety of spectacle and science that created the displays. Second, they contend that many of the human groups were not from colonial territories or were not visibly Other, meaning that they may have been less sensational than they appear to historians.[4] Although the authors' historical analysis is immensely beneficial to the study of French human displays, their assertion that the displays were 'not Other enough' neglects the anxiety that late nineteenth-century Parisians felt about racial status and its corruptibility. Moreover, it separates the displays from systems of power predicated on racial difference and for which the visual Otherness of these groups directly contributed to maintaining European hegemony. Indeed, French viewers had been

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[4] Bergougniou, Jean Michel, et. al., *"Villages noirs" et autres visiteurs africains et malgaches en France et en Europe: 1870-1940* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions, 2001), 24-25.

trained through mass media to view them as Other despite the similarities that existed between viewer and viewed.

The second key source on human displays that occurred in France is also the most comprehensive museum exhibit on human displays to date. Titled "Exhibitions: l'invention du sauvage" ["Exhibitions: The Invention of the Savage"], it was held at the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris from 2011-2012. Although I was unable to visible the exhibit, the heavily illustrated catalogue provides a glimpse into the assembly of things: a multi-media portrait of human displays, it included diverse objects of both scientific and popular interest, such as ethnographic photographs, human models, and posters. In this vein, "Exhibitions" more effectively situates human displays within a constellation of academic disciplines, government agendas, and popular opinions. Although the curators were quite thorough in their selection of objects, the space in which human displays occurred, unfortunately, was neither considered nor reconstructed.

Human displays occurred across Europe, yet their reception and legibility were affected by public expectations, cultural viewing practices, and their broader surroundings. In the case of Paris, the architectural displays were certainly compared to the modern architecture around them and to the destroyed structures that haunted the city. However, the uniquely charged environment of post-1871 Paris has been understudied by French architectural historians. Even in her seminal tome on the historical transformations that occurred in Paris, *The City of Collective Memory,* M. Christine Boyer devotes minimal attention to the period after Haussmann.[5] While art historians have acknowledged how the broken urban center was depicted, or not, in the period after 1870, the

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[5] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Boston: MIT Press, 1996).

extent of the damage certainly affected how Parisians and visitors alike traversed the city.[6] Although the continuity and similarity between Haussmannization and the Commune is examined by historian Eric Fournier in his book *Paris en ruines,* the implications of the surrounding built environment for broader questions about modernity and degeneracy were beyond the boundaries of his study.[7] The key to analyzing the longer architectural and environmental history of 'modern' Paris comes, instead, from sources outside urban history.

Two texts in particular have provided the intellectual scaffolding for this dissertation because of the ways that they analyze the history of urban spectatorship as a continued practice before and after Haussmannization. In *Spectacular Realities*, Vanessa Schwartz examines different modes of Parisian spectatorship that occurred in newspapers, panoramas, the morgue, and wax museums.[8] The goal of this dissertation is to expand Schwartz's study by considering the charged urban environment after the Franco-Prussian War and Commune as the setting for World's Fairs and scientific displays. By focusing on race, both in the form of French anxieties about their potential degeneracy and the identity of the Other, this research provides a fresh analysis of how Parisians approached and interpreted architecture.

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[6] For example, see Bertrand Tillier, *La Commune de Paris, revolution sans images?: politique et representations dans la France républicaine* (Ceyzérieu, France: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2004). John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). See also the exhibition catalogues Quentine Bajac, *La Commune photographiée: Exposition au Musée d'Orsay* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2000) and Jean Baronnet, *Regard d'un parisien sur la Commune: photographies inédites de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Paris bibliothèques, 2006).

[7] Eric Fournier, *Paris en ruines: du Paris Haussmannien au Paris Communard* (Paris: Éditions Imago, 2008).

[8] Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities, Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

In addition, Sharon Marcus' *Apartment Stories* compares nineteenth-century domestic spaces in Paris and London.[9] Marcus contends that the urban gaze of Paris was obscured after Haussmannization. Marcus contrasts the apartment, the typical housing in nineteenth-century Paris to its equivalent in London, the single-family home. In the Parisian context, Marcus argues that over the course of the nineteenth century, the city transformed from a place of urban transparency, both with regard to the structures and the Parisians, to what she calls 'the interiorization of Paris."[10] This "interiorization" corresponded to wider boulevards, that made peering into other apartments, from either the inside or the street, quite challenging.[11] While this dissertation counters Marcus' claim and reveals the continued, if not increased, power of housing to visualize a person or group's identity, this research was deeply influenced by her work.[12] By analyzing printed material, Marcus argues that the pre-Haussmann apartment was a thin barrier between public and private space, one that not only made Parisians legible but also prepared passerbys to analyze them on the street while the post-Haussmann city became more enclosed.

Moreover, as this research shows, the homogenous environment of nineteenth-century Paris only heightened an awareness of identities and provoked anxiety about the relationship between dwelling and racial character. Reading Marcus' evidence through the lens of race theory counters her argument. For example, Marcus quotes government architect Adolphe Lance who stated, "there is a distinct correlation between domestic residences and individual morals."[13] When

[9] Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: The City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
[10] Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 138.
[11] Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 140.
[12] This dissertation is not the first to counter Marcus' argument: for example, Hollis Clayson makes the point that Haussmann's apartments blurred the distinction between interior and exterior space.
Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870-1871)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 52-56.
[13] Quoted in Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 155.

considering the ubiquity of Haussmann's apartments, and the perceived relationship between environments and racial decline after 1871, this quote can be read as a comment on the wide-spread sense among Parisians that the French race had degenerated. Indeed, as Marcus writes shortly thereafter, "Architectural writings expressed the same conviction as public health reports that architecture exerted a moral influence on individuals, the family, and the nation."[14] By analyzing the relationship between urban legibility and racial anxiety, especially with regard to how environments form racial identity, this dissertation complicates Marcus' analysis.

Rae Beth Gordon's *Dances with Darwin* has been a foundational text for approaching the intersection of scientific studies of degeneracy and its emergence in the popular imagination.[15] Gordon's interdisciplinary method, which considers medicine, race, and mass media, triangulates the physical convulsions of hysterics with African dance and French 'epileptic singers.' In a similar vein, this dissertation grapples with how anxieties discussed in scientific circles were visualized for and interpreted by the Parisian public. Gordon shows that by the 1870s, Darwin's theory of a potential species-wide degeneration had gripped both academic circles and the public. While Jean-Baptiste Lamarck had long been the champion of French natural science, his interpretation of species change was not the Darwinian "survival of the fittest." As the French grappled with their position in hierarchy of men, ethnographic housing displays served as both a reminder of their superiority and a warning about the fragility of modernity.

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[14] Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 158.

[15] Rae Beth Gordon, *Dances with Darwin, 1875-1910: Vernacular Modernity in France* (Ashgate: Burlington, VT, 2009).

The sheer magnitude of nineteenth-century Parisian Expositions universelles makes them a challenge for historical studies. Authors such as Debra Silverman[16] and Tony Bennett[17] have argued that the Expositions universelles provided visitors with the opportunity to experience a living *Encyclopédie*, a carefully organized and didactic taxonomically. The public could learn simply by traversing and experiencing the space. However, the case studies in this dissertation defy that rule. For example, the arrangement of buildings was determined by space restrictions, as in the case of the Jardin d'Acclimatation. At the Colonial Villages in chapter 3, viewers encountered a maze of buildings that was meant to mimic geographic relationships. Last, half of Garnier's linear sequence followed a vaguely chronological order, with the Renaissance house in the near center, but this was not necessarily clear to Exposition visitors. In this vein, the case studies in this dissertation challenge scholarly analyses about Exposition space and notion that the Exposition's didactic layout was immediately comprehensible.

Mabel Wilson's *Negro Building* explores the intersection of race and World's Fairs, specifically how black Americans grappled with self-representations and issues of African American identity at the turn of the twentieth century. Wilson shows that racist attitudes and social norms permeated the built environment of the American fairs despite the fact that they were erected outside of city centers. My research provides a chronological precedent to Wilson's study and establishes how city-specific decorum bled into the space of World's Fairs. Although American World's Fairs and French Expositions universelles are both often characterized as dream worlds or escapist, they were not isolated from the anxieties and attitudes of quotidian life. Pairing this

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[16] Deborah Silverman, "The Paris Exhibition of 1889: Architecture and the Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism," *Oppositions,* no. 8 (1977): 72-91.
[17] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex" in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader,* Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 117-130.

dissertation with Wilson's text elucidates how popular thinking and ideas impacted Fair viewership. Moreover, within the World's Fair environment, Wilson's analysis highlights the limits of self-representation and agency of African Americans in the New South. In a related vein, my dissertation considers the agency of displayed non-Europeans and French colonial subjects and argues that the French used houses as tools to forward a specific idea about foreign and historic groups.

In the broader field of architectural history, this dissertation engages with two recent books that address the intersection of architecture, science, and racial identity. It parallels Itohan Osayimwese's *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany,* which analyzes how architects overlapped with anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[18] Of particular interest is the ethnologist and archeologist Leo Frobenius, who, as Osayimwese shows, had many of the same concerns as the French anthropologists. Namely, Frobenius examined architecture as the physical embodiment of a population's character, he studied the link between architecture and climate, and argued that civilizations could decline. While Osayimwese highlights the distinctly German valence that these ideas had, especially with regard to the notion of *Heimat,* or the idea that Germany's landscape shaped their national character, Frobenius' text, *Afrikanische Bauentype: Eine Ethnographische arkitektonische* was published in 1894, contemporaneous to human displays in France.[19] It is not an overstatement to say that the French preceded their northern neighbors by at least two decades in terms of their imperial program, didactic architectural displays, and anthropological doctrine, meaning that they paved the way for using architecture as

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[18] Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017).
[19] Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany,* 108.

anthropological evidence.[20] Yet, the racial ideologies that structure the buildings included in this dissertation are notably absent from the German context and highlighting the abundant French concerns about racial identity.

Last, this dissertation serves as a complement and chronological precedent to Fabiola López-Durán's *Eugenics in the Garden,* which examines how nineteenth-century French ideas about milieu influenced city planning in Latin America.[21] Focusing on Lamarck's ideas about racial mutability, López-Durán's study begins in the 1890s and extends to the mid-twentieth century. By analyzing how Lamarck's ideas were visualized through architecture in the metropole, this analysis bolsters López-Durán's argument about the impact and legacy of Lamarckian ideas in France.

1.2 Research Methodology

This dissertation combines primary source material from architectural history and anthropology to analyze how the disciplines exchanged and reinforced notions of racial identity. To resurrect the ephemeral architecture that accompanied human displays, it consults the diverse visual and written source material that contributed to crafting and memorializing human displays, such as photographs, posters, book and journal illustrations, and architectural drawings. These sources made the ephemeral structures permanent and their repeated appearance in scientific circles translated them from invention to fact.

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[20] Osayimwese acknowledges that the Germans' delayed entry into the imperial race allowed them to learn from the mistakes of European powers. Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture,* 12.

[21] Fabiola López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden: Transatlantic Architecture and the Crafting of Modernity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).

By the late nineteenth-century, photography was used not only to document the Exposition universelle but also to document humans in anthropological studies. Of the utmost importance to this dissertation is the photographic record left by Prince Roland Bonaparte. Nephew of Napoléon III, Roland Bonaparte had planned to pursue a career in politics but abandoned the endeavor after 1871.[22] Although he travelled widely, it is his photographic albums of displayed people in Paris that are critical to this dissertation. Roland Bonaparte documented the displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, the Expositions universelles of 1883 in Antwerp and 1889 in Paris, and his photographs were an anchor point for the anthropological display at the 1889 Exposition (Figure 1). These albums include portraits, where the sitters are positioned facing the camera and in profile, as well as 'casual' shots of the groups in their dwellings or relaxing. Nearly all the photographs are captioned and dated, and many were gifted to the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (SAP).[23] When Roland Bonaparte visited the 1883 Exposition and he seemed to foreshadow the exhibition tactics that would appear in France in coming years when he lamented that exhibit did not include "all the nations displayed together in their houses."[24]

Roland Bonaparte was involved in one way or another at all the Jardin d'Acclimatation, the Senegalese Village, and Garnier's Habitations Humaine. While his albums at the first two sites documents the displays as detailed above, he collected (or possibly commissioned) a nearly complete set of renderings of Garnier's houses, each of which includes a portrait of the 'inhabitant'

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[22] Despite Bonaparte's repeated appearance in the case studies of this dissertation and across sociétés in nineteenth-century Paris, I am yet to locate an in-depth biography or analysis of his life. For the most analytical, albeit brief, reference to Bonaparte, see Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the native and the Making of European Identities* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000), 42.

[23] These albums are now stored in the Muséum nationale d'historie naturelle. For a detailed inventory of the albums consulted for this project, see the bibliography.

[24] Quoted in Gérard Collomb, *Kaliña: des Amérindiens à Paris* (Paris: Créaphis, 1992), 14.

and the dwelling (Figure 2). These are stamped with the insignia of the library of the Parisian Société of Geography, of which Bonaparte was president, and the record in the Bibliothèque nationale de France states that the renderings were a gift from him.[25] Despite his ubiquity in the archival record and in nineteenth-century scientific *sociétés*, there have been no single studies dedicated to Bonaparte's life and work. Therefore, at this stage, many questions about him remain unanswered.

When photographs are not available, the illustrated popular and scientific press serves as an irreplaceable source of visual information. *L'Illustration* provided readers with text and visual descriptions of many attraction that occurred in Paris including human displays. *La Nature,* as will be discussed in more detail later in the introduction, was the meeting place for scientific and popular knowledge. It paired easy to understand text with diagrams. The *Révue Générale de l'Architecture et des travaux publiques* (*RGA)* will be the sub-focus of chapter 1, but it is necessary to acknowledge that it presented the most current news in architecture and its adjacent fields.[26] It is similarly one of the publications that re-appears throughout this dissertation.

When images are not available, text-based sources take many forms. The Expositions universelles were the subject of countless large-format commemorative texts which provide a seemingly endless supply of perspectives, narratives, and recollections. For fairgoers, small guidebooks led them through the site, directing them on what to see and how to experience it. In

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[25] Prince Roland Bonaparte is listed as the Vice Président of the Société des Amis des Monuments parisiens in 1889, the same year that Garnier steps down from his presidency. Although this does not clarify the origin of this album, a friendship between Bonaparte and Garnier may help explain the album's creation. The album is housed in the collections of the Société de Géographie in the BNF.

[26] For sources on the history of architectural illustrated press and the RGA, see Marc Saboya, *Presse et architecture au XIXe Siècle: César Daly et la Révue generale de l'architecture et des travaux publiques* (Paris: Picard, 1991) and Béatrice Bouvier, *L'Édition d'architecture à Paris au XIXe siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2004).

addition, there is an enormous trail of official Exposition documents in the Archives nationales at Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. Everything from funding reports, the meeting minutes of the Exposition planning committees, preparatory drawings, and newspaper clippings are preserved, in addition to more quotidian discussions about to the types of light and foliage that will adorn the Exposition.

In addition, the nineteenth-century anthropological community, the Société d'Anthropolpogie de Paris (SAP) left a record of texts. The *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie* (*BSAP).* reproduced the discussions that occurred in the meetings, including the presentations from scientists who visited and studied the human displays. As the 1870s progressed, these accounts often include observations about the groups' homes, domestic objects, and personalities. The SAP's papers, including letters and planning documents for the Exposition universelle of 1878, are housed at the Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle in Paris. In addition, treatises on "the races of man" written by specific anthropologists not only demonstrate the changing contours of anthropological science but also how architecture grew in prominence as evidence of racial identity.

Charles Garnier and Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc were prolific writers and active in their intellectual communities until their deaths. While Garnier's papers, a lifetime's worth of letters, notebooks, and sketches, are preserved at the Opéra nationale site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, a similarly rich fond of Viollet-le-Duc's work are housed at the Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine in the archives of the Administration des Monuments historiques. As we will discuss in chapters 1 and 4, both architects published heavily illustrated tomes on the subject of human housing. In the planning of the Expositions universelles of 1878 and 1889, their names appear throughout as committee members, exhibit planners, and architectural consultants. It is likely that future scholars will continue to discover their names in unexpected places such as

meeting minutes of scientific *sociétés,* government forms, or, as was this case in this dissertation, in the archival documents on the Musée d'Ethnographie.

Finally, this dissertation has used digital tools to map and store data. "Mapping Destruction" is a project that is adjacent to and informed by this dissertation. To better understand the extent of the damage that Paris endured from 1870-1871, I created a database of photographs and journal images in Airtable. Each of these images became a data point in an ArcGIS layer, which allowed me to see both the key monuments that were repeatedly captured by photographers as well as the spread of the damage. The complexities and limitations of digital mapping are explored in the appendix to this dissertation, but the maps that resulted, and the ways that they visualize the expansiveness of the destruction, has deeply impacted my perception of Paris after 1871.

1.3 Urban Legibility: Haussmann, the Apartment, and Parisian Identity before 1870

In the context of human displays, architecture was the key vehicle for communicating racial difference. To understand the legibility of these buildings, we must consider how Parisians perceived their immediate surroundings and its role in forming national or racial identity. The racialized dwellings were created specifically for the Parisian viewing public and within the context of the city center. In the decades that preceded the 1870s, the apartment building became not only the unifying element of Napoléon III and Haussmann's city but also the symbol of French modernity. Human groups were purportedly formed by the environments in which they lived and in Paris, this was first the *arrondissement* or neighborhood, then the ubiquitous Second Empire apartment. The renovated capital was intended to both modernize the architecture but also assert

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that the French population, too, was at the forefront of progress. As the distinctions between Parisians blurred, and the city became more and more uniform, Parisians began to consider themselves as a homogenous body, but they were still trained to read strangers as the product of their environment. While the public assessed those around them, scientists debated the role of climate in forming and distinguishing human races. Considering Parisian viewing practices, the changing urban environment, and the relationship between a person's character and their architectural environment reveals that even before the 1870s, Parisians were trained to view a connection between dwelling and racial character.

When Napoléon III's reign as emperor of the Second Empire began in 1852, he set out to transform Paris from a Medieval city into the most modern capital in the world (Figure 3). Hiring Baron Haussmann as prefect of the Seine, Napoléon III's scheme included tearing down the cramped inner city to create large boulevards, resulting in dramatic sightlines that were anchored by new monumental buildings, such as the Opéra nationale (Figure 4). The renovated city included a sewer system and the aesthetically unified apartment buildings for which the city is known today. Though these city-wide changes made a statement about France as a modern, progressive nation, the goals for the redesigned capital were as ideological as they were physical. By mid-century, Paris had been the theater of violence for three revolutions that had occurred in 1789, 1830, and 1848. The city's urban topography had made possible, if not facilitated, these revolutions. While the new apartments that lined the boulevards were aesthetically pleasing, they were equally intended to prevent revolutionary upheaval. The maze of narrow streets had allowed revolutionaries to create nearly impenetrable barricades. In contrast, the boulevards were challenging to barricade and they forced the lower and working classes, who were often blamed for the turmoil, to move out of the city center, since they could no longer afford the high cost of

rent. Beyond demolishing the 'insalubrious' buildings in the inner-city, the Second Empire renovations likewise included miles of sidewalks, new bridges, gas lamps, and public clocks.[27]

The extent to which that Napoléon III and Haussmann pre-planned their renovations the city of Paris is debated amongst scholars; their original plans were destroyed when the communards set fire to the Hôtel de Ville in 1871. Because Haussmannization occurred in stages, and over a period of years, it was challenging for contemporary onlookers and architects to conceptualize the overall goal of the intervention.[28] However, there were certain factors that doubtless contributed to their planning and the French architectural public was optimistic. César Daly, the editor-in-chief of the *RGA*, reported regularly on the state of renovations. In 1862, Daly stated that Napoléon III and Haussmann's updates would make Paris: "the first city of the world to emerge regenerated from its old state of confusion and disorder."[29] The infrastructural quality of the capital would not only allowed its inhabitants to lead more productive lives, but also, according to architects such Léonce Reynaud, the fate of a capital city was intimately tied to the fate of a nation.[30] Creating new, straight, wide boulevards was supposed to facilitate military operations in the city, improve circulation, and better connect the center with the *environs*.[31] If Paris prospered, then so too did the nation.

To say that the Second Empire's Parisian modernization project was immensely costly would be an understatement. The first bill for under Napoléon III's urban project was passed in

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[27] For more on the tenuousness of 'salubrity' and the ways that Parisians pushed back against Haussmannization, see Antoine Paccoud, "Planning law, power, and practice: Haussmann in Paris (1853-1870) in *Planning Perspectives,* vol. 31, no. 3 (2016): 341-361.

[28] Nicholas Papayanis, "César Daly, Paris, and Emergence of Modern City Planning" *Planning Perspectives,* 21, October 2006: 325-346, 327.

[29] Quoted in Papayanis, "César Daly," 336.

[30] Papayanis, "César Daly," 333.

[31] César Daly, "Percements et constructions privées,"RGA, 1862: 178-200.

August 1851 and it allowed the city of Paris to borrow 50 million francs to extend the Rue de Rivoli from the Louvre to the Hôtel de Ville. This led to an additional bill in 1855, in the amount of 60 million francs, for further renovations to the rue de Rivoli, as well as the openings of the Boulevard de Sébastopol, and avenue Victoria. But perhaps the effort was worth the cost, since international audiences took notice of the reforms almost immediately after they were implemented. In 1855, an article in *The Builder* described Paris as "the first city in the world" due to "the magnificence of its monuments, the ample and commodious lines of its thoroughfares and public streets, and the improvements of its salubrity, and a center of attraction to the people of every other country."[32] Indeed, by mid-century, Paris was viewed, and created to be, *the* capital of the nineteenth century, as Walter Benjamin would later call it.

In the renovated city, uniform apartment buildings were both a key building type and the visual glue that held the city together. Yet, long before Napoléon III and Haussmann, the apartment building was the ubiquitous form of dwelling for everyday Parisians. While those of noble heritage inhabited garden-facing *hôtels particuliers,* bourgeois Parisians live in 6-8 story, street-facing apartment buildings. These structures blurred the boundary between interior and exterior; heavily decorated on the outside with sculpted stone ornament, as was the fashion at the time, their presentation mimicked the molding and wallpapering that was equally present inside.[33] Large windows allowed passerbys and those in adjacent buildings, to peer inside, a feat that was easily accomplished in cramped pre-Haussmann Paris, while large balconies allowed those inside to

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[32] Quoted in Josephine Grieder, "The Search for the Néo-Grec in Second Empire Paris" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 2 (June 2011): 174-189, 176.
[33] The idea that the exterior of the apartments mimicked their interiors is argued in Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 28.

observe the street below. When the dweller entered their apartment building, the interior halls, which were monitored by a *portière,* providing another opportunity to see and be seen.[34]

For architects, the apartment was both Paris' façade and the visually unifying element that held the city together. Famed academic architecture Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy remarked in the early nineteenth century that private apartment buildings had become monumental, visually echoing the qualities of public edifices. He even stated that this blurring of boundaries between private and public made the city "the dwelling of all."[35] If they were not at home in the apartment, Parisians were certainly at home in the street.

While the nobility distinguished themselves through *hôtels,* the masses of Parisians living in apartment buildings required a further level of visual identification to pinpoint their social status.[36] Although most Parisians lived in apartments before Haussmann, there was not a single apartment form and instead, each *arrondissement* purportedly shaped the *moeurs* and character of its inhabitants. In the 1840s, urban *physiologies,* or guidebooks that divided Parisians into broad categories, reassured city-goers of the legibility of their environment and those around them. The *physiologies* made a direct connection between the structure in which a person lived and their character. Inspired by the recent scientific and cultural fascination with urban types, such as the *flâneur,* these handheld books were written to help city goers 'read' the strangers who they encountered on the streets.[37] Some argued that, in the hustle and bustle of the modern city, the reader of a *physiologie* could categorize strangers based on their faces, manners, and dress, thus

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[34] Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 18-28.
[35] Quoted in Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment,* 220.
[36] Martin S. Staum, *Labelling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire,* 1815-1848 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 9.
[37] Marcus, *Apartment Stories,* 18-39.

making them familiar and potentially less dangerous.[38] Yet these handheld text promised something even greater than safety; because they were based on the concept of physiognomy proposed by Johann Kaspar Lavater, the reader would be able to read and judge the inner-workings of strangers by their facial characteristics.[39] Their intellectual and emotional character became legible, while the mysteries of a person's innerworkings were suddenly decipherable.

When Honoré de Balzac began to anonymously publish his analyses of Parisians in the June 1830 edition of *La Mode,* he applied the practice of physiognomic readings to a new level of specificity and divided Parisians by *arrondissement*. In his accounts, Balzac stated that trained onlookers could match physical and emotional qualities to specific Parisian quarters.[40] Balzac saw a clear connection between a Parisian's milieu and his or her physiognomic character.[41] He stated, "[d]oes not society transform man, according to the kind of environment in which he acts, into as many different men as there are varieties in zoology?"[42]

Thus, a certain Parisian type who frequented or lived in one arrondissement will be distinct from someone from a nearby district. The qualities that a person's environment purportedly imprinted on their exterior form was so specific that trained onlookers could decipher any number of types who roamed specific Parisian districts. For example, readers of 1841 *Les francais peints*

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[38] Miranda Gill, *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 72-72.

[39] Michael Gamper, "Er last sicht nicht lesen": Physiognomy and the City in *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture,* Graeme Tytler, ed. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 150-160, 151. See also Staum, *Labelling People,* chapter 2.

[40] Martina Lauster, "Physiognomy, Zoology, and Psychology as Paradigms in Sociological Sketches of the 1830s and 1840s," in *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture,* Graeme Tytler, ed. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 161-179, 162.

[41] Balzac also explored how other rural environments, such as the lowlands, supposedly caused cretinism, an offshoot of degeneracy. Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 46.

[42] Quoted in Lauster, "Physiognomy, Zoology, and Psychology," 170.

par eux-même (The French Painted by Themselves) describes a discernible difference between women who frequented the Jardin des Tuileries and the Jardin de Luxembourg, despite the fact that these two gardens are separated by just 1.3 miles. This text not only supplied readers with descriptions, but images, and the index included image and text side by side, in case it was easier for onlookers to match the visual rather than the textual description to their object of study (Figure 5).

The *physiologies* made Paris comprehensible. But these texts were representative of a wider phenomenon of legibility that spread beyond people and types. City tours and guidebooks provided Parisians and visitors alike with a sense of measured control over the city. No place was off limits or too macabre to the curious public; sewers, prisons, and the morgue were all sites that were ripe for public scrutiny.[43] Guidebooks and maps transformed the maze of streets into a manageable, and handheld, version of the ever-changing city.[44] Especially since the city was undergoing an architectural and infrastructural overhaul, these popular leisure trends in Second Empire Paris prepared those in the Third Republic to analyze the space and people around them. Indeed, "looking" was not a casual act for Parisians.

In the decades leading to 1870s and to the succession of human displays, it is not an understatement to say that Parisians had been trained by decades of mass media to read those around them. Urban types were created by the environment, especially the dwelling type, that they inhabited. The notion that climates shaped different types of people dates to before the eighteenth century, before the language of race theory had been more thoroughly concretized.[45] As authors

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[43] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 122.
[44] Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution,* 46.
[45] William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 211.

attempted to write a manual for city dwellers, Second Empire scientists, likewise, debated the physiological impact of the environment on humans across the globe. They traced environmental influences back to the origins of mankind, yet could not agree on a crucial point: were the races of man born of a single origin, and the physical differences between them had developed over time, or were they separate, distinct species? Scientists such Lamarck, Georges Cuvier, and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire were monogenists, meaning they believed that mankind was a united species, one born in a single location that then migrated outward. Yet this did not mean they believed in racial equality. In the opinions of monogenists, the environment's impact on humankind was so strong that eventually, the migrated groups developed distinct physical appearances.[46] For polygenists, or those who believed in multiple origins for mankind, the environment and the European colonists who struggled to adapt, served as proof of innate racial differences.

The continued centrality of the apartment in the modern French capital was not lost on writers before and after the 1871. With the drastically increasing population of Paris, it was essential that a substantial portion of Haussmann's new constructions were dedicated as housing.[47] By evicting the working class from the city center, building wide boulevards and uniform apartments, Napoléon III intended to prevent societal upheaval by reconfiguring the city. Napoléon III also built factories on the outskirts of the city, making it so that the working classes did not have to enter the center for work. Although social harmony was one of the goals of the new urban program, this was only deemed possible by removing many lower classes groups from the center

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[46] Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans,* 233.
[47] Josephine Grieder, "The Search for the Néo-Grec in Second Empire Paris" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 70, no. 2 (June 2011): 174-189, 179.

to the periphery.[48] As the city was transformed, the line between private and public continued to blur when the heavily decorated apartment buildings took on the visual character of a state building. In his oft quoted 1857 remark, which echoes that of Quatremère de Quincy, Daly stated: "over the last three or four years, private architecture in Paris has made notable progress: the house now seems necessarily to share, in some way, the qualities of a public edifice."[49]

Although the renovated and uniform could unite Parisians as a single populace, the cost of this transformation was more than monetary. There was an emotional effect of watching the city be torn down, especially since these distinct buildings had been key for orienting oneself in the city. The perceived relationship between the body of the nation and the urban fabric of the capital is perhaps best described by journalist Nestor Roqueplan who stated, "Demolition has become a science, almost an art… it is no longer destruction, it is analysis… [A]natomists who dissect a house."[50] Those who renovated the capital, whether they be the workers doing the manual labor or Napoléon III and Haussmann who ordered the demolition, were not just carving into the city. Instead, they were dismembering the nation through its architecture.

The wide boulevards linked with apartment facades of uniform height and design became the new arena for the study of urban types. As larger crowds filled the streets, the belief that the people were legible had not dissipated. Indeed, in Baudelaire's *Le Spleen de Paris,* it is in the crowds in which the narrator is able to, once again, locate the urban types with which he was familiar pre-Haussmann.[51] By reading the crowd and the urban types that composed it, the *flâneur*

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[48] Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment,* 172.

[49] Quoted in Christopher Curtis Mead, "Urban Contingency and the Problem of Representation in Second Empire Paris," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol. 54, no. 2, June 1995: 138-174, 164.

[50] "La démolition est devenue une science et presque un art… ce n'est plus de la destruction c'est de l'analyse… [D]es anatomistes qui dissèquent une maison." Quoted in Fournier, *Paris en ruines: du Paris Haussmannien au Paris Communard,* 21.

[51] Marc Eli Blanchard, *In Search of the City* (Saratago, CA: Anmi Libri, 1985), 77.

was left to reflect on his own identity. This method of identifying strangers and finding one's place in the social hierarchy of types certainly prefaces the type of visual [work] that Parisians conducted in the presence of human displays. When isolated from the crowd, the *flâneur* used his experience analyzing Other to 'read' himself.[52] It was no longer enough to pinpoint strangers in the social hierarchy of Second Empire Paris. Instead, when one's own place was no longer assured or clear, Parisians used Others as a means to reflect on their own identities.

On the eve of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, the bulk of Napoléon III and Haussmann's renovations had been accomplished. Where once the city had disparate and distinct apartments, Paris had become a single visual unit. For those who believed that the environment formed a group's character, this meant that Parisians had all become a single racial identity. Although the identity of the national body had become solidified, it was directly related to the prosperity and modernity of the nation as a whole. However, the French nation's confidence in its position at the forefront of European progress would be called into question after the trauma and devastating loss of the Franco-Prussian war and the chaos of the Parisian Commune.

1.4 Destruction of Modernity: the Franco-Prussian War and Commune

The French government declared war on Prussia on 19 July 1870. This act was provoked by Prussia's desire to place a Habsburg heir on the Spanish throne. Unprepared for war, Napoléon III was captured by Prussians at the Battle of Sedan on September 2, 1870 and the Third Republic was declared two days after. Paris was under Prussian siege from September 19 to January 28,

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[52] Blanchard, *In Search of the City,* 94.

1871, when the German republic was proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. In Paris, the peace treaty allowed the Prussians to hold a victory march down the Champs-Elysées, but its most notable and long-lasting consequence was the annexation of the French provinces Alsace and Lorraine to the German Empire. After an exceptionally cold winter under Siege, the Parisians refused to accept the terms of the treaty and the National Guard stationed in the capital refused to surrender their canons. After the Parisian-based National Guard killed two French Government Army generals, and barred the French Government Army from re-entering the city, the Parisians declared themselves a self-governing unit. On March 18, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, Parisians declared the Commune of Paris, an independent body separate from the French government. As the French government attempted to reclaim its capital, they stationed themselves at the posts that encircled the city, the same spots that the Prussians had occupied just a few weeks before.[53] The Communards governed Paris until the infamous "Bloody Week" of May 21-28, when the French government army stormed the city and killed thousands of its own citizens. As a last-ditch effort to push back the Army, the Communards destroyed significant monuments, such as the Vendôme Column, and used fire as their tool of destruction on countless buildings.

The events of 1870-1871 irrevocably changed urban life in Paris, both physically and psychologically, and the destruction took many forms. In popular and scientific accounts that followed 1871, France's total defeat was used as evidence of the nation's degeneracy. By the 1870s, when human displays occurred regularly in the capital, Parisians were required to reflect not only on their unified racial status as Parisians but also on the precarity of civilization. Just as the *flâneur* had done in the newly homogenous city, so too visitors to human displays use those in front of them as a point of comparison. The anxiety about racial status was only heightened by the

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[53] Conklin, *France,* 45.

exhibits' siting in the built environment, where remnants of the damage remained until the 1890s. Parisians' mass training had taught them to connect a person's identity with the environment in which they inhabited. However, if the most modern city in the world could not prevent societal upheaval, what did that say about its inhabitants? And what did that mean for their racial position in the hierarchy of the world?

It is challenging to accurately portray the fullness of the damage that wrought from 1870-1871. Throughout the Siege of Paris, the Prussians surrounded the capital and shelled the environs, the damage of which extended from the Parisian suburbs to the Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle and the newly renovated Boulevard Saint-Michel (Figure 6-7). The spread of the missile damage thwarts any analysis of intended targets (Figure 8). After the Prussians had surrounded the capital and cut off the chain of communication and supplies, they fired a seemingly endless supply of *obus* or shells to terrorize the capital.

The physical damage to the city was symptomatic of broader, cultural changes that had occurred from 1870-187. In the brutally cold winter of 1871, Parisians destroyed buildings looking for firewood and food. Food was extremely scarce, and newspapers and caricatures depict desperate Parisians buying dogs, cats, and rats from the butcher. By June 1871, some of Paris' most historically important structures, such as the Tuileries Palace, as well as symbolic structures, such as president of the Republic Adolphe Thiers' Hôtel, the Palais Royale, and the Ministry of Finance, had been nearly destroyed (Figures 9-10). Bloody Week, it seems, was the exclamation point to two decades of willful, foreign, or desperate acts of destruction.

It is immensely challenging to capture exactly what Paris looked like in June 1871.[54] From mapping the damage wrought by Prussian missiles and from photographs of Communard damage,

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[54] See appendix to this dissertation.

it is clear that the ruins were inescapable. Reconstruction of the Hôtel de Ville did not begin until 1874 (Figure 11), the charred ruins of the Palais des Tuileries remained in the heart of Paris until 1883 (Figure 12), while the Palais d'Orsay's ruins were so neglected until 1893 that they became an urban garden (Figure 13). In June 1871, Professional and amateur photographers set about documenting the ruins, which culminated in photography albums typically titled as some variation of "Collection of the Ruins of Paris." These albums neatly collect and illustrate the ravaged city, memorializing the wounded capital in which the Third Republic was born, while freshly printed guidebooks narrated the destruction for Parisians and tourists alike. Maps such as "*Paris, ses monuments et ses ruines, 1870-1871"* depict the locations of notable sites as they once stood, while a border of larger images showed their actual, damaged state (Figure 14). This map, as do many of these documents that include a before and after renderings, depicts the moments of highest action, when the structure was ablaze or when the Vendôme column was mid-air. These sources provide a glimpse into the destruction wrought in the final weeks of May.

When the Communards seized power in March 1871, it was one of many regime changes that had occurred in the nineteenth century. After 1789, revolutionaries attempted to remove the markers of royal authority that had branded the city. They renamed streets and removed monuments, and while the functions of buildings changed, Paris' essential urban fabric remained the same.[55] But the Communard's use of fire was as much a physical as a symbolic statement. Many of the government buildings that Napoléon III renovated became the targets of Communard destruction. In addition to the Tuileries, the Palais-Royale, the *Palais du Conseil d'Etat,* and the

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[55] Priscilla Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), chapter 1.

Préfecture de Police were similarly set ablaze, all of which had been in the process of renovation throughout the 1860s.[56]

In hindsight, the sounds of Haussmann's destruction were not so different than the sounds of warfare. Demolishing buildings and the "*chanson des marteaux*" (the song of hammers) that echoed throughout was the prelude to the shelling, gunshots, and fires that filled the city in 1871.[57] As scholars have noted, "[i]t is not a coincidence, perhaps, that the largest urban revolution in modern history occurred on the heels of the first experiment with urban planning in an industrial city."[58] The mass-re-distribution of residents and the aesthetic unity of the renovated capital had forced Parisians to rethink their urban identities. When the city was reshaped and its residents were relocated, different economic groups began to think of themselves first as Parisian, then by their economic class.[59] The strict distinctions between arrondissements was blurred when the entire city was implicated and attacked. While the 1848 Revolution can be characterized as groups of workers against capitalism, the 1871 Commune was Parisians against the state.[60] It seems that the neighborhoods competed against each other to erect the most impenetrable barricades and to demonstrate their commitment to a Republic.[61] Yet to hold as much of the city as possible, Parisians were required to cross neighborhood lines, mingling with and assisting their neighbors in defending Paris as a whole.[62] However, as this dissertation will argue, this molding of new identities contributed to the overall anxiety about racial status that was made visible by the

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[56] César Daly, "Panorama du movement architectural du monde," RGA, 1862: 271-286.
[57] Eric Fournier, *Paris en ruines: du Paris Haussmannien au Paris Communard,* 19.
[58] Conklin et. al, *France and its Empire,* 47.
[59] Conklin, *France and its Empire,* 43.
[60] Roger Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 71.
[61] Gould, *Insurgent Identities,* 153.
[62] Gould, *Insurgent Identities,* 154.

destruction of the built environment. In a bit of irony, Parisians worried that when the Prussians shelled the capital, resulting fires would burn down their *quartiers*.[63] Even the barricades were meant to show that Parisians would, "rather burn down [their] houses than give them over to the enemy."[64]

This year-long period following the collapse of the Second Empire was also a time when class and gender norms were overturned. Where Parisians in previous decades could pinpoint the neighborhood in which a person lived, the societal flux that occurred in 1871 only sharpened anxiety about French national identity. As Alfred Boime states: "Ironically, it had been the work 'Haussmannization' to eradicate the threat of insurrection, and now this "modernity" was being turned inside out… 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."[65]

Almost immediately after the conclusion of Bloody Week, the desire to categorize Parisians by neighborhood was morphed into an urgent need to identify Communards. In the same format as the *physiognomies,* Parisians attempted to detect Communards based on their facial features, lest they attempt to spawn another revolution (Figure 15). Indeed, Communards seemed to embody all the characteristics of degeneration: vicious instincts, alcoholism, and bent toward destruction.[66] As Parisians became an increasingly homogenous body, they were left to grapple with the remaining ruins and their symbolic meaning as indicators of racial or national identity.

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[63] Fournier, *Paris en ruines,* 46.
[64] Fournier, *Paris en ruines,* 58.
[65] Alfred Boime, *Art and the French Commune,* 5.
[66] Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris After War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 107-109.

But if a person and groups' racial status was formed by their milieu, what did that mean for the Parisians who re-entered the modern city? Especially those who inhabited the uniform apartments that Haussmann had built, the same ones in which Communards may have lived, and who were forced to live amongst the ruins for years to come?

1.5 Locating Degeneracy

For those who returned to the capital after the siege, they were greeted by mounds of lifeless bodies, separated limbs, pools of blood, and a covering of smoke so dense that it was compared to an eclipse.[67] Corpses remained in Paris in the streets and at notable sites like Palais-Royal for days after the fighting had concluded. Workers struggled to keep up with the burials and the mass-dug graves were quickly filled. At least until June 7, executions continued in the Bois-de-Boulogne.[68] The architectural debris stood witness, a visual reminder of the extent to which the French government had lost control.

In the second half of the century, scientific racism, and the theories of difference that it claimed to establish, gained prevalence and imbued biological and urban environments with the power to change species. Some species were degenerate, meaning they either had already peaked or were regressing, and after all the effort that Napoléon III had invested in the city, the French began to wonder how their "civilized" world had failed. Indeed, the Haussmannian city was built to prevent societal upheaval and to represent the modern world, but its inhabitants had lost a

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[67] Conklin, *France and its Empire,* 47.
[68] John Merriman, *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 243-244.

foreign war and spiraled into civil chaos. Could the environment be responsible for the French race's potential degeneracy?

Human displays played a key role in the French government's goal of disseminating and popularizing scientific knowledge. If the modern city and aesthetically unified apartment was not enough to stave off racial degeneration, architectural displays of the Other could re-assure Parisians of their continued superiority. The architecture of human displays was also critical, visual evidence for scientists and the government alike because of its comprehensibility on a large scale and its easy comparison with the French capital.

Scholars such as Robert Nye in the field of history of science, as well as historians, such as Robert Fox and Daniel Pick, have long acknowledged 1871 as a watershed moment for France's racial identity. Throughout the nineteenth century, proof of the weakening French population took many forms and its purported remedies were equally numerous. A decreasing and aging population, a concern that pervaded nineteenth-century French politics and policies, served as evidence for the French race's weakness. After 1871, the anxiety about potential French degeneracy propelled the government of the newly created Third Republic to invest heavily in scientific research, since France's perceived deficiency in this field was but one explanation for their loss to the Prussians. It is no coincidence that this defining and divisive moment in the history of France coincided with a renewed energy in the *Mission civilatrice,* or France's imperial campaigns. As politicians saw it, if France could gain territory overseas, they could make up for their moral and geographic loss to the Prussians.

In the realms of science, the potential for racial degeneracy was 'proven' through biology. Within Lamarck's framework of Transformism, the balance between internal, physiological

environment and external milieu was crucial for a species' survival.[69] It was the habitat that was the driving force for biological change.[70] To use his famous example, the necks of giraffes became elongated because their food was elevated and they were consistently reaching upwards.[71] Parent giraffes then passed on longer necks to their descendants.

Lamarck's attention to the impact of environments on species remained a crucial consideration for French natural sciences throughout the nineteenth century. While Third Republic anthropologists argued that Lamarck had laid the essential groundwork for Darwin, both in terms of the impact of the environment on species and the inheritance of physical characteristics, Darwin's evolution had a darker tone. Indeed, Darwin's natural selection argued that giraffes with short necks would die out, and that only those that possessed long necks and could reach the food would end up reproducing.[72]

Darwin's *Descent of Man* was translated into French in 1872, just in time, it seems, to warn Parisians about the competition to be the fittest race and to verify that only those who thrive can survive.[73] French scientists were fully aware of the potential for races to disappear; this same concern motivated them to study and capture foreign groups before they went extinct. According to Darwin, all races were at risk of decline, especially if those who were degenerate continued to reproduce.

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[69] The attention to the effects of the environment on a species in French scientific thought can be traced to the 16th century with Jean Bodin. See Anne Buttimer, *Society and Milieu in the French Geographic Tradition* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1971).

[70] Fae Brauer, "Introduction," xxiii.

[71] La Société, l'école et le laboratoire d'anthropologie de Paris à l'Exposition universelle de 1889 (Paris: 1889), 80.

[72] *La Société, l'école et le laboratoire d'anthropologie de Paris à l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, 81.

[73] Fae Brauer, "Introduction" in Fae Brauer and Serena Keshavjee, *Picturing Evolution and Extinction: Regeneration and Degeneration in Modern Visual Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), xviii.

In France, anxiety about degeneracy and national decline began to spread as early as 1848. Alcoholism, suicide, and venereal disease were just a few of the societal ills that concerned both the French government and scientists. By 1867, Valentin Magnan, chief psychiatrist at Sainte-Anne Asylum, considered a person's insalubrious environment as being one cause of degeneration. Scientists observed that the population was potentially degenerate through the decline in birthrate, which could be linked to either a biological weakness or the effect of a physical milieu.[74] As will be discussed in further depth in chapter three, the male populations was particularly susceptible to degeneracy, which was evidenced not only by France's military loss but also the fact that many French males were deemed unfit for service.[75]

For questions of national degeneracy, the apartment, *the* architectural form in the capital, took on new importance. While some Parisians say that they were more at home in the boulevards, there was no respite from the damaged vistas and the reminders of French loss. Because ruins do not leave the markers of who or what created them, fire from Prussians shells is easily mistaken with fire from Communards. It was not clear who or what was responsible for the damage wrought to the city. Moreover, scholars argue that during the Commune, the diverse body of Parisians became unified by their identity as Parisians. If a species' environment predicted and dictated racial development, then the precarity of the French race was embodied through the broken city, a visual reminder of Darwin's theory of racial decay.

By the 1870s, anxiety about degeneracy had saturated all forms of social interaction and gestures in public Paris. Where once gazing at strangers was a casual pastime, it took on newfound importance when concerns about degeneracy became popularized. Music, for example, was used

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[74] Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France,* 1993, 74-86. See also Gill, *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination,* 240-253.
[75] Fae Brauer, "Introduction," xix.

as a gage of racial capacity, since African preferred 'primal' sound of beating drums. But if a French viewer, who observed the African musicians, tapped her foot to the beat of an African drum, this physical mirroring could indicate that she had begun to degenerate.[76] In this vein, Parisians were constantly policing themselves and those around them, always on the lookout for clues about racial status. If the uniform urban center was the cause of the degeneracy, then it was only a matter of time before the entire nation was regressed.

1.6 The Third Republic and Science

Beyond their potential degeneration, the new Third Republic government looked for an explanation for their military defeat. To compound France's weak position, the French simply paled in comparison to the German's mastery of science. Almost immediately, the French government sought to expand and popularize their scientific disciplines. They believed that if the French could expand their knowledge and publicize the usefulness of knowledge on a public scale, maybe they could counteract the weakness of the nation.[77] Science thus became the tool for the French government to assure of its citizens of their continued prosperity and to advertise French prosperity on an international stage. But this newfound dedication to science required formal, government support. In 1874, the Ministry of Public Education reinvigorated its *Missions scientifiques* program. Human displays were a curated vision of faraway places that allowed the French government to showcase their prowess in the realm of science, their intellectual or

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[76] Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 144-151.
[77] Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 22. Also Fox, *The Savant and the State,* 251.

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governmental control over foreign groups, and educate the public on a huge scale. The *Missions* displays were a major part of the Expositions universelles of 1878 and 1889 and the scholars who completed them were involved in scientific societies that created, visited, and documented the human displays. Examining the developments to the *Missions* structure in the 1870s also reveals the ever-more important role that architecture played as racial evidence across scientific disciplines.

Officially formed in 1842, the *Missions* developed from France's history of funding overseas research as early as the seventeenth century. Notably, the *Missions* were the informal descendent of Napoléon Bonaparte 1798-1801 Egyptian campaign, during which the emperor sponsored a team of scientists to study and document their observations in the Near East. Until 1842, funds were limited, around 12,000 francs total, and could not accommodate long-term *Missions.* In 1843, however, Abel-François Villemain, the Minister of Public Education*,* proposed expanding the annual budget to 112,000 francs, arguing that the additional funding would: "establish a system of voyages directed towards physical and geographic research or studies relating to language, history, and all that could, generally, be of interest to our civilization."[78]

In the same vein as Napoléon's Egypt campaign, from the 1840s onward, the French government wanted its scientists to gather certain types of evidence and *missionaires* were given individualized directions. For example, in 1853, the government charged the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres with funding a trip for Maximilien Mimey to travel to Peru. His instructions, written by the philologist Edme Jomard (who had participated in Napoléon's Egyptian campaign) directed Mimey to study Incan architecture and Peruvian industry.[79] Building on the

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[78] Quoted in Paris, Archives nationales, F^{17}03.
[79] Pascale Riviale, "Les Instructions archéologiques françaises pour le Pérou au XIXe siècle," in Blanckaert, *Le Terrain des sciences humaines,*" 178-180.

previous work of scholars Rivero and Tschudi, who documented the architecture by type, Mimey was meant to document four particular categories of architecture: *'Palais,' 'forteresses, routes et ponts,' 'prisons, thermes et hôtelleries,'* and *'maisons et constructions diveres.'*[80] Mimey was meant to pay close attention to constructions techniques, especially material extraction, modes of transport, and how the massive stones were raised. In addition, Mimey was instructed to collect objects relating to Incan industries, which in Jomard's terms was any ethnographic object, including hunting equipment, tools, weapons, etc., that could be a witness to the quotidian life of the Incas.[81] Jomard stated explicitly that the list of potential objects was hardly complete, but that it would suffice for guiding the voyagers in the choice of objects that they need to bring back in order to 'enrich [their] museums.'[82]

The *Commission des Missions scientifiques* was formed in 1874 and marked the height of *Missions scientifiques.* This group of specialists from various disciplines, many of whom had already conducted a *Mission scientifique,* selected the funding recipients and were therefore charged with directing government-sponsored scientific activities. After selecting proposals that they deemed worthy of funding, the *Commission* was required to explain the importance *missions* to the Minister of Public Instruction. In addition, they were meant to encourage the best and brightest in their fields to apply for government funding.[83] Several key procedural changes occurred under the guidance of the *Commission.* The committee would only sponsor missions that took place outside of France, since domestic work could be funded by a different government

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[80] The Rivero and Tschudi text had an immediate impact on the American scholars and it was translated into English in 1855 and French in 1859 (Riviale, "Instructions archéologiques francaises pour le Pérou, 179, ft.nt. 1.)

[81] Riviale, "Instructions archéologiques francaise pour le Pérou," 181.

[82] Quoted in Riviale, 181.

[83] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{17} 03.

body. In addition, the majority of the funds were meant to support French citizens and the *Commission* would only fund projects that had been adequately prepared and had clear outcomes.

While the first decade of this group's tenure saw many members come and go, the period from 1881 to 1889 was a period of stability, with few members joining and several members having served since the *Commission's* formation. In 1881, the *Commission* separated into three discipline-specific committees in order to streamline the decision-making process and by this time, some of the most prolific French theorists served on these committees. Many of these scientists had already, or would soon shortly after their tenure, theorize on the past, current state, and future of the French race. The first committee was dedicated to natural sciences, such as anthropology, ethnology, and medicine, and included some of the most prolific theorists of human race, such as Girard de Rialle, Ernest Hamy, Quatrefages, and Paul Topinard.[84] The second committee was dedicated to archeology and history and included Alexandre Bertrand and Ernest Renan.[85] The final committee was dedicated solely to geography and included notable members such as Ferdinand de Lesseps and Oscar-Amédée de Watteville.[86]

When they were approved for a *mission,* scientists received specific instructions about the types of evidence that they should collect during their *Mission.* Indeed, when the *Musée d'Ethnographie* opened in 1883, its original collection was composed exclusively of objects amassed by *Missionaires.* Thus, the instructions that scientists received for their *Missions* reveal the types of evidence that the *Commission* and the government valued.

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[84] In addition, this committee included Paul Bert, Adolphe Chatin, Henri Milne-Edwards, Annie Lagarde-Fouquet, and Henri Liouville.

[85] Also included were Lépold Delisle, Alfred Dumesnil, Gaston Paris, Jean Casimir-Périer, Jules Quicherat, Léon Rénier, and Charles Schefer.

[86] Also included were Henri Duveyrier, Fournier, Charles Maunoir, and Stéphane Michaud, among others.

From Mimey's *mission* in 1853, the interest in both architecture and quotidian objects seems only to have expanded as the century progressed. When the *Missionaires* to Tierra del Feugo returned to France 1883, Louis-Ferdinand Martial reported bringing back 170 cases of object, including 'a complete hut.'[87] In one way or another, the *Missions scientifiques* were connected to nearly all scientific activities and displays in the late nineteenth century. These *Missions* funded explorers, whose collections formed the foundational collections of the Musée d'Ethnographie. Even some of the taxidermied animals displayed at the Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle were collected during *Missions.*[88]

1.7 The Founding of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris and the Challenges of Didactic Displays

Immediately following the Franco-Prussian War, scientists in all fields felt a growing anxiety about international competition. In domestic Expositions, scientists sought to entice and educate their audiences with displays that blurred the boundary between spectacle and science. As scientific disciplines became more and more specialized, each was tasked with making the utility of their science widely known and presenting their esoteric evidence in a comprehensible format. The intense urgency and competition that French scientists felt was summarized by the intellectual Vicomte Ponton d'Amécourt on July 16, 1871, when he stated "…with regard to numismatists, Egyptologists, researchers of every rank, explorers of all things obscure, let no German ever

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[87] Quoted in Philippe Revol, "Observations sur les Fuégiens: du Jardin d'Acclimatation à la Terre de Feu, 1881-1891," 243-296, in Blanckaert, *Le Terrain des sciences humaines,* p. 278
[88] Fox, *The Savant and the State,* 222.

penetrate the underbrush of history without finding the footprint of a Frenchman who passed before him."[89] It was not enough for the French to keep pace, it was essential that they were trailblazers in their respective disciplines and that they used their knowledge to educate the public. Of particular concern was the study of the French past; while Napoléon III had inaugurated the study of pre-historic France because of his interest in Roman archeology, the *Revue celtique* was founded in 1872 to continue to celebrate and publicize the prehistory of France.[90]

The anxiety to compete with other European nations in the realms of science was perhaps nowhere better exemplified than the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (SAP). Founded by Paul Broca in 1859, the SAP set the tone for anthropological research and disciplinary methodology in France. A staunch physical anthropologist, Broca alleged that mathematical data, in the form of skeletal measurements, was the most objective way to study race. He argued that with enough averages, he could create the most complete human classification system and the distinctions between races could be determined once and for all. Broca was a polygenist and believed in the fixity of races, that certain physical traits would be present in every member of a race. He argued that through fieldwork and enough measurements, he could locate data on the 'pure races.'[91] According to Broca, mathematics was more objective than observation, since the latter was 'un-scientific' and 'lacked rigor.'[92]

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[89] Quoted in Bonnie Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past: Merovingian Archeology in France, 1830-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[90] Eveline Gran-Aymerich and Jean Gran-Aymerich, "Visions de la Gaule indépenante au XIXe Siècle: Mythe historique et réalité archéologique" in *Actes du Colloque: Le Monde des images en Gaule et dans les provinces voisines* (Sèvres: Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1987), 109-119.
[91] Blanckaert, "Le Manuel opératoire » de la raciologie : Les instructions aux voyageurs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, in *Le Terrain des sciences humaines,* 1996, 139-174, 148-150.
[92] Blanckaert, "Le Manuel opératoire » de la raciologie : Les instructions aux voyageurs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, in *Le Terrain des sciences humaines,* 1996, 139-174, 162.

Understanding the background and foundation of the SAP is essential for understanding how the human displays were created and manipulated to embody a specific vision of each race. The SAP was not only active in planning and documenting the displays, but by the 1880s, they began to rely on architecture to educate the masses because of its comprehensibility. Architecture could evoke the location from which a group came, its intellectual and physical capabilities, and was easily compared with the French capital. If the anthropologists wanted to make a clear statement about their nation's status in the hierarchy of the world, architectural exhibits were an experiential way to do that. Indeed, the use of architecture represents a shift in both the medium's ability to embody certain types of information and a major turn in the history of anthropology.

Before the use of architecture in anthropological displays, the SAP struggled with how to communicate their ideas to the public. The physical measurements, facial angles, and statistical averages were often too esoteric for their audience, despite its eagerness to learn about science. When translated into diagrams, they required a specific type of visual literacy to decipher their meaning. In print, these physical descriptions are monotonous and challenging for the reader to visualize, especially when the difference between races could be traced to a few angular degrees or inches of skeleton. Instead, the SAP harnessed the power of popular media such as illustrated journals and the Expositions universelles to disseminate their ideas. Publications like the *Magasin Pittoresque*, founded in 1833, used the motto "for all inquiring minds and all pockets" and made the science of an elite accessible to general audiences.[93] Such inexpensive and heavily illustrated journals set the standard for scholarly publications later in the century. Public lectures were another effective tool for disseminating knowledge to the masses. In the 1860s, lectures at the Sorbonne

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[93] Robert Fox, *The Savant and the State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 187.

were heavily attended by both specialists and amateurs, and the most popular speakers provided their audience with presentations that bordered on performance and included images.

While the SAP had a *Bulletin* for society members, *La Nature* was the primary journal through the SAP disseminated its ideas to the public. Founded in 1873 by Gaston Tissandier, *La Nature* was known for its high-quality illustrations and for publishing articles from all disciplines of natural science as well as events of public interest. Preceding each Exposition universelle, *La Nature* published detailed accounts of the construction progress and in-depth analyses of individual exhibits. *La Nature* developed a close relationship with the SAP; it became a regular venue in which members of the SAP published their reactions and reviews of public exhibits.[94] Until the SAP's break with the Jardin d'Acclimatation in 1886, SAP members published accounts of each of the human displays that occurred there between 1877-1886. While the SAP's *Bulletin* included their meeting minutes and debates, their contributions to *La Nature* not only translated their esoteric theories for a general audience but also used illustrations to elaborate their ideas.

By the 1870s, the SAP was keen on promoting its intellectual progress on an international stage, but their scientific and public utility was not always clear. In the face of a suspicious French government, and when they were a newly formed society, the SAP had to prove that they were, in fact, a scientific organization and not a treasonous group.[95] At the time of its formation, the SAP was most watchful of the progress of British anthropologists. Indeed, the Germans, their would-be rivals, were a distinct scholarly disadvantage: without a central, large city or capital, the scientific organizations were spread across the country.[96]

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[94] Robert Fox, *The Savant and the State,* 216-217.
[95] Chris Manias, "The 'Race Prussien' Controversy: Scientific Internationalism and the Nation," *Isis* (2009): 733-757, 738.
[96] Manias, "The 'Race Prussien' Controversy," 740.

French competition with the Germans, whether in the realms of war or science, motivated the French to re-think their privileged anthropological evidence. This rivalry also re-appears in different forms in each of this dissertation's four chapters. For Viollet-le-Duc in chapter 1, the French loss signaled that the nation's 'moral fiber' was weakening. The Jardin d'Acclimatation, the subject of chapter two, was not only physically scarred by the Franco-Prussian War but the displays there were also provided a clear comparison to those in Germany. For the displayed Senegalese in chapter 3, the stereotypes surrounding their muscular vigor and viciousness were meant to be a tool of war, one that French males had fully dominated and mastered. Last, whether or not the French were Aryans, and if they were largely of Frankish or Gaulish parentage, is analyzed in the context of Garnier's *Habitation humaine.* To understand how the SAP kept pace, it is crucial to examine how the group created their display for the 1878 Exposition universelle and how the types of evidence that they directed their *Missionaires* to gather.

For the Exposition universelle of 1878, it was essential that French anthropological society showcase its progress. To accommodate Broca's belief in the primacy of physical evidence, the ethnological and anthropological exhibits occurred in separate buildings, lest fairgoers confuse the two disciplines. The anthropological exhibit, held in a second-floor corner of the Palais de l'Industrie, was almost exclusively skeletal fragments arranged for comparison. In preparatory discussions for the display, the SAP decided that ethnographic objects could not be displayed as specimens by "men of science" because they were the result of a single creator's 'impression.'[97] Perhaps because of its location, or maybe because of its stark exhibitionary format, the anthropological display received fewer visitors than anticipated.[98] While Broca's explicit goal had

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[97] Paris, Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle, SAP 60 (1).
[98] *Les Merveilles de l'Exposition de 1878. Ouvrage rédigé par des écrivains spéciaux et des ingénieurs, illustré, etc*. (Paris: 1878), 735.

been to engage their audience without "furnishing a public spectacle," the exhibit was challenging

to comprehend and paled in comparison to other didactic exhibits.[99]

Immediately after the Exposition of 1878, anthropologists were optimistic about the

reception of their display. The author of "Notice sur l'Exposition des sciences anthropologiques,"

that the organization and installation of the anthropology exhibit was the responsibility of the

Société d'anthropologie. According to the author, the exhibit "…clearly affirmed that the goal that

[the society] pursued was above all else scientific."[100] The *Notice* ends by stating: "we can say, for

the general public, anthropological sciences was born at the Exposition of 1878. This date will

remain famous in their records."[101] In addition, the SAP had plans to release a catalogue of their

1878 Exposition display, in which readers are guided on how to analyze the skeletal displays. In

the section of the catalogue titled "Exterior physical characters," the author remarks: "…the

anatomical study of anthropology, that which is studied in laboratories or amphitheaters, is the

most technical part of our science, and was the most difficult aspect to present to the public.

Exterior character, at least, was better understood… it from there that it would be necessary to

speak to the eyes of visitors and teaches them the different characters between races…"[102]

Why the catalogue went unpublished in unclear, but the SAP seems to have suspected that

they needed to enliven their public displays. By the time of Broca's death in 1880, the SAP felt an

urgent need to reform their anthropological practice, adopting a material-based, ethnographic

approach. This would be more easily understood by public audiences and would showcase their

scientific prowess on an international stage. Physical anthropology was limiting and by the 1880s,

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[99] *Notice sur l'Exposition des sciences anthropologiques*, 572.
[100] *Notice sur l'Exposition des sciences anthropologiques*, 572.
[101] *Notice sur l'Exposition des sciences anthropologiques*, 578.
[102] Paris, Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle, SAP 60 (1).

their German rivals in the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Berlin Society of Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory or BGAEU) had long valued cultural material as objects of study.

As a first order of business, it was necessary for the SAP to update the standard questions that circulated amongst anthropologists conducting fieldwork. Scholars were meant to use the questions to guide the types of observations and notes they made while abroad. In 1883, the updated *"Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie"* [Questionnaire of sociology and ethnology] was published in the SAP's *Bulletin.* In the preface, the authors Hamy, Abel Hovelacque, Julien Vinson, and Charles Letourneau state that they reduced the number of questions to a minimum but included questions that were applicable to all civilizations. These questions were to be so all encompassing that they could be answered about all groups "from the *Fuégiens* to the inhabitants of the most civilized capitals."[103] The authors continue by stating:

> [g]reat efforts have been made, above all in France, to create anatomical anthropology, and, without fail, it is certainly the base of our study, which is necessary to firmly establish before all else. But, to be complete, the science of man must also embrace all the great manifestations of human activity; it is necessary that one day, the linguist, the psychologist, the law maker, the economist, the philosopher could look to anthropology and obtain the material from organized, studied facts, of which their specialized sciences would not have.[104]

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[103] "Questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* (1883): 578-597.

[104] "De grands efforts ont été faits, surtout en France, pour créer l'anthropologie anatomique et, à coup sûr, là est bien la base de nos études, ce qu'il fallait solidement établir avant tout. Mais, pour être complète, la science de l'homme doit aussi embrasser toutes les grandes manifestations de l'activité humaine ; il faut qu'un jour le linguiste, le psychologue, le législateur, l'économiste, le philosophe puissent demander à l'anthropologie et en obtenir le matériel de faits bien observées, bien coordonnés, dont leurs sciences spéciales ne sauraient se passer. » *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris,* 579-580.

Anthropology was not simply meant to be a stand-alone science, but could potentially buttress other, seemingly unrelated disciplines. By 1884, when Léonce Manouvrier documented his observations from the Jardin d'Acclimatation, he was later criticized for reporting too many measurements and not enough "impressions."[105]

The methodological re-evaluation of anthropological fieldwork did not stop there. Topinard, the successive president of the SAP, served on the *Commission des Missions,* and used his experience to update the instructions that the SAP gave to anthropologists conducting fieldwork. Titled the *Instructions anthropométriques pour des voyageurs* [Anthropomorphic Instructions for Voyagers] in the *Revue d'Anthropologie,* the text expanded the types of information collected in order to match their foreign competitors.[106] According to Topinard, the previous *Instructions,* especially since the majority of them related to the collection of physical measurements, had been too complex. As a result, France now lagged behind Germany and England in the field of anthropology.[107] Topinard widened the scope of anthropology to include the object-based, descriptive techniques from other disciplines such as ethnology and philology.[108]

As it so happens, the SAP was less innovative than its northern neighbors. Although the BGAEU had only been founded in 1869, German anthropologists had consistently privileged the study of quotidian objects on the basis that they *were* objective. According to the German anthropologists members of the BGAEU, quotidian things existed in all cultures, independent of

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[105] Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 134.

[106] Paul Topinard, *Instructions Instructions anthropométriques pour des voyageurs* (Paris : G. Masson, 1885).

[107] Quoted in Claude Blanckaert, "Le Manuel opératoire » de la raciologie : Les instructions aux voyageurs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, in *Le Terrain des sciences humaines,* 1996, 153.

[108] Blanckaert, "Le Manuel opératoire," 162.

historians or written text, and were thus the premiere type of scientific evidence.[109] Rudolf

Virchow, the head of the BGAEU, described artifacts as, "a factual, objective archive, on which

every researcher can independently draw."[110]

In order to compete international competition and to make their ideas legible to the public,

the SAP transitioned from esoteric evidence such as facial angles, hair texture, and skeletal

measurements to architectural specimens. As we will see in the following chapters, this change in

preferred evidence was made even more urgent by the human participants who did not act as

popular accounts had depicted. Instead, architecture was a static representation that anchored the

participants to a specific notion of racial difference.

1.8 The State of Race Theory by 1870

In the transition from the Second Empire to the Third Republic, race theory as a field of

study underwent significant changes and became increasingly nuanced. Before launching into the

four case studies that follow, it is necessary to introduce two race theorists who appear repeatedly

throughout this dissertation. Their ideas are both emblematic of the main discourses of late

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[109] It is interesting to note that the German anthropological community even struggled to use photographs to document human measurements. To combat variance in the posture of anthropological photographs and to facilitate comparison, German anthropologists utilized rulers and wires against their subjects, hoping that they could then deduce the actual size of the sitter. Because photographic legibility was not yet widespread, nineteenth-century viewers could easily misinterpret a shadow as a depression. Instead, anthropologists enlisted artists to translate the photographs into drawings, but only under the guidance of the anthropologist, would emphasize aspects of the photographed deemed most crucial by the scientists. See Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism,* 99.
[110] Quoted in Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism,* 48-49.

nineteenth-century race theory and carried significant sway over the architects, scientists, and government officials in this dissertation.

The figure is Comte Arthur de Gobineau, who published *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* in 1853.[111] This text is of particular interest for two reasons. First, Gobineau divides the races of man into three distinct races: white (or Aryan), yellow, and black, and each race is endowed with specific physical and intellectual qualities. Second, Gobineau warns about the possibility of degeneracy [*dégénération*] that occurs from too much racial mixing. Although racial mixing in Gobineau's scheme would lead to more dynamic and creative societies, it would equally lead to mankind's downfall. Gobineau's ideas about racial mixing, French identity, and the future will be explored in regard to Viollet-le-Duc in chapters 1 and Garnier in chapter 4.

It is necessary to highlight in Gobineau's *Essai* both the role of environment in forming human races and the diverse types of evidence that he uses. According to Gobineau, 'civilization' is: "not a fact, but a convergence of facts and ideas, it is a *state* [*état*] in which a human society finds itself, an environment [*milieu*] in which it successfully put itself, which it created, which emanates from it, and, in turn, reacts to it."[112] Indeed, for Gobineau, it was the mixing of races and environmental influences that contributed to the prosperity or decline of races. Moreover, Gobineau was an early proponent of racial evidence beyond skeletal measurements. He argued that there were two instincts present in all peoples: one of material needs and the other of morality, the level of intensity clues us in to the difference between races.[113] According to Gobineau, the yellow races are dominated by a *sensation matérielle,* while the black race are dominated by

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[111] Comte Arthur de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1853).
[112] Italics in original. Gobineau, "…la civilisation n'est pas un fait, c'est un faisceau de faits et d'idées, c'est un *état* dans lequel une société humaine se trouve placée, un *milieu* dans lequel elle a réussi à se mettre, qu'elle a créé, qui émane d'elle, et qui à son tour réagit sur elle," 126.
[113] Gobineau, *Essai,* 139.

imagination.[114] Gobineau distinguishes between the 'lowest' races and those more advanced by those who are: "not content to make a hut [*cabane*] of branches and to base their society on force alone" as elevated above of the most barbaric.[115] He firmly believed that philological evidence would allow scientists formalize a hierarchy of human races.[116] Although Gobineau explicitly acknowledges the value of certain types of anthropological evidence, he does not use specific examples. For example, although he references this 'hut of branches' this is hardly a precise enough description to direct anthropological inquiry and practice.

In addition, Armand de Quatrefages, who has already appeared in this introduction, requires further introduction. Quatrefages was a prolific writer and theorist of race science, who was heavily involved in government activities, scientific societies, and planning the Exposition universelles. In 1889, he and Ernest-Théodore Hamy co-authored the seminal text *Histoire Générale des races humaine,* a two-volume manual dividing the races of mankind into [distinct] sub-groups.[117]A stark monogenist, Quatrefages believed that all humans derived from a single origin and, over time, had acquired or lost certainly physical and intellectual capacities. Indeed, it was the *milieu* or environment that was the force of species of change in men, animals, and plants.[118]

Juxtaposing Gobineau's racial schema with that of Hamy and Quatrefages demonstrates how, in the span of less than four decades, the science of race had grown ever-more specific. By 1889, Hamy and Quatrefages were prepared to abstract the history of mankind into genealogical

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[114] Gobineau, *Essai,* 139.
[115] Gobineau, *Essai,* 140.
[116] Gobineau, *Essai,* 349.
[117] Ernest-Théodore Hamy and Armande de Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale des races humaines* (Paris: A. Hennuyer, 1889).
[118] Hamy and Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale,* 165.

tables (Figure 16). If the genealogy of a race was less clear, the authors experimented with forms of representation to visualize the distribution of traits from parent races (Figure 17).

In late nineteenth-century Paris, architectural forms and the built environment were deeply connected to notions of racial character. Before 1877, the urban and scientific climates prepared Parisian viewers to analyze the architecture as the physical embodiment of race theory. While the apartment had long stood in the Parisian popular imagination as the French dwelling *par excellence,* it was likewise one of the key architectural elements in Haussmann's modern city. Although Parisians had been trained to read strangers as a product of the environments that shaped them, the potentially negative consequences of an environment became more alarming with the social upheaval and destruction of 1870-1871. The physical remnants of this time haunted the city, a visual reminder of the precarity of civilization. As scientists tried to categorize the races of man and understand their place in this purported hierarchy, the French government aimed to bolster the sciences, the results of which were displayed at Expositions and in illustrated journals.

In the four chapters that follow, architecture becomes the surrogate body through which racial identity is communicated. A dwelling's material evoked the geographic location from which a group came, while its construction, scale, and ornamentation communicated the group's physical and intellectual capabilities. At a critical juncture in the history of French anthropology, French national identity, and the imperial project, these architectural specimens reveal the anxieties and priorities that permeated late nineteenth-century Paris. Architecture was not only a tool for visualizing the purported racial identity of the 'Other' but it was equally a method of re-assuring Parisian civilians of their continued cultural prosperity.

2.0 Scaffolding Race Theory: Viollet-le-Duc, Daly, and the Anthropological Community

In 1866, famed architect and preservationist Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc gave a talk at the Sorbonne in which he theorized on the relationship between racial and architectural identity. "Art and architecture," he stated, "develop according to general rules. [These rules] are established because of the aptitudes of different human races, the relationships between races, and the social and political circumstances that result from these relations."[119] Throughout the next decade and a half of his lifetime, Viollet-le-Duc continually re-visited how racial character manifested through architecture. During this time, he published books, built a rapport with Parisian anthropological community, and helped to create the permanent Musée d'Ethnographie. Yet he was not the only architect to actively explore the connection between race and architecture. In 1872, César Daly visited the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (SAP) to present his findings on Aryan and Semitic architecture. Like Viollet-le-Duc, Daly argued that architectural forms were deeply related to racial aptitudes. As founder and editor-in-chief of the *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publiques* (RGA)*,* the premiere architectural journal in nineteenth-century France, he was one of the authorities on current trends in architecture and urban planning.

Viollet-le-Duc and Daly were not simply high-profile architects: they were deeply engaged in the French scientific community and in government decision making. Their intellectual prowess and the respect they garnered amongst their peers cannot be underestimated. When these architects

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[119] "…l'art et l'architecture… se développent suivant des règles générales qui s'établissent en raison des aptitudes des différentes races humaines, des relations entre ces races, et des circonstances sociales et politiques qui résultent de ces relations," Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "De l'architecture dans ses rapports avec l'histoire," *Gazette des Architectes et du bâtiment,* 1866, 4e année, n. 21, 353-364.

stated that buildings embodied racial character, or that each race of man created a distinct type of building, their ideas were taken seriously. As discussed in the introduction, anthropology was in the midst methodological shift throughout the 1870s and scientists sought a way to make their ideas legible to the public. Viollet-le-Duc and Daly were key agents in anthropology's adoption of architecture as a didactic tool and bridged the gap between the scientific and architectural communities.

This chapter examines how Viollet-le-Duc and Daly used race theory as a way to understand global and historical phenomenon. These architects taught anthropologists how to read architecture as evidence of race theory. In their publications and presentations, Viollet-le-Duc and Daly reduce architecture to its most basic geometric forms and materials, then correlate these architectural qualities with the racial group that created these it. By analyzing the broader context in which Viollet-le-Duc and Daly's ideas were formulated, specifically their involvement with Parisian scientific communities, this chapter reveals how architecture became key evidence in anthropological texts, museum displays, and above all, human displays.

Although the intellectual exchanges between Viollet-le-Duc and Daly pre-date the full-size human displays of the late 1870s, the ideological groundwork that they laid was essential for teaching scientists and the public how to use architecture as a tool for visualizing race theory. While the SAP hoped to elevate the status of their science and keep pace with their international competitors, they did not have a clear criteria about how to categorize the races of man. Skin tone observations were subjective, there were variation in skeletal measurements and even hair color remained an ambiguous source of evidence. For example, as late as 1879, members of the SAP debated how to understand blond or brunette Aryans.[120] These types of evidence were not only

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[120] For example, see "Sur l'origine des Aryas," *BSAP (*1879): 185-215.

challenging to display but also required esoteric knowledge to fully understand them. Because Parisians were habituated to analyzing humans as the product of their environment, architecture seemed a natural medium for visualizing race.

Viollet-le-Duc's motivation for participating in scientific circles will be explained through both a longstanding interest in race theory and a desire to educate the general public. After the Franco-Prussian war, Viollet-le-Duc was deeply distressed by the French nation's loss and its weak 'moral fiber.' Although he had theorized on the relationship between race and architecture for over a decade, finetuning his ideas would allow him to elevate the importance of discipline and ensure that France remained at the forefront of science. By 1879. Viollet-le-Duc argued that racial character imprinted on buildings its form, such as its scale, shape, spatial configuration, as well as its construction material. These architectural elements were clearer and more comprehensible than traditional anthropological evidence such as hair texture and facial angle. If Viollet-le-Duc's architectural method could provide a less ambiguous way to read racial character, then the anthropological community certainly would have taken his method seriously. Partnering with the anthropological community allowed him to educate to the broadest public possible and on a larger scale than his publications would reach.

Daly's desire to merge architecture and race theory grew from his mounting concerns about the future of the architectural profession. Throughout the nineteenth century, Daly believed that the line between architecture and engineering had begun to blur. In his writings in the late 1860s, Daly became increasingly anxious and vocal about the expertise that made architects distinct, chief amongst which was the visual literacy to recognize which races constructed specific styles of building. Daly argued that each epoch had its own distinct architectural style that was the balance of that period's reason and emotion. Teaching anthropologists to read these qualities in architecture

would not only allow him to highlight the unique visual literacy that architects had refined but also to more thoroughly understand the history of mankind.

Although they were contemporaries and certainly crossed paths, neither Daly nor Viollet-le-Duc commented on the other's ideas about race and architecture. As early as 1840, Daly criticized Viollet-le-Duc's colorful restoration of Taormina in the inaugural issue of the RGA.[121] When Viollet-le-Duc famously criticized the École des Beaux-Arts in 1863-64, Daly was mum on the subject, much to Viollet-le-Duc's chagrin.[122] By the 1870s, both were deeply involved with the Parisian scientific communities. In 1864, Viollet-le-Duc served on the *Commission* for the scientific mission to Mexico, while Daly became a member of the SAP in 1865.

To trace the genealogy of Viollet-le-Duc's race theory, this chapter analyzes his writings and government-sponsored activities in three phases: from 1864-1870, when he connected with anthropologists and began applying race theory to his writings; from 1871-1875, when he composed his concerns about French moral weakness and partnered with the Hetzel publishing house. Of particular interest in this section is his 1875 *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* in which Viollet-le-Duc attempts to trace the history of dwellings throughout human history and develops his most fully formed theory of human races; and 1875-1878, when his ideas about race and architecture were fully formed and he was involved with planning the permanent Musée d'Ethnographie. Daly's 1872 presentation on race to the SAP and his publications serve as a counterpoint to Viollet-le-Duc's conception of race theory and architecture.

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[121] Martin Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014), 50.

[122] Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment: César Daly's Formula for Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press), 11.

2.1 Review of Scholarship

To date, there has been no single study that traces the relationship between architects and anthropologists in nineteenth-century France. With regard to Viollet-le-Duc, this analysis is the first not only to consider his relationship with the French scientific community but also to analyze his writings in relation to the anxiety about racial identity that permeated post-Franco-Prussian War Paris. As we will see, Viollet-le-Duc's racial ideology was informed by his friendship with Comte Arthur de Gobineau, author of the 1853 *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines.*[123] Their friendship, and how Viollet-le-Duc adopted race theories, has been taken at face value in secondary scholarship.[124] Gobineau hoped that his own ideas would be taken more seriously by the wider scientific community. By unofficially partnering with Viollet-le-Duc, a man of immense political and social power, Gobineau's tri-partite race model reached a much wider audience than it would have otherwise. Moreover, Viollet-le-Duc used architecture to translate Gobineau's ideas into the visual form, giving them a real-world application that is missing from Gobineau's largely theoretical text.

Scholars have acknowledged that Viollet-le-Duc employed up-to-date racial terminology in his major writings from the mid-nineteenth century. Martin Bressani has conducted a thorough reading of Viollet-le-Duc's *Entretiens* (1863)*,* which has provided a solid base for both this study and for future scholars. Bressani analyzes Viollet-le-Duc's proposed building projects and reads their construction systems through the lens of race theory, especially with regard to the purported correlation between racial aptitudes and types of construction systems. To analyze the relationship

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[123] Comte Arthur de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1853).
[124] See, for example, Keith Davis, *Désiré Charnay: Expeditionary Photographer* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981).

between Viollet-le-Duc and Gobineau, Bressani has uncovered letters between the two, some of which discuss the 'Aryan dwelling' in its original form. These ideas contributed to an overarching shift that Bressani locates in Viollet-le-Duc's historical philosophy around 1860, when Viollet-le-Duc became more attentive to racial-physiological ideas than national-historical ones.[125] Instead of re-visiting the texts that Bressani has analyzed, this chapter will focus on Viollet-le-Duc's less well-known writings and works from 1862 to this death in 1879.

Bressani's text is similarly an invaluable introduction to Viollet-le-Duc's later years, yet Bressani paints the architect as somewhat of a recluse, retreating from his activities in Paris. In the final years of his life, Viollet-le-Duc was engaged with major state-funded projects. From 1876, he was involved with planning the Exposition universelle of 1878 and with rebuilding the Tuileries palace.[126] After the Exposition had closed, in the final months of his life, Viollet-le-Duc served on the planning commission to create the future, permanent Musée d'Ethnographie [Museum of Ethnography]. This chapter thus adds a previously unknown dimension to the last decade of Viollet-le-Duc's life and intellectual legacy.

Two other, recent sources have discussed the role of race theory in Viollet-le-Duc's writings. Greg Kerr's brief article "Racialisation du discours" endeavors to analyze the didactic relationship between text and image in Viollet-le-Duc's 1875 *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine.*[127] Yet, because Kerr devotes a significant amount of the text to the background on race theory, especially Gobineau, his discussion of the image and text relationship is rather abbreviated, but

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[125] See Bressani, especially chapters 10, 11, and 12.

[126] Viollet-le-Duc's involvement with the Exposition universelle of 1878 has been largely overlooked. He is briefly mentioned in seminal studies of the founding of the Musée Ethnographique du Trocadéo such as Nélia Dias, *Le Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, 1878-1908* (Paris: Presse du CNRS, 1991).

[127] Greg Kerr, "Racialisation du discours dans l'*Histoire de l'Habitation humaine* d'Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc," *Romantisme* 166, 2014: 82-94.

Kerr does affirms that Viollet-le-Duc employed the same tri-partite race theory as Gobineau. Of particular interest to this study is the way that Kerr analyzes the two interlocuters (around whom the text is written) as a way to understand the relationship between progress and tradition in Viollet-le-Duc's theory of architecture.

Charles Davis's PhD dissertation analyzes the relationship between race and architecture in the entry called "style" form the *Dictionnaire raisonné*, the *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine* text, and Viollet-le-Duc's Swiss chalet called the "Villa la Vedette.[128]" Davis' broader project compares Viollet-le-Duc's ideas to those of contemporary German architect Gottfried Semper. However, Davis uses an English translation to study *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* one that begins with a translator's note that elaborates on and clarifies Viollet-le-Duc's use of racial terminology. No such preface exists in the French version, and readers were required to use the examples, images, and storyline to understand the relationship between race and architectural forms.

The relationship between race theory and architectural history in Daly's writings has been significantly less studied. Richard Becherer's *Science Plus Sentiment* focuses on Daly's text and preservation projects from 1840-1860. By connecting Daly with the legacy of the *philosophes*, Becherer better situates Daly's prominence as an architectural theorist to understand the tension in his work between reason and God. Although Becherer briefly applies Lamarck's theory of Transformism to unravel Daly's conception of architectural 'progress,' Daly's use of the term 'race' and notion of national identity is unacknowledged.

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[128] Charles Davis, "Tracing the Integrations of Race and Style theory in Nineteenth-Century Architectural Style Debates: E. E. Viollet-le-Duc and Gottfried Semper, 1834-1890" (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009).

Yves Schoonjans' has studied how Daly presented regional architecture in the RGA, as well as Daly's philosophical leanings before 1870. As we will see, Daly believed that buildings took certain forms based on race and 'culture,' such as a group's religion and its contact with others. While Schoonjan's quotes Daly's, and includes his use of the term 'race,' the author does not pursue the precise meaning of this term nor how it functioned in a constellation of late nineteenth-century ideas about identity and architecture.

Studying the development of anthropological sciences alongside Viollet-le-Duc and Daly's changing ideas about race theory and architecture reveals how the two disciplines were mutually constitutive. As architecture and anthropology attempted to distinguish themselves in the broader intellectual community of nineteenth-century Paris, their parallel development, as well as their connection to Viollet-le-Duc and Daly, reveals how the two disciplines shared and reinforced notions of racial identity. By analyzing this crucial moment in the history of anthropology, public education, and architectural history, this chapter reveals the impact that architects and buildings had in the scientific circles of late nineteenth-century France.

2.2 Writing Racial Architecture in the 1860s

The 1866 lecture at the Sorbonne is one of the earliest moments that the anthropological notion of "race" appears in Viollet-le-Duc's writings. However, by this time, Viollet-le-Duc had already explored several questions that related to race theory and that had provoked scientists and architects alike. Did the races of man emerge from single or multiple origins? What was the effect of the environment on race formation? And, perhaps most important, how can scientists definitively and objectively categorize the different races? By analyzing Viollet-le-Duc's writings

from 1864-1870 within the context of the *Missions scientifiques* and nineteenth-century architectural historiography, this section analyzes the initial outline of Viollet-le-Duc's race theory. It demonstrates that Viollet-le-Duc explicitly connected character of architecture to character of race in a way that would elevate the value of architecture as anthropological evidence.

Viollet-le-Duc had speculated on many key questions that drove the study of human races. For example, as early as 1852, Viollet-le-Duc pondered the relationship between environment and architectural aesthetic in his article "Divisions of France, by styles, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries." After comparing three maps of France, each of which included architectural divisions by style, geological divisions, and feudal boundaries, Viollet-le-Duc concluded: "we may observe that the division between [architectural] style is closer to the geological than to the political divisions of the land."[129] According to this statement, the type of environment in which a group lived dictated more about the forms of their architecture than the cultural difference that existed between them. Much like the popular *physiologies,* Viollet-le-Duc argued for a connection between a group's urban environment and its character. In Viollet-le-Duc's Gothic scheme, both humans, and their architecture became distinct because they had adapted to the natural habitat in which they were located.

By the 1860s, Viollet-le-Duc had established a friendship with Comte Arthur de Gobineau. It is unclear when they met, but their earliest letters date to 1861 and the friendly tone in which they are written implies that their relationship likely began earlier.[130] Gobineau had published his first edition of the *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* in 1853, meaning it is realistic to assume that Viollet-le-Duc had read and pondered the text before they had met.

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[129] Quoted in Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* 205.
[130] Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* "Instinct and Race," footnote 47.

The ways that Gobineau influenced Viollet-le-Duc are especially apparent in Viollet-le-Duc's writings between 1858-1864. By 1858, Viollet-le-Duc had released the first of the *Entretiens*, in which he posits that even the most "primitive" people were capable of creating "great" art.[131] As an expert and proponent of Gothic art and architecture, it is unsurprising that Viollet-le-Duc would make this statement, especially when the Medieval past was disdained by proponents of Neo-Classicism. However, this statement belies the notion that only Europeans are capable of producing art. Such a sentiment certainly recalls Gobineau's idea that cultural transformations were the result of racial mixing. In Gobineau's *Essai,* it is the black race that is naturally endowed with the imagination to create and other races must mix with it to obtain the necessary faculties to create art.[132]

Viollet-le-Duc and Gobineau agreed on a central point: each of the races would create and re-create a distinct form of dwelling. Throughout his writings on race theory, Viollet-le-Duc consistently returns to the notion of a prehistoric, even mythic, Aryan dwelling made of wood that would be imitated in all later dwellings. [133] Gobineau and Viollet-le-Duc had clearly discussed this possibility because in 1862, Gobineau wrote to Viollet-le-Duc from Tehran to tell him that he had discovered an early recreation of the original Aryan dwelling. The search for an original construction and its imitation in historic built forms became one of Viollet-le-Duc's primary concerns when developing his theory of race and architecture later in the century, but his writings had already placed a premium on original architectural forms. In the sixth *Entretien,* Viollet-le-Duc states that architectural regeneration or renaissance occurs by recalling original building types.

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[131] Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* 334.
[132] Gobineau, *Essai,* 139.
[133] Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* 346.

However, these forms are not yet imbued with racial characteristics as the will in his later writings.[134]

As Bressani has acknowledged, Viollet-le-Duc was far from the first architect to speculate on mankind's original built forms and their repetition throughout history.[135] The notion that there were multiple origins of architecture, each of which corresponded to a distinct architectural character, had its roots in the doctrine of Viollet-le-Duc's eighteenth-century predecessor, Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy. Quatremère de Quincy argued that the superiority of ancient Greek architecture could be proved by its origin, which was separate from Egyptian and Chinese architectural traditions. From 1816 to 1839, he served as the perpetual secretary of the Académie des Beaux-Arts where his ideas shaped aesthetic discourse in France and impacted the pedagogy of the École des Beaux-Arts directly.[136]

Early in his career, Quatremère de Quincy grappled with ideas concerning the origins of European architecture. In 1785 he won the Prix Caylus essay competition, sponsored by the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres, with his text that responded to the question "What was the state of Egyptian architecture and do the Greeks seem to have borrowed from it." Quatremère de Quincy, using the ideas of Cornelius de Pauw,[137] posited that architectural history began with three different ideal models: the hut, the cave, and the tent, each of which corresponded

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[134] Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* 349. Notably, Bressani translates *primitif* as 'primitive,' yet the French term does not hold the derogatoriness of the English term. Instead, I assert that 'original' is a more precise translation for Viollet-le-Duc's because it better evokes the architectural imitation that Viollet-le-Duc describes.

[135] Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* 353-356.

[136] Christopher Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 199.

[137] Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 74.

to a different climate and culture (Figure 18).[138] Instead of analyzing how architecture had

progressed, this scheme asserted that architecture was the product of imitation: every individual

building related directly to an ideal "type" and could be judged on its success in relation to that

ideal. History played a secondary role in this conception of architectural composition. The wood

hut became the "type" for Greek architecture to imitate, the stone cave that of Egypt, and the tent

that of Asia.[139]

When Quatremère de Quincy had to explain overlaps between architectural "types," he

published a revised essay in 1803 entitled "De l'Architecture égyptienne considérée dans son

origine, ses principes et son goût, et comparée sous les mêmes rapports à l'architecture grecque"

["On Egyptian architecture, considered with respect to its origin, its principles and its taste and

compared in the same terms with Greek architecture"] the title of which indicates the drastic

changes to the author's thought.[140]. Quatremère de Quincy's revised essay posited the existence of

a universal "grammar" of architecture that had neither roots in one 'model' nor a specific time or

place. [141] The disparities between Egyptian and Greek, moreover, were based upon their different

building materials; whereas Egyptian buildings continued to imitate their original cave habitats in

material and general form, the Greeks transposed their wood constructions into stone. Because

Greek Architecture employed a consistent system of proportion, it had attained beauty, while no

other building tradition, according to Quatremère de Quincy, could make this claim.[142] This

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[138] Anthony Vidler, "Architectural Cryptograms: Style and Type in Romantic Historiography," in *Perspecta,* vol. 22 (1986): 136-141.
[139] Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987), 156-157.
[140] Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy,* 47.
[141] Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy,* 58.
[142] Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy,* 29.

distinction divorced Greek architecture from Egypt, allowing it to continue to be the model for modern of European Architecture, understood in the context of the École des Beaux-Arts.

Although Viollet-le-Duc was perhaps the most famous critic of the Neoclassical doctrine of the École des Beaux-Arts, his search for the forms and legacy of original dwellings certainly recalls Quatremère de Quincy's writings.[143] Viollet-le-Duc's applies the theory of imitation, as well as the notion of a white or Aryan (Viollet-le-Duc uses the terms interchangeably) ur-dwelling, in his 1863 text on South American architecture. Written to accompany photographs that Désirée Charnay shot during his 1857-1861 *Mission scientifique* in South America, Viollet-le-Duc analyzes construction materials and building forms to trace the migration patterns of different races. Charnay had stayed in Mexico from 1857-1861 and was sponsored by the Ministry of Public education to take photographs and conduct archeological research.[144] Although Charnay had published a collection of photographs without text in 1862, the second edition was published with Viollet-le-Duc's commentary, guiding the reader through the cities and architectural ruins that Charnay had documented.[145] This second edition, titled *Cités et ruines américaines* is composed of three parts: a preface by Charnay, a 100-page introduction by Viollet-le-Duc, and a reproduction of Charnay's travel logs and notes.

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[143] For background on Viollet-le-Duc and the École des Beaux-Arts, see Arthur Drexler, *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), Sir John Summerson, "Viollet-le-Duc and the Rational Point of View," in *Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1815-1879* (New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1980), Roy Johnston, *Parisian Architecture of the Belle Epoque* (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2007), Kevin Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (Univeristy Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000),

[144] Keith Davis, *Désiré Charnay: Expeditionary Photographer* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 12-17.

[145] Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza; receuillies et photographiées par Désiré Charnay* (Paris: A. Morel et Cie., 1863).

In Charnay's preface, he emphasizes the racial stakes of his archeological project. He states, "these monuments, do they not call to us to say if their creators were our brothers or our contemporaries, or if this new world was a genesis apart?"[146] While this question unambiguously alludes to contemporary racial debates about the singular or multiple origins of mankind, it equally foregrounds that the monuments will be used to interrogate broader questions about the races of man. This racial language is largely absent from his journey notes, implying that Viollet-le-Duc's analysis led Charnay to view the South American monuments in racial terms. Viollet-le-Duc's introduction begins in a similar manner, with a question about the origins and the relations between the races of man. Yet he pushes the inquiry further to assert that the South American monuments can shed light on the long history of mankind, foregrounding the importance of architecture as anthropological evidence in other times and places.[147]

To analyze the relationship between architecture and race, Viollet-le-Duc uses *Cités et ruines* to trace the migration, advancement, and decline of South America. Indeed, the ruins of South America were particularly challenging for race theorists to explain. These massive, heavily decorated structures had withstood the test of time, meaning they were erected by a sophisticated group of people, yet due to their geographic location, they could not easily be traced to the races of Europe. To explain this, Viollet-le-Duc argued that the indigenous American groups had mixed first a group of yellow-race migrants, then again with a small number of migrant Aryans. Although

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[146] "Ces monuments ne sont-ils pas appelés à nous dire si leurs fondateurs furent nos frères et nos contemporains, ou si cette terre nouvelle eut une genèse a part," Désirée Charnay, "Prologue" in Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* ii.

[147] "…en examinant avec attention les monuments d'architecture photographiés par M. Charnay, peut-être pourrons-nous jeter quelque lumière sur cette partie de la grande histoire humaine." Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 4.

this mixed-race group had erected monumental architecture, the effects of racial mixing, such as the advancements in building technique, were temporary. Viollet-le-Duc explains:

> At the time of Spanish conquest, Mexico had fallen again into a state of relative inferiority, as if the civilizing tribes that had dominated these countries several centuries before our time, and who maintained it until the twelfth century, had little by little been absorbed by an inferior indigenous race.[148]

After some time, a small group of Aryans descended from the northeast and erected the monumental stone architecture that remained in Mexico. To unravel the connection between monumental architecture and race, Viollet-le-Duc first assigns building techniques to certain races. The "yellow race" purportedly had an aptitude for extracting and manipulating metals. In addition, whenever mortar is present in a building, the creators must have had some yellow racial parentage.[149] On the other hand, the white or Aryan race did not execute the hard labor that was required for metal extraction. Instead, Aryan architecture imitated the mythic wood dwelling that the Aryans had built in their Himalayan birthplace, even when it was translated into stone. The legacy of this dwelling was purportedly visible in the American monuments. In the same way that race theorists used philology to purportedly track the migration of the Aryan races, Viollet-le-Duc argues that the monuments in Palenqué, Yucatan, and Mitla (Oaxaca) show the stages of Aryan movement and development.[150] By tracing construction techniques and materials, Viollet-le-Duc posits that an invading yellow coupled with the indigenous South American population, which then mixed with a relatively small number of Aryans travelling from the north east.[151]

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[148] "Au moment de la conquête des Espagnols, le Mexique était retombé dans un état d'infériorité relative, comme si les tribus civilisatrices qui avaient dominé ces contrées quelques siècles avant notre ère, et s'y étaient maintenues jusqu'au XIIe, avaient été peu à peu absorbée par une race indigène inférieures." Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 10.

[149] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 5, 27, 83.

[150] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 45.

[151] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 102.

Regardless of their innate characteristics and aptitudes, a given race was obliged to work with the materials at their disposal. Viollet-le-Duc states: "certain monuments belong to certain races because the building techniques used to create them were not practiced in other parts of the globe…"[152] The innate differences between races was similarly made clear from their ability, or lack thereof, to thrive in certain areas. Viollet-le-Duc uses the example of a rice field, in which a Chinese person could live but a white person would die.[153] Just as he had asserted in 1852 with regard to French architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the indigenous South American races had developed to survive in specific climates.

Viollet-le-Duc's "proof" that the yellow race had mixed with the indigenous population in the location of their settlements and in the figural compositions that were depicted on the monuments. The French missionary and archeologist l'abbé Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg had observed that some native North Americans live on the sides of lakes or in marshes. According to Viollet-le-Duc, just as a Chinese person would thrive in a rice field, the descendants of the yellow race would prefer that area of dwelling. Palenqué, where the structures were in a ruinous state when the Spanish arrived and whose figural compositions are noticeably different that those at the other two sites, was erected by the indigenous population.[154] In addition, Viollet-le-Duc compares the figural sculptures documented by Charnay with photographs of nineteenth-century Mexicans and their facial characteristics.[155] Viollet-le-Duc uses a figural motif from Palenqué to illustrate the visible similarities between the *finnique* or "yellow" and the purportedly mixed yellow and indigenous population (Figure 19). In contrast, the bas-reliefs of warriors at

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[152] "tel monument appartiennent à telle race, parce que les méthodes employées pour l'élever n'ont été pratiquées sur les parties du globe," Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 5.
[153] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 5.
[154] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 97.
[155] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 51-52.

Chichen-Itza exhibit a clearly European physiognomy (Figure 20) .[156] Viollet-le-Duc's message about racial inequality is clear: the monumental stone architecture in South America could only be the product of the Aryan race, since building monumental architecture was beyond the aptitudes of the indigenous and yellow races.[157]

Despite the extended journey that the Aryan groups would have had to undertake to arrive in South America, not to mention the limited number who would likely have survived, the "indelible trace" of the Aryan race was purportedly still perceptible on the monuments.[158] Because the Aryan race traditionally built with wood, when they subjugated indigenous groups their architectural consistently imitated this original structure, even when it was translated into stone.[159] According to Viollet-le-Duc, the buildings in Palenqué, Yucatan, and Mitla exhibit this material transformation.[160] Despite Viollet-le-Duc's repeated reference to the original Aryan dwelling, he does not conjecture about its form, nor the specifics of how these wooden forms were manifest in the ancient monumental stone constructions of Mexico. He addresses the variations in construction technique that occurred from site to site but focuses primarily on the differences between Palenqué and Yucatan. The extant Mexican monuments, in particular, demonstrated that a branch of the white race had once travelled through the region, subjugating the 'inferior races' who lived there.[161] As Gobineau stated, the predilection for arts does not come naturally to the

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[156] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 53-54.
[157] See, for example, the architect's comments on the black race. Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 90.
[158] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 89.
[159] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 84.
[160] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 97.
[161] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 15-26.

Aryan race. Accordingly, Viollet-le-Duc states that the proportion of racial mixing also impacts a race's potential to create art.[162]

Cités et ruines américaines was published on the eve of the French government's creation in 1864 of the Commission to Mexico. Victor Duruy, the Minister of Public Education, wanted to send a team of researchers to Mexico as an unambiguous a reprisal of Napoléon Bonaparte's *Mission en Egypte.*[163] Indeed, it was this legacy that Duruy cited the Near East campaign when he asked Napoleon III for permission to form the commission and for a 200,000 franc budget to fund the expedition. According to Duruy, Mexico was a mysterious place, but could deciphered through the record that remained in the form of monumental stone architecture.[164] The notion that indigenous Mexicans belonged to a different race than Europeans drove the creation of the commission; the need for French theorists to 'discover' Mexico, and Mexicans, was the main thrust of Duruy's letter to Napoléon III. Specifically, Duruy listed geography, anthropology, archeology, and philology as French sciences that would expand through on-site research and create knowledge about Mexico. Each of these sciences, of course, would either help the French better master the landscape or the people who inhabited it.[165] On February 27, 1864, Napoleon III approved the formation of a committee, which included Viollet-le-Duc as well as César Daly, l'abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, and Armand de Quatrefages. On March 10, the committee divided into four

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[162] Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines,* 83.
[163] Mentioned in "Expédition scientifique au Mexique" *RGA* (1864): 122-126.
[164] Report reproduced in RGA, 1864, 123-125, 123. It is included as the opening document in *Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique: Publiées sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique* (Paris: 1864), 1-8.
[165] "Expédition scientifique au Mexique," 123-124.

subcommittees and both Daly and Viollet-le-Duc participated in committee 3, which addressed history, linguistics, and archeology.[166]

Because *Cités et ruines américaines* appeared before the formal beginning of France's 1864 Mexican *Mission,* it is unclear if or to what extent Duruy and the French government administration were persuaded by this visual and textual guide. However, Duruy was likely aware of the 'expertise' on Mexican architecture that Viollet-le-Duc had acquired from studying Charnay's photographs.

Viollet-le-Duc's ability to decipher the racial origins of architecture would have appealed to his fellow *commissionnaires* and to the French administration. While Viollet-le-Duc's text reads as an argument for the white race's past dominance in the Mexico, Charnay's account explicitly supports French intervention. He states, "it was France's duty to rouse Mexico from its numbness… France will see Mexico rejuvenated by its attention and influence."[167] This language, and choice of the word "duty," seems a precursor to Jules Ferry's statement from 1884 about France's "right" to civilize the inferior races.[168] While Charnay's concerns about racial parentage were expressed early on in *Cités et ruines américaines,* his research into the races of men took an even more pronounced turn in the *Missions* that followed, notably to Madagascar in 1863.[169] Despite the scientific optimism that propelled Duruy to form the *Commission,* by 1865, the committee had been largely inactive, a fact lamented by the recently founded Société d'Ethnographie de Paris.[170]

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[166] *Archives de la Commission scientifique du Mexique: Publiées sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction publique* (Paris: 1864), 13.

[167] Quoted in Davis, *Désiré Charnay,* 21.

[168] For more on French colonial policy in the Third Republic, see chapter three.

[169] Davis, *Désiré Charnay,* 17-23.

[170] Léon de Rosny, *Rapport annuel fait à la Société d'ethnographie sur ses travaux pendant l'année 1864* (Paris: Libraire de la Société d'Ethnographie, 1865), 87.

Although he never studied the South American monuments in situ, Viollet-le-Duc continued to refine his thinking about the relationship between race and architecture in academic circles. To return to the presentation at the Sarbonne that opened this chapter, Viollet-le-Duc presented a broad history of the relationship between race an architecture at the Sorbonne called "De l'architecture dans ses rapports avec l'histoire" ["Of Architecture and its Relationship with History" in 1866.[171] Beginning with prehistoric man, Viollet-le-Duc traced how the Aryans either subjugated (as was the case in ancient Egypt) or mixed with indigenous people (as was the case in ancient Greece). In the first case, the Aryan ruling class employed the indigenous people and a [national] artwork develops quickly. However, it is the mixing of races that leads to experimentations and to new forms of art, even if these develop at a much slower pace.[172]

Viollet-le-Duc applied his visual analysis of architecture to identify characteristics of races to the ancient monuments of Mexico in *Cités et ruines américaines.* In contrast, "Of Architecture" reads not only as an explanation of how to decipher racial character in buildings but also as an argument for other disciplines to appreciate architecture as evidence. In fact, in the middle of text, Viollet-le-Duc states: "we have said enough about the arts of high antiquity to make the importance of study of architecture from the point of view of historical and ethnographic research, understood."[173] The specifics of race theory were not his concern, instead, he sought to teach that the racial qualities with which architecture was imbued were legible to trained eyes.

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[171] Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "De l'architecture dans ses rapports avec l'histoire: Conférence à la Sarbonne du 4 février 1867," *Gazette des architects et du bâtiment,* no. 23, 1866: 353-364.
[172] Viollet-le-Duc, "De l'architecture," 357.
[173] "Nous en avons dit assez sur ces arts appurtenant à la haute antiquité, pour faire comprendre l'importance de l'étude de l'architecture au point de vue des recherches historiques et ethnologiques." Viollet-le-Duc, "De l'architecture," 356.

Viollet-le-Duc stated early on in his talk that: "[a]rt and architecture develop according to general rules that are established because of the aptitudes of different human races, the relationships between these races, and the social and political circumstances that result from these relations."[174] Indeed, race is the indicator both of the architectural types and of a group's innate capacity for civilization. According to Viollet-le-Duc, original man [*l'homme primitive*] selected one of three dwelling types: natural shelter such as caves, which required the least amount of preparation; structures made from stones, mud, and straw; last, the most intelligent men used stacked wood covered with leaves or reeds.[175] Just as Quatremère de Quincy stated earlier in the century, these 'original types' were purportedly still visible in the three races' contemporaneous constructions.

"De l'architecture" acknowledges more possibilities for racial mixing and different types of original building forms. However, Viollet-le-Duc does not explore the original form of the Aryan dwelling, how it remained visible in other parts of the world, or alternative outcomes of Aryan migration in either *Cités et ruines américaines* or in "De l'architeture." Although Viollet-le-Duc was committed to promoting architecture as the answer to broader questions about innate human capacities, he had yet to parse out the specifics about racial origins or racial mixing. In the next section, Viollet-le-Duc's ideas about the specific detail of Aryan architecture find fuller expression in his texts written after the Franco-Prussian War. As he lamented the moral state of the French nation, Viollet-le-Duc's anxiety about the poor education led him create a clearer visual guide to racial architecture.

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[174] "…l'art et l'architecture… se développent suivant des règles générales qui s'établissent en raison des aptitudes des différentes races humaines, des relations entre ces races, et des circonstances sociales et politiques qui résultent de ces relations," Viollet-le-Duc, "De l'architecture," 353.
[175] Viollet-le-Duc, "De l'architecture," 353.

2.3 French Moral Fiber: Viollet-le-Duc's Publishing Endeavors from 1870-1875

From 1872-1875, Viollet-le-Duc partnered with the Hetzel publishing house to produce a series of illustrated, didactic history books for children and young adults. After France's embarrassing defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, Viollet-le-Duc believed that education was the key to French regeneration. Throughout these texts, Viollet-le-Duc teaches the reader how to analyze architecture and to identify characteristics linked to racial capacity more fully than he had done in the 1860s. Analyzing Viollet-le-Duc's response to the war within the context of anxiety about degeneration, made all the more acute by the events of May 1871, provides crucial evidence for why he became involved in anthropological circles in the 1870s. Because he had begun to develop his theory of racial legibility in architecture throughout the 1870s, Viollet-le-Duc was poised to contribute to the creation of the Musée d'Ethnographie in 1878. By teaching his scholarly community to use architecture as evidence race, perhaps he could help counteract the lack of knowledge that had led to French defeat and ensure France's continued regeneration through education.

Like many of his countrymen, Viollet-le-Duc was deeply affected by the events of 1870-1871. When the Franco-Prussian War broke out, Viollet-le-Duc, then aged 56, volunteered to serve in the Army. Commanding a group of nearly 1,500 men in November 1870, many of whom worked at his construction sites, Viollet-le-Duc and his corps of sappers carried pickaxes instead of swords. Sappers, or soldier-engineers built roads, prepared the fields for defense, and mapped trenches. Yet by the time he returned to Paris in January 1871, only two thirds of his men had survived. It would be an understatement to say that he was disheartened by the French military's poor showing and by the massive loss of life. In May 1871, just before the start of the Commune's "Bloody

Week," Viollet-le-Duc retreated to his renovated medieval fortress at Pierrefonds where he immediately composed his *Mémoire sur la défense de Paris* [Memoire on the Defense of Paris].[176]

The introduction to *Mémoire sur la défense* is divided by date, with journal-style "entries" from January 27, March 31, and May 31, 1871. It is unclear if these are actual transcribed journal entries from these dates, but the progressively pessimistic tone implies that Viollet-le-Duc wrote them as he observed French defeat. The body of the text is organized into chapters by topic. In the first two sections, focusing on the first and second periods of French defense against the Prussians, Viollet-le-Duc outlines the state of French military forts and trenches. In the middle section, "On Discipline and Teaching," Viollet-le-Duc compares not only French and German military preparation but also the intellectual character of the two nations. The last two sections reiterate the themes of chapters one and two by discussing military fortifications and their role in the events of the 1870.

In his January account in the text's introduction, Viollet-le-Duc states that French defeat was a long time coming. While the Prussians had been expanding and training their military, in addition to making significant advances in the realms of science and industry, French pride had prevented the nation from moving forward. "In France, we have more patriotic vanity than true patriotism," he states.[177] While Viollet-le-Duc blamed the training, rather than the people of Paris, for their military loss and Siege, by May he was less optimistic. He writes of the Commune as resurrecting the 'barbary' that underlies all civilizations and that can rear its head during times of crisis, calling into question all that humanity had accomplished.[178] If the country's "moral fiber"

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[176] Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense de Paris* (Paris: A. Morel et Companie, 1871. See Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination,* 451-461.

[177] "Nous avons en France plus de vanité patriotique que de vrai patriotisme," Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense de Paris*, XII.

[178] Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense de Paris,* XLVI.

[*fibre morale*] was not reaffirmed, Viollet-le-Duc warned, that France may have entered its "period of decadence" [*période de decadence*], alluding to an impending stage of decline.[179]

This critique of French "moral fiber" is central to Viollet-le-Duc's analysis of French loss. According to the author, the French soldiers were uneducated, lazy, and unwilling to listen.[180] In addition, Viollet-le-Duc goes on to state that the French and the Germans belong to different races, which meant that defeat or victory was determined long before the fighting had begun. The German state had, from infancy "whispered into the hearts of Germans, who belong to the Germanic or Slavic races" a loyalty to Prussian and a disdain for the French.[181] Like his colleague Quatrefages, who was also a member of the Commission for the 1864 *Mission* to Mexico, Viollet-le-Duc implies that the Prussians and the Germans are two different races.[182] According to Viollet-le-Duc, the brainwashing, or as he calls it, "fanatic enslavement to Prussia" recalled barbarous times and was, "not at all compatible with the enlightened feelings of a civilized people."[183] In order for the French to thrive in the presence of their northern neighbors, Viollet-le-Duc suggests two things: intellectuals and instructors in France need to educate the masses, no longer allowing them to "rot in stupid ignorance;" the French need to tap into their "Gaulish genius."[184]

Viollet-le-Duc's call to educators and critique of education impacted his publishing efforts in the 1870s. From 1872, he partnered with Hetzel publishing, who fashioned themselves as the house of "*éducation*" [education] et "r*écréation*" [recreation], to create a series of didactic

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[179] Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense de Paris,* LV.
[180] Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense,* 60-68.
[181] Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense,* 71.
[182] For more on the distinction between Germans and Prussians, see chapter 2 of this dissertation. For more on the Gaulish or Frankish ancestry of the French, see chapter 4 of this dissertation.
[183] Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense,* 72.
[184] Viollet-le-Duc, *Mémoire sur la défense,* 73.

architectural texts.[185] As the motto implies, these books were meant to be easy to understand and engaging for readers of all ages. Viollet-le-Duc took this goal seriously; in a letter to Hetzel in 1874, Viollet-le-Duc reiterated that the texts would be affordable, so that artisans could buy them for their children. Most important, they would equally combat the "moral collapse" [*affaissement moral*] that Viollet-le-Duc had observed after the Franco-Prussian War.[186]

While *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* [History of Human Habitations] would address the general march of humanity, the other texts had clear goals. "History of the Fortress" would address the defense of the city, *Histoire d'une maison* [History of a House] would discuss family life, while *Histoire d'une cathédrale* [History of a Cathedral] would discuss moral unity in the Middle Ages.[187] A fourth text, *Histoire d'un hôtel de ville* [History of a City Hall] would analyze the construction process of the city hall through the combination of historic and moral factors.[188]

For the purpose of this study, the 1873 *Histoire d'une maison* provides a natural predecessor to the racially charged *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* from 1875. It tells the story of a 16-year old boy, Paul de Gandelau, who endeavors to design a house for his newly married sister. Paul's visiting cousin, who happens to be an architect, volunteers to teach Paul about basic drawings and building practices. In contrast to the seigniorial mansion in which his family lived for generations, the new dwelling is carefully planned based on its location, the needs of its inhabitants, and the availability of materials. At first, it is unclear exactly when the story take place, and the reader only knows that Paul is on summer break. But, about a fifth of the way through the

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[185] For more on Hetzel, see Penny Brown, *A Critical History of French Children's Literature: Volume Two: 1830-Present* (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[186] Letter to Hetzel dated 8 August 1871, reproduced in *Lettres inédites de Viollet-le Duc*, 150-151, 150.
[187] Letter to Hetzel dated 29 July 1874 reproduced in *Lettres inédites de Viollet-le Duc* (Paris: Librairies-Imprimeries réunies, 1902), 148-149, 149.
[188] *Lettres inédites de Viollet-le Duc,* 149.

story, Paul's father announces that the date is August 20, 1870, and that the Franco-Prussian War has begun.[189] As the war progresses, the house becomes a way for the community, especially those men who are too old or young to serve, to occupy themselves. As winter approaches, Paul's father maintains that construction should continue as long as possible, and asserts that the sadder the news gets, the more they must work.[190]

The book concludes in the summer of 1871, when Paul's sister returns to France and to her newly constructed house. They celebrate, and Paul decides to pursue a career as an architect. But what is the 'moral message' that Viollet-le-Duc tried to convey in *History of a House*? Although Paul's family resides in an unknown location outside of Paris, the life and war seem to find their way into the quotidian lives of the family in several ways. First, Viollet-le-Duc uses the text as a not-so thinly veiled critique of the École des Beaux-Arts. Paul's cousin-architect did not study at the École because they "do not teach much," according to the cousin.[191] Second, although Viollet-le-Duc does not directly mention the Commune, Paul does not return to the "blighted [*éprouvée*] and ravaged [*ravagée*]" city for fear of both further political upheaval and typhoid.[192] Last, *History of a House* is a critique of the French, rather than the Prussians, in a similar vein to his *Mémoire sur la defense.* Though the news of the Prussian advance reaches the de Gandelau family, neither the story's characters nor the narrator ever villainize the Prussians.

Sharon Marcus states that in *Histoire d'une maison,* it is the construction of the house that serves as the antidote to the Franco-Prussian War.[193] In addition, the house is the symbol of study,

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[189] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'une maison,* 40.
[190] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'une maison,* 118.
[191] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'une maison,* 83.
[192] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'une maison,* 222.
[193] Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 163.

perseverance, and self-determination that the French army supposedly lacked. By staying out of the crowded urban center, the de Gandelau family is a model of prosperity and emerges from the war stronger. Their environment and its distance from the city affords them not only the opportunity to remain outside the fighting but also the ability to remain patriotic to the French nation through their continued work.

The absence of race theory in *Histoire d'une maison* stands in stark contrast to the 1875 *Histoire de l'habitation humaine.* A fiction that follows two interlocutors, Épergos and Doxi, through time and space, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* oscillates between narrative 'fact' and dialogue. It includes illustrations such as floor plans, perspectival views, and interior scenes. Portraits of 'typical' people to conclude each chapter. Although racial terminology weaves throughout the text, there is no preface to instruct readers about how to interpret this knowledge.[194] Because Épergos and Doxi travel from prehistoric times, across continents, and conclude in nineteenth-century France, these anthropological ideas are all the more challenging for the reader to decipher.

Scholars have read *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* as a history of race theory through the form of architecture; rightfully so, since Viollet-le-Duc follows the development of the Aryan across time and space. However, when considered within the context of race theory in the nineteenth century, the vagaries of the narrative undermine its utility as a treatise on race. Both of Viollet-le-Duc's earlier texts on race and architecture had a specific scope and purview: *Cités et ruines américaines* focused on the ruins of South America, while "Of Architecture" analyzed the

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[194] In the 1876 English translation by Benjamin Bucknell, the Translator's Note directs the reader's attention to these racial categorizations by describing the text as, "the origin and development of Domestic Architecture among the several races of mankind." French readers did not have this type of direction when deciphering the text.

architecture of ancient civilizations. *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* was, as the title indicates, meant to summarize the history of the *human* architecture broadly construed. However, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*'s near exclusive treatment of the Aryan race, with minimal comparison or engagement with the other races, is quite different from contemporary texts on race. Instead, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* functions as a manual on how to read architecture as evidence of race theory. With the emphasis on architecture, Viollet-le-Duc assumes that the reader already has pre-existing knowledge of race theory. Architecture, in *Histoire de l'habitation humaine,* is simply the tool for illuminating racial character. By focusing almost entirely on the Aryans, the reader gains the visual skills and literacy necessary to make comparisons, analyze material composition, and decipher floorplans.

Although Viollet-le-Duc employs the terminology of race theory, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* does not provide a full analysis of the races of man. Five races are mentioned in the text: Aryan, Semitic, Chamitic, Yellow and Black. It is the degree of racial mixing that impacts built forms. But *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* does not make any presumptions about being a history of human races. It guides the reader on how to use visual analysis, material evidence, and types of construction to form arguments about the development of human races. Throughout, the text shows that races are distinct and that each has an innate preference for certain materials and climates. Indeed, in Viollet-le-Duc's race theory, their material culture is an indelible trace of racial aptitudes.

The first chapter, "Are they men?" begins in an unspecified, presumably prehistoric moment, with people huddled under dead branches, rather than deliberate constructions (Figure 21). In the story, Épergos approaches the group and teaches them to build a more substantial

structure by tying the top of several trees together to form a conical shelter (Figure 22).[195] So

concludes the first chapter: Épergos has intervened and mankind has built its first house.

In chapter two, simply titled "The Aryans," the travelers meet a group of people in the

Himalayan mountains. Unlike their predecessors, the Aryans have constructed a shelter built of

wood beams that are posed directly against the side of a mountain (Figure 23). When the structure

is accidentally destroyed by a storm, it is re-built in stone, an almost exact replica of the original

dwelling (Figure 24). The Aryan ur-dwelling, was mentioned again and again throughout Viollet-

le-Duc's earlier texts, is finally given visual form. It is, of course, the key architectural form for

understanding the progression of Aryan architecture since all the Aryans' descendants will erect

dwellings that imitate its form, just as Viollet-le-Duc described in 1866.

Each chapter concludes with a physiognomic portrait of the race that was the chapter's

focus (Figure 25). Prehistoric man looks away from the viewer, his mouth is partly open, and the

angle of his neck indicates that he is slightly hunched. He has made no effort to tame his hair and

beard. The Aryan, in contrast, gazes beyond the viewer. The rendering exaggerates his sharp

features through a clear outline. His head is raised and lips rest closed. He looks more like a

passerby in the street than a physiognomic portrait, yet his features recall many of the same

qualities as the Mexican Aryan from *Cités et ruines américaines:* large, almond-shaped eyes,

straight nose, and angular jaw. Early on in this text, this type of comparison foreshadows the

difference between architectures of the Aryan and the other. While the specifics of Aryan

architecture have not yet been revealed, the Aryan portrait embodies determination, cleanliness,

and stoic demeaner that is discernible from the image.

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[195] Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine depuis les temps préhistoriques jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Hetzel, 1875)*,* 5.

The form and material of the Aryan dwelling is the key to tracking the Aryan migrations and *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine* teaches the reader how to recognize an Aryan dwelling. Viollet-le-Duc does not provide a floorplan of the ur-dwelling, but Epergos and Doxi describe its basic features: a large, central room with a courtyard surrounded by porticos. While the only portico-like structure in the original Aryan dwellings appear on the porch, Viollet-le-Duc does not explain how the example of Aryan building derived from the original wood structure (Figure 26).

According to text, the Aryans separated into two branches, one that migrated west, towards Medes (western Iran), and the other southeast, towards India. Both branches of Aryans distinguished themselves from other races through their preference for building in wood and the layout of their dwellings. Throughout their travels, Épergos and Doxi consistently remark that the form of the wood building and its layout are visible in the dwellings of the descendent branches of the Aryan race, such as Egyptians, Ionians, Greeks, Persians, Indians, Scandinavians, and in France during the Renaissance.[196]

The Aryan dwelling was different from that of the Semitic race and Viollet-le-Duc does not assign an original form to the dwellings built by the other races. The peripatetic Semites originally inhabited tents, and when they settled, their architecture recalled the form of tents.[197] It was the memory of this structure that ultimately led the Semites to invent vaulting, where the Aryans had used columns that were actual tree trunks (Figure 27).

Viollet-le-Duc approaches the subject of racial mixing or subjugation in the same way that he did in his 1866 lecture at the Sorbonne. The story describes that the west-travelling Aryans discovered the 'yellow race,' which already possessed advanced knowledge of metallurgy (as he

[196] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 264.
[197] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 363-364.

had stated in *Cités et ruines américaines)*.[198] This west-travelling Aryans mixed with the indigenous groups that they encountered near Pakistan. The Aryans that went east encountered the nomadic Semitic population as well as the cave-dwelling black race, who they conquered or subjugated.[199] To illustrate how these different forms of settlement influence architecture, the narrators discuss the contrast between Greek architecture and the heavily ornamented architecture of the Far East. It is the level of racial mixing that accounts for the difference: the yellow race had a strong preference for complicated decorative motifs and details, which was not the case for the Semitic and Aryan Greeks.

Histoire de l'habitation humaine assumes that the reader already has some awareness of race theory and does attempt to answer several of the key questions that motivated race theorists. For example, are the races of man the product of monogenism or polygenism? Whether or not the races of mankind were born of a single origin and changed based on climate, time, and contacts with other people, was one of the utmost concerns for anthropologists. Although the narrators reiterate that a group's use of building materials was directly related to the climate in which they developed, they do not specifically state if mankind had single of multiple origins. For the reader, it is all the more confusing because of the first chapter: the jump from "Are They Men" to "Aryan" is not explained.

The critical role that the environment plays in shaping the races of man is also far from fleshed out: even the interlocutors, Épergos and Doxi, do not have answers to such questions. When visiting the Ancient Egyptians, Épergos asks himself, "[t]he men are they changing or as invariable as the climate in which they live?"[200] Yet, the impact of climate in the text is essential

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[198] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 41.
[199] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 116-118.
[200] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine*, 100.

for forming the races. The races build their dwellings based on available materials, whether it be wood, stone, or reeds. Épergos states that when given the choice, Aryans will select a wooded environment because of the abundance of their choice building material and because it reminded them of sacred woods.[201] While this recalls the critical role of environment in Polygenism, it is incredibly vague.

When Épergos and Doxi meet the Ionians, one of four ancient Greek tribes, they are struck by the formal similarities between the Ionian dwelling and the original Aryan house. How was it possible that this population, which had travelled farther than the Medes or the Assyrians, but preserved a more faithful reproduction (Figure 28)? Because they had not stopped to mix with indigenous populations. Although there may have been some resemblance between the Aryan and Ionian dwellings, Doxi counters that their populations seem completely dissimilar. It is the Ionian women, Épergos states, who better preserve the imprint of the Aryan population.[202] This is a crucial example in the text: physical anthropology does not reveal the differences between race, but architecture does.

But what are the effects of racial mixing in *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*? While some authors have argued that Épergos and Doxi represent 'progress' and 'tradition,' they equally correspond to the two different camps of race thinking.[203] Épergos reiterates that when the races mix, they imprint characteristics from the parent race to create a stronger, more dynamic offspring race. For example, the Assyrians purportedly derived from the mixing of Aryan and Semitic populations.[204] When Épergos intervened to help the pre-historic men build their *cabane,* Doxi

[201] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 363.
[202] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 171-173.
[203] Kerr, *Racialisation du discours,* 87.
[204] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 131.

scolded him and stated that the creator had made everything as it should be.[205] If our time-travelling, country-hopping narrators belong to one of the races, it is unclear and never specified, but prehistoric man does not progress without the help of Épergos.

In contrast, Doxi remains skeptical about allowing the races of mankind to mix, and how this imprint is manifested in architecture, throughout the book. It was, after all, Viollet-le-Duc's friend Gobineau who argued that racial mixing was responsible for both cultural progress and the downfall of society. Indeed, throughout the text, Doxi shames the populations that have changed and applauds those who maintained their building traditions. As Épergos tried to explain how the mixture of Semitic and Aryan populations created the Assyrians, Doxi states "you talk of races of man, as if there are different races amongst men. Some are black, others are white, others have copper skin: what makes these differences? The climate, the sun, corruption maybe. I do only distinguish between wise and foolish men."[206] What makes a man wise or foolish, according to Doxi? Whether they maintain what they have found to be good [*de bon et de bien*] or whether they insist on incessantly varying their constructions. Doxi later laments that civilization has brought pain because the masses are forced to erect such massive structures.[207]

Épergos' rebuttals to Doxi about the legibility of race in architecture is akin to Viollet-le-Duc arguing for the power of architecture as racial evidence. After coached on how to see the racial imprint, Doxi does not deny its visual trace of innate racial character in buildings. In the conclusion, which takes place in contemporary France, Épergos and Doxi find themselves amid scientists who examine a photograph of Angkor Wat. Contemporary man asks Épergos if he

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[205] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 79.
[206] "Les uns sont noirs, d'autres sont blancs, d'autres ont la peau cuivrée: qui a fait ces différences? Le climat, le soleil, la corruption peut-être. Je ne distingue entre les hommes que les sages et les insensés." Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine,* 132.
[207] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 148.

believes that humans first constructed with wood, stone, or earth. Épergos begins by stating that the original form of a dwelling will be translated into different media depending on the availability of materials and elaborates that each race adopted a certain construction technique. At the mention of race, Doxi states, his last line in the book, "good, there he goes again with his races!" to which all the scientists boo him.[208] Thus, the person who challenges the notion of race theory, who questions its utility, is unanimously silenced.

Histoire de l'habitation humaine provided readers with clear guidelines about how to recognize the racial imprint in a building. Although he gestures towards many key questions that race theorists had debated for decades, such as the origin of races and the impact of climate, Viollet-le-Duc's text is clearest and most didactic when teaching visual analysis. The layout, material, and type of construction provided key clues to the race that created a building. At a moment when he feared for the future of the French nation, and when his race theory had developed into its most fully formed state, Viollet-le-Duc was prepared to lend his expertise to the anthropologists who planned the permanent Musée d'Ethnographie and to the power of architecture as objective evidence of race theory.

2.4 The 1878 Exposition universelle and Planning the Musée d'Ethnographie

What could Viollet-le-Duc contribute to the founding of the Musée d'Ethnographie? An easy to follow (albeit patchy), theory about the relationship between built forms, racial mixing, and human migratory patterns. While he had served on the planning committee in 1862 for the

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[208] Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine,* 358.

archeological museum at Saint-Germaine-en-Laye, meaning that he had experience in museum planning, his extensive writing on race and architecture prepared him to contribute a new ethnographic dimension to the planning committee.[209] In the final year of his life, this endeavor enabled Viollet-le-Duc to apply his ideas about material culture as a carrier of racial traits in a new public venue and to reveal the capacity for architecture to function as anthropological evidence. Before discussing the permanent Musée d'Ethnographie, it is necessary to outline its precedent forms to understand how museological practice had shifted and the changing role of architecture as an object of scientific inquiry.

The 1878 Exposition was a critical moment not only for the French scientific community to display its findings on an international stage but also for the nation to showcase its regeneration since 1871. As reporters stated: "[t]he entirety of France was interested in the success of the Exposition universelle… The press, too, generally gave an example of intelligent patriotism, and more than one writer 'sacrificed' a good word in the fear of committing a bad action, in weakening the national success that should signal the resurrection of the country."[210] However, the extant ruins on the Exposition grounds reminded exhibition planners and fairgoers alike about the total failure of the French nation and the anxiety about racial status permeated the city. The principal entry to the Exposition, on the Avenue Rapp, was the site of an explosion in 1871 and had damaged the entire Champs de Mars (Figure 29).[211] Only a couple of miles away, the burned out structure

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[209] Bonnie Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past: Merovingian Archeology in France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)*,* 272.

[210] "La France entière était intéressée au succès de l'Exposition universelle… La presse aussi a donné généralement l'exemple d'un intelligent patriotisme, et plus d'un écrivain a sacrifié un bon mot dans la crainte de commettre une mauvaise action, en affaiblissant un succès national qui devait signaler le relèvement du pays," César Daly, "Les Deux Palais de l'Exposition," *RGA,* 1878: 178-200, 178-179.

[211] For a list of the principle buildings at the 1878 Exposition, see P. Vauthier, "Exposition universelle de 1878" *RGA* (1878): 85-95.

of the Tuileries Palace stood untouched in 1878, a reminder of the devastation of 1871. While the Tuileries will be discussed in further depth in chapter 4, these ruins were not only visible to visitors of the Universal Exposition of 1878, but they served as the backdrop for the *ballon captif* or hot air balloon attraction (Figure 30). In advertisements for the demonstration, the Tuileries' ragged silhouette evokes its wrecked state (Figure 31). Even as France attempted to display its prosperity at the close of the 1870s, the traces of destruction reminded visitors and inhabitants alike of what had happened in the capital.[212] Despite being the third Exposition of its kind in Paris, it was not always assured that it would occur in the urban center and in 1876, Viollet-le-Duc was charged with examining its placement.[213]

By the time of the Musée d'Ethnographie's opening in 1882, architecture was included alongside other objects of display. As discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation, the French government instructed the *missionaires* to return with objects of scholarly interest, which included fragments, casts, architectural drawings, and full-size structures. One of the few images that exists from the opening of the Musée d'Ethnographie clearly shows a dwelling, accompanied by a costumed, wax human and a wall of weaponry and quotidian objects (Figure 31). This was one of the primary entrances to the Musée d'Ethnographie, one of the first views that visitors would have seen. The juxtaposition of waxed figure, objects, and dwelling thus allowed visitors to correlate the physical body of a human with their material world. Architectural models played a key role in

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[212] Albert Boime highlights how the remnants of the Commune are conspicuously absent in the paintings of the Impressionists, which, in my opinion, has also erased them art historical discussion. The above poster demonstrates that the ruins were, into the 1880s, very much a part of the Parisian landscape. See Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), especially chapters 2 and 4.
[213] L.L. and P. Vauthier, "Le Concours pour l'Exposition universelle de 1878" *RGA* (1878), 121-139, 125-126.

the Musée d'Ethnographie, as seen from the *La Nature* report on the Aztec exhibit from 1882 (Figure 32).

The Musée d'Ethnographie was the descendent of two earlier exhibits; the first was held in the Palais de l'Industrie from January 10-February 28, 1878, the second was the *Missions scientifique* display at the 1878 Exposition. The preliminary *Missions scientifiques* exhibit included objects from Asia, Africa, North and South America, and Oceania. In room three, where objects from the Americas were assembled, Viollet-le-Duc's "Mexican architectural schema" was displayed.[214] While it is unclear exactly what this display included, it was very likely an elaboration of the ideas that he presented in the 1863 text. Because the French were deeply concerned about their own racial future, it was essential that the objects displayed re-assured them of their superior status. Such anxiety about the racial identity of those who constructed extant monuments was likewise addressed in Louis Delaporte's display of ancient Cambodian art and architecture. The "*indigènes dégénérés*" [degenerated indigenous people] were purportedly visible in the Khmer sculptures, previewing the race's "progress return to their original state of barbarity."[215]

The *Missions scientifiques* section contained objects from a variety of locations and time periods, including Pinard's study of weaponry in the Americas, Rivière's discoveries of pre-historic cave-paintings in Italy, and the photographic surveys of Achille Raffray in New Guinea.[216] By placing the display within the French section of the Palais de l'Industrie, the result for the viewer was twofold. First, the spectacular qualities of a full-scale reproduced monument were

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[214] Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 3846[1].

[215] The guidebook to the temporary *Muséum* states, "Ces races si différentes sont reproduites dans les sculptures Khmers, et on en retrouve parfois aussi les types parmi les indigènes dégénéres aujourd'hui, et revenant progressivement à leur état primitif de barbarie. » Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 3846[1]

[216] C. Delavaille, *Notes d'un visiteur sur l'Exposition universelle de 1878* (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 1878), 119.

markedly absent, thus creating a more sterile, purportedly didactic display. Second, the potential for the French government to organize, categorize, and ultimately control 'the other,' whether distant European relative or a different contemporary race, was immensely important for solidifying the Third Republic's legitimacy. As the bulletin *Art* said of the American section of the display, "almost as rich as that of England or Germany… [the American materials collected by the *Missions scientifiques* and displayed in the Palais de l'Industrie] can be considered one of the most complete [collections of American objects] that exists."[217]

At the 1878 Exposition, the opening of the *Missions scientifiques* section of the Palais de l'Industrie can be traced, in large part, to the goals of both the Ministry of Education and Ernest-Théodore Hamy, the ethnographer and future curator of the Musée d'Ethnographie. The exhibit, which proved to be one of the more attractive sections in the Ministry of Education section, aimed to educate French citizens and present the most up-to-date knowledge of science, the arts, and other intellectual fields.[218] While objects that composed the *Missions scientifiques* section in 1878 had been fully funded by Ministry of Education, before this date the researchers had no place to display the items they collected once they returned to France.[219] As the government of the Third Republic determined, the Exposition universelle was the perfect venue to reach a mass audience and to showcase the research of French scientists. That France prominently displayed its 'scientific' findings from foreign locations is not surprising; indeed, the Expositions were meant

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[217] "Presque aussi riche que l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne, plus riche que tous les musés sud-Américaines réunis, le musée américain, si jamais il est reconstitué, pourra être considéré d'avance comme un des plus complet qui existe," Émile Soldi, "L'art au musée d'Ethnographie," *L'Art*, Vol. 4, 1878, 157-165, 157.
[218] *Ministère de l'Agriculture et du commerce. Rapport Administratif sur l'Exposition universelle de 1878 à Paris* (Paris, 1881), 224.
[219] Alice Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 34.

to showcase French power, ingenuity, and prosperity, a demonstration that was all the more important in the wake of the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War.

With regard to ethnographic museology, there was mounting international competition that may have provided an impetus for the *Missions scientifiques* display. In 1867, under the direction of Quatrefages, Hamy travelled to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway to study the organization of the ethnographic museums in Scandinavia.[220] The success of these museums was not far from the ethnographers' minds when proposing both temporary and permanent displays.[221] Hamy and Quatrefages urged the Ministry of Public Instruction to create a similar, permanent museum of anthropology.[222] Such a permanent museum became even more imperative after archeologist Charles Wiener returned from a fully funded archeological expedition to Péru in the mid-1870s, he brought with him 4,000 objects that needed a home for display. The Exposition universelle de 1878 provided a provisional solution, allowing the Minister to gauge public interest in this type of exhibit.[223] The mode of display catered to expectations of the bourgeois viewers by mixing media and organizing the display by the objects' geographic provenance.[224] Deeming that attendance had been sufficiently high, by October of 1878 the Ministry of Education agreed to transfer the artifacts to a permanent home when the Exposition came to a close that November.

On 25 October 1878, a committee composed of 22 scholars and Exposition universelle officials met to discuss the permanent installation of the Musée d'Ethnographie. Certain problems

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[220] Ernest Hamy, *Les Origines du Musée d'ethnographie, histoire et documents* (Paris, 1890), 53.
[221] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{17} 3846.
[222] Conklin, *In the Museum of Man,* 29-32.
[223] Elizabeth Williams, "Art and Artifact at the Trocadéro," in *History of Anthropology 12, (1998):* 146-66, 50.
[224] Daniel DeGoff, "Ethnographic Display and Political Narration: The Salle de France of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro," in *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 116.

became immediately apparent, including how to organize the displays when a permanent location had not yet been selected. To better tackle the various pressing concerns, the committee separated into two groups. While one group was tasked with studying budgetary questions, the other, led by Viollet-le-Duc, was charged with proposing permanent housing for the collection.[225]

Before the respective committees could separate, Viollet-le-Duc commented on the best curation strategies for the permanent museum. In one of the few occasions that the architect spoke during the planning process, on October 25, 1878, he suggested juxtaposing the skulls of "a racial type" or "a series of men with similar [homogènes] aptitudes" with the industrial products that they had produced.[226] In response, Hamy remarked that the German scholar Bastian had already employed a similar mode of display in Berlin. The Minister of Public Education, Agénor Bardoux then affirmed that, apart from the anthropological displays at the 1878 Exposition, the ethnographic and anthropological specimens should be displayed together and their inseparability was then affirmed by other committee members.

That Viollet-le-Duc proposed to juxtapose objects with skulls in the permanent Musée d'Ethnographie accords with the ideas that he had articulated throughout the previous 15 years. Viollet-le-Duc's racial theory dictated that the distinctions between the races of man was apparent through their cultural objects. As he had done in his 1875 *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*, where he concluded each chapter with a 'typical' portrait, he had long been using text to teach audiences about the relationship between physical characteristics of human representatives of a race and their corresponding material culture. Anthropologists had long struggled with displaying evidence that was both scientific and engaging for the public. They had learned from their failures at the *section*

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[225] Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 3846.
[226] Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 3846.

d'anthropologie at the 1878 Exposition universelle; to show the most detailed and enticing portrait of each race, they would need to include as many different types of object as possible, including and especially architecture.

When the Commission for the Musée d'Ethnographie reunited in October 1878, Viollet-le-Duc presented his committee's findings on the placement of the permanent museum's location.[227] To begin his remarks, Viollet-le-Duc stated that many European scientists were surprised that, until that point, Paris did not have an ethnographic museum. In contrast to masterpieces of Western art, such as those housed in the Louvre, ethnographic objects required a clear organization and format for comparison in order to reveal their "value" [*valeur*].[228] When an object is only of "mediocre interest" [*intérêt mediocre*] as a concept, in its execution, or through a clear function, a viewer who knows the place in which it was made, what preceded it, and what came after, can better appreciate it. At the Exposition of 1878, *Missions scientifique* exhibit had been successful with audiences because of its comprehensible, comparative format, which made it more attractive to the public that its sister Anthropology exhibit.[229] It was the ultimate mode of display that dictated what type of space should house the permanent Musée d'Ethnographie. Three buildings destroyed by the commune, the Tuileries, Cour des Comptes and Conseil d'État, were potential sites. For Viollet-le-Duc and the sous-commission, who were charged with locating a permanent space, it was essential that the final displays space facilitated this comparative approach and they ultimately selected the Palais d'Industrie on the Champs de Mars for the museum. The Palais d'Industrie, a neo-classical stone building, did not accord with Viollet-le-Duc's aesthetic

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[227] Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 13567. This report is reprinted in Hamy, *Les Origines du Musée d'Ethnographie,* 295-302.
[228] Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 13567.
[229] Paris, Archives nationales, F[17] 13567

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sensibilities. Yet, in the case of the ethnographic displays, the method of display superseded the structure in which it would be housed. According to the Viollet-le-Duc, this display would be scientific and would allow the public to relate the objects to the peoples or, as is implied, the races of man, who created it.

In the last decade and a half of his life, Viollet-le-Duc theorized on the relationship between race and architecture. After the disheartening defeat of the Franco-Prussian War, he believed that mass education could strengthen the country's moral fiber. By making architecture the primary carrier of ethnographic information, one that accorded form and construction type with race, he was prepared to contribute to planning the Musée d'Ethnographie and to showcase the scientific value of architecture on a public stage.

2.5 Reading Architecture: César Daly and Racialized Architectural Literacy

While Viollet-le-Duc aimed to use his knowledge on the connection between race and architecture to educate the public and preserve the anthropological community's place at the forefront of scientific progress, César Daly's concern was about the future of architecture. In 1872, César Daly visited the SAP to deliver a presentation titled "On Architecture and its relationship with the Study of Human Races."[230] A summary, which appeared in the *Bulletin* of the SAP, reads:

> Monsieur César Daly, in a very developed statement, presented the results of his research on the evolution of different architectural styles with the development of societies to the Société. Next, he will research the influence of race on manifestations of architecture, and compare, in particular, the Semitic genius, of

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[230] "Sur l'architecture dans ses rapports avec l'étude des races humaines" *BSAP,* 1871: 224-225.

which Arab architecture is the highest expression, to that of the Aryans, studied specifically in Roman and Gothic style monuments.[231]

Daly was the founder and editor-in-chief of the *Révue générale de l'Architecture et des travaux publiques,* the premiere architectural publication in nineteenth-century France, and he had long used the journal as the venue in which to explore ideas about architecture, national identity, and modernity. However, his presentation to the SAP was a singular moment in his career, when he ventured into another disciplinary circle to explain the value of architectural history to scientists. This is a key moment in his theorizing of architectural history and notions of progress because it was the first instance in which he applied racial categorization to his conception of architectural history. Questions about the relationship between architecture, culture, and race would be a constant thread in his career from as early as the 1860s and continuing at least until the 1890s.[232]

From its founding in 1840 to its final volume in 1888, the *RGA* opened each issue with a thought piece, in the form of an introduction, written by Daly. The remainder of the articles were separated into four thematic categories: history, theory, practice, and miscellaneous. Throughout its nearly five decade run, the RGA published articles that focused on architecture as well as adjacent topics, such as city planning, sanitation practices, and archeology. The *RGA* was always current with public and intellectual happenings; it published on Haussmannization, the *Missions scientifiques,* international architecture competitions, the Salons, as well as domestic and foreign Expositions universelles. Indeed, all major events that occurred in Paris, or were funded by the French government, received at least a mention. As a digest of architectural knowledge, it was

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[231] **"**M. César Daly, dans une communication très-développée, expose à la Société les résultats de ses recherches sur l'évolution des différents styles d'architecture dans ses rapports avec le développement des sociétés. Il cherche ensuite quelle a été l'influence de la race sur les manifestations de cet ordre, et oppose, en particulier, le génie sémite, dont l'architecture arabe est la plus haute expression, à celui des Aryens étudié spécialement dans les monuments des styles roman et gothique."

[232] D. G. Brinton, "Current Notes on Anthropology," *Science,* vol. 20, no. 499 (Aug, 26, 1892): 115-116.

extremely useful due to its large-scale reproductions of floorplans, ornamental details and profile views. Many editions conclude with a list of recently published books in history, archeology, and urban history. Because Daly's father was Irish, and Daly spent significant time in Britain, the *RGA* updated its French readers on the architectural happenings that occurred across the Channel.[233] Famed British architects such as Owen Jones, Charles Barry, and A. W. Pugin often appear in the pages of the *RGA*. In 1860, Daly partnered with the Morel publishing house, which allowed him to focus more attention on his own writings; it was from that time onward that he began to devote substantial space in his *RGA* articles to architectural history.[234]

Daly's theorizing on the connection between architecture and identity, both in France and abroad, was not out of place in the *RGA*. However, his exploration of the relationship between race theory and architecture did not occur in the *RGA*. Instead, Daly went to the SAP, of which he had been a member since 1865. Why did he do this? What could his connection with the anthropological community provide that would not be possible simply by publishing in the *RGA?*

In order to deduce the overarching message of his presentation to the SAP, we must track how the notion of race is present in his writings from the decades that preceded and followed his 1872 presentation. As the 1860s progressed, Daly became increasingly nervous about the role of architects in society. The engineering profession usurped more and more of the traditional territory of architects; Daly argued that architects were able to decipher not only a building's construction but also the emotional charge or *sentiment* of a specific place and time. The equal balance of construction and *sentiment* resulted in architecture that was emblematic of its time and unique to its historical and cultural setting. By arguing that races created distinctive styles of architecture,

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[233] Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment,* 7-8.
[234] César Daly, "Introduction," *RGA*, (1860): 1-8, 7-8.

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Daly demonstrated to members of the SAP the value of visual training, a skill with which architects were uniquely equipped, and instructed them on how to read architecture as evidence of racial identity.

Yves Schoonjans argues that Daly's writings from the 1840s-60s are cosmopolitan due to his broad appreciation of architecture.[235] Indeed, Daly even used the term in 1861 when he stated, "[p]rogress is essentially cosmopolitan."[236] Daly's interest in non-European architecture began as early as 1844 study of Alhambra, in which he openly valorizes the forms of 'Arab' art.[237] This appreciation was emblematic of his efforts to allow regional branches of the *Société Centrale des Architectes* from 1872.[238] Daly was open to the idea of mixing of the architecture of different nationalities and *races.*

In addition, Daly believed in the power of architecture and urban planning as a tool for social betterment. Throughout the 1840s, he published articles with accompanying city plans by theorists such as Saint-Simonian architect Léonce Reynaud.[239] Daly strongly believed that better circulation, especially in the form of a railway, would not only benefit the Paris' inhabitants but would also facilitate international exchange, ultimately leading to a more peaceful European future.[240] Indeed, Daly firmly supported the exchange of ideas and the notion that exposure makes the foreign less alarming. If a neighboring country had a better architectural method or more effective building material, Daly saw no problem with adopting it to local needs. Although the

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[235] Yves Schoonjans, "Regional Architecture as an element of Cosmopolitanism in César Daly's Vision of Eclecticism" in *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth-Century,* 2008: 32-47.
[236] "…le progrès est essentiellement cosmopolite," César Daly, "Introduction," *RGA*, (1861): 1-10, 5-6.
[237] Schoonjans, "Regional Architecture as an Element of Cosmopolitanism," 39.
[238] Geert Palmaerts, "Nineteenth-Century Regionalism and the Idea of Decentralisation in the Arts" *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth Century*, 48-57, 51.
[239] Papayanis, "César Daly*,"* 333.
[240] Papayanis, "César Daly," 331.

architecture may become more formally similar, Daly nonetheless believed that the races would remain separate.[241] In 1863, he stated that, in order for the discipline of architecture to progress, architects needed to study the traditions from more than one race, country, time period and historic style.[242]

Despite his open mindedness to foreign architectures, Daly sought to understand how specific architectures had developed throughout history. Richard Becherer's *Science plus Sentiment* connects Daly's theories with the history of Enlightenment thinking. Becherer interprets Daly's writings from the late 1840s as an "antagonism" between Roman and Gothic.[243] Of particular interest is the artist Robert Ruprich's rendering of architectural history that was created to accompany Daly's "De la liberté dans l'Art" from 1848. While this 1848 image and article pre-date Daly's 1872 lecture to the SAP, it is significant because it illustrates his early concern for architectural identity, mixing, and of course, the future of architecture.

Ruprich portrays the history of architecture from "the oldest" in the lower left corner and ascends to "L'Art Nouveau" in the upper right illuminated by "the resplendent sun of future art," to borrow the closing line from Daly's 1863 introduction to the *RGA* (Figure 33).[244] While the linear march of figures and architecture through the center of image implies a development, Ruprich's use of text belies any clear development. Beneath the contemporary figures, depicted upright and driving a locomotive, there is a visually ambiguous scheme (Figure 34). A series of terms oscillates between adjective and place names, listing (read from top to bottom and left to right): Renaissance, Gothic, Roman, Byzantine, Latins, Rome, Athens, Persia, Indian, America,

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[241] Yves Schoonjans, "Regional Architecture as an element of Cosmopolitanism in César Daly's Vision of Eclecticism" in *Sources of Regionalism in the Nineteenth-Century,* 2008: 32-47, 38.
[242] César Daly, "Introduction," *RGA,* (1863): 1-12, 9.
[243] Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment,* 29.
[244] "…le soleil resplendissant de l'art future," Daly, "Introduction," *RGA* (1863): 1-12, 12.

Pelasgian, Celtic, Egypt. Becherer argues that this diagram is the presentation of opposites: Persian versus India, Byzantine versus Latin, etc, yet the outlines read more like plate tectonics, rather than a clear hierarchy.[245] Yes, some of the terms are on the same plane, but they have clear barriers between them. "Rome," near the center top, seems the most isolated of any of the terms, as if all the lower cultures funneled into Rome, which then filtered into "Gothique," "Roman," "Renaissance," "Bysantin [sic]," and "Latins," but it is not obvious.

According to Becherer, the central figure in the composition, is important for understanding Daly's beliefs about architecture's evolution, origins, and future (Figure 35). Becherer argues that this figure symbolizes Daly's pessimism about mankind, and the destructiveness of humanity that is present in all time periods and places.[246]

While "antagonism" may characterize Daly's theories in the 1840s, by the time of his 1872 presentation to the SAP, his ideas had clearly shifted. The architecture of each race is visually distinct, but he does not discuss them as being in competition or incompatible. Perhaps it was his desire to reconcile these artistic and cultural forces that led him to join the SAP in 1865. Indeed, by the 1860s, it was the "antagonism" between the roles of architect and engineer that most concerned Daly. What was it, that made the profession of 'architect' distinct?

In the last several volumes of the RGA in the 1860s, eclecticism, and the relationship between construction and *sentiment* [emotion], had been a recurring topic of interest. Daly was highly critical of classical and Neo-Gothic architecture, since he believed that they reproduced the emotions of historic, rather than contemporary, people. The rationalist school, in contrast, refused to acknowledge the poetry of the nineteenth century, removing art from architecture.[247] According

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[245] Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment,* 29.
[246] Becherer, *Science plus Sentiment,* 64.
[247] Daly, "Introduction," *RGA* (1866): 1-10, 9.

to Daly, the architect made an ages truth and *sentiment* visible through architecture.[248] In 1868, Daly warned that architecture was being absorbed by engineering. Without architects, buildings would be utilitarian would no longer have the *sentiment* of the age.

By the late 1860s, Daly's connections with the anthropological community ran deeper than simply his membership in the SAP. In fact, in an 1867 report, Quatrefages cites Daly by name as a source on race theory. Originally written for the French Minister of Public Education to summarize the state of French anthropological sciences, the goal of Quatrefages' article was to address the consequences of racial mixing. Quatrefages refutes the claims of fellow anthropologist, Jean-André-Napoléon Perier, who claimed that the mixing of races always results in an intermediate race between the two parent races. To contest this, Quatrefages explains that descendants of Indigenous American and a member of the black race would result in a race that was less developed than its parent races. Quatrefages names four theorists whose work directly contradicts this idea, one of whom is Daly.[249] Thus, although Daly does not yet employ the language of race theory before 1872, he was certainly aware of the major debates and key questions. Moreover, in that he approached mixing architectural forms, whether or not the combination of reason and *sentiment* would result in an architecture that was emblematic of its time was less clear.

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[248] Daly, "Introduction," 1866, 5.

[249] In the French version of this document, Daly's name is incorrectly spelled as "César Dally." This is noteworthy because of Eugène Dally, a contemporary member of the SAP. For this reason, there may be several other references to Daly in the text, but the spelling errors mean that other references cannot be confirmed. See Armand de Quatrefages, *Rapport sur le progrès de l'anthropologie* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1867), 472. Notably, a portion of the report was translated and reprinted in *The Anthropological Review* and Daly's name was spelled correctly. See Quatrefages, "The Formation of the Mixed Human Races" *The Anthropological Review,* Vol. 7, No. 24 (1869): 22-40, 23.

In the 1869 edition of the *RGA,* Daly published an extended article titled "On the Architecture of the Future" in which he attempted to trace the development of different architectures through their geometric shapes.[250] This is the last theoretical article that Daly penned before a break in writing about architectural history that lasted at least ten years.

To trace the history of architecture, Daly abstracts the building preferences of the Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines to basic geometric forms: straight lines for the Greeks, a mixture of curvilinear and rectangular forms for the Romans, and domes for the Byzantines.[251] According to Daly, "each of these great historical forms of architecture, universally recognized as constituting a distinct style, offers this double character: a special system of construction and an aesthetic that belongs to it."[252] Daly elaborates that each of these building forms represents the reconciliation between practical needs and emotion. While the architecture of these different groups was necessarily dictated by the available materials in the region, Daly argues that imagination and *sentiment* motivated past architects to build in certain ways.[253] To illustrate this, Daly compares Egyptian and culturally non-specific 'Arab' architecture, since they lived in the same climate and had access to the same materials. While the Egyptians fixated on building an architecture that would last for *longue durée,* they sacrificed all emotion. Instead, the 'Arabs' privileged the picturesque and décor at the cost of durability.[254]

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[250] César Daly, "De l'architecture de l'avenir," *RGA* (1869): 10-71.
[251] Daly, "De l'Architecture de l'Avenir," 19-20.
[252] "…chacune des grandes formes historiques de l'architecture, universellement reconnues commes constituant des styles distincts, offre ce double caractère : un système spécial de construction et une esthétique qui lui est propre ;" Daly, "De l'architecture de l'avenir," 20.
[253] Daly, "De l'Architecture de l'Avenir," 31.
[254] Daly, "De l'Architecture de l'Avenir," 31.

According to Daly, when a society had arrived at its most developed point, its architecture exhibited a balance between efforts of the mind [*efforts de l'esprit*] and emotional inspiration.[255] This will result in an architectural style that is unique to a culture, time, and place. Yet this equilibrium would not last long, and as a society began to "evolve" (the term that Daly uses) architecture became increasingly eclectic.[256] Eclecticism was the sign of a culture in transition.

Daly created a table to accompany the article, further abstracting the history of architecture into its basic outline (Figure 36). He does not cite any specific monuments or cities, but instead makes general connections. Yet the key question, as indicated by the title "On the Architecture of Future," asks about the form that future architecture will take.

If France in 1869 was in a state of transition, it is difficult to ascertain what Daly thought about France during the Franco-Prussian War and Commune. Daly reacted minimally to these events in the *RGA*. Because the 1870 publication schedule was cut short, he explained in the 1871 volume that life had resumed, and the delayed articles would appear in the following issues.[257] However, in the 1870s, there was a distinct shift in the tone of Daly's introductions. They are no longer theoretical and instead, they largely discuss the *Librairie de la Revue*. After the events of 1870-1871, when Daly saw the city that he had studied and reported on for decades be destroyed, he stopped writing about the architecture of the future. The single follow-up article to the 1869 "On the Architecture of the Future," was the introduction to the 1870 issue of the RGA. Daly outlined the responsibilities of a professional architect, chief among which was the visual literacy of past and present architecture.

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255 Daly, "De l'Architecture de l'Avenir," 46.
256 Daly, "De l'Architecture de l'Avenir," 46-51.
257 César Daly, "Introduction," *RGA* (1871): 97-102.

Daly's presentation to the SAP posited several things. First, architectural styles undergo an *evolution* that is mirrored in the developments of society broadly. Second, there are at least two different races of man (Semitic and Aryan), and each produces a specific form of architecture. Last, in Daly's conception of race theory, Arabs are considered Semitic and Romans (and their Gothic descendants) are Aryan.

In the years before his 1872 presentation to the SAP, Daly became increasingly anxious about the disciplinary knowledge with which an architect should be equipped. As early as 1867, Daly began to postulate that eclectic architecture was the result of a society dictated too forcefully by reason, in this case, engineering.[258] The study of aesthetics was the key domain that distinguished architecture and engineering.[259] By 1870, Daly clearly outlined what a "serious architect" must do, chief among which was the ability to envision history through architectural forms so that the architect can stay current with the progress of architecture. Each of the historic styles should be understood in terms of the civilizations [*civilisations*], countries [*pays*], and races [*races*].[260] As he clearly states, Daly believed that the high architectural style of a certain historical moment was not only the balance between reason and *sentiment* but also the product of culture, environment, and racial character.

Throughout the 1870s, Daly never uses racial terminology to discuss architecture in the RGA, but his writings from the preceding decade demonstrate his awareness and application of race theory. By reducing architecture to its basic forms, Daly could teach the scientific community about the cultural literacy with which architects should be equipped. When Daly visited the SAP in 1872, both the national identity of France and the disciplinary expertise of architects seemed

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[258] César Daly, "Introduction" *RGA* (1867): 1-9, 6.
[259] César Daly, "Introduction" *RGA* (1869): 2.
[260] César Daly, "Introduction" *RGA* (1870): 1-13, 4-5.

precarious. An architecture's success, viewed within the history of world architecture, was directly linked to its location of origin; this was the case with the Egyptians and the Arabs, the character of their architecture was partially the product of available materials and partially because of the balance between reason and *sentiment.*

While the anthropologists pondered the future of the French nation, Daly, like Quatrefages in 1867, argued mixing would not be as detrimental than it would seem. Instead, the nineteenth century was itself a precarious moment, as the forces of reason and *sentiment* tried to find their equilibrium. Although his thoughts on the Commune are unclear, its main actors were often associated with the ills of society, the madness of the crowd and the weakness of the modern age. This excess of passion, and its imbalance with reason, was the exact type of unevenness that Daly observed in moments of transition. The architect, it seems, could use the built environment as a way to locate the architectural character unique to nineteenth-century France and to sooth the inequality of reason and emotions in the Parisian masses.

According to Daly, architecture did 'evolve' due to the racial character of the people who created it, it was not necessarily changing for the better. While the importance of milieu in Lamarck's Transformism are present in Daly's conception of history, his concern with evolution clearly evokes the Darwinian possibility of species decline. By studying past architectures, especially with regard to the races that built them, Daly would both elevate the value of his discipline on a scholarly stage and try to find a remedy to the eclecticism, the physical embodiment of an age in chaos, through race theory.

2.6 Conclusion

The writings and scholarly activities of Viollet-le-Duc and Daly created a relationship between the architectural and anthropological communities. Through his texts and public lectures, Viollet-le-Duc taught that racial character was linked to the material and internal arrangement of dwellings. As he worried that the French education system was to blame for France's loss to the Prussians, partnering with the anthropological community allowed him to extend his professional reach. By the time he became involved in planning the Musée d'Ethnographie in 1878, he was prepared to pair human skeletal remains with associated material culture, to show that the two kinds of visual evidence were closely connected. This would not only make anthropological evidence more legible to the mass public, but it would also reveal the power of architecture for visualizing racial character.

In contrast, Daly feared for the future of the architectural profession. Throughout the 1860s, he had advocated that architects were trained with a unique type of visual analysis that allowed them to read racial or national character into historic buildings. To demonstrate this visual literacy on a broader scale, he reduced architecture to its most simple geometric forms and presented his findings to the SAP. As the French feared for their race, analyzing the history of architecture through race theory could provide clues for what the future may 'look' like.

3.0 Anthropological Architecture: Dwellings as Racial Index at the Jardin d'Acclimatation,

1877-1886

In the fall of 1877, a troop of 14 *'Nubiens'* arrived at the Jardin d'Acclimatation in the Bois de Boulogne on the western edge of Paris (Figure 37). [261] Advertised as the shepherds of their animal caravan, the Nubians were the first in a series of distinct ethnographic displays. Such human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation occurred on an almost yearly basis until 1931 and included human groups from Africa, the Americas, and the Arctic. Despite the distinctness of each group's geographic origin and culture, all were exhibited in the same enclosed field and French scientists furnished with two dwellings: a permanent *cabane* ('Hut') and a temporary house, which was unique to them. During the daytime, these groups were subject to the paying public's gaze and scrutiny of the paying Parisian public from behind a tall fence. After hours, their bodies, quotidian objects, and homes were examined and documented by the Société d'Anthropologie (SAP).[262] The groups, and their motivations for participating in the exhibits, varied drastically, from being kidnapped to volunteering in the hopes of attaining fame and fortune. However, all were assigned an individual dwelling that was built by French scientists before they arrived in Paris. By discussing, analyzing, and reproducing their observations in scholarly journals and illustrated

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[261] This chapter uses the often-problematic terminology assigned to the groups for the sake of clarity. At a time when racial designations changed across theorists and texts, using nineteenth-century language not only gives a clearer picture of the state of the field but also leaves room for future scholars to accurately unpack this terminology.

[262] For lack of a better term, this chapter also uses the terms 'group' and 'troop' to discuss the human displays, generally. Because these terms evoke a collective of people as neutrally as possible, I have preferred them over 'troupe' or 'performers' which imply a certain agency that did not characterize all the human displays at the Jardin.

texts, the scientists translated the invented architectural specimens into permanent evidence of racial difference.

In truth, the temporary dwellings were accessory, and the groups stayed and slept in the heated Hut while on display. If the Hut actually housed the visiting groups, why did French scientists need to erect a second, temporary dwelling? What did these additional structures communicate to viewers about the displayed groups, which would not have been clear otherwise? This chapter analyzes the physical and intellectual setting of human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and argues that anthropologists used architecture as a way to accent the non-European racial qualities of mixed-race groups. In comparison to both the other architectural elements at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and the larger environ of modern Paris, each group's assigned dwelling served as an index of the humans' racial and cultural sophistication. As demonstrated in chapter 1, Daly and Viollet-le-Duc trained the anthropological and broader scientific community on how to equate racial character with architecture, especially with regard to its material and form. The human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation provided the opportunity to introduce this medium into scientific displays alongside human bodies, animals, and quotidian objects.

Photographs and publicity materials of the human groups at the Jardin d'Acclimatation reveal that architecture played a pivotal role in the displays, both as backdrops to portraits and as a static element that was created for the public's consumption. Because the human exhibits did not inhabit their temporary dwellings, the structures instead served as the physical embodiment of racial character for each group. This was especially important in displays of mixed-race groups, who often resembled French onlookers. While the Jardin d'Acclimatation's architecture is the primary focus, this chapter also examines how scientists planned these exhibits. Of particular

interest here is German animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck's role in recruiting the groups and how his displays in Berlin and Hamburg differed from those in Paris. Studying the architectural specimens and the ways that anthropologists attempted to visualize mixed-race groups highlights the arbitrariness of race categorization, in general. Indeed, by the late 1870s the nuances between races had grown so indistinguishable that race "experts" struggled to assign them to broader racial families.

This chapter will focus on Jardin d'Acclimatation's displays from 1877 to 1886 because of the consistency with which the SAP frequented the exhibits. After this date, the SAP no longer visited, studied, or documented the human displays. In addition, the SAP's break with the Jardin d'Acclimatation coincided with the Berlin conference of 1884-1885, which divided Africa among imperially ambitious powers of Western Europe. From 1877-1885, groups came primarily from the so-called "new world," exemplifying the Noble Savage of the Enlightenment.[263] Yet the human exhibits that occurred from 1885-1914 were mostly African subjects, thus catering to audience expectations of the 'modern other' that often came from newly acquired overseas territories.[264] In addition, this division in time represents a shift in how the troops were recruited; by the twentieth century, [265] natives were hired as showman who were paid for a specific type of performance. In contrast, the early ethnographic display participants were paid based on their age and sex.[266]

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[263] Marylène Patou-Mathias, *Le Sauvage et le préhistorique, miroir de l'homme occidental: de la malédiction de Cham à l'identité nationale* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Odile Jacob, 2011), 12-13.

[264] Brett A. Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst and Boston, 2002), 111.

[265] Carl Hagenbeck passed away in 1913 and many of the human exhibits in Paris after this time were organized by impresario Fleury Tournier.

[266] The earliest groups were paid based on age and sex, three Marks per man, two Marks per woman, and 1 per child, exemplifying the ordinariness of their 'performances. See Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 59. In contrast, by the first decade of the twentieth century, ethnographic groups were hired individually, to perform a specified role or play an instrument. See Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire,* 111-116.

First, an extensive review of primary and secondary sources establishes how displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation were documented and how they engage with broader studies of human shows. Next, analyzing the founding of the Jardin d'Acclimatation demonstrates the relationship between acclimatization science and race theory as well as the physical setting and intellectual climate of the Jardin d'Acclimatation, after the Franco-Prussian war. The Jardin d'Acclimatation's architectural footprint before the era of human displays is the focus of section 3, while section 4 provides background on Carl Hagenbeck, the animal dealer who provided the human displays from the 1870s through at least the early twentieth century, yet is absent from primary and secondary sources on the Jardin d'Acclimatation. To understand the necessity of architecture for picturing mixed race group, section 5 focuses on the agency of the human displays in a German context and establishes why their chosen format was necessary in a French context. Finally, this chapter concludes by delving into the specifics of the 1877 Nubian, 1878 Gaucho, and 1883 Fuégiens displays and their relationship to contemporary theory about mixed-race groups.

3.1 Literature Review

Archival documentation for the Jardin d'Acclimatation is scarce and fragmentary, especially with regard to the first period of human exhibits from 1877-1886.[267] By contrast, the

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[267] At this time, I am yet to locate the bulk of material related to coordinating and planning the human exhibitions at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. The Archives nationales de France house some documents relating to the SZA, but few to the Jardin d'Acclimatation generally. The municipal archives at Neuilly-sur-Seine contain rare journal articles and a few letters, but the bulk of this material concerns the period after 1880 as well as unrelated exhibits at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, such as the dog shows. These archives, however, contain a paper guidebook to the Fuégiens exhibit and it is the only one of its kind that I have been able to locate.

archives of the SAP are well preserved and offer the opinions of the scientific audience, but they do not delve into how the human exhibits were organized.[268] The Tierpark Hagenbeck has preserved more than a century's worth of accounting books that list the Hagenbeck firm's transactions.[269] Luckily, several of the Jardin d'Acclimatation's own receipts from 1877-1886 found their way into these books, but no similar documents are included in Jardin d'Acclimatation documents at the Archives nationales de France or in the municipal archives at Neuilly-sur-Seine. These documents provide a brief but unparalleled glimpse into how the *Völkershau* or "people shows" translated into a French context. Illustrated anthropological texts were not only aimed at this knowledgeable readership base but also contain valuable imagery. These texts provide insight into how the popular and scientific communities gauged the veracity of the displays. *La Nature,* an interdisciplinary scientific journal that was intended for popular and specialized audiences, is of particular importance in this chapter because it is where the esoteric discussions that occurred in the SAP meetings are presented to the larger academic community. This chapter will also consider the popular presses, such as *L'Illustration,* which targeted a non-specialist audience. By analyzing discipline-specific, academic, and popular illustrated texts side-by-side, we see how ideas about race were created, repackaged, and disseminated.

Visual sources on the human displays take two forms: molds (taken from the displayed persons) and busts; and the extensive photography collection created and assembled by the SAP. Ethnographic busts modeled on the Jardin d'Acclimatation's human exhibits were widely

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[268] The archives for the SAP are housed at the Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle.

[269] I am immensely grateful to Karl Gille, the head archivist at the Tierpark Hagenbeck, but his assistance with the Geschäftsbücher, helpful suggestions, and guided tour of the Tierpark. The Geschäftsbücher that I consulted did not have proper call numbers, but they are organized chronologically and subdivided according to the site to which Hagenbeck sold. Throughout this chapter, I will simply refer to the year in the accounts were posted.

publicized and displayed at other venues, such as the Expositions universelles and the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro.[270] Of particular note are famed sculptor Charles Cordier's busts of the *Esquimaux*, which were displayed at the 1878 Exposition.[271] Even today, several of these busts, such as the wax *Nubiens* examples, are on permanent display at the newly renovated Musée de l'Homme in Paris.

Prince Roland Bonaparte's photography collection is essential for resurrecting the Jardin d'Acclimatation's human exhibit space, the Hut, and the temporary dwellings. Prince Roland Bonaparte photographed each of the groups until the SAP's 1886 break with the Jardin d'Acclimatation and his collections comprised more than 300 photographs.[272] The simply titled album "Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation" includes photographs of the groups from 1877-1886. It was likely for personal use, as it does not include a frontispiece or dedication page.[273] Other albums, which focused on a single group, were donated to the SAP with an explanation of when and where they were taken.[274] For each exhibit, Bonaparte took group photos, portraits, and candid shots of the groups relaxing or executing a task. These images not only provide glimpses into the space of the Jardin d'Acclimatation and demonstrate how the groups became visually associated with their assigned architectural specimens. This chapter is the first to analyze the crucial role of the Jardin d'Acclimatation's architecture and environment in communicating and concretizing

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[270] In discussing the Anthropology pavilion at the Exposition universelle of 1878, they discuss that the two Esquimaux busts were displayed and that this section was the easiest for the public to understand. Paris, MNHN, SAP 60 (1).

[271] Paris, MNHN, SAP 60 (1).

[272] However, it is unclear whether or not took the photos, or simply collected them, as they are sometimes attributed to Pierre Petit in nineteenth-century books and at the current moment in library databases.

[273] Prince Roland Bonaparte, *Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation: 2 albums et 298 photos de représentants de peoples des cinq continents,* undated, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[274] For example, see the *Kalmouks* and *Indiens* albums at the MNHN.

notions of racial difference. Because of their reproduction in print, the architectural specimens reached a far great audience than would have been possible in situ.

In the context of French historical studies, the majority of scholarly examinations of the Jardin d'Acclimatation have focused primarily on its African groups, especially those that were displayed from the 1880s to the twentieth century. William Schneider's *An Empire for the Masses* devotes a section to the Jardin d'Acclimatation but focuses primarily on exhibits from the 1890s that were either commercially profitable or of African origin. Schneider's analysis is limited because he conceives of the human exhibits as the complete separation of didacticism and spectacle.[275] The consistent reproduction of these exhibits and the discussions that they generated in scientific circles belies Schneider's argument. Similarly, in *Villages noirs,* the authors provide examples of how the troops were discussed in scholarly journals and newspapers, but offer no analysis of the physical state of the exhibits or how their presentation was tailored to a general public.[276] In addition, Brett Berliner dedicates a chapter of his book *Ambivalent Desire* to human exhibitions, focusing on Fleury Tournier's exhibits in the 1920s.[277]

Of the groups displayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation in the 1877-1886 timeframe, the 1881 group of *Fuégiens* has received the most extensive scholarly attention.[278] This is perhaps

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[275] See William Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870-1900* (Greenwood Press: Wesport, 1982), especially chapter 8.

[276] Jean-Michel Bergougniou, Remi Clignet, and Philippe David, *"Villages noirs": et autres visiteurs africains et malgaches en France et en Europe, 1870-1940* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions, 2001).

[277] Brett A. Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst and Boston, 2002).

[278] For example, see Revol, "Observations sur les Fuégiens," in *Le Terrain des sciences humaines: instructions et enquêtes, XVIIIe-XXe siècle*, Claude Blanckaert, ed. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996) PAGE #s. Christian Báez and Peter Mason, *Zoológicos humanos, fotografías de fuéguinos y mapuche en el Jardín d'acclimatation de Paris, siglo XIX* (Santiago, Chile: Biblioteca del Bicentenario: 2006), and Anne Chapman, *European encounter with the Yamana People of Cape Horn, Before and After Darwin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

because of the ways that this exhibit encapsulates the circuitousness of image making, public display, and *Missions scientifiques.* This ethnographic group had long captured the European imagination, beginning with seventeenth-century accounts cannibalistic habits of the Tierra del Fuego people.[279] In preparation for his 1882 *Mission scientifique* to Cape Horn, the naval doctor and member of the SAP, Paul-Jules Hyades, made photographs, measurements, and plaster casts of limbs of the Fuégiens exhibited at the Jardin d'Acclimatation.[280] Conceptions and images of this group, therefore, were repeated and repackaged for diverse publics, both general and scientific.

With minimal French archival documentation and limited analyses of the first decade of human displays, this chapter looks to source material on Hagenbeck, whose recruiter brought the *Fuégiens* to Europe, to understand how the groups were recruited and how the displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation were unique. For background on Hagenbeck, this chapter relies on Nigel Rothfels' and Eric Ames' respective books, which lay the groundwork for English-language studies of Hagenbeck. However, neither of these texts consider the physical space of the exhibits, nor how the displays inevitably changed from city to city. This chapter expands the study of Hagenbeck and the limitations of his showmanship by considering the broader environmental settings of the human displays.

Rothfels' book *Savages and Beasts* examines the beginning of Hagenbeck's career as an animal dealer in the nineteenth-century and its expansion. Rothfels details Hagenbeck's business in its nascent stages, including his relationship with animal dealers, as well as the European butchery that was involved in catching and transporting animals from Africa. In his most substantial chapter, "'Fabulous animals': Showing People," the author demonstrates how the

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[279] Revol, "Observations sur les Fuégiens, 254.
[280] Revol, "Observations sur les Fuégiens," 261-265.

human exhibits grew from the backyard of Hagenbeck's home-studio into staged spectacles. Hagenbeck's relationship with the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (BGAEU), and its president, Richard Virchow, is described in tandem with Hagenbeck's business ventures. Rothfel's book pairs nicely with Andrew Zimmerman's text *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany,* which thoroughly addresses the relationship between ethnological displays, freak shows and the BGAEU.[281] While Rothfels discusses the trace of the Berlin Anthropological Society in the archival records for the Tierpark at Stellingen, Zimmerman approaches Hagenbeck from notes, archives, and the BGAEU's publications.

However, when describing the exhibits and their public response, Rothfels' analysis relies heavily on Hagenbeck's 1908 autobiography *Von Tieren und Menschen: Erlebnisse un Erfahrungen.* Hagenbeck's text is inevitably biased, and he focuses on the process of collecting animals and their popularity amongst European audiences.[282] The bulk of Hagenbeck's text details the latter portion of his career, such as the founding and prosperity of the Tierpark at Stellingen, with minimal description of his early groups and tours. The absence of this information be explained by the fact that the groups were often supervised by their respective recruiters, rather than Hagenbeck himself. Although Hagenbeck mentions travelling to Paris, he does not describe any of his business dealings, and describes the majority of the ethnological exhibits quite generally.

Eric Ames' monograph *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* provides a rich assemblage of visual material and analysis of Hagenbeck's later career. A thorough account of

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[281] Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001).
[282] Hagenbeck, Carl. *Beasts & Men; Being Experiences for Half a Century among Wild Animals*. Translated by Hugh Samuel Roger Elliot and Arthur Gordon Thacker (London: Longmans, 1910).

Hagenbeck's recruiting activities, with special attention paid to the agency of native performers, Ames' study is limited to a German viewing context. In the essay "From the Exotic to the Everyday," Eric Ames argues that ethnographic exhibitions in Germany, "de-exoticized the other rendering it familiar and comprehensible, without destroying the lure of the exotic."[283] By focusing on housing specimens that were created to be legible and contrasted with the Parisian urban environment, this chapter will expand Ames' thesis. Paris was unique, especially in comparison to a cosmopolitan city like Hamburg, which had been a key shipping port for several centuries.

This chapter will demonstrate how Parisian displays contrasted with those in Germany. This comparison shows how Hagenbeck's troops were received in other European contexts that had other aims. In the French context, the SAP asserted publicly and repeatedly that it was a serious, scientific organization. Any spectacle elements would have been counter to the goals of the SAP. Furthermore, the individuality of location that groups visited highlights the ways that the environment and cultural norms inflected viewing practices. In a contrasting German context, Ames posits that the display of ethnographic troops in the open-air gave them 'authenticity,' as opposed to a staged display in a circus or show.[284] Ames' analysis focuses on the last decade of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century, when Hagenbeck created his own theme park and the 'storyline format' became common.[285] While at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, the troops were provided with a large field of grass, but they remained behind a high barrier, clearly sequestering them from the general population. By focusing on the first period of human exhibition

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[283] Eric Ames, "From the Exotic to the Everyday: The Ethnographic Exhibition in Germany" in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader,* Vanessa Schwartz and Jeannene Przblysi, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 313-327, 314. He also writes a book, but his thesis is much crisper in the article.
[284] Ames, "From the Exotic to the Everyday," 319.
[285] Ames, "From the Exotic to the Everyday," 320-322.

at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, we see the precedent for later human exhibits and the new role that architecture played in concretizing notions of racial difference.

3.2 Acclimatization and Race Science

The Jardin d'Acclimatation opened to the public on October 6, 1860[286] under the direction of Isidore Geoffroy Sainte-Hilaire, president of the Société zoologique impériale d'acclimation (SZA).[287] A professor at the Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle (MNHN) from 1840, Geoffroy Sainte-Hilaire sought to explore the practical and agricultural uses of foreign animal and plant species. Unable to conduct his research at the urban Jardin des plantes (the menagerie of the Muséum) due to funding and space limitations, he sought the SZA's endorsement to found a new site.[288] With the intellectual and fiscal support of the SZA, he endeavored to create a new space dedicated to the breeding and acclimatization of plants and animals. This new site was intended to be of public utility from an agricultural and an educational standpoint.

The notion that the French could naturalize and domesticate foreign species for the betterment of agriculture in the capital was intricately linked to their perceived mastery of the natural world. Indeed, acclimatization sciences neatly coincided with French ideas of progress and global expansion in the mid-nineteenth century. By 1860, France had already begun its imperial

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[286] The SZA's lease began on January 1, 1859 for 20 hectares of land, in the Bois de Boulogne from the city of Paris for a 40-year period. The terms of the lease Société d'acclimatation were to pay 1,000 francs per year and that any structures they erected would become the property of the state when the lease ended. See AN F[12] 6801

[287] This organization becomes for the "Société zoologique d'acclimatation" after 1870. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to it by its later abbreviation.

[288] Michael Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 6.

campaign and had established colonies in North African and the Caribbean. If the French could introduce and domesticate foreign species, these could be bred with European species to create stronger hybrids. In addition, their increased production and commercialization would supply a steady source of meat and wool.[289] It was therefore in the nation's interest for scientists to perfect acclimatization practices.

Yet questions of species adaptability went beyond plants and animals; acclimatization sciences had serious ramifications in the realms of anthropology and race thinking. For Frenchmen in the colonies, many of whom struggled in climates that differed drastically from France, their potential for adaptation required urgent attention. If, for instance, climate and diet were to blame for the diversity between human races, then the origin of man could be traced to a single race, or monogenesis. As believed by Armand de Quatrefages and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, monogenism would mean that humans could adapt to any and all environments over a long enough period of time. This argument, however, was not met without controversy; other members of the SAP, Paul Broca most notably, argued for the inflexibility of human races and their distinct, separate origins.[290] If this second theory proved to be true, it would ultimately prohibit humans from adjusting to foreign climates. However, it would buttress claims of the differences between men that laid the foundations for race thinking and France's imperial program.

In the years that preceded the Jardin d'Acclimatation's first human exhibits in 1877, race theory and concerns over racial status were at the forefront of both the scientific and popular imagination. The Jardin d'Acclimatation was one of the most notable theaters of destruction during the Franco-Prussian war and the Commune; the gardens were abandoned, and the animals

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[289] Eric Baratay and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo: a History of Zoological Gardens in the West* (London: Reaktion, 2002), 142-143.
[290] Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism,* 62-95.

transferred to the Jardin des Plantes, where many were slaughtered for their meat. For example, the public consumption of the Jardin d'Acclimatation's elephants 'Castor' and 'Pollux' was one of the most sensational and memorable events of the Commune.[291]

While Frenchmen were responsible for slaughtering the animals, the Prussians had shelled both the Jardin d'Acclimatation and the MNHN. After the war ended, relations between the two scientific communities were tense. While Paris was under siege, Quatrefages published an essay titled, "The Prussian Race" ["*La race prussienn"*], the first version was published in the February 1871 edition of *Revue des Deux Mondes*. This journal had long been the venue for discussions over France's racial status, so it is unsurprising that it published this condemning article.[292] Quatrefages argued that the German race had allowed itself to be hoodwinked into submission by the inferior, Prussian race.[293] In a published response, Virchow critiqued Quatrefages' scientific method and shamed the French anthropological community for publishing such an attack. As a final retaliation, the SZA went as far as to erase German contributors' names from their *Bulletin*.[294]

If acclimatization sciences were beneficial for the public, they were equally a way for the French to distinguish themselves in the realm of science. Tension between the French and German scientific communities remained until at least the end of the decade, when in 1877 Broca and Bertrand were extended membership to the BGAEU, but the French did not reciprocate invitation to the SAP until 1882.[295] Nevertheless, Broca, the head of the SAP and the commission that

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[291] Rebecca Sprang, "'And They Ate the Zoo': Relating Gastronomic Exoticism in the Siege of Paris." *MLN* 107, no. 4 (1992): 752–73.
[292] Bonnie Effros, *Discovering the Germanic Past* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), especially chapter 7.
[293] Chris Manias, "The 'Race prusienne' Controversy: Scientific Internationalism and the Nation," in *ISIS,* 2009: 733-757.
[294] Fox, *The Savant and the State: Science and Cultural Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 234.
[295] Manias, "The 'Race Prussienne,'" 752-755.

examined the *Nubiens*, stated in 1877 that, "anthropology is principally a French science and our country must retain [its] direction."[296] Advances in acclimatization sciences could resolve long-standing questions about the races of man and therefore help the French stay ahead of their German competitors.

While the scientific communities argued, the damage to the physical environment, a reminder of the French race's perceived fragility, remained visible in Paris and the Jardin d'Acclimatation. The entirety of the route leading to the Jardin d'Acclimatation from the middle of the city, following the Champs-Élysées and the Porte Maillot, stood damaged, a reminder of France's defeat (Figures 38-39). During the Siege, French soldiers used this key location to defend the city. If the destroyed buildings were not enough of a reminder of the war, Parisians certainly recalled the Prussian victory march down the Champs-Elysées. Restoring the gardens after the war was enormously expensive, costing around 450,000 francs with an addition grant from the Conseil municipal de la ville de Paris totaling 180,000 francs.[297]

The anxiety that permeated late nineteenth-century Paris about how to identify a potential enemy reached an apex at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and on the route there, as Communard destruction blended with the aftermath of Prussian shellfire, resulted in a uniquely charged environment where Frenchmen were distinctly aware of national and racial identities. Whether it was the reminder of the exotic animals consumed during the Siege or the visible markers of loss, it was impossible not to be reminded of the events of 1870-1871 when visiting the Jardin d'Acclimatation. At this site, Parisians were keenly of how race purportedly shaped behavior,

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[296] Quoted in *La Société, l'École et le Laboratoire d'Anthropologie de Paris à L'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: 1889)*,* 1.
[297] Paris, Archives nationales, F[12] 6801.

military strength, and technological advancement, all of which coalesced in Paris' torn urban fabric.

3.3 The Jardin d'Acclimatation and its Architecture before 1877

Before analyzing the space of human displays, it is essential to explain how the architecture of human displays fit into the larger architectural program at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. When the first human exhibits occurred in 1877, the Jardin d'Acclimatation already had a substantial architectural footprint. Visitors could observe an eclectic mix of structures that included both neo-classical buildings, such as the large-scale aquarium and stables, and fanciful, heavily decorated buildings, such as the *lapinière,* or rabbit cages (Figure 40). However, there was a clear distinction in architectural style between buildings that humans could enter and ones inhabited solely by animals. These latter specimens were situated within the animal enclosures, too far from the viewer to be examined in detail. Composed of rough tree branches with thatched roofs, these animal buildings were the aesthetic precursor to the permanent Hut of the human exhibition space. Truly unique in the history of French architecture, these structures were crucial both for creating a visual analogy between the animals and the human groups, and served as a point of comparison for the later temporary dwellings.

The animal enclosures were photographed by Auguste Hippolyte Collard, whose photographs provide detailed insight into the forms and types of permanent animal structures at

the Jardin d'Acclimatation (Figures 41-42).[298] These buildings are immediately recognizable by their external patterning that resembles tree branches or roots. In each of the animal structures, the branches seem to grow up and out from the structural columns and appear to support the roof. One such example is the octagonal structure that stood in the deer pen. It had 16 doors, two per side, and an interior set of 8 stalls, with a central area (presumably for feeding and cleaning).[299] Each façade is nearly symmetrical, and the 'root' patterning gives an elegance to each of the minor pediments. Its base was made of stone or brick, to protect the wood from the humidity of the soil, and the roof, like many of the other animal structures, was a combination of thatch and reed, carpeted over tile.[300]

Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire partnered with the architect Tricot, who built at least four of the animal pavilions (the deer, stork, crane, and antelope buildings).[301] Deemed 'rustic constructions' ['*constructions rustiques*'] by the *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publiques* (RGA), these structures were lauded for their use of untreated materials, such as the rough branches and natural lumber, which served as the primary decoration (Figure 43).[302] Because these pavilions were built before 1873, the Tricotel firm and the Jardin d'Acclimatation clearly made an aesthetic

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[298] These photographs are mislabeled as "Bois de Vincennes" and the structures are reproduced almost identically in the *Guide du promeneur au Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation du Bois de Boulogne* (Paris: 1877) and Edouard Grimard, *Jardin d'Acclimatation. Le tour du monde d'un naturaliste* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'éducation et de recreation, 1877).

[299] See RGA floorplan image.

[300] "Constructions rustiques au Jardin d'Acclimatations, à Paris, par M. Tricotel, architecte," *Révue générale d'architecture et des travaux publics* (1873): 57-60, 58.

[301] That Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire had a hand in designing or executing these structures is mentioned briefly, without explanation, in "Constructions rustiques au Jardin d'Acclimatations, à Paris, par M. Tricotel, architecte," *Révue générale d'architecture et des travaux publics,* volume 30: 1873, 57-60, 59.

[302] "Constructions rustiques au Jardin d'Acclimatations, à Paris, par M. Tricotel, architecte," *Révue générale d'architecture et des travaux publics,* volume 30, 1873, 57-60.

decision about the animal buildings.[303] The raw building materials contrast with modern building materials, those markers of industrial and civilizational 'progress.' Instead, the pavilions evoke a state close to nature. The visual argument, therefore, is that those who dwell in the *rustique* structure, are themselves natural.

In preparation for the human exhibits, the Jardin d'Acclimatation constructed the Hut at the center of the grassy field once used to graze animals (Figure 44-45). Although it is unclear exactly when the Hut was constructed, we can deduce that it was created specifically for the 1877 human exhibits for two reasons: first, in the RGA article describing Tricotel's original structures for the Jardin d'Acclimatation, there is no allusion to any additional structures. Second, in the heavily illustrated *Guide du promeneur au Jardin d'acclimatation,* published in May of 1877, there is no mention of a structure on the *pelouse* [grassy field] and it does not appear in any of the illustrations.[304]

This grassy field was an ideal setting for large displays, due to both its size and its visual isolation from the rest of the Jardin d'Acclimatation. When following the pathway described by the *Guide du promeneur,* viewers had their backs to the stables and were able to behold the greenery of the exhibition space, visually unencumbered by the existing structures.[305] Any illustration or photograph that includes the pony stables (across from the Hut), as we will see later on with the Gaucho photos, shows a privileged vista that would not have been available to regular Jardin d'Acclimatation visitors.

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[303] Dating these structures is challenging. Although the Collard photographs are dated to 1866, I am skeptical that the buildings would have survived intact during the 1870-1871. Moreover, these structures clearly accompany Grimard's *Jardin d'Acclimatation* from 1877.

[304] See Edouard Grimard, *Jardin d'Acclimatation* (Paris: Bibliothèque d'éducation et de récréation, 1877).

[305] *Guide du promeneur au Jardin zoologique d'Acclimatation du Bois de Boulogne* (Paris: 1877).

Where the previous Tricotel structures had employed a uniform aesthetic on all sides, the Hut was an amalgamation of materials. About half of its circular base exhibits the same 'root' patterning as the animal structures, yet the other half was composed of vertical wood beams (Figure 46). There was one doorway and a single window, both on the wood-beam side. The conical, thatched roof extended onto a wooden overhang, which followed the curvature of the structure and functioned as a shelter for the exhibited group's domestic animals. While the visual similarities between this structure and the surrounding animal pavilions is striking, its close proximity to the neoclassical pony stables, situated behind the viewers, is also notable. Indeed, the animals that had already been domesticated by the French, such as horses and rabbits, were dignified with structures that were easily slated into the history of architecture. The *rustique* aesthetic of the Hut and animal pavilions was therefore only further accented by its contrast to neighboring architecture.

The decision to erect a structure for humans that was stylistically and functionally identical to those used to house animals is striking for several reasons. Within the history of French gardens, beginning with aristocratic gardens of the eighteenth century, it was common to construct several stylistically distinct structures within the same space. Such garden structures could be 'natural,' such as a grotto, or exotic, such as a pagoda. This fashion for fantastic architecture continued into the nineteenth century at contemporary zoos, exemplified by the Egyptian temple constructed at the Antwerp Zoo in 1856. In this vein, Jardin d'Acclimatation visitors would not have been surprised to see additional foreign or exotic architectural specimens within the garden. However, exhibit planners selected the Hut, a structure that visually paralleled other structures for animals, to house humans. Yet unlike their animal counterparts, the human exhibits were never meant to stay in or become acclimatized to France. The Hut was created as a catch-all, a structure that could

house and function in the displays of disparate ethnographic groups, each of which was also provided with temporary houses that were specific to their culture.

3.4 Carl Hagenbeck

The Hut served as a permanent reference point for the temporary dwellings and the surrounding environment. During the period of 1877-1886, the Jardin d'Acclimatation housed human exhibits of groups from a wide variety of locations, including groups from Africa, the Americas, and the Arctic, each displayed in the season that corresponded to their native climate. Yet what remains unclear in both the Jardin d'Acclimatation's archival record and contemporary publications on the human displays is how and why the groups were brought to France. In fact, these groups were recruited, by force or by other means, by the famed German animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck. A shadowy figure in the history of the Jardin d'Acclimatation, Hagenbeck is never mentioned explicitly in any of the French archival material, *La Nature,* or the *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie.*[306] When introducing the inaugural human exhibit in *La Nature*, Girard de Rialle simply referred to the groups as belonging [*appartenir*] to 'a foreign animal dealer,' but Hagenbeck is never alluded to in the journal again.[307] Similarly, with regard to the second Nubian group from

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[306] Indeed, Hagenbeck's obscurity in the French publication and *Société* record led to the exhibits being falsely attributed to Geoffroy Sainte-Hilaire in the English journal *Nature.* Hamburg based German ethnographer and naturalist J. D. E. Schmeltz wrote to *Nature* to inform the journal of their error, correcting A. Bordier and attributing the 'Eskimo' troop to Hagenbeck. See *Nature,* vol. 18, 1878, 169.

[307] Girard de Rialle, "Les Nubiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation" in *La Nature,* deuxième semestre (1877): 198-203.

1879, the *Bulletin de la Société d'acclimatation* only mentions that they were chaperoned by an unnamed Italian.[308]

The accounting books in the Tierpark Hagenbeck show that Albert Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire was Hagenbeck's the main point of contact. In the early days of the Jardin d'Acclimatation, Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire was still heavily involved with the Muséum, which often lent animals and collections to the Jardin d'Acclimatation. When Isidore Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire passed away in 1861, he was succeeded by his son Albert Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire who had neither his father's connections nor his charisma. Despite this, he seems to have maintained some of his father's relationships, even after the Jardin d'Acclimatation and the Muséum had ended their partnership.[309]

It is possible that the personnel at the Jardin d'Acclimatation knew Hagenbeck solely because of his fame; by the mid-1870s, he had already established a prolific career in the international animal trade. Hagenbeck's work as an animal vendor and showman of the exotic began at a young age. His father, Carl Hagenbeck Sr., was a fish monger who, from the 1840s, began displaying and selling exotic animals that he caught during fishing expeditions. As his profits increased, the father-son team began travelling to capture non-native species, venturing as far as North America. Hagenbeck Jr. was only eleven years old when he began trading animals, visiting the major European capitals and becoming familiar with the clientele at each location.[310]

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[308] Charles Letourneau, "Rapport sur les Nubiens du Jardin d'acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris,* IIIe série, Tome 3 (1880): 655-660, 656.
[309] This occurred in 1862, when a dispute over the rightful owners of a convoy of Siamese animals erupted and the tie between the institutions was severed completely. Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic, and the Science of French Colonialism,* 30-33.
[310] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire,* 8-12.

In 1866, at the age of twenty-one, Hagenbeck Jr. was given full administrative and financial control over his father's business.[311]

During the 1860s, however, the animal trade market declined and Hagenbeck needed to recuperate some of his lost income. Despite his business savviness, it was Hagenbeck's friend, Heinrich Leutemann who suggested adding humans to the animal displays. The idea was to display individuals who were already employed by Hagenbeck, such as the natives who captured and chaperoned the animals. The process of herding foreign animals was inherently a spectacle and by simply continuing their tasks on the European continent, the humans became part of the exhibition.[312]

Considering the anti-German sentiment that had pervaded at the start of the decade, it is possible that Hagenbeck's status as a German-national influenced the SAP and explains why he was excluded from their reports.[313] This is especially noteworthy because Hagenbeck was well regarded by German anthropologists such as Virchow, who was essential in promoting human groups and affirming their scientific value. From the earliest shows in Berlin, Virchow encouraged fellow members of the BGAEU to visit the displays and defended both the exhibits and Hagenbeck to the German press.[314] Virchow also personally examined the groups, after which he lectured and

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[311] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire,* 12. For more details on the Hagenbeck animal trading business before 1877 and the Hagenbecks' hunting exploits, see Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* chapter 2.

[312] Ames, 26.

[313] To date, I am yet to locate an explicit reference to Hagenbeck as the driving force behind many of the human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. Within the archives of the Société d'Anthropologie, in regards to the anthropology display at the Exposition universelle of 1878, the preliminary catalogue to the exhibit mentions German professor Hermann Schaaffhausen, who suggested that 'living anthropological models' be displayed. In describing the various ethnic groups represented at the Exposition universelle, the author mentions the human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation briefly, but does not mention Hagenbeck. Paris, MNHN, SAP 60 (1).

[314] Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 93. For more on Hagenbeck's relationship with the BGAEU, see Rikke Andreassen, *Human Exhibitions: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Ethnic Displays* (Burlington, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015), 26.

published his observations.[315] Thus, the Berlin and Paris anthropological societies visited different venues and studied different types of subjects. The BGAEU frequented Castans Panopticum, a wax museum and variety theater in Berlin, and openly mocked the displayed people. While there were a few human displays at venues in Paris dedicated to popular entertainment, such as the Folies-Bergères, the first decades of human displays in the French capital occurred primarily at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and at Expositions universelles, sites that occupied a space between spectacle and science.

Hagenbeck's role as coordinator for the human displays helps explain the locations from which the groups came. Notably, none of the groups in the 1877-1886 period are from French colonies. Instead, they are from locations that occupy a rather ambivalent space in the history of French race theory, since, as will be discussed below, many of groups belong to 'yellow' or 'brown' races, the purportedly intermediate races between white and black.

Yet Hagenbeck's relationship with the Jardin d'Acclimatation remains obscure. Scholars have discussed Hagenbeck's displays within a German context, as they evolved in size and scale from 'natural history to panoramas' to his fully realized Tierpark in Stellingen, outside of Hamburg.[316] However, his spectacles were limited in the French context, never including displays that were as intricate or permanent as those in Germany. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Hagenbeck was known for his innovative zoo design, where the animals were displayed without cages because moats and ditches were used to isolate the animals from each other and the

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[315] Virchow adopted the skin color graph created by the SAP when examining the ethnographic groups, see Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 99. However, where Paul Broca had outlined the conventions for anthropological photography, the German society had no such guidelines, resulting in a hodgepodge of postures, measuring techniques, and amounts of clothing. See Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 99-103 and Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany,* 136-137.

[316] See, Ames; Baratay; *Le Parc ZOOlogique de Paris. Des origines à la rénovation* (Paris: MNHN, 2014).

audience. As part of the inaugural living diorama, Hagenbeck evoked an arctic scene, which by the twentieth century had become a standard subject in Hagenbeck's repertoire. This arctic panorama was populated with sea lions, bears, and a group of 'Laplanders.'[317] The drama of the diorama was heightened by the seemingly imminent *chase* of predator on prey. In addition, the animals' space was meant to evoke the biological environment from which they came. After Hagenbeck's death in 1913, his legacy lived on in Paris through his sons Lorenz and Heinrich Hagenbeck. They designed the enclosures and furnished the animals for the zoological exhibit at the 1931 Exposition coloniale in the Bois de Vincennes and designed the permanent zoo that opened on the fairgrounds in 1934. [318]

Unfortunately, most of the displayed persons did not leave a record of their time touring Europe, which makes it nearly impossible to re-assemble how the displays were constructed and approached from their perspective. One exception to this is Abraham Ulkirab, a member of the 1880-1881 *'Eskimaux'* group from Labrador (the northeastern-most tip of Canada) who kept a diary that was translated into German by Moravian missionaries.[319] This text provides crucial insight into how the *Esquimaux* were recruited and what life was like on display, and provides a unique description of how the scenography of the displays changed in different locations.[320] There are few accounts of the groups before or after their tour in Europe. The 1992 exhibit *'Indiens Kalina de Guyane,'* the Musée national des arts et traditions populaire in Paris, staged on the

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[317] Le Parc zoologique de Paris: des origins à la renovation, 27.

[318] See Paul Boulineau, *Les Jardin animés: Etude technique et documentaire des parcs zoologiques* (Limoges: Desvilles, 1934), 411-413.

[319] The German diary is held at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and was translated into English and published in 2005.

[320] All six members of the *Eskimaux* troop succumbed to smallpox, leaving Abraham's diary as the sole source of their time in Europe. See France Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkirab: The Events of 1880-1881* (Polar Horizons Inc: 2005).

centenary of the *Galibi* exhibit at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, displayed Roland Bonaparte's photographs alongside memories and anecdotes from the group's descendants.[321] This source is especially valuable for understanding how the groups were perceived after their time in Europe. Anne Chapman's text *European Encounters with the Yamana People of Cape Horn* briefly details how the 1881 '*Fuegiens'* were kidnapped and brought to Paris, as well as how they were displayed and studied.[322]

Anthropological photographs taken at the Jardin d'Acclimatation were employed for both general and scholarly audiences and provide clues about what life was like on display. Pierre Petit's group photo of the Fuégiens was used as the frontispiece in Alphonse Bertillon's 1882-83 text *Ethnographie modern: les races sauvages,* while his other photos were circulated and appeared internationally in books and newspapers.[323] Photographs of the 1877 *Nubien* troupe were also displayed, as part of the '*Indo-Abyssien*' race in Topinard's section of the 1878 Exposition universelle.[324]

It is necessary to note that, due to their posing in front of the Hut and ephemeral dwellings, many of the photographs do not adhere to Broca's system of anthropological photography. This is indicative of the new anthropological methods and types of evidence that were tested after Broca's death. As a staunch physical anthropologist, Broca instructed that photographic subjects should be posed in two specific ways: seated, photographing the sitter directly or a profile shot, as Broca stated that all other angles were 'of little utility.'[325] Second, standing portraits could include

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[321] Gérard Collomb, *Kaliña: des Amérindiens à Paris* (Paris: Créaphis, 1992).
[322] Anne Chapman, *European Encounters with the Yamana People of Cape Horn, Before and After Darwin* (Cambridge University Press: New York, 2010).
[323] Revol, "Observation sur les Fuégiens," 246.
[324] Paris, Muséum nationale d'histoire naturell, SAP archives 60 (1).
[325] Broca, *Les Instructions générales pour les recherches anthropologiques à faire sur le vivant* (Paris: G. Masson, 1879) 8.

'characteristic accoutrement of the tribe,' such as objects, but Broca's specifications did not yet extend to include natural and built environments. However, photographers were meant to match skin, eye, hair, beard, and eyelid color to Broca's classificatory system. [326] Many of the points of view from which Bonaparte's photographs were taken, especially the portraits, were not vistas to which the general public was privy; the fence created a minimum distance from which the viewers could observe and examine the displayed persons. These photographs thus provide a glimpse into the environment of human displays. Yet, because of their unorthodoxy in terms of anthropological photography, they highlight the primacy that anthropologists put on architecture as evidence.

3.5 Displaying Humans: Agency and the Necessity of Architecture

French anthropologists at the Jardin d'Acclimatation were prepared to adopt a comparative and indexical method because they consistently employed a similar approach with other types of evidence such as skin tone, hair texture, and language.[327] Yet prior to 1877, there is no indication that architecture and objects, let alone humans, would soon become part of the displays. In the official guidebook to the Jardin d'Acclimatation, published several months before the *Nubien* arrival in 1877, stated purpose of the site was "to introduce in France species of animals or plants, useful or pleasurable, domestic or wild, to multiply them and make them known to the public."[328] Each of the human exhibits had three components: the unchanging Hut, the fence, and a temporary dwelling specific to each ethnographic group. The two permanent elements, the Hut and fence,

[326] Idem.
[327] This was especially the case with the group of Fuégiens. See Manouvrier, "Les Fuégiens," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris,* 778-780.
[328] *Guide du promeneur*, 1877, 3.

were essential elements to anchor and compare the disparate displays; the Hut was the baseline architectural specimen upon which the viewer compared each of the temporary, itinerate dwellings. The fence created a physical barrier and assured French viewers that there would be a safe distance between themselves and the foreigners. This was especially important since, as German examples of ethnographic exhibits will show, boundaries between viewer and display were not always maintained. The temporary dwellings, therefore, were placed at a safe distance from the French viewer for visual consumption and acted as an index of displayed culture's sophistication. To maintain a sense of 'authenticity,' French scientists did not interfere with the exhibit. This meant that the displayed people dictated how they spent their time; they decided if and how they interacted with viewers. In their place, the ephemeral architectural specimens that were located immediately next to the fence evoked the level of civilization and cultural background for each group.[329] Humans have agency, and these static architectural components ensured that a specific racial character would be communicated.

The architecture portrayed each culture in a manner that could be located within a racial hierarchy and would correspond with visitor expectations. Architecture was a static representation of the ethnographic groups that anchored each to a French conception of cultural sophistication. While the Haussmannian apartment was the gold standard for French housing, the Parisians instead compared the dwellings to the rustic hut. This reference point already placed non-Europeans on a cultural and racial spectrum.

The fence surrounding the exhibition grounds was an insurmountable, physical barrier that isolated the displayed groups from viewers. This prominent element was nearly impossible to miss, and it was included in depictions from both inside and outside the display space (Figure 47).

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[329] Some of the photos in this album are attributed to Pierre Petit in other archives.

However, the clear separation between audience and human group was unique to Paris. The unmistakable presence of this barrier certainly reinforced French anxieties surrounding racial status and possible contagion. Indeed, in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, fears about racial degeneration became acute when Frenchmen were in the presence of someone deemed degenerate.[330] Even mirroring someone's actions or movements, a natural neurological response, was understood as an indicator of possible degeneracy.[331] Thus, the fence was as much a way to protect the groups as it was to protect viewers.

In Berlin, popular accounts depict German viewers touching the displayed persons, which demonstrates why the French were insistent on maintaining a distance between audience and display.[332] In Germany, anxiety about racial status did not run rampant and they were more lax about interaction between displayed person and viewer. Accounts of the six-person Laplander family, the second group displayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, reveal how displayed people could assert agency as showmen.[333] Most of the human groups hired by Hagenbeck bore the traces of European imperialism and globalization, whether through religion, language, capitalist exchange or clothing. In a promotional article for the Laplander display in Germany, Leutemann described each person by name, as educated Christians, immediately disrupting the notion that

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[330] Miranda Gill, *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 141-167.

[331] Rae Beth Gordon, *Dances with Darwin* (Ashgate: Burlington, VT, 2009).

[332] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments,* 89-94. It is fascinating to note that the porousness of the barrier between German and the 'other' troubled the German Colonial Society, especially relationships formed between German women and the Nubian showmen. Society members believed that, instead of the Nubians adopting German customs, they were corrupting German viewers. See Ames, 97-99.

[333] Essentially, it is unclear whether or not this group was exhibited at the Jardin. Ames refers to this group as Sami, but French accounts call them *Esquimaux* (1877)*,* and this is important this there will later be a group of *Lapons,* in 1878 and another group of *Lapons norvégiens* in 1889. (Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments,* 18).

they were 'natural' people isolated from European contact.[334] From Leutemann's description of their arrival in Germany, it is also clear that the family was well acquainted with European expectations and knew that, if they 'behaved,' they would receive supplementary income in the form of tips. When the Sami woman, Frau Rasti, realized that Leutemann was drawing the family's belongings, she began to unpack and use other items, in what the writer describes as a performative strategy. Later, Leutemann gave Frau Rasti a one-mark piece and was met with a 'Danke' from her husband Lars.[335] Ames points out that for the Germans who read Leutemann's article, it was clear that these individuals were, in fact, people, with names, religion, relationships, knowledge of some German, and an understanding of currency.[336] At the Jardin d'Acclimatation, where anxieties about racial identities ran high, it was important to exaggerate the differences between viewer and viewed to reassure the French of their continued racial superiority.

The tale of Abraham Ulkirab, whose diary is of singular value for understanding how the human displays varied by location, provides a different example of native agency. It likewise exemplifies how German and French displays differed. In 1878, the first Sami family had returned to Greenland famous and wealthy from their travels in Europe. When Hegenbeck's recruiter, Johan Adrian Jacobsen, arrived in Greenland in the following months, it was not the natives that he had to persuade to come with him to Europe, but instead the Moravian missionaries who cautioned locals that such exhibitions would demean them.[337] Ultimately, against the judgement of his spiritual advisors, Ulkirab agreed to display his family in Europe in the hopes of earning enough

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[334] Quoted in Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* 20.
[335] Quoted in Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* 21.
[336] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* 21.
[337] Jacobsen discussed the difficulties of recruiting native Greenlanders in his diary, translated in Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Ulkirab,* 37-49. See also Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments,* 57-59.

money to pay off his debts.[338] Jacobsen then persuaded a family of three 'heathens' (those who were outside the boundaries of Moravian missionary work) in the northern Nachvak region to accompany him to Europe.[339] Upon arriving in Hamburg in October 1880, Jacobsen fell ill, and neglected to have the *Esquimaux* vaccinated against smallpox. By January 1881, all six members of the *Esquimaux* group had passed away.[340] Three days after they were admitted to the hospital,[341] the French disinfected the Hut, where the *Eskimaux* had slept, with chlorine.[342] Their death generated heated debate surrounding if and how foreigners should be vaccinated before entering Paris.[343] Notably, these deaths were not discussed in anthropological circles. The only marker of the group's presence and their untimely, preventable fate is a wood fence which appears in front of the Hut and is visible in photographs taken after their deaths.

From Hamburg, Ulkirab and the group moved subsequently to Berlin, Prague, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, and ultimately Paris. The *Esquimaux'* stay at the Berlin Zoo is of note for two reasons,

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[338] In an undated letter to the Moravian missionary Augustus Ferdinand Elsner, Abraham explained his regrets at having gone with Jacobsen and the reasons for his decision. See Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkiirab,* 90.

[339] Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkirab,* 44-45.

[340] The first death, that of the fifteen-year-old girl Noggosak, occurred on December 14 in Darmstadt, followed the by the deaths of Paingu, Noggosak's mother, on December 25, and Abraham's toddler daughter, Sara, on December 28. The surviving members of the group continued to Paris, where they were vaccinated immediately, but to no avail. After being displayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation from January 1-8, the remainder of the group was admitted to Hôpital Saint-Louis where the Abraham's infant daughter, Maria, passed away on January 10, Tigianniak on January 11, Tobias and Abraham on January 13, and Ulrike, Abraham's wife, on January 16. During their stay at Hôpital Saint-Louis, the Parisian newspapers reported that the group had returned to Labrador. See Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkirab,* 152-183.

[341] Upon the Ulrike's death, Hagenbeck sent a telegram to Jacobsen instructing him to [get rid of] all the *Eskimaux* objects. Jacobsen approached the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, which would not be open to the public until 1882. The newspaper *Le XIXᵉ siècle* reported on the opening and described the rooms devoted to the polar regions and northern Europe, which included quotidian objects, canoes, and model houses as part of the display. Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkirab,* 211-212 and 270-272.

[342] The death of the *Eskimaux* in 1880 is perhaps why, from 1881, was constructed in front of the *cabane.* In the Roland Bonaparte's photographs of the *Fuégiens,* members of the group can be seen leaning upon the barrier. See figure 66.

[343] Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkirab,* 216.

first, for the layout of the display space; second, for the anthropological examination that Virchow conducted. Abraham documented that the group constructed their homes on the pond of the Zoo, which was open and accessible to visitors. He articulated the distress he felt at constantly having visitors enter and peer into his family's home.[344] An anecdote from the group's second day in Berlin illustrates the dynamic between viewer and viewed that was altogether impossible in Paris. Tobias, Abraham's 21-year-old nephew, played with a German child, even going so far as to "cover him with kisses." Not only did the Germans anthropologists allow the *Esquimaux* to interact with visitors, but they were also less strict about policing the overall aesthetics of the displays. For example, while in Frankfurt, visitors observed that the *Esquimaux'* European clothing was visible under their seal skin outfits.[345]

Yet the human participants' actions could not always be predicted, especially when there was a clear language and culture divide. As previously stated, Virchow was heavily involved with Hagenbeck and the human displays and, much like the SAP, endeavored to conduct measurements on each of the displayed individuals. However, when he asked the woman, Paingu, to outstretch her arms, in an attempt to measure fingertip-to-fingertip, she jumped on a corner table, where she gesticulated and shouted at him for about ten minutes.[346] Virchow attributed Paingu's reaction to her being asked to do, "something that probably had never occurred in her life yet."[347] While the anthropologists documented and studied the actions of the group members, it indicates both the unpredictability of the humans and the limits of European control.

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[344] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments,* 91-92.
[345] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments,* 59.
[346] Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism,* 22-23.
[347] Quoted in Rivet, *In the Footsteps of Abraham Ulkirab,* 109.

The above two instances demonstrate the agency of the performers, the ways that they could behave outside of European expectation, and the necessity of a static, controlled exhibition structure within the context of the exhibition at the Jardin d'Acclimatation in Paris. In a cultural moment when the threat of degeneracy seemed possible, if not imminent, the French exhibit planners needed to guarantee both the 'safety' of the visitors and the impression that the displays would impart. However, as race theory had become more nuanced, it became more challenging to assign a racial parentage to a group of humans and to visualize racial identities for the public. To understand the relationship between method of display and purported racial sophistication, this chapter will conclude with a close analysis of three of the human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation: the 1877 *Nubiens*, the 1878 *Gauchos,* and the 1882 *Fuégiens.* Popular and scientific reactions to the human exhibits varied based on the cultures on display and these three groups demonstrate the range of visitor responses to the Jardin d'Acclimatation; the *Nubiens* were the first troop, which established viewer expectations and demonstrating the extent of showman agency, while the *Gauchos* were deemed 'too sophisticated' and the *Fuégiens* were universally viewed as the most primal contemporary humans. However, each of these groups was considered mixed-race, meaning that French anthropologists made clear choices about what facets of their purported racial parentage should be most pronounced.

Whether a race theorist believed that mixed race groups were something to be feared or not can largely be traced to his beliefs on the origins of the human species. For example, Quatrefages, a monogenist, believed that the differing climates formed the original races, yet travelling led to racial mixing. After a race had remained in one place for a long enough period of time, they would

again exhibit racially distinct characteristics.[348] In the future, according to Quatrefages, racial mixing would lead to previously unknown advancement and these descendants would outpace, in certain unnamed ways, their racial parentage.[349] If the Jardin d'Acclimatation was originally the place to acclimatize different species of animals, it seemed an ideal location to observe the adaptability of human species, once and for all settling the debate about mankind's origins.

However, for Gobineau, it was ultimately racial mixing that would lead to the downfall of civilization.[350] Gobineau went as far as clearly assigning racial characteristics and behaviors to the main races. The black race, for example, was purportedly the least developed of the three, and exhibited a hedonistic desire for food and sensuality. They were ultimately emotional, temperamental, unpredictable, and violent.[351]

Each group will be examined in terms of contemporary racial theories, how their dwelling evoked racial characteristics, and the ways that they were treated in SAP meetings, scientific texts, and popular journals. Of particular interest is Abel Hovelacque's 1882 *Les Races humaines,* an early text that used architecture as evidence of racial characteristics and is contemporaneous with SAP studies of the Jardin d'Acclimatation exhibits. In addition, Quatrefages and Ernest-Théodore Hamy's seminal two-volume work *Histoire Générale des races humaines* from 1889 which grapples with the increasingly nuanced schemes of racial theory and racial mixing. This text demonstrates that by the late nineteenth-century, the races of man were no longer divided between the broad Gobineauean categories such as "white," "yellow," and black." Instead, Hamy and Quatrefages trace the racial lineage of many types of human groups, from nations to tribal units.

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[348] Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale des races humaines: Introduction à l'étude des races humaines* (Paris: A. Hennuyer, 1889)*, 171-172.
[349] Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale des races humaines,* 182.
[350] Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1853), 39.
[351] Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines,* 352.

Last, Alphonse Bertillon's *Ethnographie moderne: les races sauvages* is of the utmost importance

for this study because the author repeatedly references the exhibits at the Jardin d'Acclimatation,

translating them from invention to scientific fact.[352] Bertillon's text was written to be didactic,

without the overly technical details of a specialized scientific text.[353] To provide the most detailed

analysis possible, this section will also outline how the groups were recruited and understood. By

considering how the *Nubiens, Gauchos,* and *Fuégiens* were portrayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation

then discussed over a period of years, we see the circuitous nature of scientific study, public

display, and popular opinion.

With the limited archival trace related the Jardin d'Acclimatation, one of many unanswered

questions is whether or not the ephemeral housing specimens built prior to the groups' arrival or

whether they brought materials with them to construct dwellings on-site. Yet, existing evidence

reveals that the dwellings were built at each site. The Hagenbeck Tierpark's Geschäfstbücher only

describe the cost of the human shows and Hagenbeck's share of the profits. While the French

documents hidden in the Geschäftsbücher are more detailed, including costs such as "macaroni,

cheese, sugar, and coffee" for the 1877 *Nubiens,* they do not include construction costs.[354] They

do, however, include purchases that would contribute to permanent ethnographic displays such as

an 'Eskimo' *Umiak* boat and Jacobsen's photos of the same group.[355] Ulkirab reports that their

dwellings changed by location, implying that they were furnished with a different dwelling at each

site. The *Fuégien* hut, which became a standard background for anthropological photography of

this group, is absent in visual material from German displays.

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[352] Alphonse Bertillon, *Ethnographie moderne: les races sauvages* (Paris, 1883).
[353] Bertillon, *Les Races sauvages,* viii.
[354] Hamburg, Tierpark Hagenbeck, Geschäftsbücher, 1877.
[355] Hamburg, Tierpark Hagenbeck, Geschäftsbücher, 1877.

French viewers judged the housing specimens based on monumentality, permanence, material, and decoration. While some may Parisian viewers may have found positives aspects in the foreign homes, such as the houses' use of native materials and appropriateness for the climate, their point of comparison was the aesthetically uniform and carefully planned Haussmannian city or permanent hut. In contrast to this setting, where anxiety about racial status ran rampant, the French would be reassured both of their continued disparity from the other races and of their cultural sophistication.

3.6 1877: The First Nubians

The original *Nubien* display from 1877 featured a tent ['*tente*'], that could be readily assembled and disassembled, and was constructed of wooden stakes and thick woven mats (Figure 48).[356] Racinet's *Le Costume historique* describes the structure as, "not very high… made of several beams, of which the vertical beams are driven into the ground and covered with thick mats and held together by pegs" (Figure 49).[357] The entryway was decorated with a hippopotamus skull, suspended from which hung two ostrich eggs, as well as weapons, such as hippopotamus-skin shield and swords made of hard wood. Inside, camel saddles serve as seats. From several accounts of the *Nubien* display, it is clear that the group built their *tente* upon arrival.

The tent featured prominently in advertisement for the exhibit, contemporary reports of the display, and illustrated texts. While Racinet's colored illustration conveys the texture and easy

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[356] Albert Racinet, *Le costume historique: Antiquité : Asie. Afrique. Moyen-Age et XVIe siècle; XIIe et XVIIe et XIXe siècle* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1888), 495.
[357] Racinet, *Le Costume historique,* 488.

portability of the *tente,* the image in *l'Illustration* shows the *tente* in the background, surrounded by weaponry and closed to outside viewers (Figure 51). From the image of the *Nubien* campground included in *l'Illustration,* the *tente* was set up very close to the fence, allowing Jardin d'Acclimatation visitors to examine the structure and its materials first-hand. Roland Bonaparte also repeatedly posed the Nubians in front of it for his photographs (Figures 50-51).

To hire the first group of *Nubiens,* Hagenbeck contacted his trading post at Kassala, in the Sudan, and tasked his employees with recruiting natives. All the members of this *Nubien* group had already taken part in the animal trade.[358] While the Sudanese government was reluctant to allow its citizens to be displayed in zoological gardens across Europe, Virchow solicited a German foreign service member to persuade them.[359] The Sudan was already saturated by the effects of European colonial expansion; it was controlled by the British government, and had transportation and communication networks in place.

"A few weeks ago, the inhabitants of Neuilly (the suburb of Paris where the Jardin d'Acclimatation is located) saw a curious caravan through their windows: it was camels, giraffes… An entire African menagerie escorted by 14 tall, bronzed, strapping figures draped in white, with the strangest hair." So begins Girard de Rialle's inaugural synopsis on the Jardin d'Acclimatation's human exhibits in *La Nature.* Within the first sections of the article, the author introduces the notion of a Chamitic or *Kouschite* race, the three main branches of which were the Libyan, Egyptian, and Ethiopian. According to Girard de Rialle, 12 of the 14 *Nubiens* belong to a sub-group of the Ethiopian branch called the *Bedjas,* while the remaining 2 are 'pure blacks' [*nègres*

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[358] Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments,* 29.
[359] In his memoir, Hagenbeck neither addresses negative publicity nor his relationship with the scientific community. For details on Virchow's involvement, see Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism,* Chapter 1, footnote 21.

purs'].[360] In keeping with the journal's reputation as a source on scientifically factual information,

Girard de Rialle's account provides esoteric details such as precise bodily measurements and head

shapes.[361] By analyzing the *Nubiens'* skin tone, however, the author concludes that their darker

complexion signals that they are of mixture of black and Chamitic races. This group preserved the

physiognomy of the Berber or Egyptian race, which served as evidence that a brown-red branch

of the Kouschites (or Chamitic race) extended into north Africa, from the Indian Ocean and the

Red Sea to the Islands of the Atlantic.[362] While the *Nubiens* were nomadic peoples, Girard de

Rialle specifically states that they are not to be confused with the Semitic Arabs.[363] Viewers can

identify the 'true blacks' by the pigmentation of their skin and lips, and the texture of their hair.[364]

Girard de Rialle's use of the term Chamitic is noteworthy, since it is not terminology that

anthropologists consistently used and reflects the ambiguous place that the Nubians occupied in

race theory. The term was employed earlier in the century in Comte Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai*

sur l'inégalité des races humaines, in which the author sorts human races into white, (or Caucasian,

Semitic, or Japhetic) yellow, and black (or Chamitic).[365] Girard de Rialle is less clear in the racial

categorization that appeared in *La Nature,* yet he elaborates on his schema in his 1881 text *Les*

peoples de l'Asie et de l'Europe. There, he states that the Semitic and Chamitic races had a

common origin.[366]

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[360] Girard de Rialle, "Les Nubiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation*,*" 198.
[361] A much more accessible version of this article that plainly explains the same racial categorization was published by Girard de Rialle in *La Revue Scientifique,* 2e série, 7 année, numéro 7, 18 août (1877): 154-157.
[362] Girard de Rialle "Les Nubiens du Jardin," *La Nature,* 199.
[363] Girard de Rialle, "Les Nubiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation," 1877.2, 198
[364] Girard de Rialle, "Les Nubiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation," 203.
[365] Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines,* 1852, 246.
[366] Girard de Rialle, *Les peoples de l'Asie et de l'Europe,* 1881, 91.

Categorizing the Nubians into one racial group was clearly a challenge for nineteenth-century anthropologists. Even more distressing, observers repeatedly stated that the Nubians' facial features mimicked those of Europeans in descriptions of both 1877 and 1879 displays (Figure 52).[367] The Nubians were often treated as an inferior version of Egyptians, who purportedly bestowed the name 'Kouschites,' meaning "the bad race of Kousch" on the Nubians.[368] This close relationship between the Nubians and the Egyptians appears to have been a stumbling block. The Egyptians, of course, were one of the most prolific ancient civilizations, yet their location in the African continent positioned them as belonging to the black race.[369] Girard de Rialle's specifically states that although the *Nubiens* were a nomadic group, they were not related to the Semitic Berbers, but this comment about their non-Semitic racial parentage similarly highlights how easily the group could be confused with other races.

Bertillon organizes his text by geographic area, with sections on Africa, America, Oceania, and Asia, including the Northern regions. Much like Girard de Rialle, Bertillon begins by remarking on the racial ambiguity of their facial features and the possibility that they are mixed race.[370] Based on ancient Egyptian renderings, Bertillon posits that the racial mixing happened thousands of years ago and although the Nubian civilization was once very sophisticated, it had since lost its splendor.[371] While Bertillon does not discuss the Nubians as thoroughly as other

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[367] See for example Gustave Le Bon, "Sur les Nubiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation" *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris,* Troisième série, Tome 2, 1879, 590-592.

[368] Girard de Rialle, *"*Les Nubiens au Jardin d'Acclimatation*," Revue scientifique,* 154.

[369] The Egyptians, however, do not consistently belong in one racial group. For example, Quatrefages will categorize them as the Semitic branch of the white race. See Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale des races humaines,* 456.

[370] Bertillon, *Races sauvages,* 79.

[371] Bertillon, *Races sauvages,* 83-87.

ethnographic groups, the idea that they had ceased to progress over the past several millennia had already been proposed in anthropological circles as early as 1874.[372]

How then were visitors to the Jardin d'Acclimatation meant to read this racial ambiguity into the inaugural human display? The Nubian tent emphasized the group's purported racial difference, rather than similarity. In the tense environment of the Jardin d'Acclimatation, where the stain of the French loss remained, it is unsurprising that anthropologists would choose to accentuate the stereotypically African aspects of Nubian life. Even popular accounts of the *Nubiens* included Girard de Rialle's idea that there were two distinct races within the camp. However, the descriptions of their activities make them seem more similar to Europeans than different. *L'Illustrations* noted that the Nubiens slept in the permanent Hut, rather than their tent, and that during the day they "[walked] around according to their caprices."[373] Much like the story of Laplander family, who happily accepted money and gifts, the author describes that the *Nubiens* received similar items with a "Merci, madame! Merci, monsieur!" From the Geschäftsbücher, we also know that the 1877 *Nubiens* received a steady stream of coffee and tobacco during their time on display.[374]

The *Nubiens* had European features and understood rudimentary French, which meant that the anthropologists needed a static element the display to cater to the viewers' expectations. The *Nubiens* could be easily confused with their Semitic neighbors only made visualizing their racial status more challenging. The objects, especially the hippopotamus skull atop the tent and the weaponry below, amplified the exotic nature of the display and reminded viewers that this group

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[372] Ernest-Théodore Hamy, "Sur les listes ethniques du dix-septièmes siècle avant notre ère récemment découverte par M. Mariette à Karnak," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie,* 1874, 534-542, 536.
[373] "Les Nubiens au Jardin d'acclimatation" in *L'Illustration,* 70.
[374] Hamburg, Tierpark Hagenbeck, Geschäftsbücher, 1877.

was from Africa. It equally signaled the potentially dangerous and violent nature of the group, since the they hunted one of the most ferocious beasts on the African continent. It is unclear whether or not these objects were selected by Hagenbeck of French scientists, but they were consistently reproduced in images that accompanied discussions of the group.[375] Where the Semitic races, especially the Berber populations in French territories, supporters of the colonial projects hoped to see them more fully integrated into metropolitan France, these objects signal the difference of climate and culture from the French.[376]

In comparison to the Hut and permanent animal pavilions, the tent accented the group's disconnect from one place of culture and signaled to French viewers their differences in ways of life. As a mixed-race group, the *Nubiens* had 'progressed' enough to create dwellings that were portable, their disconnect from any place and lack of 'comfort' highlighted their lack of cultural advancement. Unlike dwellings in 'Semitic' climates, such as North Africa, which had to accommodate large weather fluctuations, the tent's permeable walls remind viewers that the Nubians were 'black,' from the southern part of the continent. Thus, the tent portrayed the Nubians as a branch of the once-developing, now stagnant, middle-African races.

3.7 The Gauchos of 1878

The Nubian tent provided a stark contrast to the architecture of the 'Gaucho' exhibit, which overlapped with the Exposition universelle of 1878. Because the Gauchos were not recruited by

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[375] Bertillon, *Race sauvages,* 85, figure 22.
[376] Dana Hale, *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples,* 1886-1940 (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 2008), 46-47.

Hagenbeck's firm, it is unclear how they became involved with the Jardin d'Acclimatation. Nevertheless, they were known for their exceptional cavalry skill and they arrived at the Jardin d'Acclimatation with 12-14 horses with which they performed displays of riding and lassoing. The Gauchos purportedly derived from the mixing of Spanish and indigenous *Guaranis* populations, and they occupied a portion of South America that, unlike the Nubians, had productive soil, meaning that they were a stationary group.[377]

In the discussions of the SAP, the Gauchos had previously been used as an example of how the traits of parent races manifested differently in descendants. The Gaucho race was supposedly more physical capability than its parent races, but its moral character was less developed than one, if not both, of the parent races.[378] The Gaucho's stunted morality was purportedly exhibited through their resistance to physical pain and general emotional indifference. This resulted in a race that was willing to fight with any multitude of weapons and proclivity for torturing prisoners.[379]

The description of the Gaucho's house in *L'Illustration* makes it sound quaint: "their habitation or *rancho…* is not more than a cottage ['*chaumière'*] covered in thatch, with walls of reeds."[380] However, in comparison to the Nubian tent, and even the Hut, its construction and aesthetic was closer to European dwellings in the provinces or in other countries. One of the challenges of resurrecting the Gaucho dwelling is that, unlike the Nubians, Roland Bonaparte did not pose them in front of their house. From reproductions, the *rancho* appears to be a rectangular structure with pitched roof and large porch (Figure 53). According to reports, it was divided into

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[377] A. Bordier, "Les Gauchos au Jardin d'Acclimatation," *La Nature,* deuxième semestre, n. 279 (1878): 295-298, 296.
[378] "Discussion sur les croisements ethniques," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologique de Paris* (1865): 66-70.
[379] Bertillon, *Races sauvages,* 188.
[380] Louis Clodion, "Les gauchos au Jardin d'acclimatation," *L'Illustration,* Vol. VXXII, no. 1849, Samedi 3 aout 1878, 70.

several rooms and all members of the group lived in it for their three months on display.[381] However, the ephemeral house functioned as an index in comparison to the Hut which was clearly the case in reproduction, where the canonical shape of the Hut is visible in the background (Figure 54). Notably, only photographs of the Gauchos include other Jardin d'Acclimatation structures in the background (Figure 55). For example, one of the photos shows a man on horseback with the Neo-Classical pony stable in the background, meaning that Bonaparte was within the exhibit space and had his back to the Hut.

Yet the entire Gaucho display, including the participants, the demonstrations, and the architecture, came as a disappointment to viewers. In Bordier's *La Nature* summary, he states "I have heard many people complain that the Gauchos were not savage enough [*assez sauvages'*] – but therein lies the superiority of these scientific exhibits over those that belong to Barnum; what we are looking for here is not the *mise en scène* of norms, not the false local color of armchair voyagers, but the pure and naked truth."[382] The lack of enthusiasm and clear indifference that the Gauchos incited was mirrored in their absence from anthropological texts. Quatrefages mentions *Guarnis,* the indigenous tribe, only briefly in his discussion of American populations and does not characterize the Gauchos at all.[383] They are entirely absent from Hovelacque's *Races humaines.* Where Girard de Rialle's summary for *La Nature* included their anthropological measurements, Bordier's write up explains the Gauchos' history and their day-to-day lives. Although different authors will certainly have varied observations, it is noteworthy that those deemed 'less savage' may have escaped the objectification of such a study. Even though Bertillon devotes a section to

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[381] "Situation financière du Jardin," *Bulletin de la Société d'acclimatation*, 1878, CI.
[382] A. Bordier, "Les Gauchos au Jardin d'Acclimatation," *La Nature,* deuxième semestre, 5 october, 1878, N. 279, 295-298, 296.
[383] Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale des races humaines,* 595.

the Gauchos in his book, his discussion was restrained, and he quotes several paragraphs from Bordier's original *La Nature* analysis.

The Gauchos were uncomfortably similar to the European viewers. No matter the author or the context, the anthropologists consistently remarked upon the beauty of the young Gaucho women. These observations were unique to this exhibit. A woman's photograph, taken by Roland Bonaparte, was reproduced in both *La Nature* and *Races sauvages,* while other female participants were photographed smoking (Figure 56-57). Such a 'masculine' pastime would not have deterred the male gaze. On the contrary, the young women Gauchos' 'masculine' character traits were not dissimilar from the French female dandy type *La Lionne* who rode horses and drank with men.[384] Because of their mixed European parentage, anthropologists were left to grapple with how to racially understand and categorize them. In *Les Races Sauvages,* Bertillon introduces the Gauchos by describing their half-European heritage and states that they, "are the only example on the earth of a large population living a savage life [*'la vie sauvage'*] all while having a large portion of European blood in their veins."[385] Similarly Bordier wrote, "The Gaucho is essentially the Guarani domesticated by Spanish blood."[386]

The Gaucho's racial mixture of European and 'Other' is visualized in the architectural form and its reproductions. Although the Nubiens slept in the Hut, the Gauchos' were provided with an ephemeral dwelling that was equipped to house them adequately. While the *rancho*'s form is similar to free-standing dwellings on the continent, the key to understanding the Gaucho race is in the structure's materiality. The Gauchos' structure certainly embodies an amount of intellectual adeptness, with its multiple rooms, delineated roof, and porch. However, it is both unornamented

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[384] Gill, *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Paris,* chapter 3.
[385] Bertillon, *Les races humaines,* 187.
[386] Bordier, "Les Gauchos," *La Nature,* 298.

and utilizes an impermanent material. The differences between European and Gaucho can be inferred by the absence of 'comfort' in the Gaucho's dwelling. Anthropologists remarked multiple times that the Guachos used a bull skull as a chair, as a marker that the Gauchos required few material comforts.[387] Much like the Nubians' assortment of weaponry that was reproduced in anthropological accounts, the bull skull-cum-chair was a standard object reproductions of the Gaucho furnishings and tools (Figure 58).

Moreover, the European parentage of the Gauchos is visible in reproductions, but it is toned down. Where all other groups were behind a tall fence, the Gauchos were clearly placed in a field adjacent to the Hut, with chest-height barriers. As previously stated, they were the only group in Roland Bonaparte's photographs that was dignified with a backdrop apart from the Hut or their ephemeral dwelling. From such images alone, it does not even appear that they are a display at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. Thus, architecture evoked their similarity to Europeans in form, but the materiality and lack of ornamentation communicated a lack of aesthetics and comfort that contrasted with the modern French capital.

The first two years of the Jardin d'Acclimatation's human exhibits gave the French public the opportunity to view foreign animals, structures, and peoples up close. However, despite their regular attendance from non-specialist and scientific audiences alike, they were not as profitable as the Jardin d'Acclimatation had hoped. Because the Gaucho exhibit coincided with the Exposition universelle of 1878, the Jardin d'Acclimatation had budgeted for a larger profit margin due to the influx of visitors to Paris.[388] It is important to reiterate that the Gauchos were deemed 'not savage enough.' At a time when capital-goers could visit the Exposition, where they could

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[387] A. Bordier, "Les Gauchos au Jardin d'Acclimatation," 296 and "Sur les Gauchos exposés au Jardin d'Acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* (1878): 310.
[388] "Situation financière du Jardin," *Bulletin de la Société d'acclimatation,* 1878, CL.

enter the fantastic architecture and interact fully with foreign people, it is unsurprising that the Gauchos did not draw the crowds hope for at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. This trend continued through the end of the decade, with a significant financial loss in 1880, as well.[389]

3.8 The Fuégiens of 1883

The *Fuégiens* display is of particular interest from an architectural standpoint, since this group was considered to have no society, language, or culture. Their 'dwelling,' appears to be a large mound of branches with a small entranceway. This stereotyped dwelling, which purportedly evoked the *Fuégien'*s absence of culture, can be traced to European drawings from as early as the mid-18th century.[390] It served as the background for the majority of Roland Bonaparte's photos, in front of which different combinations of the four men, four women, and three children were posed (Figures 59-61). Unlike the Gaucho photographs, where the surrounding architecture is visible, the Fuégiens were accompanied by the branch dwelling, the Hut, or no visible structures (Figure 62-63). This latter vista was carefully chosen by Bonaparte and demonstrates how the Jardin d'Acclimatation's anthropologists curated and manipulated the visions of this group. Photographs were re-produced and circulated in newspapers and anthropological texts alike,[391] such as a frontispiece for *Alphonse Bertillon's* 1883 *Ethnographie moderne* and in Alexander Sokolowsky's

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[389] Paris, Archives nationales, F[12] 6801.
[390] Báez and Mason, *Zoológicos Humanos,* 39.
[391] The reproduction of these images in a strictly French context is also mentioned in Báez and Mason, *Zoológicos Humanos,* 39.

1901 *Menschenkunde.*[392] The distinctness of this French mode of presentation is clear from the absence of background from the *Fuégiens* images in *Die Gartenlaube,* which depicts the group as surrounded by stones (Figure 64).[393]

A 15-page guidebook to the display titled, "Savages of the Tierra del Fuego: Their Origins – Their Customs – Their Acclimatization," describes the *Fuégiens* as the "most inferior, least equipped, least inventive of our kind."[394] The author continues by directing the visitors to view the group as, "our most distant ancestors revived before our eyes; we can consider them as the first links in the immense chains that links our wretched and dreary origin to the our splendor of today."[395] These individuals are described as violent cannibals, whose victims include the elderly, women, and children because they had no sense of family or society.[396] *La Nature* echoed these sentiments, stating that in the winter, the cannibalistic *Fuégiens* would eat the elderly women before eating their dogs,[397] since the latter catch otters and the women do not.[398] The guidebook mentions housing only briefly, to say that their dwellings resemble a "pile of hay." These dwellings purportedly take an hour to construct and the indigenous groups inhabit them for only a day or two.[399] From photographs of the *Fuégiens* display we see the Hut, in addition to free-standing 'structure' made of tree branches.

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[392] Alphonse Bertillon, *Ethnographie modern: les races sauvages,* 1883 and Alexander Sokolowsky, *Menschenkunde; eine Naturgeschichte sämtlicher Völkerrassen der Erde. Ein Handbuch für jedermann* (Stuttgart: 1901).

[393] Image reproduced in Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 107.

[394] To date, this is the only guidebook that I have located that is specific to one human exhibit. "Les Sauvages de la Terre de Feu: Leur origine – leurs moeurs – leur acclimatation" – Neuilly-sur-Seine, Archives municipaux de Neuilly-sur-Seine, 2Z183, 5.

[395] Ibid, 6.

[396] Ibid, 7.

[397] Darwin also makes nearly this exact point. See Charles Darwin, *On The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1859), 39.

[398] Paul Juillerat, "Les Fuégiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation," *La Nature,* N. 436, 8 octobre 1881, 295-298, 296.

[399] Ibid, 8.

In Manouvrier's report on the group in the SAP's *Bulletin,* he describes the scene that he encountered on his first visit. Naked, except for an animal-skin cape, the *Fuégiens* sat around a fire, silently, eating meat with their hands, a description that mirrors Roland Bonaparte's photograph almost exactly.[400] According to this author, this was a glimpse into the life of their ancestors in the stone age,[401] a point that was reiterated by Topinard later in the discussion.[402] Neither of these scholars clarified if *their* ancestors meant French, European, or White, generally.

What Manouvrier and other members of the SAP fail to acknowledge is that the *Fuégiens* were recruited forcibly, through kidnapping, along the Strait of Magellan by a German sealer named Johann Wilhelm Waalen (alternatively spelled 'Wahlen'). The group was lured on board Waalen's ship by the promise of food, Waalen paid an insurance bond to the governor of Punta Arenas and then shipped them, with canoes and tools, on a German boat for Europe. Once in Germany, Waalen contacted Hagenbeck, and in the interest of profit, decided to advertise the Fuegians as cannibals.[403] The violence of recruitment is only flaccidly referenced by the Jardin d'Acclimatation officials, who simply mentioned that each of the *Fuègiens* belonged to a different tribe.[404] While the SAP acknowledges that the Fuégiens may be overwhelmed in their new environment, the specifics of the trauma that they had to endure are not discussed. It is no wonder then that the *Fuégiens* do not appear to be interacting in any of the photographs.

Not only were the *Fuégiens* kidnapped, but they were also transported to Europe with minimal objects or possessions, save for a few arrows and stone axes, and were one of the few, if

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[400] M. L. Manouvrier, "Sur les Fuégiens du Jardin d'acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Soicété d'anthropologie de Paris,* 1881, 760-790.
[401] The idea that Europeans could see a glimpse of prehistoric man in contemporary non-Europeans was not uncommon. See Marylène Patou-Mathis, *Le Sauvage et le préhistoire.*
[402] Manouvrier, "Sur les Fuégiens," 776.
[403] Ann Chapman, *European Encounters with the Yamana People of Cape Horn,* 493.
[404] "Dépense," *Bulletin de la Société d'acclimation,* 1880, LXIX.

not the only Hagenbeck troupe who was not accompanied by a translator nor domesticated animals.[405] While on display in Berlin, Virchow noted that the group was able to withstand severe weather conditions without clothes, which was considered evidence that they were authentically 'savage.'[406] When the troupe arrived in Berlin, after their stay in Paris, several members appeared ill. Virchow blamed the Parisian lodging, stating, "they were brought at night into a heavily heated house, but were permitted to take their usual morning baths outside. Thereby they plunged right into a pond covered in a thin layer of ice."[407] Virchow implies that it was not the freezing bath that alarmed and made the Fuégiens sick, but instead the heated dwelling.[408] These comments indicate that, like the *Nubiens* before them, the Fuégiens did not actually inhabit their assigned dwelling and it functioned primarily as a tool for visualizing their intellectual and cultural capacities.

The extent to which the Fuégiens captured the anthropologists' imagination is evidenced in the numerous reports published on the group both in France and abroad. Indeed, the Bulletin of the SAP devoted ten times the amount of space to the Fuégiens as compared to the Gauchos. However, attempting to slot the Fuégiens into one racial category proved to be challenging. When the SAP attempted to categorize the race of the Fuégiens, the conversation devolved quickly and erupted into a heated discussion centering on the criteria used to create racial hierarchies. According to the SAP discussions, Chinese, 'Esquimau,' and American Indian traits were all present on the Fuégiens' hair, facial features, skin tint, and measurements. Ultimately, they were assigned to the 'yellow' or 'mongol' race, but one that had not evolved and perhaps has regressed

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[405] Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 114.
[406] Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 117.
[407] Quoted in Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 117.
[408] Virchow also believed in an environmental anthropology which concluded that the environment in which the Fuégiens lived hindered their ability to progress and they therefore remained in the state of Stone Age man. Rothfels, *Beasts and Savages,* 118.

due to lack of contact with other groups. [409] In contrast, Topinard argued that the Fuégiens lack curiosity, the most important faculty for ushering in 'progress.' Even though they exhibited predominantly European measurement, and would blend with European crowds if dressed appropriately, it was their purported intellectual shortcomings that slotted them as an inferior race.[410] Gustave Le Bon refuted this claim and instead asserted that a hierarchy of races becomes clear after assessing a group's intellectual faculties. Specifically, its aptitude for associations and its ability to identify similarities and differences.

The financial hardships at the Jardin d'Acclimatation continued to increase from the end of the 1870s. It is unsurprising that the anthropologists would accent the *sauvage* qualities of the Fuégiens that the public would be poised to understand. While the Fuégiens were displayed in the summer of 1881, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire sent a letter to the Prefect of the Seine explaining the financial losses that occurred in the winter months. To remedy this, the director of the Jardin d'Acclimatation proposed building several large structures, such as a green house and an audience hall, to shield visitors from the winter elements and where programming, such as lectures, could take place. Notably, the vast hall would include a panorama detailing the geographic scope and results of the most recent *missions scientifiques.* Confident in this didactic experience's novelty and value as an introduction to the other exhibits, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire stipulated that visitors to this portion of the Jardin d'Acclimatation would pay a supplementary fee.[411]

By assigning the *Fuégiens* a dwelling that lacked any semblance of other architecture, animal or otherwise, the exhibit visualized the group's purported place at the base of racial hierarchies. Instead of simply displaying them with the Hut, the Jardin d'Acclimatation created a

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[409] Manouvrier, "Les Fuégiens," 780.
[410] Manouvrier, "Les Fuégiens," 787-788.
[411] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 6801.

dwelling that lacked any semblance of construction, ornament, or permanence. This visually implied that the Hut was beyond the group's capacity for creation.

In 1886, the Jardin d'Acclimatation formally cut ties with the SZA and the SAP stopped attending, studying, and reproducing the human displays. From its foundation, the Jardin d'Acclimatation was associated with scientific groups and the Jardin d'Acclimatation's charter, which outlined the purpose of the site, had included the phrase "with the agreement and under the scientific direction of this society." [412] Yet, with the Cinghalais exhibit, a massive display of 70 adults, there was a clear shift in the types of human exhibits that the Jardin d'Acclimatation offered. From the 1890's on, scholars agree that Hagenbeck's displays became more staged, often consisting of a stereotyped narrative that was specific to each group.[413] From the archival records, the answer to why the Jardin d'Acclimatation would relinquish its scientific basis is clearly rooted in financial difficulties, rather than lack of scientific interest. Indeed, these financial problems can be traced as early as 1881, when the Jardin d'Acclimatation presented a carefully curated vision of the Fuégiens as a people without culture or architecture.

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[412] Quoted in Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses,* 127.

[413] In the 'narrative' format, performers were contracted to play a role and there was a very clear narrative arc, including a conflict and a resolution, to the performance. Eric Ames states that the 'storyline format' began in the 1870's, but his examples begin in the 1890's and I am yet to find a French account of such a clearly staged exhibit. See Ames, "From the Exotic to the Everyday," 320-321. Rothfels' earliest in example is the Bella Coola troop from 1885, yet they were not displayed at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. See Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts,* 128.

3.9 Conclusion

Architecture was both a critical component of human exhibits at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and a medium through which anthropologists visualized ideas about race for the public. The site of the Jardin d'Acclimatation and the road leading to it had been heavily damaged during the Franco-Prussian War and Commune and, at a time when Parisians were anxious about their own racial status, architecture provided re-assurance of French superiority. This was especially the case with the Nubian, Gaucho, and *Fuégien* exhibits, as each of these were considered mixed-race groups and the physical appearance of these people did not necessarily indicate a racial different. Difficult to categorize into one race, these groups were displayed with architecture that heightened their Otherness and depicted a cultural distance between them and Parisian viewers. In contrast to German displays, where the groups interacted freely with the public, the French kept the groups behind a tall fence and relied on the unique architectural specimens, placed next to the barrier, to function as a static stand-in for the human groups on display. By analyzing the disciplinary-specific accounts, scientific journals, and popular presses, we see the ways that architecture mobilized and embodied subtle notions of racial difference. Moreover, when race theory and anthropology were in their formative stages, this study demonstrates the power of architecture to anchor ideas about race before the public. When racial categorization was unclear for scientists and the general public alike, buildings were used to assure French viewers of their continued superiority and the 'otherness' of the groups on display.

4.0 Constructing the Black Body: Militarism and Masculinity in the Senegalese Village of 1889

The 'Colonial Villages' at the Universal Exposition of 1889 were one of the first opportunities for the Parisian public to learn about Senegal, Congo (present day Republic of Congo, Gabon and Central African Republic), Gabon, New-Caledonia, and Tonkin (present day Vietnam) within the comfort of the metropole (Figure 65). Located on the Esplanade des Invalides, each of the Villages included full-size reproductions of housing and examples of 'typical' colonial architecture. Indigenous people inhabited the Villages throughout the six months of the Exposition and conducted demonstrations such as religious ceremonies and handicraft-making. Colonial troops roamed the Esplanade in local uniforms, signifying the extended reach of the French military. Guidebooks to the Exposition described the Villages as "absolutely exact reproductions of huts (*cases*) that the indigenous colonial subjects inhabit [in their respective countries]."[414] Indeed, the Villages were advertised for their architectural dissimilarity to the metropole, emblematic of the difference between French and colonial populations. At a time when the imperial project was tenuous in the eyes of government officials, and when the French questioned the vitality of their race, the Colonial Villages became a key tool for the colonizers to visually restore their topmost position in the racial hierarchy of the world.

Thus, French visitors to the Senegalese Village must have been surprised to hear the lamentations of head jeweler Samba Lawbé Thiam, who articulated his disgust for the circular hut that was advertised as his home (Figure 66). He stated, "we are so humiliated... to be exhibited in

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[414] Camille Debans, *Les coulisses de l'Exposition* (Paris: 1889), 333.

huts like savages; these huts made of mats and mud do not give [the visitors] any idea of Senegal. In Senegal… we have fire stations, train stations, railroads; we have electricity. The council of hygiene no longer tolerates that we live in shanties of this kind".[415] Instead of display the colony's modern infrastructure, the architecture of the Senegalese Village exaggerated the purported primitivism and potential violence of the black race. To frame and anchor the hut, the Senegalese Village featured examples of military architecture (Figures 67-68. A reproduction of a French block house, called the Tour de Saldé, served both as an exhibition space and as the entry portal to the Village (Figure 69). Architectural fragments that had been seized by the French military during combat, such as portions of a defensive wall and the door to a Toucouleur fortress from Koundian (modern day Mali), were also part of the Village's architecture. Displayed between two pillars, these war trophies were intended to "[show] that the Black's fortifications were not toys."[416] To reinforce the potential danger that the black body posed, barriers prevented all contact between Exposition visitors and the Senegalese. While French visitors were presumably unaware of any disconnect between these representations and the actual architecture of Senegal, the scientific validity and authenticity of these Villages was validated by the Society of Anthropology of Paris, who visited and documented the exhibits.

With the addition of overseas territories since the previous Exposition in 1878, and the undercurrents of skepticism from politicians and the public alike, it was essential to crystalize the utility of overseas territories in the public's imagination. Advocating for French expansion, politician Jules Ferry spearheaded the colonial campaigns of the 1880s in clearly racial terms. In

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[415] Hugues Le Roux, "Psychologie exotique," *L'Exposition universelle de 1889*, N. 22, 27 July 1889, 170-171, 170.
[416] Report from Noirot and Wallon quoted in Émile Monod, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889: grand ouvrage illustré, historique, encyclopédique, déscriptif* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1890), Tome II, 172.

his 1885 speech, Ferry boldly proclaimed that it was the right and duty of the 'superior races' to civilize the inferior races. For France, Senegal was a key entry point to the African continent, but its geography and independent populations had made gaining control a challenge. To French administrators, Senegal's location gave them an advantage in the European scramble for Africa. In his 1883 address to the Senate, General Louis Faidherbe stated, "[e]verywhere we are in the presence of foreign competition, we succumb before the English, the Germans, the Dutch, the Americans, the instincts and commercial aptitudes of which are superior to ours. In Niger we will be alone on this immense field of exploitation. We hold the only door and we do not have to fear the difficulties of the other powers."[417] It seems that by the 1880s, France's control of North Africa was no longer enough: Senegal would be the doorway through which the French could enter and control the heart of the continent.

However, from the colonial displays, it would have seemed that the so-called 'civilizing mission' had failed. The English-language guidebook *Cook's Guide to the Exhibition* stated, "in contrast to Britain, France's colonizing endeavors did not reach so far as to bring the benefits of civilization to their overseas territories."[418] In place of modern infrastructure and technology, Senegal was represented as a dangerous, unstable country that required French military supervision. At the height of France's overseas expansion, why did colonial officials portray Senegal, an agriculturally productive colony with access to the African interior, in an exaggerated, 'primitive' state? How did their portrayal of the colonies cater to the French and why?

This chapter analyzes the Senegalese Village as the intersection of French racial and gender anxieties. Of particular interest is the disconnect between indigenous person and architectural

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[417] Faidherbe, *Le Sénégal: La France dans l'Afrique centrale* (Paris: Hachette, 1889)*,* 8.
[418] Quoted in Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 159.

specimen, and the active role that the Village's buildings played in visualizing certain notions of racial character. With regard to theorizing the black race, this study approaches the subject as the manifestation of white, male anxiety projected onto the black body. Two pieces of evidence have guided my inquiry and analysis: first, Thiam's recorded lament about the architecture that he was assigned; second, a photograph of a lone French woman, sitting at ease in a *pousse-pousse (*or rickshaw) with her driver, an inhabitant of the Tonkinese Village (Figure 70). The familiarity and close proximity that the rickshaw afforded the unaccompanied *Parisienne* had no parallel in the Senegalese context, where the architecture and space of the Village mandated that viewers maintain a certain distance from the Africans (Figure 71). As the present analysis will demonstrate, the Senegalese Village portrayed French, military control over an unpredictable black body as a way to symbolically re-assert France's top-most racial position. The architecture of the Senegalese Village betrayed Thiam's words to visualize the indigenous people as both potentially volatile and firmly under French control.

Throughout the nineteenth century, France's population had been steadily declining. After the 1870 Franco-Prussian war, the burden of potential degeneracy was placed on French males, whose lack of masculine vigor was but one explanation for the country's perceived weakness. Race theorists viewed the black male body as excessively masculine in its sexual potential, a reflection of the black race's overall emotional, violent, and reactive behaviors.[419] However, the role that the architecture and space of human displays played in disseminating these stereotypes is less clear. This chapter will address this is two ways: first, by analyzing the creation of the

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[419] For popular European myths about Africans in the nineteenth century, see William Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Image of Popular Africa, 1870-1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); Brett Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Bernth Lindfors, *Early African Entertainments Abroad: From the Hottentot Venus to Africa's First Olympians* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

Village's architecture in the context of the 1889 Exposition; second, by demonstrating that these curated representations were created within the context of male anxieties about the French race and its future.

This chapter demonstrates that built representations superseded the black body as the primary vehicle through which the Senegalese Village pictured the black race's purportedly inherent qualities: physical strength, sexual vigor, and capricious belligerence. Much like the displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, where scientists purportedly exaggerated the mixed-race qualities of the displayed groups in order to cater to French anxieties, the Senegalese Village allowed French males to visually and temporarily regain their top-most place in the racial hierarchy. While secondary scholarship has focused on the feminization of the East as a place of male sexual exploitation, this chapter will focus on how the sexual virility of the African male body and its potential for violence stirred anxieties in French men.[420] The French had been easily bested by the Germans in 1870. On the centenary of the Revolution, it was essential to reassure the French public of its continued prosperity through a specific portrait of the black race that diminished its cultural sophistication and exaggerated its physical capabilities, which in turn emphasized the purported modernity of the French. Ultimately, Senegalese soldiers will play a critical role in World War I, but the myth they have a 'smile for the French, a knife for the Germans' and the mixture of desperation and anxiety that this phrase entailed, was born in the Senegalese Village of 1889. By triangulating architecture, masculinity, and blackness, this chapter demonstrates the multivalence of architecture in an imperial context.

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[420] See for example, Philip Holden, *Orienting Masculinity, Orienting Nation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996).

This analysis considers the individual buildings of the Senegalese Village, as well as their arrangement and fenced-off or open-access portions. Each of the five Villages was enclosed by a fence, and this clear demarcation signaled to viewers that each Village was a distinct ensemble. The architecture of the colonial exhibits set the tone for the displays, but it also oriented visitors within the greater Esplanade des Invalides. Although the Exposition planning committee had sought to organize the colonial section geographically, the displays intermingled and did not unfold in a discernable order, resulting in a hodgepodge of buildings of various scales, materials, and types. To add to this, visitors were tasked with navigating the circulation of people, whether in the form of colonial soldiers, *pousse-pousse* drivers, sounds from competing displays, and smells from nearby food stands. Many guidebooks include a bird's eye view, as if the Esplanade was seen from the top of the Eiffel Tower, but this was not a vista to which the average fair goer would have been privy, if it was possible at all. The enclosed Villages were thus one of the few respites from the chaotic colonial section and their clear demarcation, paired with their architectural uniformity, resulted in a distinguishable and memorable portrait of each colony.

The Senegalese Village was the only colonial display to include a French-made structure, the Tour de Saldé, which provided a sharp contrast to both the Village's houses and the structures external to the Village. How these buildings functioned, as evidence to buttress the portrayals of colonial groups, has been neglected in secondary scholarship. French approaches to urban policy were not uniform and their assimilationist or associations practices varied based on the country, customs, and religion of the colonized regions.[421] It is thus safe to say that a similar representative strategy was at work in France's colonial exhibitions in the metropole, where the intricacies of

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[421] See, for example, Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

each Village should be analyzed in the context of French policy, racial theory, and Parisian viewership at the 1889 Exposition. In this vein, this chapter will focus specifically on the intricacies of the Senegalese display and its relationship to ethnic race theory, colonial policy, and architecture.

4.1 Literature Review

The amount of preserved documentation on the Expositions universelles in staggering, yet there is relatively little archival material on the Colonial Villages. In Paris, at the Archives nationales, only a few boxes address planning the Esplanade des Invalides and the specific colonial section. At the Archives nationales d'outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence, there are only a few documents total that relate to the colonial section. To understand how the Senegalese Village was planned and received, this chapter consults materials on adjacent exhibits as well as the abundant printed material on the Exposition universelle of 1889. These come in the form of commemorative texts as well as histories of French colonization that were released specifically for the 1889 Exposition.

This chapter contributes to the abundance of scholarship on French World's Fairs, yet it goes beyond previous studies to show how viewership, colonial politics, and race theory coalesced in the exhibition space. Analyzing the architecture of the Senegalese Village within the context of the scarred built environment reveals their power to represent control over the black race and reassure French viewers of their cultural and racial superiority. In her book *Le Théâtre des*

colonies, Sylvie Leprun compares colonial Exposition displays to Orientalist paintings.[422] Leprun highlights that although the Exposition displays may have originally translated Orientalist tropes into three dimensions, resulting in displays that blurred the line between science and spectacle. This final form and type of exhibit is what Leprun calls "ethnologie plastique." In her analysis of the Senegalese Village, Leprun argues that the buildings of villages can be separated into three types: major architectural recreations (the Tour de Saldé), places of commerce (artisanal boutiques), and villages (groupings of buildings). However, Leprun combines the North African or Orientalist portrayals with West African as equal in representation, which ignores how the stereotypes of each engaged with and perpetuated racial ideology.

Of additional note, Patricia Morton's book *Hybrid Modernities* provides a close parallel to the present study, especially her analysis of architectural physiognomy and its valence at the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris. Morton compares the national pavilions of the 1931 Exposition to the composite photographs of Francis Galton, who overlaid photographs in an attempt to identify common hereditary characteristics that would appear in certain races of types of people.[423] Because each of the 1931 pavilions was an amalgamation or composite of different buildings and types, they were rather different than the 1889 Colonial Villages, which purported to feature exact architectural replicas. As an ensemble, the houses of the Colonial Villages gave the impression of a general 'type,' but viewers had to make those inferences on their own. Indeed, where perceived authenticity in later Expositions derived from presenting the typical, rather than the specific, earlier Expositions relied on the reproduction of specific architectural examples as a strategy for

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[422] Sylvie Leprun, *Le théâtre des colonies: scénographie, acteurs et discours de l'imaginaire dans les Expositions, 1855-1937* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1986).

[423] Patricia Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000), 219.

communicating scientific authenticity.[424] Last, where the 1931 structures were, as Morton calls, 'hybrids,' with 'typical' exteriors that did not accord aesthetically or technologically with the interiors, there was no such discord at the 1889 Colonial Exposition.

Ernest Noirot was an explorer and colonial administrator who was charged with planning the Senegalese Village in 1887. Philippe Davide's biography of Ernest Noirot provides the most comprehensive narrative on his life and work through the summary of Noirot's letters and personal papers. Noirot's experiences in the colony and his actions towards the Village's inhabitants provide an unparalleled glimpse into the dynamics of power, race, and gender in the context of French colonial exhibitions. Davide's text is immensely useful as raw data, but his lack of scholarly analysis and his sympathy to Noirot's imperial actions limit its potential for use.

This chapter also engages with larger questions of racial representation and expectation in late nineteenth-century France. William Schneider's *An Empire for the Masses* is perhaps the foundational study of black racial representation and its invention in the nineteenth century.[425] In a Saidian analysis, Schneider analyzes popular media such as illustrated newspapers and ethnographic exhibits to demonstrate how the portrayal of Africans was invented and repeated. While Schneider effectively establishes the political and economic climate in which these representations were created, the present study delves into *why* these stereotypes were created and how they served those in the metropole.

In *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz Age France,* Brett Berliner examines popular representations of "the black" after World War I. While his analysis focuses on how black people were represented in popular media, Berliner homes in on the tensions between desire and

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[424] Morton, *Hybrid Modernities,* 220.
[425] William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses: The French Popular Image of Africa, 1870-1900* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982)

fear that derived from the idea that the black race was equal parts child-like and unpredictably violent. This chapter contributes to Berliner's analysis in several ways. First, most obviously, by analyzing the space of human displays, but more important, how the space engaged with questions of participant agency and self-representation. In contrast to displays at the human displays at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, the Senegalese Village was created within a distinct climate of colonial ambivalence, when the public's support for the colonial project was critical. The mass media portrait of Senegal at the 1889 Exposition will set the tone for representations of central that will persist until the present day.

Before describing the Senegalese Village in depth, there are two key figures who require introduction. First, Louis Henrique was the Special Commissioner of the colonial section and authored the texts that visitors could consult in the central Palais des Colonies while visiting the Exposition. Written for viewers to consult in tandem with the Colonial Section, the publication's stated goal was to spread accurate and engaging information about France's overseas possessions to the public.[426] Henrique's texts are invaluable to this study because they reveal that ways that the French government directed the viewers to understand the Colonial displays. In addition, Henrique composed the introduction to Monod's commemorative Exposition volume from 1890, transforming the ephemeral display and his (likely exaggerated) observations into permanent testaments of French imperialism. For example, Henrique characterized the Colonial Section as 'one of the highlights of the Exposition and that the presence of indigenous people, "did not, at any moment… have the character of an exhibition."[427] Instead, according to the commissioner, the indigenous groups were not exhibited, but were exhibitors of work and crafts.[428]

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[426] Louis Henrique, *Les Colonies françaises* (Paris : Maison Quintin, 1890) Tome V, préface.
[427] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 140.
[428] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 140.

Second, General Louis Faidherbe, who created the original Tour de Saldé and who was responsible for commissioning the military architecture that lined the Senegal River, emerges repeatedly throughout this chapter. Faidherbe's 1854 arrival in the colony marked the beginning of France's formalized imperial control and was embodied through the multiplicity of blockhouses that he erected throughout Senegal.[429] Though he served as governor of Senegal from 1854-1861 and 1863-1865, he was also an amateur scientist. He was a member of the SAP remotely and studied the Senegalese populations from an anthropological viewpoint, even publishing his observations in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*.[430] Moreover, at a time when French males fixated on masculinity, Faidherbe was a model of French military strength and erudition.

This chapter will begin by describing the experience of visiting the Senegalese Village. It will then uncover both how it was designed and what motivated its creation. In this section, archival documentation such as Exposition planning minutes paired with notes from the popular press allow us the piece together the timeline of exhibit construction and the public's reaction. Finally, we will discuss concerns about masculine virility after 1871, specifically the mixture of concern and desire that shaped perceptions of the black race. This will reveal how such anxieties impacted viewership and the final form of the Senegalese Village.

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[429] Mark Hinchman, *Portrait of an Island: The Architecture and Material Culture of Gorée, Sénégal* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 15.

[430] Faidherbe was most active as a contributor to the *BSAP* in the 1870s. See, for example, Louis Faidherbe, "Relations ethniques des Lydiens et des Egyptiens," *BSAP* (1872): 612-613.

4.2 Visiting the Senegalese Village

To enter the colonial section, visitors approached the Esplanade des Invalides from the Seine and walked toward the Hôtel des Invalides on a permanent, paved pathway that bisected the space. In contrast to previous Parisian Expositions, the colonies were meant to be displayed in a more logical and clear order, according to the geographic or commercial relationships that existed between them.[431] These clear distinctions would allow fairgoers to appreciate the individual colonies as well as their agricultural products and culture.[432] Fair planners named the Colonial Section's pathways in accordance with the colonies to which they led; off the *Avenue du Gabon,* for example, visitors could travel to the Gabonese (also called the Pahouin) Village.[433] Before reaching the Senegalese display, at the near middle of the left-hand side of the Esplanade, visitors would pass by some of the largest and most elaborate colonial structures, including the Algerian Pavilion, Tunisian Pavilion, and Annamite Theater.

When facing the entrance to the Village, punctuated by the nearly full-size reproduction of the Tour de Saldé, visitors had the Madagascar Pavilion to their left and the 'Annamite restaurant' to their right. Photographs show the Village enclosed by a fence made partially of untreated, bundled branches and partially of the same mudbrick that was used to construct the houses. In the same vista, we see that before climbing the Tour, visitors passed through a circular, unadorned hut with thatched roof. Once inside the Village, a screen of trees separated viewers from the Rue de

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[431] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[432] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[433] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 140.

Constantine and the Rue de l'Université, the permanent street intersection at which the display was located.[434]

An 1887 article in the *Bulletin official* promised that the Senegalese exhibit would be intriguing for both its picturesque and instructive qualities.[435] While the houses of the Village were likely meant to fulfill viewers' expectations of the 'picturesque,' the entrance Tour was the only didactic area in the Village that did not rely on the participation of the colonial inhabitants. Divided into four room, the Tour contained displays of Senegalese products.[436] In addition, the Tour was intended to give the public an idea of the blockhouse type and to present one of the most attractive [*beaux*] examples of blockhouses that General Faidherbe erected while he was governor of Senegal. Guidebooks stated that in situ this type of military architecture allowed a handful of men to keep a "considerable army of blacks" under control [*tenir en respect*],[437] while the Exposition's blockhouse would supervise and protect the indigenous populations in their homes, just as it did in the colony.[438] The importance of the Tour, as a sign of both the potential violence from the Senegalese and France's military presence, will be discussed later on.

Once inside the Village, visitors could examine no fewer than 8 houses and two tents, each of which was intended to be a distinct example of Senegalese housing. Visitors to the Senegalese Village remarked that each of the houses was unique, an embodiment of the customs of the separate tribes.[439] All the houses were composed of *terre sèche* and thatch, yet they varied in plan and interior furnishings. For example, the *case dit Coompan,* of the Ouolofs community in Saint-

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434 The Rue de l'Université did not bisect the Esplanade des Invalides in the nineteenth century.
435 Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
436 Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 170.
437 Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
438 Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
439 Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 174.

Louis, was decorated with European furniture. [440] Despite these furnishings, which were certainly familiar to French visitors, Monod wrote that all the houses belonged to "the same degree of rudimentary society."[441]

The Senegalese villagers performed various tasks, such as weaving and jewelry-making, while a dervish, perched on the doorstop to one of the houses, copied manuscripts (Figure 72). Throughout the Village, a shepherd guided his herd of goats, sheep, and cows. Each night, a group of three musicians performed a concert in the center of the Village, which included national songs and war marches.[442]

Anthropologists were keen on studying the assembly of colonial races during the six months of Exposition. "The gathering of *indigènes* from our various colonies of the Esplanade des Invalides was a pleasant and perhaps singular occasion for the anthropologist to simultaneously and comparatively study the most diverse races" recounted Joseph Deniker.[443] The anthropologist, who worked alongside René Verneau, proudly stated that they had measured and studied all the Gabonese, Tahitians, and Senegalese Tirailleurs, as well as to 57 Annamites. In addition to publishing a text dedicated to his 1889 studies of the indigenous participants, Deniker and Verneau's commentary re-appeared in popular accounts of the Exposition.[444] Deniker applied the strategies of physical anthropologists to the study of the human groups, such as cephalic index and

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[440] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 174.
[441] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 174.
[442] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 176.
[443] "La réunion des indigènes de nos diverses colonies à L'Esplanade des Invalides était une belle et peut-être unique occasions pour l'anthropologiste d'étudier simultanément et comparativement les races les plus diverses." Quoted in Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 201.
[444] See also *L'Exposition universelle de 1889: Grand ouvrage illustré, historique, encyclopédique, descriptive."*

height, in order to compare all the foreign participants. This included other groups, like Buffalo Bill's 'red skins,' who were informally involved with the Exposition.[445]

Yet, not all visitors were convinced of the Villages' accuracy and scientific value. Contemporary writers compared the Exposition's portrait of Senegal with its modern infrastructure in situ. Telegraphs, electricity, and the development of a railway are all details that authors mentioned as a discrepancy between the Village and the actual colony.[446] Beyond the absence of modern technology, the houses lacked any clear resemblance to vernacular Senegalese architecture for three reasons: their orientation, spatial arrangement, and architectural character. While this chapter is not intended as an in-depth study of actual Senegalese architecture, it is crucial to note that vernacular West African dwellings were created intentionally, with function and aesthetics in mind. First, when grouped within a fence, Senegalese houses often opened onto a communal courtyard. In this arrangement, the houses were free standing and always of the same relative shape and scale. But, in the Senegalese Village, the houses' entrances faced outward toward the fence so that a barrier could be established between the indigenous demonstrations and the viewers. The resulting scheme not only isolated the Senegalese from the Europeans but also erased any communal mingling among the inhabitants that would have occurred in the central space. Second, the organization of the houses in the Village space appears haphazard. There is no clear logic in terms of the buildings' functions, either for single-family or communal use. When grouped together, vernacular Senegalese dwellings were most often of a similar size and a nearly identical shape, and their arrangement could be dictated by familial hierarchies or function. In this scenario,

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[445] Joseph Deniker and L. Laloy, "Les Races Exotiques à l'Exposition universelle de 1889," *L'Anthropologie,* Tome premier (1890): 257-294, 513-546.

[446] For example, see Rambaud, *Les Nouvelles colonies de la république français* (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1889), 16; Henrique, *Les colonies françaises,* 117.

there was a separation of purposes assigned to each room and to the sexes. The houses' arrangement and various forms rob them of any discernible function. Last, the structure and ornament of the Senegalese Village's houses were a far cry from those made in West Africa. Most dwellings were multi-roomed, some multi-storied, and when they were a single room they were always fenced-in with other structures. Senegalese houses were meant to evolve over time based on the needs of the inhabitants, but they were also remarkable because they were made to withstand extreme variations in weather.[447] On the outside, these houses were ornamented through patterning that was achieved either through the texture of the raw materials or through designs added by the inhabitants. The representative houses thus bore none of the sophistication of actual Senegalese dwellings, neither in plan nor in ornament.

The *Bulletin Officiel* reported that, "[a]ll of these blacks will be accompanied by their families. They will live here as they live at home."[448] However, these indigenous groups, who remained on the Esplanade for the duration of the Exposition, did not actually reside in their assigned houses. Instead, they stayed in a guarded barracks behind the colonial section, where they could rest, wash, and sleep.

Across the fairgrounds, the Eiffel Tower, a marvel of French architecture and engineering, stood in stark contrast to the hodgepodge of domestic structures selected to represent Senegal. While the most conservative viewers deplored the Tower's use of new materials for monumental construction, opting instead for a classically-inspired, Beaux-Arts design, others lauded it as an engineering marvel. Yet neither of these camps viewed vernacular, colonial architecture as a

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[447] Jean-Paul Bordier and Trinh Minh-ha, *Vernacular Architecture of West Africa: A World in Dwelling* (New York: Routledge, 2011). See also Ambe Njob, *Tradition, Culture, and Development in Africa* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).
[448] Bulletin official de l'Exposition, 17 décembre 1887, in F12 3760.

feat.[449] The Senegalese houses were viewed simply as mud huts that could be easily compared with the French capital, highlighting and exaggerating the accomplishments of modern French architecture. It is thus necessary to unpack why the French Exposition planners created a display that portrayed Senegal, a colony that was outfitted with French technology, as requiring intervention. What did this say about the Senegalese people and how would French viewers have understood this portrait of West Africa?

4.3 Planning the Colonial Villages

In 1885, Jules Ferry, the *president du conseil* and Minister of Foreign affairs, addressed the French parliament in strong support of the colonial project. It was, as he declared, the right and obligation of the 'superior races' to civilize the 'inferior races.'[450] Although politicians critiqued Ferry's policies and imperial approaches, his assertion that France was of a superior race was met without question.[451] Despite Ferry's impassioned speech, French politicians and government officials viewed the colonial project with mixed goals and expectations.[452] After losing Alsace and Lorraine to the Germans in 1871, some French administrators believed they could symbolically recoup the hexagon's truncated portions through overseas expansion. In response, conservative congressman Paul Déroulède rebutted, "I had two sisters and you are offering me two domestic

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[449] Europeans denigrating vernacular building materials was common. See Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Germany* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 11.
[450] Paul Robiquet, *Discours et opinions de Jules Ferry,* (Paris: 1897), Tome V 156.
[451] Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize,* 13.
[452] "Introduction" in *Promoting the Colonial Idea: Propaganda and Visions of Empire in France,* Tony Chafer and Amanda Sackur, eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1-14.

servants."[453] In guidebooks to the 1889 Exposition and texts written to accompany the colonial displays, authors noted the unpopularity of the Third Republic's colonial project, especially in comparison to the overseas conquests of the Restoration and the Second Empire governments.[454] When planning the colonial section in 1886, French officials were certainly aware of these debates. The Exposition's international stage was therefore a critical moment to assert France's continued prosperity. It was equally an opportunity to widely advertise both the utility of the colonies and the necessity of overseas expansion.

To understand the choices that colonial officials made for the 1889 Exposition, we need to compare how France had displayed its colonies just a few years prior at the 1885 Exposition universelle in Antwerp, Belgium. France had two sections: first, a fully decorated exhibit in the central pavilion of French products; second, a free-standing pavilion that was dedicated to the display of French colonial products.[455] The French exhibit was designed by the architect Marcel Boulanger and adorned by the decorative painter Alphonse Ouri. It included examples of domestic products such as porcelain, crystals, and soaps.

However, it was the Colonial pavilion that promised to be the "great attraction" of the Exposition.[456] Located in the Exposition's gardens, the French Colonial Pavilion had purportedly been sent directly from Cambodia to Belgium (Figure 73). Inside, around a central court, viewers could see products from nearly all the colonies that would be presented at the 1889 Exposition. It

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[453] Quoted in Robert Aldrich, *Greater France: A History of French Overseas Expansion* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996)*,* 100.

[454] For example, see Rambaud, *Les Nouvelles colonies,* 4. See also *Colonies françaises et pays de protectorat à l'Exposition universelle de 1889: guide publié par la société des études et maritimes,* v.

[455] It is fascinating to note that while discussing these product displays, the authors note that neither the companies nor their products had degenerated [dégénéré], a term that use exclusively for the French products. See René Corneli and Pierre Mussely, *Anvers et l'Exposition universelle 1885,* deuxième edition (Bruxelles: Ad. Martens, 1886), 382 and 384.

[456] English in the original. See Corneli and Mussely, *Anvers,* 382.

is noteworthy that summaries of the French colonial display applied a racial hierarchy to otherwise banal descriptions of the products. For example, the narrator of *Anvers et l'Exposition universelle* begins by describing the marvels of far Eastern religious idols and porcelains, but then introduces the Senegalese section stating, "[here], civilization decreases by a notch."[457] Even viewers who were less familiar with the French colonies were prepared to view the French colonies in racial terms.

The 1885 French Colonial Pavilion was 'guarded' by 'Annamite' and Senegalese soldiers, but it is unclear exactly what they were assigned to do throughout the Exposition (Figure 74).[458] Written accounts document and describe the soldiers as if they, too, were objects for scrutiny. While fairgoers were drawn to the Indochinese soldiers for their hairstyles and accessories, Belgian soldiers peppered the Senegalese infantrymen with questions.[459] As a precedent for the 1889 Exposition, the 1885 Colonial Pavilion went beyond displaying indigenous soldiers: inside the pavilion, viewers encountered a recreation of a Cambodian house. Although it was smaller than life-size, visitors could occupy the space, could relax on mats or examine finely crafted exotic furniture.[460]

This combination of indigenous participant and architectural reproduction was then adapted for the larger scale of the 1889 Colonial Villages. Yet, for the 1889 Exposition universelle in Paris, administrators had to consider both the success of their colonial pavilion abroad and the mixed feelings that would greet them in the metropole. When planning began in 1886, the Exposition organizers repeatedly highlighted the public importance of the colonial section.

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[457] "Dans le compartiment du Sénégal, la civilisation baisse d'un cran." Anvers et l'Exposition universelle, 1885, 216.

[458] "L'Exposition universelle d'Anvers" *La Nature,* 1885.2, 166-170, 167.

[459] Anvers et l'Exposition universelle, 1885, 218.

[460] "L'Exposition universelle d'Anvers," 167.

Proponents of France's imperial program argued that if the 1889 colonial display was not more attractive than the one at the 1878 Exposition, visitors would be disappointed and would not fully understand the merits of France's colonial policy.[461]

But Exposition planners were limited due to budgetary constraints. Jean-Marie de Lanesson, who would become the Governor General of Indochina in 1891, proposed that each of the colonies plan and finance their own display. According to de Lanesson, this would encourage the colonies to compete for the best display, ultimately contributing to the overall success of the Exposition. It would also ensure that the majority of the budget would be used on domestic displays.[462] Although each colony was charged with financing and designing its own display, the responsibility of creating the display fell, of course, on the French colonial administrators, rather than the natives that the exhibit would represent. To prepare the colonial section, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry charged de Lanesson with visiting and studying the commercial and financial situations of the participating French territories.[463] To the colonial administrators, it was important that their territories remained distinct, and that they would not be overshadowed by neighboring displays. Yet they had little to no control over the siting of their display in the larger Esplanade. For example, in a letter to the Exposition planning officials, Algerian governor general warned that if the Algerian displays were juxtaposed with those of the French, the richness of the colony and its artistic achievements would be lost through comparison.[464]

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[461] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[462] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[463] That de Lanesson travelled to the colonies individually and communicated with each of them independently explains the limited archival documentation in the Archives nationales. See
  Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3803A.
[464] Concerns over comparisons between neighboring displays were voiced as early as 1883. Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.

On 1 August 1887, representatives from many of the overseas territories including French India, Guadeloupe, Cochinchina, and Guinée convened for the first time to discuss the parameters of the Colonial Exhibition. According to these meeting minutes, the Minister of Commerce and Industry had already communicated the general outline of the Esplanade des Invalides. A central pavilion would both house the state collections and anchor the free-standing colonial pavilions erected around it. Such individual pavilions would be, "reproductions of the most characteristic structures of each country" and would provide "the exact physiognomy" of each of the possessions. [465] Indeed, it was the repeated and explicit goal of the colonial administration to display the distinctive 'physiognomy," each colony.[466] The notion of the colonial exhibits' physiognomic character was then circulated widely through public serials like '*L'Exposition de Paris.*"

It is necessary to pause briefly on the notion of 'physiognomy' as it pertains to architecture. Much like Lavater's physiognomic readings, which essentially prescribed that "a beautiful soul was contained within a beautiful body," dwellings gave exhibit-goers a glimpse into the lives of the displayed groups 'behind closed doors.'[467] Within the Lavaterian tradition, to read someone's exterior was to understand their interior nature. However, the Exposition planners and the public fixated on the architectural, rather than bodily. Although human bodies would be available to the gazing French masses, it was their homes that were tasked with providing their racial indices. Indeed, the importance of the indigenous participants seems secondary to the architecture. In the summary of the *procès-verbaux* from March 31, 1888, nearly two full years after the planning for the Colonial Section had begun, it was decided that about 100 indigenous people would inhabit

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[465] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[466] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[467] Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler, *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 19.

the Colonial Villages to, "give life and movement to the ensemble."[468] These people would populate the Senegalese, Gabonese, New-Caledonian and Tahitian Villages (the Tonkinese Village had not yet been added) and would be guarded by 70-80 indigenous guards.[469] Thus, visitors were prepared to focus on the buildings and to interpret the architectural components as visual manifestations of each colony's internal, racial character rather than the indigenous participants.[470]

From the archival trace and the popular press, we can confidently deduce that buildings of the Colonial Villages were already assembled when the indigenous groups arrived. Press coverage describes that Indochinese workers arrived to decorate and paint the Annam and Tonkin Pavilion ahead of the Exposition's opening, but this is the only allusion to the indigenous occupants engaging in the construction of their architectural environment. Although Monod asserts that the Tonkinese Village was constructed by 53 Tonkinese workers under the direction of Viterbo, there are no reports of these people working in Paris, as there was with the Pavilion of Annam and Tonkin. Furthermore, the buildings and materials from each of the Colonial Villages remained intact for over six months after the Exposition closed and were auctioned to a French buyer in March of 1890.[471]

While French Exposition visitors could learn from studying the architecture, the indigenous participants were meant to return to their homes brimming with gratitude for French colonial intervention. Henrique states that, "our *indigènes* took away that France is a rich and powerful country, of which they recognize the moral superiority and which they will, less and less, attempt

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[468] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[469] *Chambre des Députés,* no. 2630, annexe au procès-verbal de la séance du 31 mars 1888, 29-35. AN Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.
[470] For example, see *L'Exposition colonial,* 15 janvier 1889, N. 4, 26.
[471] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3827.

to contest its authority."[472] This sentiment was reiterated during the Exposition planning meetings. For those planning the colonial section, sending indigenous people to France for the Exposition was of the highest political interest, as they believed that bringing these people into contact with French civilization would not only help Parisian better appreciate the colonial territories but also would enable the indigenous participants to speak about the 'benefits' of French modernity firsthand.[473]

The French were keen on documenting the Villagers' reactions to the metropole. To highlight the contrast between races, these accounts often compared the behaviors and demeanors of the Senegalese, as representatives of the black race, and the Tonkinese, who exemplified the yellow race. In 1890, Henrique recounted how the different indigenous groups reacted to the Parisian city and monuments, as well as various spectacles such as the Fête de 14 juillet and the Longchamps horse races. The author clearly states that the *indigènes* reacted, "according to their race."[474] When viewing a military procession in celebration of the centenary of the Revolution, Henrique describes that the Africans were 'dazzled' by the visualized military might- they stood, took off their hats, and clapped their hands.[475] Meanwhile, the same procession left the Annamite 'calm and aloof." The Africans were considered, "large, strong, soldiers by temperament,' which imbued them with 'pride… vanity… those who like pomp and glory."[476] Instead, the Annamite was is small, even puny… timid, reticent, obsequious… above all a skilled worker…even an artist in his own manner of an art, though rudimentary, but which will be easy to perfect."[477] In this way,

[472] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 144.
[473] Paris, Archives nationales, F[12] 3760.
[474] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 143.
[475] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 143.
[476] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 143.
[477] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 143.

the races' reactions were reversed with regard to Parisian monuments, where the African remained 'mouth agape' before French monuments while the Annamite 'tried to understand the mode of construction…[which was] so superior to his own hand."[478] As a final note, Henrique states, "the Africans were surprised by the grandiose character of our buildings, by the brilliance of colors, by the richness of decoration. The artistic side [*côté]* escaped them."[479]

While the indigenous participants played a critical role in 'authenticating' the displays and roused curiosity in Exposition officials and the public alike, it is unclear how the French colonial officials recruited or hired indigenous people to participate in the Exposition displays.[480] Disparate accounts state that several of the participants had assisted French administrators in the colonies, but this did not prevent the Exposition planners from exaggerating their status as 'Other' through the displays. For example, Pita and Badimoin, participants in the New-Caledonian (also called the *Canaque*) Village, were awarded medals for helping the French suppress the 1878 insurrection.[481] The New-Caledonians dressed in European clothes and, instead of entertaining visitors, spent the majority of their days sitting inside and reading the newspaper.[482] Visitors also reported their surprise that the New-Caledonians spoke French.[483] The reality of New-Caledonian engagement was remarkably different from renderings of the display, which show them in grass-skirts

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[478] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 143.
[479] "Les Africains ont été étonnés par l'aspect grandiose de nos édifices, par l'éclat des couleurs, par la richesse de la décoraiton. Le côté artistique leur a échappé." Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 143.
[480] There is no trace of such interactions or transactions in neither the Archives nationales' Pierrefitte-sur-Seine location, nor the Archives nationales d'outre-mer in Aix-en-Provence. Because each of the colonies planned their individual exhibit, I suspect that any documentation remains in situ. However, I should repeat that the decision to plan a series of Colonial Villages came from the central planning commission in Paris.
[481] The local Melanesians had killed a pardoned French convict and his wife, who had been harboring a [fugitive] Melanesian woman, they then attacked the police station. See Aldrich, *Greater France,* 207. For background on Pita and Badimoin, see Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 165.
[482] L'Exposition universelle de 1889, "Le Village Canaque," –V.-F.-M., N. 29, 24 aout 1889, 230.
[483] "Paris jugé par les peaux jeunes et noirs," *Le Figaro,* 9 mai 1889, série 3, n. 129.

entertaining and chatting with guests. Despite their cooperation with French officials and their European dress, the Village did not present them as French sympathizers, even though this colony was the deportation site for around 4,000 Communards.[484] The same bamboo weaponry that the indigenous people had used against the French in 1878 was displayed as part of the New-Caledonian Village, reminding visitors of the potential for insurrection that remained beneath a calm façade and European clothing.[485]

Four inhabitants of the *Villlage Loango* received medals of honor from M. Etienne, Undersecretary of State for the Colonies, for having assisted colonial officials. Mamouaka and Njouké received first class medals for saving Albert Dolisie, a French lieutenant. Beugo received a second-class medal for serving as an escort to de Brazza, as did Agoulamba, who saved a French doctor from a capsized boat.[486] The awards ceremony, which was part of the Exposition's programming, was certainly widely publicized as an example of indigenous cooperation.

While it appears that the Colonial Village inhabitants were selected based on merit, the selection criteria for the indigenous guards is less clear. In the first meeting of the Exposition planning committee on 1 August 1887, officials decided that the indigenous guards, such as Senegalese and Annamite Tirailleurs*,* would be carefully chosen, but they do not elaborate on how. The committee explicitly states that the guards would have an excellent effect on the spirits of the indigenous populations, but it is unclear if the report means those on the fairgrounds or those who remained in the colonies.[487] When discussing the colonial visitors, the committee emphasized that the colonial groups will only be in the metropole from the opening of the Exposition and will return

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[484] Albert Boime, *Art and the Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 4.
[485] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 165.
[486] "Courrier de l'Exposition," *Le Figaro,* 20 aout 1889 – 3 série, n. 232.
[487] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.

to their respective homes before winter, assuring the committee members of their impermanence in the metropole.[488]

The Senegalese Village was planned by Ernest Noirot, once the explorer of Fouta-Djallon in Guinea, West Africa, and a [concurrent] Senegalese colonial administrator. Critical reception of the Senegalese Village was largely positive, with commentators saying, "[i]t would be impossible to better organize this portion of this Exposition… [t]hanks to [M. Noirot], we are able to obtain a quick but precise idea of the importance of Senegal and of the degree of civilization of its indigenous people."[489] In February 1887, After helping to plan the French colonial display at the Antwerp Exposition in 1886, Noirot was asked to submit sketches and plans of the Tour de Saldé. For the dwellings of the Village, Noirot sought to recreate houses from the African interior because he thought those would be less familiar to Parisian audiences than dwellings in Saint-Louis or Dakar.[490]

Noirot's distaste for Senegal, especially vernacular Senegalese architecture is a consistent theme in his diary entries from the years leading to the 1889 Exposition. When he arrives in Senegal in 1886, he complains that the houses are dirty and states that he does not want to eat inside of them.[491] His overall disdain for Senegalese architecture certainly would have influenced how he presented them to the French public. Yet, the selection criteria and arrangement of the dwellings within the Village appears random. While the size of the Tour de Saldé dwarfs the huts,

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[488] Paris, Archives nationales, F[12] 3760.

[489] "Il était impossible de mieux organiser cette partie de l'Exposition… Grâce à lui, nous avons pu obtenir une idée rapide mais précise de l'importance du Sénégal et du dégrée de civilisation de ses indigènes.» Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 177.

[490] Philippe Davide, *Ernest Noirot: Un administrateur colonial hors norms* (Paris: KARTHALA Editions, 2012), 67.

[491] Davide treats Noirot's opinions as obvious and underscores Noirot's characterization in his narrative. See Philippe Davide, *Ernest Noirot,* 57.

the circular huts are shown in a variety of heights, but equal widths, and the cornered dwellings vary from clearly rectangular to almost exactly square.

Noirot's relationships with the indigenous participants was also far from neutral. In a report dated to 28 August 1889, M. Crespin, the president of the comité central of the Senegalese exhibit, demanded that Noirot be removed from his post. According to Crespin, Noirot brutally attacked the Senegalese inhabitants, the Toukoulour interpreter Boubakar Abdou, with a cane, during the Exposition. What would warrant this bombastic display of punishment? Noirot had purchased theater tickets for the Senegalese and when Abdou declined the invitation, Noirot thought that the outing would be ruined without the interpreter. In retaliation, Noirot ripped off the French medals that Abdou had recently been awarded for his assistance with the Exposition and beat him to the point that his cane broke and blood was shed, in the middle of Paris.[492] "What would it be where the colonial administrator has no control, where the terrorized *indigène* does not even dare to complain?" asked Crespin in his letter.[493] While this incident appalled even supporters of the colonial project, such as Crespin, it is emblematic of the larger dynamics of control, agency, and racial expectation in the Exposition context. Indeed, although Crespin called for Noirot's removal, this point is just a few lines buried deep in the report and it was not discussed in the wider media. Without overstating the symbolic importance of this incident, it is essential to consider how Noirot's Village catered to French concerns and expectations about the Senegalese 'race,' as well as how its location in the Seventh Arrondissement impacted viewership.

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[492] Philippe Davide, "Exposition" in *Ernest Noirot: Un administrateur colonial,* 86; Aix-en-Provence, Archives nationales d'outre-mer, D/BR/1811.
[493] Aix-en-Provence, Archives nationales d'outre-mer, D/BR/1811.

4.4 The Seventh Arrondissement and French Masculinity after 1871

To consider the Senegalese Village within the context of degeneracy, we need to address three separate but interconnected elements: first, the Tour de Saldé; second, the housing specimens; third, the live, black, human body. Above all, the Colonial Section was created as a didactic tool, of which the populated structures were a key part. According to the serial *l'Exposition universelle de Paris,* all types of Parisians, "from the curiosity of the simple *badaud* [gawker] to the observation of a thinker or the study of an artist" could learn the colonial displays.[494] While the archival documentation shows what the colonial administrated intended for the Exposition, it certainly does not capture the effect of seeing the Colonial Villages in the middle of urban Paris. The Senegalese Village became an arena for French men to visually impose their control over the black body through military architecture and overly simplified, stereotypical dwellings. Analyzing the Colonial Villages within the built environment reveals the multiple meanings that these architectural forms embodied and, moreover, highlights the connection between racial and masculine anxieties at the 1889 Exposition.

"Nothing will be missing in this reproduction of a village, protected by its fort" stated the *Bulletin Officiel* with regard to the Senegalese Village.[495] Although the reproduction of the Tour was smaller than the original, the two-story blockhouse was clearly the largest and most structurally complex building in the Senegalese Village. Square in plan, apart from the truncated entrance corner, the Tour was almost completely unornamented, except for the ground-level shutters and the French Republican tricolor flag that waved from its upper story. The windows,

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[494] L'Exposition universelle de 1889, "Les Tisseuses Kabyle," juin 1889, N. 17, 22, 134.
[495] Bulletin official de l'Exposition, 17 décembre 1887, in Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3760.

simple arches on the bottom floor, arrow slit windows and rectangles above, added minor visual

interest to the façade. As a utilitarian building, the primary task of which was to defend those inside

from attack, the lack of ornamentation makes sense. However, in comparison to the surrounding

structures on the Esplanade, such as the nearby Palace of Annam-Tonkin, it provided a stark

contrast. Although this was a French-made structure, the Tour primed viewers to regard the

Senegalese as a militaristic and dangerous people, one against which the French soldiers were

constantly poised to defend themselves.

In situ, the Tour de Saldé was located at nearly the northern-most point of the Senegalese

territory and its nearest city was Tébékout. Although it was relatively isolated, the blockhouse was

designed to defend against indigenous attacks from both sides; from its position on the river,

soldiers could simultaneously survey the Maures on the right bank and the purportedly turbulent

population in Fouta on the left bank.[496] As for its defensive architectural mechanisms, the rez-de-

chaussée was elevated, and the cornered building was outfitted with arrow slits and embrasures.

Inside, about a dozen Senegalese infantry men served as soldiers and customs agents for products

going across the river.[497]

To understand the potency of the Tour as a symbolic structure, we must discuss General

Faidherbe, the man who was responsible for erecting these blockhouses. Faidherbe's reputation

and legacy as an efficient colonial administrator and scientist were perpetuated through the 1930s.

Historians mark his arrival in the colony as the ushering in of a new period in the history of French-

colonial Senegal.[498] He was chronically ill, a fact that his biographers and accounts of his military

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[496] Henrique, *Les colonies françaises,* 42, 118.
[497] Recoing, *Géographie militaire et maritime des colonies françaises,* (Librairie Militaire de L. Baudin et Cie, Paris: 1884), 79.
[498] Anna Pondopoulo, "La Construction de l'altérité ethnique peule dans l'oeuvre de de Faidherbe" in *Cahiers d'Études Africaines,* vol. 36, Cahier 143 (1996): 421-441, 422-423.

deeds never fail to mention, but that did not preclude him from imperial and scientific endeavors. From a governmental standpoint, Faidherbe seemed like an ideal Senegalese governor in 1854: previously, he had spent six years in Algeria and two years in Guadeloupe. In Henrique's 5-volume series on the state of the French colonies in 1889, Faidherbe is depicted as an appropriate ruler as well as a connoisseur and commissioner of military architecture.[499] Although he was stationed in Algeria when the Franco-Prussian War broke out, he was known for having returned to France, at Gambetta's request, to help fight the Prussians. Newspaper reports stated, "this general, whose proverbial integrity is equal to his military worth, will be welcome because he brings us, in the folds of his flag, the signs of the supreme struggle and of liberation."[500] Assigned to command the Army of the North, contemporaries defended Faidherbe in the face of France's weak militaristic showing, shifting cause of defeat away from the General and onto the disorganized military corps that met him on the continent.[501]

It was in fact the blockhouses that Faidherbe erected along that river, maximizing French intervention in an otherwise impenetrable landscape, for which twentieth century historians would applaud him.[502] He had constructed defensive, militaristic architecture in Guinée, the fort of Dabou, near Grand Bassam as well as the Podor fort, which was built in 34 days.[503] The Tour was constructed in 1857, the same year that Faidherbe established the first corps of 500 Tirailleurs, a

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[499] *Exposition universelle de 1889: Colonies françaises et pays de protectorat : catalogue official* (1889), 27.

[500] …Ce général, don't l'honnêteté proverbiale égale le mérite militaire, sera le bienvenu, car il nous apporte dans les plis de son drapeau le signal de la lutte suprême et de la délivrance. » Léo de Bernard, « Faidherbe, » *Le Monde Illustré,* 21 janvier, 1871, n. 719, 38.

[501] See for example, Fr. Desplantes, *Faidherbe et L'Armée du Nord* (Rouen: Mégard et Cie, 1891). This source is especially interesting in its sympathy to Faidherbe because it was written by an officer of the Ministry of Public Instruction and published through a firm that described itself as the "Moral Library of the Youth."

[502] Pondopoulo, "La Construction," 424.

[503] Henrique, *Les Colonies françaises*, 30.

group of which wandered and patrolled the Esplanade des Invalides. This group was famous because they served in their homeland, they participated in France's 1880 Tonkin campaign, and fought in both World Wars.[504] The Tirailleurs were essential for expanding France's colonial territories deeper into the African continent. Before 1910, the Senegalese Tirailleurs served exclusively outside of France, and after this date, General Charles Mangin argued their physiognomic characteristics, namely their purportedly higher pain threshold and overall physical strength, would make them an asset during domestic conflicts. According to Mangin, they would similarly be an asset because the mere sight of the Senegalese would intimidate the enemy.[505] Indeed, while the French military needed Senegalese soldiers for their knowledge of the land and immunity to diseases, the French government could hide their cruelty behind the stereotypes of black aggression.[506]

The Exposition was one of the earliest, if not the first, official visits of the Senegalese Tirailleurs in France. Before 1910, non-French soldiers, whether they were West or North African. did not serve in France.[507] The display Tirailleurs was thus a rare opportunity for Parisians to glimpse France's one that would not have been possible outside of the context of the Exposition.[508] Guides to the Exposition directed viewers to appreciate the African soldiers, since their inclusion in the French military forces meant that fewer French soldiers would be sent overseas.[509] French

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[504] Aldrich, *Great France,* 223.

[505] Ruth Ginio, *The French Army and its African Soldiers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 3-5.

[506] Ruth Ginion, *the French Army and its African Soldiers,* xx.

[507] Ruth Ginio, *The French Army and its African Soldiers,* 5.

[508] It should be noted that the *originaires,* or African who were given French citizenship without having to renounce their religion or culture, served with the French army in the metropole. However, if the *originaires* did participate in the 1889 Exposition, they were not associated with the Senegalese Village in the same way as the Tirailleurs.

[509] *Colonies françaises et pays de protectorat à l'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: 1889), x.

administrators had to strike a delicate balance: assure the visitors that the black soldiers were there to unleash their purported savagery on French enemies, but not on them. By the first world war, the purported belligerent qualities of the black race had been carefully balanced by 'childlike qualities.'

The Tour de Saldé, both in situ and at the 1889 Exposition, functioned as an active monument to Faidherbe's presence in Senegal and his creation of its military corps. Yet, Faidherbe was also an amateur scientist, who conducted anthropological studies during his time in Sénégal. In his 1889 eulogy, the SAP lauded him for his commitment to France's civilizing efforts, both through his sword and his pen.[510] The author, Jean-Vincent Laborde, continually reiterated that Faidherbe was motivated by a profound scientific, humanitarian, and patriotic spirit to conduct his civilizing *oeuvre*. From the SAP's memorial to him, we see that Faidherbe's effectiveness as a colonial administrator was viewed as equally control militaristic and scientific, since he was a practitioner of racial science, a point which we will return to later on.[511]

Why did the French officials decide to reproduce a French blockhouse in Senegalese Village, when no similar structures appeared in the other four Villages? At a moment when France's racial status and imperial campaign seemed precarious, the blockhouse stood as a symbol of French control and military might. However, it was not simply French control in a general sense: instead, the Blockhouse stood for control over an overly sexual and potentially dangerous black male body, an anxiety that permeated and was unique to the Senegalese Village.

Contemporary onlookers viewed the Siege of Paris and the Commune as emblematic of French military weakness and lack of government control. But for French men, the unprecedented

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[510] J. V. Laborde and Georges Hervé, "Le Général Faidherbe: Discours prononcés à la séance du 3 octobre, 1889" *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris,* 1889, 452-460.
[511] Laborde and Hervé, "Le Général Faidherbe," 458.

social and political power that women held in 1871 was considered symptomatic of the turmoil of the Commune. As scholars have underlined, "[f]or its enemies, the Commune and its train of evils were epitomized by women; their sudden prominence – in the streets, political clubs, newspapers, and various institutions were proof of a world turned upside down."[512] Restoring order in the Third Republic went far beyond re-establishing government control. It extended to a re-invigorated policing of women and widespread concern about masculinity in a physical and symbolic sense.

French males felt compelled to re-claim control of Parisian space, both public and private, which relegated women to the roles of homemaker and, especially, mother. Anxieties about gender roles were deeply tied to France's declining birth rate, a connective thread in popular and scientific French thought throughout the nineteenth century. Even before the Franco-Prussian War, the Germans emerged as the model of national vigor and in them, French scientists observed the unfulfilled and, perhaps wasted potential of their own race. The cause of the decreasing population and the potentially degenerating French national body could be explained in one of two ways: first, as a failing of the sex of the male population and second, as the result of environment factors. In the first case, the problem is very physical: aged fathers and men who were 'not masculine enough' were the root of the problem. They simply passed on their emasculation to their children. Such emasculate 'ailments' were purportedly manifested through mannerisms, body, and genital size.[513]

It is thus important to note that when Adolphe Thiers became leader of the provisional government in 1871, he referred to the body of the French nation as male, rather than female. Allegories of France, such Delacroix's *Liberty* or the symbolic *Marianne,* had repeatedly depicted the France as a woman in popular and artistic culture for nearly a century. Yet, after the German

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[512] Alice Conklin et. al, *France and its Empire since 1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 27.
[513] Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 74-86.

defeat, Thiers stated, "when we have taken from the field this wounded hero we call France; when we have dressed *his* wounds, given *his* strength back to *him*, we will leave *him to himself*; and, recovering then, sane again, *he* will tell how *he* wishes to live."[514] While Thiers' metaphor talks of future healing, of 'regaining sanity,' others were not so optimistic about the national body's potential to heal. Famed race thinker Arthur de Gobineau stated, "[f]or a country to disintegrate like this, the disease must wreak its work from within; the wounds inflicted by the foreign assailant produce cuts, but never this purulent liquefication of the marrow and the blood."[515] This organic metaphor provides a stark contrast, one without optimism for renewal of regeneration. In, Gobineau's view, the Prussian attacks were simply the last straw in an already internally weak, if not dying, national body.

Gobineau's portrayal of a national body deteriorating from within exemplifies the second cause of degeneration, one that would have been imperceptible to the eye. Lamarckian evolution theory dictated that when organisms adapt to physical environments, there are biological changes and ultimately irreversible consequences.[516] In this latter case, the pace of change was so slow that once it manifested in the population, it was already deeply rooted in the biological make-up. After a century of revolutions, infrastructural overhaul, and destruction, the debris and destroyed buildings that remained in the built environment were a visual manifestation of the biological changes that had occurred inside the bodies of Parisians.

Concerns about the potential impotence of French was only strengthened after 1870-1871 and the setting for the Senegalese Village in particular was a charged space. The seventh

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[514] Emphasis my own. Quoted in Bertrand Taithe, *Defeated Flesh: Medicine, Welfare, and Warfare in the Making of Modern France* (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 190.

[515] Quoted in Taithe, *Defeated Flesh,* 14.

[516] Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor,* 74-86.

arrondissement, the location of the Esplanade des Invalides, was heavily damaged by the events of 1870-1871 and some of the destruction remained in situ during the 1889 Exposition. The Palais du Quai d'Orsay, the future location of Gare and Musée d'Orsay, was burned by the Commune and remained in a ruinous state until 1898 (Figure 17).[517] Behind the Colonial Villages stood the Rue de Constantine and the fashionable, aristocratic neighborhood of Faubourg Saint-Germain, through which the heavily damaged Boulevard Saint-Germain traversed (Figure 7). In lieu of apartment buildings, from the mid-eighteenth century, these families inhabited *Hôtels particuliers* or urban, winter-time dwellings that were walled off from the main road. While it is challenging to pinpoint the exact backdrop to the Senegalese Village, it is clear that the block of the Rue de Constantine with address numbers 3-11 was in flux in the late nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, the buildings behind the Senegalese Village been in flux. It had been the location of private stables, smaller *Hôtels particuliers.* Notably, the vicomte d'Harcourt asked the prefect of the Seine for permission to expand and construct on April 30, 1889, which meant that if viewers could see through the tree-lined screen behind the Senegalese Village, they would have seen either a vacant lot, surrounded by modern structures, or a construction site.[518] In the aftermath of the Siege and the Commune, it was unclear whose hand, whether domestic or foreign, had damaged the various parts of the city. Photographic albums of the destruction either do not assign blame, simply referring to the photographs neutrally as "city damage," or they lump all the destruction together as the product of the communards.[519] Indeed, the background of the

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[517] Baude et. al. *Vie et histoire du VIIe arrondissement* (Paris: Editions Hervas, 1986), 67.

[518] *Centre culturel canadien: 25 ans d'activité 1970-1995,* (Paris: 1997), 11-12.

[519] See for example Justin Lallier and P. Loubère, *Album photographique des ruines de Paris : Collection de tous les monuments et édifices incendiés et détruits par la Commune de Paris* (Paris: 1871).

Senegalese Village, whether work site or vacant lot, in addition to the Village's siting in the 7th

Arrondissement, would have been readily associated with the destruction of 1870-1871.

While the French male population had to contend with their potential collective impotence,

the 1889 Exposition put the hypersexual black male body on full display. Dating to as early as the

second century CE, the myth of the black race's voracious sexual appetite is one that has repeated

across time and space.[520] Not applicable solely to black men, British explorers in the eighteenth

century worried that they would be raped by groups of African women and such anxieties quickly

spread to Europe.[521] In nineteenth-century Britain, working class women were viewed as an

atavistic, intermediate race between white and black. Fears that they may be attracted to and

procreate with black men related directly to the racial purity of the nation as a whole.[522] The French

viewed women and men, femininity and masculinity as a spectrum; because French scientists did

not distinguish between the sex as 'organ' and sex as 'sexuality,' the reproductive drive for women

and men was supposedly visualized through their physical bodies.[523] In this vein, the hyper-

sexuality of the black race was manifested through exaggerated sexual organs and large bodily

size.[524] The European and American obsession with the sexual potential of black bodies was not

simply met with fear. Indeed, it was a kaleidoscope of desires, expectations, curiosity and anxieties

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[520] The 1906 Atlanta race riots started under the guise of white men protecting white women from black men. See David Fort Godshalk, *Veiled Visions: The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and The Reshaping of American Race Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) especially chapter 2.

[521] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 2013)*,* 22. See also Katrina Dyonne Thompson, "Distorted Images in Travel Literature: An Exploration of the Subjugation of Blackness in the Western World" in *America and the Black Body,* Carol E. Henderson, Ed. (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009): 55-74, especially 59-62.

[522] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather,* 42-61, also 112-120.

[523] Nye, Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor, 58-67, 117.

[524] There is no case more emblematic of this connection than the so-called 'Hottentot Venus.' See Z. S. Strother, "Display of the Body Hottentot" in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business,* Bernth Linfors, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 1-61.

through which whites attempted to control black bodies.[525] It was this same mix of emotion that made the black race so attractive as soldiers, their perceived *potential* for vigor.

It is striking, then, that Parisian men and women had varying levels of access and different types of interactions with the indigenous participants. Henrique's account of the Exposition states, "above all, women, with the mutable [ever-changing] and intense impressions that is characteristic to them, quickly became accustomed to treating the indigenous people with an entirely maternal kindness…[the women] treated them as *grand enfants.*"[526] Where the male *flâneur* adopted the purposefully distant role of observer, women's interactions with the indigenous participants was active, engaging directly with the displayed people. In the temporary space of the Exposition, the *flâneur,* and his free movement through the city was halted, a major shift in male privileged that echoed the disruption of social norms during the Commune.[527] Yet, sometimes, as Henrique recounts in a rather ambiguous and imprecise language, the French women's contact with the men elicited an 'exuberance of sympathy' of which the *Parisienne,* then referred to as 'the victim,' was forced to face the backlash. Because the paragraph that follows in Henrique's account describes the marriage of a female French worker and an 'Annamite,' the author implies that the these 'exuberances' were sexual in nature.[528]

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[525] George Yancy, "Afterward: The Black Body: Under the Weight of America's Microtomes" in *America and the Black Body,* Carol E. Henderson, Ed. (Madison: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009): 266-278, 274.

[526] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 141. "Les femmes surtout, avec la mobilité et la vivacité d'impressions qui leur est propre, s'étaient très vite habituées à traiter les indigènes avec une charité toute maternelle; … elles les considéraient comme de grands enfants."

[527] Greg Thomas, "Women in Public: The Display of Femininity in the Parks of Paris" in *The Invisible Flâneuse: Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris,* Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough, eds. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 32-48, 34.

[528] Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 142.

We return, then, to the photograph of the lone woman in a rickshaw. In nineteenth-century Paris, a lone woman doing even the most banal activities, from walking the streets to eating in a restaurant, attracted unwanted attention. Immediately, she would have been cast as a woman of ill repute and she would have had to field the gazes and catcalls of French men. Yet having a male chaperone in public was not always enough to protect her from indecency and some Frenchmen even believed that unplanned eye contact with a prostitute could tarnish a woman's character.[529] In this vein, the photograph of the lone woman riding is rickshaw captures more than just a passing moment: it emphasized the purportedly obedient, non-threatening qualities of the yellow race. Much like the anecdote of the French worker who married an "Annamite," the yellow race is not nearly as violent or sexually threatening as the black race. Such assumptions were also the foundation of Henrique's comparison of the two races; while the yellow race is studious, and physically unthreatening, the black race is excitable and savors spectacle.

Such intellectual aptitudes were certainly portrayed in the Tonkinese and Senegalese Villages. While the Tonkinese Village exhibited delicate lattice work and an entrance-bridge made of bamboo, but the Senegalese Village was composed largely of unadorned mudbrick. This stark contrast embodied stereotypes of the purported intellectual and physical capabilities that characterized two groups: one small, with a focus on intellectual endeavors, the other large, driven by bloodlust and instant gratification.

Although very little is known about the indigenous participants, their legacy as exemplars of "blackness" lived on in the French cultural imagination. In 1928, Louise Faure-Favier published her novel *Blanche et noir* [*Black and White*], which recounts the life of a fictional descendant born

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[529] Marni Kessler, "Dusting the Surface, or the Bourgeoisie, the Veil, and Haussmann's Paris," in *The Invisible Flâneuse,* 49-64.

of the coupling of Samba Loabé Thiam and a provincial French woman. While the Tirailleurs were intended to provoke anxiety in the face of European enemies, the French remained concerned about relationships between white women and black men. Although French males left mixed race children in all corners of the world, the fragile, national womb was at stake when French women birthed *métis* children. If it was not for the black man's unquenchable sexual appetite, rumors told of black men seducing white women as a means of revenge against the white race as a whole.[530] In the 1920s, after the influx of African soldiers to assists in WWI, French women were polled about whether or not they would marry a man of color. Both 'yes' and 'no' answers centered around the physical qualities of the black body. For those who answered 'no,' they explained that the black race was too savage, whereas 'yes' choices were based on the black race's natural athleticism and potential to produce strong, healthy children.[531]

4.5 Anthropology, Senegalese Racial Make-Up, and the Houses of the Village

Through its various buildings, the Senegalese Village translated the purported racial composition of the Senegalese race into architectural forms. Characterizing the various races that composed the Senegalese population proved to be a challenge for both anthropologists in the field and visitors to the 1889 Village. Although there had been only two Senegalese guards at the 1885 Antwerp Exposition, French guides to the colonial exhibit repeatedly mention the racial diversity

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[530] Roger Little, *Between Totem and Taboo: Black Man, White Women in Francophone Literature* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), 81-107.

[531] Owen White, "Miscegenation and the Popular Imagination," in *Promoting the Colonial Ideal: Propaganda and visions of Empire in France,* Tony Chafer and Amanda Sackur, eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 133-144, 138.

of the Senegalese population.[532] While the Tour de Saldé provided a moment for the French to visualize and assert its military control, the dwellings in the Village served as portraits of the Senegalese races. This meant that visualizing the French-controlled Senegal had certainly been a challenge for colonial administrators. At the 1889 Exposition, the black race had to appear wild, in need of French intervention, but also firmly under French command. To do so, the Village pictured two distinct types of dwellings: single-person circular huts that lined the Village's perimeter, and free-standing rectangular dwellings. By stripping both types Senegalese houses of logic, ornament, and structural complexity, the dwellings of the Village's architecture pictured the Senegalese as a people with varying levels of cultural and racial sophistication.

Understanding the purported racial make-up and traits of the Senegalese race was crucial for France's successful imperial conquest. If the French could understand and anticipate the behaviors of colonial subjects, then they could better prepare themselves to maintain control. Yet, the Senegalese were a particularly nuanced racial group and some ethnicities welcomed French intervention more than others. These general behaviors, whether a group was cooperative with the French or not, was then mapped onto the racial hierarchy of the Senegalese. Nineteenth-century writers generally describe Senegalese population as the co-mingling of three races: white, black, and mixed. Many theorists were particularly concerned with identifying the 'pure' Senegalese. The Village's dwellings became coded in racial language, with rectangular buildings indicating a (albeit limited) potential for assimilation, while the circular buildings concretized stereotypes of a belligerent, primitive black race that required French assistance. When the Senegalese inhabitants

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[532] *Notices coloniales publiée à l'occasion de l'Exposition universelle d'Anvers en 1885,* Tome deuxième (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885), 432.

spoke French and interacted with viewers, it was the dwellings that were tasked with visually distinguishing and embodying the various races in order to fulfill the Village's didactic function.

In a report on the planning of the Senegalese Village, the ten inhabitants are described by only three details: name, occupation, and race.[533] While this information was not available to fairgoers, it reveals how the races of the inhabitants were intimately connected to the Village's built forms. The Village primarily housed the Ouolofs and the Peuls, while the Moors, the ethnic group against which Faidherbe waged war in the 1860s, were barely represented at the Exposition. These two groups corresponded not only to the Village's two primary forms of dwelling but also to the purported duality of the black race's characteristics. Again, it was crucial that the colonial exhibits highlighted the utility of France's imperial endeavors. Displays of the black race had to show its potential for violence in the face of the Germans, but obedience to the French. While the Ouolofs were characterized as violent, but willing to yield to the French, the Peuls remained an unpredictable group that continued to challenge French colonial control. Each was then associated with a different form of Senegalese dwelling, one square and accessible to the viewing public, the other was small, round, and visually similar to European travelers' accounts of Senegalese architecture. The ambiguity of the black race thus corresponded to one form that was similar to French-constructed houses in the colony, while the other embodied centuries-old stereotypes of a 'primitive' Africans.

In Faidherbe's writings from the 1850s, he sought to trace the origins and migratory patterns of African groups, especially the Berbers and the Peuls, to 'discover' the Senegalese race. In his studies, Faidherbe applied many of the SAP's approaches to fieldwork and used his findings to compose his own racial schema. His evidence was often subjective, based on a combination of

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[533] Report from Noirot and Wallon, in Monod, *L'Exposition universelle,* 173.

observation and inference. For example, he assessed a group's beauty and mannerisms, then attempted to deduce its susceptibility to the French civilizing efforts.[534] In Faidherbe's race theory, the hierarchy of Senegalese races is closely linked to its military dominance or defeat. When the many mixed and intermediary racial groups posed challenges to creating his hierarchy, and when his method of judging beauty and customs failed him, Faidherbe adopted a philological method. His linguistic criteria included characteristics such as 'harmony.'[535] According to Faidherbe, the Peuls, purportedly one of the most violent groups, were permanently bellicose. By the time of the 1889 Exposition, Faidherbe's characterization of the Peuls as belligerent group had been included in guidebooks to the Exposition. It is unclear if Noirot consulted Faidherbe's work on Senegal while he was planning the Village. But the respect that Faidherbe's studies garnered from the SAP paired with Faidherbe's prominence in both final form of the 1889 Village and histories of French-Senegal imply that Noirot likely used them.

The notion that the Ouolofs were the 'pure Senegalese,' was repeated across case studies on west African colonies in the late nineteenth century. These "true blacks, the largest and most beautiful of west Africa," were equally known for their purported temperaments: sweet [*doux*], puerile, and brave. [536] Henrique described a nuanced racial Senegalese scheme that included a single white group, one mixed race, and six black races.[537] But, according to Henrique, the black Ouolofs population were the "true Senegalese." [538] The Ouolofs were characterized as hard

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[534] Pondopoulo, "L'Altérité ethnique," 427.
[535] Pondopoulo, "L'Altérité ethnique," 433.
[536] Recoing, *Géographie militaire,* 87.
[537]A very similar racial scheme, with minor changes to the names of the sub-categories, appears in Recoing, *Géographie militaire,* 85-88.
[538] Henrique, *Les Colonies francaises,* 79-82.

workers, both in the urban factories and as farmers in the fields.[539] It was, in fact, Ouolofs soldiers that composed the majority of Senegalese troops in the French army. Those who lived near the city, the richest Ouolofs, distinguished themselves through European furnishings and decorations. Unlike Noirot's portrayal of Senegalese architecture, Henrique highlighted that many dwellings offered a certain amount of comfort.[540] As defenders of the French realm, the specific mention of décor and its reproduction in the Exposition assured French viewers of their potential for civilization. However, the material, construction, and ornament of the exhibited dwellings irrevocably highlighted their racial difference.

European myth was translated into reality in the context of displays in the ways that Exposition visitors and commentators reprised the judgements of past European visitors to Africa. The sixteenth century Venetian merchant Ca' da Mosto wrote of Senegal as a country of poor people who "do not possess the craftsmanship of building in masonry, owing to the lack of lime and the knowledge of brick making."[541] Houses were described a century later as round, about ten feet in diameter, with domed roofs made of straw.[542] When considering that French policy required residence of the island of Gorée to build in brick from the 1760s, coupled with the fact that from this time, domestic slaves had begun to train in the arts of masonry and carpentry, makes the Senegalese Village particularly outdated.[543] In his reference text for the Exposition, Henrique describes the Ouolof villages in situ: asymmetrical, hive-like structures that are made of straw and grouped haphazardly.[544] While the 'hive-like' description applies to the thatched roofs of the

[539] *Colonies françaises et pays de protectorat à l'Exposition universelle de 1889 : guide publié par la Société des études coloniales et maritimes* (Paris : 1889), 156.
[540] Henrique, *Les Colonies francaises,* 82.
[541] Quoted in Cleo Cantone, *Making and Remaking Mosques in Senegal* (Boston: Brill, 2012)*,* 28.
[542] Cantone, *Making and Remaking Mosques,* 31.
[543] Cantone, *Making and Remaking,* 95-98. See also Hinchman, *Portrait of an Island,* 73.
[544] Henrique, *Les Colonies françaises,* 82.

dwellings, the note about their overall arrangement recalls the free-standing structures at the center of the Village. Henrique's attention to asymmetry, both with regard to the individual houses and their arrangement, echoes the writings of eighteenth-century Frenchmen who visited the Senegal.[545] Twentieth-century scholars have proposed a dichotomy between Senegalese rural and urban architecture, the former as circular huts and the latter as flat-roofed, rectangular and arranged in an internal courtyard. However, the Village's mixture of housing types and their haphazard organization clearly recalls the descriptions of past European explorers.[546]

From Exposition maps, we see that the circular dwellings lined the fences while the square and rectangular houses stood in the center. Despite the curiosity that the Ouolof dwelling that was decorated in a European style roused in written summaries of the exhibit, it was not depicted in any imagery related to the Village. Instead, illustrations always show the Senegalese demonstrations that occurred in front of a circular dwelling with the European viewers behind railings. Because the circular huts visualized the racial status of Peuls, the barrier between them and the French exaggerated their potential for violence. Where the Ouolofs Tirailleurs were able to mingle with European visitors, the Peuls were displayed in architectural settings that visualized travelers' accounts. Because the Senegalese inhabitants spoke fluent French and sometimes dressed in European clothes, the forms, arrangement, and levels of access for each of the houses enabled viewers to decipher the dual traits of the Senegalese population. The Ouolofs, who inhabited free-standing square houses furnished in a European style, were the *pure* Senegalese. Through dwellings, viewers understood their potential for 'civilization,' and as the majority of the population that composed the Tirailleurs, they were an essential asset for France's control in Africa

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[545] Hinchman, *Portrait of an Island,* 139.
[546] Cantone, *Making and Remaking Mosques,* 47.

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and beyond. While French viewers could be assured that the Tirailleurs would unleash their forces on France's foes, this was not assured with the Peuls. While the Ouolofs showed the fruits of France's *mission civilatrice* and how they could benefit the metropole, the Peuls showed that France's active presence was still necessary.

Despite the assimilation that many of the Senegalese had accomplished through language, conscription, and domestic self-fashioning, the huts in the Village displayed the Senegalese as decidedly less developed than the French. While the Peuls in the Exposition were sequestered from the French, a visual marker of potential danger, the Ouolof houses, despite their similarity to European houses, were the vehicle for communicating racial difference. The Frenchmen who had been defeated by the Germans could both bask in the knowledge that the French had enlisted the power of the Senegalese. Moreover, French viewers could be assured that the French race, despite its perceived precarity, remained superior to the Africans. Indeed, even the ruins of modern, Haussmannian buildings were a far cry from mud huts with thatched roofs.

When visiting the Senegalese Village, French males certainly felt a restored sense of order. While the Ouolofs and their rectangular houses showed the successes of the imperial project, the fenced-in Peuls symbolically and literally exhibited French control over black bodies. Where the *Parisiennes* could travel unaccompanied in the *pousse-pousse,* all renderings of the Senegalese Village clearly show French women chaperoned by European men. Although the supposed sexual prowess of the black body was the antithesis to the potentially impotent French male, the architecture of the Village allowed men to strip the black race of its cultural and intellectual sophistication and to display French control over the black body on an international stage. While the mere sight of the Senegalese could intimidate France's enemies, male visitors could bask in France's control and manipulation of the black body's power.

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4.6 Conclusion

The Senegalese Village was a portrait of the colony that catered to French expectations and the need to restore a certain notion of racial order. In the anxiety over France's racial status that followed the Franco-Prussian War and the general ambivalence with which the colonial project was met in 1889, the Colonial Villages were created to showcase the benefits of imperialism and the continued control that the French exercised abroad. Through architecture, the black Senegalese race was pictured as violent yet under control. As French men questioned their role in the possible degeneration of the nation, the strong and sexually potent black body stood as its opposite and it was crucial that this population undeniably less developed. The Tour de Saldé symbolized French control in the colony while implying the continued need to supervise the potentially belligerent black populations. To heighten the difference between French and Senegalese, especially at a moment when the indigenous inhabitants disavowed their displays, the houses of the Senegalese Village were stripped of ornamentation and reduced to unadorned, mud huts with thatched roofs. Moreover, to affirm French control, the dwellings in the Village emphasized the assimilation of the Senegalese soldiers, who would use violence against her enemies. The Ouolof inhabitants, who often served as the Tirailleurs and were described as willing participants in the colonial project, were provided with free-standing houses. The Peuls, who had not submitted to French control, were described as violent and assigned single-occupancy, circular huts, where they were sequestered off from the Exposition visitors. These houses strongly recalled the centuries-old stories from European travelers, showing them as frozen in time and unpredictably violent. Architecture in the Senegalese Village was thus the key tool that enabled Exposition planners to particular vision of the black race, one that would allow French men to appear in control and racially superior.

5.0 The Architecture of the French Race: Charles Garnier and Historic Aryan Houses

At the end of the nineteenth century, modern, ahistoric materials threatened to remove the racial character that was visible in architecture and had connected it to specific races, historic times, and places. While anxiety about racial degeneration haunted the scientific community and public alike, famed architect Charles Garnier theorized on the ways that France could be both technologically progressive and preserve its distinct architectural aesthetic. To address these concerns on the public stage of the Universal Exposition of 1889, Garnier created a linear sequence of 49 houses called *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* ("History of Human Habitations," HHH) (Figure 75-76). Global in its scope, he included houses from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Each house was intended to represent a specific moment and place in pre-historic, ancient, or historic time.

Garnier consistently defended the didactic value of the houses, yet the order of the sequence confounded any clear message. The houses were not arranged in chronological or geographic order, and they concluded temporally with the French Renaissance house at the near center. Observant visitors used the houses' meticulous decoration to pinpoint the place and time that they were created to represent; outside, foreign plants and historic script cued viewers in on the houses' geographic and temporal origin, while French actors, dressed in costume, interacted with viewers by performing tasks or selling goods. From Exposition planning documents as well as the 1892 commemorative text that Garnier released with historian Auguste Ammann, it is clear that Garnier used the theory of Aryanism as the selection criteria for the HHH display. This chapter argues that Aryanism allow Garnier to re-interpret the lineage of the French race and present it as distinct, separate from its German neighbors. In addition, the theory enabled him to incorporate modern

materials while preserving Paris's distinct *physiognomy*. At a time when France's racial status felt precarious, it was essential that French viewers understood the uniqueness of both their architecture and their racial status, while Aryanism allowed Garnier to visualize an undivided French race. By weaving two distinct discussions, that of modernity and race, it will become clear that for Garnier, these concepts were intimately linked.

To situate the HHH exhibit in Garnier's oeuvre, this chapter analyzes his scholarly activities and writings from 1870-1889, when he was heavily involved with the Third Republic's public education efforts and scientific *sociétés*. Immediately after the Franco-Prussian war, questions about the French race's origin, whether it was Gaulish, Frankish, or both, became an urgent matter for identifying French weakness. In published articles, Garnier shamed the Communards for what they had done to the city, yet the anthropological discourse and anxiety that was generated from the 'two race problem' is legible in his writings.

Of particular interest for this chapter is Garnier's extended relationship with the Tuileries Palace, which was heavily damaged by fire in May 1871 (Figures 77-81). Its ruins and the site's future were the subject of heated debate for over a decade. Garnier was intimately involved in the various forms of these discussions, first as an onlooker and writer, later as a committee member. Through his proposals for the re-building of the palace, he clearly articulated his anxieties about modernity, in conjunction with his changing attitudes towards the unity and identity of the French race after 1870. The Tuileries thus served as a literal and ideological battleground for French identity. A disjointed French race, first understood in the context of Communard destruction, preceded both Garnier's thinking at the 1889 Exposition universelle. This chapter demonstrates that the Aryan race theory became an effective tool for writing a unified history of France in HHH. Throughout this discussion, we see Garnier's emerging concerns about French disunity, his

doctrine of flexible history and preservation, as well as the symbolic importance of the architecture of the French Renaissance.

Several types of archival documents are essential to this chapter's analysis. To understand the purported dating of each house, this analysis relies on Garnier's preparatory watercolors, which label the precise historical moment that each pavilion was meant to represent. This chapter also examines different versions of the HHH display. As we will see, during the Exposition planning process, Garnier re-ordered the sequence so that the French Renaissance had a privileged position. Situated below the newly constructed Eiffel Tower, the Renaissance house represented a moment three hundred years in the past, which visually implied that French architectural history peaked during the sixteenth century. By zooming further out from the HHH display, the proximity of the Champs de Mars to the Haussmannian city is noteworthy. Visitors were just a short walking distance from the *Grands Boulevards* and Garnier's Opéra. The modern city, which had been created to prevent social upheaval and failed, provided a comparison for the Renaissance House. If modern materials were indeed evidence of modernization that robbed cultures of their distinctive qualities, then Garnier's HHH, with its rather monumental, stone houses, not only re-ordered world history but served to assert the distinctness of France's historical architecture. Despite its temporal distance from the contemporary moment, the Renaissance house could assure viewers of the fecundity and uniqueness of the French artistic past that should not be forgotten, despite the turmoil and monotony of the architectural present.

After a brief narrative of the 1889 HHH display, this chapter will focus on the period from 1870-1883 and the notion of "Frenchness" in both race and architecture. As early as the design for the Opéra nationale of 1861, it is clear that Garnier saw a link between material and identity. Yet his understanding of what it meant to be French shifted as he speculated for over fifteen years

regarding the rebuilding of the Tuileries. Next, this chapter will grapple with Garnier's role as a preservationist immediately preceding the Exposition. These activities have largely remained unacknowledged in the Garnier scholarship, but are crucial to the deciphering the link between modernity and race that is present in HHH. Finally, this chapter will unravel the 1889 HHH exhibit, especially with regards to how and why Garnier employed the Aryan migration theory to create his display, with special attention paid to the German, Gaulish, and Renaissance houses. Through these discussions, it becomes clear that Garnier's notions of architectural history combined progress with national and racial identity. Tracking Garnier's reflections on race and nationhood in architecture from a divided French race to an urgency to address the built environment and a unified, distinct French race, we understand the stakes behind Garnier's Aryan history in HHH.

5.1 Literature Review

Scholarship on Garnier has focused almost exclusively on the first half of his life, especially his time as a *pensionnaire* at the French Academy in Rome and his winning design for the Opéra nationale. Christopher Curtis Mead's masterfully researched *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera* details Garnier's time at the Villa Medici from 1849-1854 as well as the competition for and execution of the Opéra.[547] Discussion of his later works have focused on the major permanent monuments, such as the Observatoire de Nice and the Casino in Monte Carlo, with minimal acknowledgement of his involvement in *Sociétés* nor the complexity of his work and activities in the last decades of his life. Jean-Michel Leniaud's richly illustrated *Charles Garnier* organizes the

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[547] Christopher Curtis Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera* (MIT Press: Cambridge, MA, 1991).

architect's life thematically, yet its scope is too vast to adequately address the intricacies of his life, built works, and writings.[548] However, Leniaud introduces certain subjects, such as the Garnier's extensive relationship with Viollet-le-Duc, that are ripe for analysis.[549] The exhibition catalogue *Charles Garnier: Un architecte pour un empire* is irreplaceable for its rich, full-color reproductions of the architect's drawings, water colors, and *envois,* as well as letters and photograph.[550] While this catalogue includes several reproductions of Garnier's studies for *Habitation humaine,* their deeper meanings as signposts for human race theory are not unpacked.

In the same vein, the scope of the HHH display have made scholarly analyses difficult. Béatrice Bouvier's article "Charles Garnier architecte historien de *L'Habitation humaine*" introduces Garnier's categorization and how the thread of race theory wove through the exhibit, but she does not delve into the specifics of the relationship between Garnier, race theory, and architecture.[551] Other scholars have analyzed individual pavilions for inclusion in thematic studies without considering how each pavilion contributed to the overall trajectory of the display and its visual argument.[552] Modern scholarly attempts to reconstruct Garnier's 49-house display are a challenge, since guidebooks are inconsistent in their descriptions and the variety of housing types (stone structures, tents, grottos). This means that the already ephemeral footprint of the 1889 Exposition was all the more transient. The ample archival documentation on the Exposition

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[548] Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Charles Garnier* (Monum, Éditions du patrimoine: Paris, 2003).
[549] Although Viollet-le-Duc and Garnier crossed paths both physically and intellectually throughout their careers, a thorough analysis of their rapport has yet to be conducted. Garnier first encountered Viollet-le-Duc as student in his courses at the École royale gratuite de dessins et de mathématiques, after which he worked for the architect in his atelier from 1842 till his departure for the Villa Medici in 1848. See Maud Domange, "Charles Garnier et ses réseaux" in *Garnier: Un architecte pour un empire* (Beaux Arts de Paris les éditions: Paris, 2010), 74-89.
[550] *Charles Garnier: Un architecte pour un empire* (Beaux Arts de Paris les éditions: Paris, 2010).
[551] Béatrice Bouvier, "Charles Garnier architecte historien de *L'Habitation humaine*" in *Livraisons d'histoire de l'architecture et des arts qui s'y rattachent,* n. 9, 2009, 43-52.
[552] See for example, Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient.*

universelle at the Archives nationales de France includes meeting minutes, letters, and funding reports. These documents provide a glimpse into how Garnier conceived of and planned the display.[553]

In addition, Garnier and his collaborator Auguste Ammann wrote the 1892 companion text *L'Habitation humaine.* This heavily illustrated book not only made the ephemeral display permanent through images and descriptions but also buttressed the 1889 display with additional historical and scholarly background. However, because the focus of this chapter is the visitor's experience to the HHH display, I will only reference the 1892 text sparingly for several reasons. First, the chronologies, and thus the narrative arcs, vary drastically between the two iterations. In the 1889 display, the Renaissance house is chronologically the nearest to nineteenth-century Paris, yet it is sited in the middle of the linear sequence. The 1892 text, on the other hand, utilizes a traditional chronological approach, yet extends the scope of the analysis into the late nineteenth century. Second, the experience of the 1889 display was unique even in comparison to similar displays, especially with regard to the multi-media types of 'evidence' that Garnier employed. It would thus be impossible to provide the simultaneity of the display, as well as the aural and visual stimulation that visiting the exhibit entailed, in text form.[554] Third, visitors to the Exposition were undoubtedly affected by the displays' siting at the heart of the modern, Parisian built environment. Whether they were comparing the 'ancient' exhibits to their nineteenth-century or simply remembering the bareness of the Champs de Mars months earlier, the Exposition, no matter its claims to escapism, was clearly in Paris. The text holds on to this element throughout its discussion

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[553] These documents are located at the Pierrefitte-sur-Seine branch of the Archives nationles in Paris.
[554] For a similar analysis of the Colonial Displays across the fairground of the 1889 Exposition, see Annegret Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005).

of Europe; from the Middle Ages sections till the book's conclusion, there are references to Paris' development. Last, and perhaps most important, the 1892 text devotes the first chapter to explaining the racial categorization that the authors employed.[555] Visitors to the display had to grapple with the logic of the sequence and the race theory that was imbedded therein through visual cues such as the order, changes in scale, the houses' materiality and positioning, and comparison.

Analyzing Garnier's work from 1870-1892 provides a fuller picture of one France's most esteemed architects. It contributes to larger discussions on the role of architecture in forming national identity and racial theory, as well as the anxieties that permeated Paris in the last quarter of the century among architects and civilians alike.

5.2 A Walk through the *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* Display

Histoire de l'habitation humaine was a nearly linear sequence, positioned at the base of the Eiffel Tower and facing the Seine, stretching a third of a mile from the Rue de Magdebourg to the Rue Le Nôtre across the river. There were three entry points, facing the exhibit: one from the far left, at the "Open Air" dwelling, one along the road down the center, between the Gallo-Roman and Scandinavian houses; and one at the far right, at the Incan house. The left side portion follows a nearly chronological progression. It crosses the central road, and the houses continue to move chronologically through time until the Renaissance house, which is also the most contemporaneous dwelling within the group. After the Renaissance house, the display does not follow a clear

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[555] Charles Garnier and Auguste Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 1892, chapter 1.

geographic or temporal logic. It is an eclectic assortment of eastern European, African, Asian, and American dwellings.

For viewers who hoped to glean the historic message from HHH, there were other visual clues. Many of the houses were purposefully staggered to emphasize the architectural character of certain dwellings and to add variety. Some of the dwellings were accompanied by appropriate scripts, which described the exact historical moment that they represented. Garnier had also proposed including historical markers, yet from photographs and descriptions of the display it does not appear that these were ultimately included.[556]

By comparing Garnier's iterations of the HHH sequence with photographs and reproductions, we can conclude that there was a total of 49 distinct structures. To describe the display, this summary will begin at the far left (standing in between the Seine and the Eiffel Tower), as both the chronological starting point and the first portion in each of Garnier's iterations.[557]

The prehistoric section included eleven "structures" that represented the architectural transition from natural shelter, such as grottos and trees, to deliberate constructions (Figure 82). These included an "open air" dwelling, which may have simply been a designated empty space. Constructed rock dwellings, thatched huts, and circular *cabanes* were similarly part of the prehistoric section. A cluster of three "Lakeside dwellings," or *cités lacustres*, were nearly an exact reproduction of the heavily publicized archeological discoveries in Switzerland that had occurred in the mid-nineteenth century (Figure 83).

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[556] Paris, Archives nationales F^{12} 3775.
[557] Paris, Archives nationales F^{12} 3775.

Dwellings number 12-21 included dwellings from ancient Persians, Egyptian, Assyrian, Phoenician, Pelasgian, and Etruscan civilizations (Figure 84). Between them, Garnier included a 'Hebrew' and an 'Assyrian,' tent, which represented the migratory patterns of the Semitic races as they travelled west. In the 1892 text, the Aryans will encounter the mature, Semitic groups that had settled in the Near East, but this was not necessarily clear to Exposition viewers.[558]

The center-most portion included the houses closest in time to nineteenth-century France. These dwellings would likely have been the most familiar to Parisian viewers. Beginning with the cluster of German houses, visitors encountered the Gaulish, Greek, Roman, and Gallo-Roman dwellings. At this point, the sequence was bisected, meaning that viewers crossed the street to approach the Roman, Middle-Ages, and Renaissance houses (Figure 87). Because they were divided by the street, several of the exhibit's structures (the Hun caravan, Gallo-Roman house, and Scandinavian houses) turn 90 degrees to face each other (Figure 88). From panoramic views of HHH, we see that this shift in façade orientation separated these houses from the rest of the display and created continuity between the Italian-Roman and the Carolingian-Roman structures. The Renaissance house was the tallest structure on the exhibit's right side and was oriented to face the prehistoric dwellings. Contemporary critics remarked that this shift made the Renaissance house distinct (Figure 89).[559] Its plaza was enclosed by a short wall, which created both a barrier to the remainder of the sequence and a clear end point for the western European portion of the HHH.

When visitors exited the plaza of the Renaissance, they met a succession of houses that defied any clear logic. There were two geographic and cultural sub-sections of this second half of the display: the first was Eastern European and was visible from the Slavic house to the Arab

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[558] Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 252.
[559] *La Construction moderne*, 22 décembre 1888, 558.

house. Starting temporally with the Renaissance house, this section descended into historic time; the second was 'Other' houses, which spanned from the Japanese house to the Inca dwelling, the final house on the right side (Figure 90-91). Like the Renaissance house, the Japanese house was oriented away from the rest of sequence, which visually marked a shift in the historic progression. Where the Eastern European half of the right side followed a roughly chronological order, the final two sections retreat back in time, and ultimately conclude with a random assortment of locations and time periods (Figure 92-93). Although Garnier had selected specific dwellings from key historical moments for the first half of the sequence, many of the final houses (Chinese, '*Eskimaux*,' and African, to name a few) were undated.[560] While Europe was heavily represented in the center-most portion of the display, the Aztec house, in contrast, is specifically designed to evoke a time before European contact.[561]

5.3 "Frenchness" in Architecture and the National Body

The decade and a half following the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and the 1871 Paris Commune offer insight into Garnier's belief in the connectedness of architecture, race and national identity, especially in the context of the built environment. Within Garnier's oeuvre, the material and style of a building make a statement about the identity of the nation in which it is situated. From his first major public commission, the Opéra nationale, under the Second Empire, through his proposals and written works during the Third Republic, Garnier openly detailed his anxieties

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[560] Paris, Archives nationales F^{12} 4055/D.
[561] Paris, Archives nationales F^{12} 4055/D.

about the homogenizing effects of modernity on architecture and the built environment. While most of his building proposals during this latter period were theoretical, such as the rebuilding of the Tuileries and his critique of the proposed *Métropolitain*, the HHH exhibit allowed him to put his ideas into practice. It is therefore crucial to closely scrutinize his projects of the 1870s and 1880s to understand how Garnier conceived of the relationship between architectural materials, the built environment, race, and nationhood.

Garnier believed firmly in 'architectural timeliness,' meaning that buildings reflected the historic moment in which they were conceived. When he won the competition for the Opéra nationale in 1861, Garnier famously had a rather brisk exchange with Empress Eugénie on this subject. Eugénie asked if there was a stylistic precedent for his design, "[w]hat is that style? It is not Greek, nor Louis XV, nor Louis XVI." "No!' Garnier replied, 'Those styles had their time. It is the style of Napoleon III and [yet] you complain!"[562] As an academically trained architect, Garnier was unopposed to taking styles from previous epochs to create something new for the contemporary moment. However, he was he unopposed to stylistic 'progress.' Without overstating the importance of this anecdote, Garnier believed that the contemporary moment was imprinted on architecture.

But how was the Second Empire and reign of Napoléon III visible in the Opéra? The monument not only catapulted the architect to the highest echelons of architectural fame but it also set the tone for public architecture commissions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Whether he realized it or not, Garnier's Opéra stood as a testament to what it meant to be 'modern' in the Second Empire. Its structure incorporates an iron skeleton clad in heavily decorated stone.

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[562] "'Qu'est-ce que c'est que ce style-là? Ce n'est pas un style. Ce n'est pas du grec, ni du Louis XV, ni du Louis XVI. ' ' Non, répondait-il, avec quelque brusquerie, non ! ces styles-là ont fait leur temps. C'est du Napoléon III et vous vous plaignez !" Quoted in Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra,* 82.

Its eclectic façade features an unprecedented combination of historical styles. Although Garnier used the century's most modern materials for the structure's foundation, these progressive elements were hidden behind traditional building materials. Such is the ambivalence of Garnier's modernity that will re-appear throughout the next three decades. The Opéra is an architectural update, sure, but it is a rather timid one and it is deeply rooted in the historical past.

Leniaud characterizes Garnier's oeuvre as '*néo-baroque.*' While mid-century Romantics such as Labrouste and Viollet-le-Duc sought to flaunt their use of modern materials, Garnier and his peers were content to clad their iron in stone, and did not feel the need to 'prove their modernity.'[563] Garnier not only used a metal skeleton in his Opéra, but his combination of technology and history perhaps reached its peak with his 1885 *Observatoire de Nice.* In this structure, Eiffel's hemisphere sits atop a stone, neo-Egyptian base.[564] Leniaud acknowledges Garnier's fight against uniformity and the importance that he placed on identity and 'local color' (even citing HHH specifically), his analysis does not consider the stakes in late nineteenth-century France, nor how race factored into the 1889 exhibit.[565] For Garnier, it was important to use materials appropriately rather than gratuitously, in accordance with his own beliefs about monumental architecture; Garnier cared most about a building's plasticity, which could only come from stone cladding.[566]

Garnier viewed modernity and history as two separate but interconnected architectural qualities. Much like the acclimatization science discussed in chapter two, which analyzed the relationship between race and environment, architecture was the result of both a distinct race and

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[563] Jean-Michel Leniaud, "Charles Garnier, un opposant à la centralisation stylisque de la comande publique" in Charles Garnier: un architecte pour un empire, 28-38, 31.
[564] Leniaud, *Charles Garnier,* 37.
[565] Jean-Michel Leniaud, "Caractériser l'oeuvre," 51.
[566] Jean-Michel Leniaud, "Caractériser l'oeuvre," 45.

a historic moment. While race theorists argued that architecture was the product of a race's intellectual capabilities and the materials available in their environment, ahistoric modern materials had the potential to erase this specificity. The connection between race and environment had been visible throughout architectural history, yet ahistoric materials, heralded a new aesthetic, threatened to wipe away racial and historic traces.

5.4 The Palais des Tuileries after 1871

The events of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and the 1871 Commune deeply affected Garnier. He had remained in Paris during the Siege and served as a member of the National Guard, defending the city against the Prussians. Although he was too ill to fight, he contributed to the war effort by transforming his prize-winning Opéra into a kitchen and barracks for French soldiers. [567] In addition, fearing that the Prussians would cut the waterlines to the city, he drilled through the structure's foundations to access a natural water source below. [568] A drawing of Garnier in military dress by his friend Alexandre Bida is dated November 27, 1870. It shows the architect lounging on his elbow with legs tucked; his hat and rifle rest behind him (Figure 94). His posture is far from a disheveled, exhausted soldier; instead, he seems to be waiting for his coffee after a large meal, not prompt to spring to defense. Nevertheless, Garnier stayed in Paris at least until the Prussian bombardment that began in January 1871, then he and his wife Louise fled to Menton.[569]

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[567] Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair*: Art and Everyday Life under the Siege (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 60.
[568] Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair*, 60.
[569] *Revue de Géographie,* "Notice biographique sur Christian Garnier (1872-1898), 166.

Before analyzing Garnier's written responses to the Commune, it is important to tease out what it meant to be 'French' from a racial standpoint in this historic moment. The destruction of both the built environment and the French spirit gave rise to serious re-evaluations of French racial status. For the centuries leading to Garnier's exhibit, French scholars had debated the origins and lineage of the French people. The myth of the 'two races' addressed the relationship between the Gauls (a sub-group of the Celtic peoples) and the Franks (originally of German stock). Since the seventeenth century, historians believed that the Franks had descended into France and, due to their innate ability to lead and exploit, had easily conquered the Gauls.[570] This purported distinction between French peoples was easily manipulated to solidify the social strata of the *ancien régime*; the Gauls composed the Third Estate, the laborers and commoners, while the first and second estates, the nobility and clergy, were Frankish.[571] As the discipline of Archeology was in the process of forming, written sources confirmed that the Celtic people were the exclusive parentage of the non-noble French.[572]

After the French Revolution of 1789, a certain 'gaulomania' took hold in the French imagination. In 1805, Napoléon Bonaparte founded the *Académie Celtique* as a way both to resurrect 'forgotten history' and to reclaim the former boundaries of Celtic territory.[573] Although the Romans and Gauls had been rivals, Napoleon did not shy from appropriating the former's symbols of victory. Throughout the capital, he erected triumphal arches and, of course, the Vendôme Column.

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[570] Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth,* 22.
[571] Michael Dietler, "Our Ancestors the Gauls": Archaeology, Ethnic Nationalism, and the Manipulation of Celtic Identity in Modern Europe" *American Anthropologist* Vol. 96, no. 3 (September, 1994), 584-605, 587-588.
[572] Bonnie Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past,* 2012, 5.
[573] Dietler, "Our Ancestors the Gauls," 588.

During his reign, Napoleon III re-invigorated the study of French origins. He financed major excavations of famous Gaulish and Roman battle sites and even composed his *History of Julius Caeser*. In this text, he examined and explained the origins of modern France through the conflict between Gauls and Romans.[574] Although the 'native Frenchmen' or Gauls were defeated at these sites, Napoléon III argued that their loss allowed the French to blossom into a successful civilization by mixing with the Romans.[575] While this propaganda firmly linked France as the cultural successors to the splendors of ancient Rome, it also distinguished France from its other contemporary rivals, the English and the Prussians.

Historians such as François Guizot and Amédée Thierry forcefully advocated for a Celtic national past. Thierry, in particular, depicted the Franks as a belligerent, violent people that terrorized the Gauls. These descriptions seemed prophetic after the events of 1870.[576] Guizot and Thierry's efforts to publicize France's Celtic roots ultimately culminated in pro-Gaulish arguments during the Second Empire and Third Republic. The national concern about remaining at the forefront of scientific knowledge, especially in comparison to their northern neighbors, was perhaps best summarized in a quote from the Vicomte Ponton d'Amécourt. He said, "let no *German* ever penetrate the underbrush of history without finding the footprint of a Frenchman who passed before him."[577] As the century wore on, archeologists discovered Frankish artifacts at an increasingly fast pace, yet they remained reluctant to acknowledge their Frankish origins. Paul Broca went as far as to claim the Roman Gauls were a mixed-race population and that, over time, the racial traits of the Gauls had removed any trace of Germanic origin.[578]

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[574] Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past,* 80.
[575] Dietlier, "Our Ancestors the Gauls," 590.
[576] Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past,* 7-.8.
[577] Quoted in Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past,* 66, my emphasis.
[578] Effros, *Uncovering the Germanic Past,* 148-171.

While the Ancien régime had preserved the myth that the Frankish first estate was a separate race from the general Gaulish population, the races had mixed after 1789 and ushered in a period of major instability. The loss of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune represented the fourth major revolutionary event that had a occurred in less than a century. Parisians were left to contemplate if racial mixing had ultimately weakened their nation, and moreover, how they compared to the Germans at the end of the nineteenth century.

If we apply the same ancient régime's social hierarchy and racial division to 1870, then the Communards certainly belonged to the Gaulish race. They were bound together by their identity as Parisians, laypeople, and *républicains.* The nobility, Napoléon III specifically, may have been Frankish but they were easily bested by the Prussians. Garnier was the son of a goldsmith, meaning that he certainly would not have been a member of the Frankish nobility.[579] Yet Garnier, like many of his bourgeois countrymen, remained in an ambivalent in-between.[580] When Quatrefages wrote the division between the French and the Germans into anthropological discourse, in addition to Ernest Renan, who stated in September of 1870 that "the Germans are a superior race,"[581] Garnier was left to grapple with this distinction and the consequences for his own racial identity.[582]

When the fighting had concluded by mid-1871, Paris had been ravaged by the Prussians and the French alike. Garnier was prompt to publicly voice his disgust over the state of the city and the perpetrators of the destruction through newspaper articles. Unlike the anthropologists who publicly damned the Prussians, Garnier focused solely on the damage wrought by his fellow

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[579] Mead describes Garnier's birthplace in the Rue Moufftard as a 'slum' and says that his humble origins were mirrored by his tombstone: a simple stone slab that bore only names and dates, far from the ornament for which the architect was famous. Mead, *Garnier's Opéra,* 36-43.
[580] See Roger Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
[581] Quoted in Poliakov, Chapter 2, footnote 60.
[582] See dissertation introduction.

Frenchmen. Three sites of communard destruction were the focus of his attention: The Vendôme Column, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Tuileries Palace. Published serially in the September 1871 issues of *Le Temps,* "The Reconstruction of the Monuments of Paris" outlined the state of the ruins and the major debates over reconstruction or renovation.[583] Within these articles, we find Garnier's first documented ideas about the connection between race, place, and nation. [584]

The Tuileries Palace was the second article in Garnier's *Le Temps* series.[585] It was constructed by Catherine de Medici in the sixteenth century, but it had served as an urban palace for French kings. Heavily renovated by Empress Eugénie, Napoleon III had used it as his primary residence and as the venue for his elaborate Second Empire fêtes.[586] The Communards set fire to the palace on May 23, 1871, as one of the last desperate acts of the Commune. To the Communards, many of whom had been displaced from their inner-city homes, the ostentatious palace likely stood as a reminder and symbol of their powerlessness and exile to the *banlieue.* Its burned-out shell remained untouched, in the heart of Paris, until its demolition in 1883 (Figure 84).

As early as 10 days after the fire, debates about whether to demolish the ruins, repurpose the site, or rebuild the palace took place in the French senate, newspapers, and among architects. Images of the blaze were publicized in both domestic and foreign newspapers, an emblem of the terror brought on by nationality disunity. Monarchists argued that it should be re-built, since its

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[583] Leniaud devotes but four paragraphs to Garnier's discussion of the Tuileries and his rebuilding campaign. See Leniaud, *Charles Garnier,* 144-145.

[584] Christopher Mead's masterfully researched *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera* focuses on the years leading to the Opéra commission and does not discuss the role that this structure played during the Siege, nor Garnier's movements immediately following its completion. Jean-Michel Leniaud's monograph *Charles Garnier* includes only a cursory acknowledgement of Garnier's critique of Communard destruction.

[585] Charles Garnier, "La Reconstruction des monuments de Paris: Les Tuileries" *Le Temps,* 7 September 1871.

[586] Louis J Iandoli, "The Palace of the Tuileries and its Demolition: 1871-1883," *The French Review,* Vol. 79, No. 5 (2006): 986-1008.

destruction would symbolize the monarchy's weakening hold in the capital, yet this was the exact reason why Republicans urged that an entirely new monument should be erected. Some government officials, including Hector Lefuel, the chief architect of the Louvre and Tuileries palaces since 1855, argued that the ruins should remain in situ to serve an archeological and pedagogical function.[587] As it stood, the original structure would have needed significant repairs to provide sufficient infrastructure for a new building. This would have left only portions of the original building for renovations. By spring 1872, the Tuileries gardens had re-opened to the public, which facilitated pedestrian traffic, yet the ruins remained.[588]

Garnier was vocal about the Tuileries site, which is not surprising because it was there that he first met the Emperor and Empress to discuss his Opéra design. In his *Le Temps* article from September 9, 1871, Garnier explained the potential ways to address the remaining structure. First, he addresses the option to demolish the ruins and leave the space uninhabited. Yet he warns that empty spaces have a "disagreeable impression" and the largesse of this void, in particular, would dwarf the Louvre.[589] Garnier asserts that by leaving the space void, without a new building, the French would validate the actions of the Communards. According to the architect, the message would be, "after all, the crime committed by these *malheureux* was not all that bad, since what they burned is useless to resurrect today.[590]"

The second possibility was to build a public building, such as a museum, would be suitable for the site. But Garnier argues that the existing museums are sufficient. The third option was to rebuild a royal residence because France would always have some sort of head of state, whether

[587] Vincent Lemire and Yann Potin, "Reconstruire le Palais des Tuileries. Une émotion patrimoniale et politique "rémanente?", *Livraisons de l'histoire de l'architecture* 22 (2011) : 1-22, 7-8.
[588] Lemire and Potin, "Reconstruire le Palais des Tuileries," 11.
[589] Garnier, Le Temps, 9 September 1871.
[590] Garnier, Le Temps, 9 September 1871.

president, emperor, or king. It was for this future leader that Garnier advocated to rebuild a royal residence.[591] According to Garnier, Paris was the natural location for this future head of state's residence and there was no better place in the city for it. Garnier asks, "How could you hesitate to raise [*relever*] the ruins made by madness and blind vengeance?" As for the ruins of the original palace, Garnier advised that they were unusable in a new structure, despite the abundance of material.

While Garnier does not explicitly align his suggestions for the site with any clear political agenda, his reasons for re-construction coincide most closely with monarchist ideology. His characterization of the Communards and their behavior is hardly flattering either, equating the Communards with "madmen." His public critiques of the communards continued in the provincial newspaper *Le Courrier de Saint-Quentin.* Published on September 28, 1871, Garnier again urged the state to re-build the Tuileries and judged Parisians. He stated:

> We plant some trees; we plan railroads in Paris, yet we still leave in our walls these desolate ruins, this sad wreckage that reminds us at any moment of the *scenes of insanity* of the Commune. I know that money is scarce, that the costs are large and that the future is still uncertain; but when the state does not set an example of prosperity and confidence, everyone suffers from it.[592]

French identity and its manifestation in architecture and the built environment were clearly at the top of Garnier's mind. Indeed, to Garnier, re-building or re-purposing the site was urgent for demonstrating the success, despite the turmoil, of France as a nation. Although a portion of the

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[591] Garnier, Le Temps, 9 September 1871.

[592] My emphasis. "On encourage les particuliers à relever leurs maisons détruites, et ils le font avec entrain; le plus grand nombre sans savoir s'ils seront jamais indemnisés de leurs nouveaux frais. On plante quelques arbres ; on projette des chemins de fer dans paris, mais on laisse encore dans nos murs des ruines désolantes, ces tristes décombres qui nous rappellent à tout instant les scènes de folie de la Commune. Je sais bien que l'argent est rare, que les dépenses sont grandes et que l'avenir est encore incertain ; mais quand l'État ne donne pas l'exemple de la prospérité et de la confiance, tout le monde en doit souffrir," quoted in Leniaud, *Charles Garnier,* 145.

population had degenerated to madness, removing the traces of their acts could inspire regeneration.[593] Notably, all of Garnier's 1871 critiques were leveled at Frenchmen, rather than the Germans who shelled the city. While insulting and degrading his own countrymen was not the same as calling them a separate race, it does demonstrate the criticality and anxiety over identities that pervaded Paris during the last decades of the century. Moreover, it shows that these concerns about racial identity spread immediately after the fighting had concluded.

Garnier's preoccupation with the Tuileries site, which can described as equal parts fascination and disgust, was a constant thread in his career from 1871-1888. Garnier succeeded Lefuel as the principal investigator in the question of rebuilding the Tuileries in 1880. In the nine years since it burned, there had been many reconstruction projects for the Tuileries, proposed by academically trained architects and amateurs alike.[594] While the ruins remained in the heart of Paris, they served as a reminder of the precariousness of civil tranquility. Garnier was the obvious choice to succeed Lefuel; from 1877, he had served as the *Inspecteur des bâtiments civils* for the Third Republic.

5.5 National Unity Through Architecture: Rebuilding the Tuileries

By the time Garnier had secured a government audience, his opinions had changed and the site had become less divisive than it was immediately following the Commune. Where Garnier had separated Parisians into 'sane' and 'insane,' his efforts in the early 1880s focused on creating

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[593] For a connection between madness and racial degeneration, see Rae Beth Gordon, *Dances with Darwin, 1875-1910: Vernacular Modernity in France* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2009).
[594] For descriptions of these proposals, see Jean-Claude Daufresne, *Louvre & Tuileries: Architectures de Papier,* especially chapter 10.

a monument that could unify the French arts and nation. This new structure would be an update of Philibert Delorme's original Tuileries, with only selected portions preserved. It would be inscrutable and would bring Frenchmen from different politics together. According to Garnier, architecture was not only powerful for visualizing national unity, but it could also function as unifying agent.

On June 21, 1881, the French senate passed a law that would devote a budget of 200,000 Francs to clearing the debris of the Tuileries Palace and erecting a structure to house modern art between the *pavillons de Flore et de Marsan.* The law explicitly stated that this new structure should reproduce, as much as possible, Philibert Delorme's original building.[595] On 24 February 1881, Garnier was charged with studying the extant structure and assessing its utility for a new building.[596] Garnier was instructed to follow the work that had already been accomplished by the architects who preceded him including Lefuel, Viollet-le-Duc, and Reynaud. [597]

Before his death in 1879, Viollet-le-Duc outlined a new building that would incorporate viable portions of the original structure. This new museum would house the collections from the Palais de Luxembourg; sculptures would be displayed in the rez-de-chaussée and paintings on the second floor. Viollet-le-Duc suggested setting the building farther away from the rue des Tuileries, to coordinate with the thicknesses of the adjacent buildings. Last, Viollet-le-Duc stated that the final structure would need to engage with Lefuel's previous proposals, since he had long been the supervisor of the Louvre and Tuileries and presumably had extensive knowledge of the complex.

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[595] Emmanuel Jacquin's 1987 article discusses how Garnier's drawings for a reconstructed Tuileries had been mis-attributed to Charles Girault and placed in the former's dossier in the Archives nationales. See Emmanuel Jacquin, "Trois projets de Charles Garnier pour la reconstruction des Tuileries," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art francais,* 1987, 257-271, 258.
[596] Jacquin, "Trois projets," 260.
[597] Daufresne, *Louvre & Tuileries,* 298.

On May 30, 1881, Garnier submitted three projects for the Tuileries to Sadi Carnot, the Minister of Public Works. Garnier included a narrative report and six photographs to describe the state of the current ruins (Figures 95-96).[598] Following his instruction to incorporate Lefuel and Viollet-le-Duc's proposals, Garnier's report included an analysis of their drawings. Garnier cautions against Lefuel's plan simply due to space restrictions, stating that this structure would be less than half the size of the existing Luxembourg museum and have poor lighting conditions.[599]

Within Garnier's proposals, the question of French identity comes to the fore in terms of both the building's form and the museum's contents. In his first proposal, Garnier's intentions were not simply to erect a new art museum, but instead an "artistic pantheon," where art from all the nations of the world would be exhibited. His conviction that the bests artists from around the globe would send their artworks to Paris was no coincidence. Garnier does not explain *why* France is worthy of foreign artworks, but instead continues, "when a country does not believe itself to be superior to others, it is certainly close to being inferior." [600] Presumably, France's confidence in its own artistic achievements would attract and encourage foreign nations to participate. In the main rotunda, a colossal, allegorical statue of France, with arms outstretched, would 'protect the arts,' both foreign and domestic.[601]

While this museum would have symbolic importance, Garnier equally believed that it would be inscrutable. "Nobody could complain, no political party could have regrets and the popular revolution would no longer have any pretext to mutilate or return a monument such as this

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[598] Emmanuel Jacquin, "Trois projets de Charles Garnier pour la reconstruction des Tuileries," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art francais,* 1987, 257-271, 261.
[599] "Rapport de Charles Garnier sur la reconstruction des Tuileries," reprinted in Jacquin, "Trois projets," 265.
[600] "C'est peut-être une certaine prétention de dominer ainsi les arts étrangers; mais quand un pays ne se croit plus supérieur aux autres, il est bien près de leur être inférieur." Jacquin, "Trois projets," 266-267.
[601] Jacquin, "Trois projets," 266.

placed un the aegis of *France artistique!"*[602] By re-creating Delorme's structure, Garnier believed that he could create a structure that would unify Frenchmen, and be an untouchable, national treasure.

Yet if the power of his first proposal derived its impact both from the container and the art inside it, his second proposal resurrected Delorme's building to create, according to Garnier, the best possible structure. In Garnier's opinion, only certain portions of the Tuileries that were designed by Delorme were worthy of being saved. The other parts constructed by Bullant, Lemercier or d'Orbay were 'pretty mediocre' [*assez mediocre*]. Where Delorme's sections perpetually contained artistic value, these latter, remaining parts of the palace should not be reproduced simply because they are historic.[603] Highlighting Bullant's bulging capitals and their dreadful [*villain*] columns, Garnier asserts that the minister could not possibly be in favor of reviving such elements. He argues that this third project would be a more faithful representation of Delorme's original intentions, had the architect lived to see it through. Such a carefully crafted vision of a modified French past is reflective of the French history that he will create in 1889. It indicates that his notion of history was mutable, that only what he believed to be the best would be included. In his final section, Garnier outlines the state of the Tuileries palace as it stood in 1881. While it is possible that between one quarter and half of the materials could be re-used, Garnier reminds the minister that in the case of the Hôtel de Ville, where architects believed that could re-use a significant portion of the building, it had to be resurrected almost from scratch (Figure 15).[604]

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[602] "Personne n'avait à se plaindre, aucun parti politique ne pouvait avoir des regrets et les revolution populaires n'auraient plus eu aucun prétexte pour mutiler ou renvoyer un monument ainsi place sous l'égide de la France artistique!" quoted in Jacquin, "Trois projets," 267.
[603] Jacquin, "Trois projets," 268.
[604] Jacquin, "Trois projets," 269.

Although the remnants had inspired vigorous debates, the senate ultimately voted to demolish the ruins on June 28, 1882. Even after the structure's demolition, however, the Tuileries haunted the urban space through its massive void. As late as 1886, Garnier proposed renovations to the space, which would include transforming it into a manicured square. Enveloping the arc de triomphe du Carrousel, this hypothetical square was to be ornamented with statues that the state had recently acquired.[605] Garnier also served on a commission in 1886 that proposed using the site to build a commemorative monument on the centenary of the Revolution.[606] For reasons unknown, these projects never came to fruition, and a vast void remains in the space to this day.

5.6 The Consequences of Modernity: Architectural and Racial Homogeneity

Garnier's fixation on the Tuileries site prepared him for larger scale, city-wide questions of preservation and the role of the built environment in unifying a nation. Indeed, the goal was to maintain a distinct French aesthetic, one that was deeply rooted in the French historic past, even an aesthetic that had been modified. Analyzing Garnier's public outcry against modern buildings and infrastructure will reveal how underlying racial assumptions and architectural manifestations are pictured through HHH. For Garnier, the modern age's architectural homogeneity would diminish, if not erase, the racial footprint imbedded in architecture and the built environment. Races in this potential world would be indistinguishable from each other and presumably equal, a point that we will return to later on.

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[605] *La Chronique des arts et de la curioisté: supplement à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, July 3, 1886 (no. 25) [– no title to this section nor author. It's just a little snippet.]

[606] "Erection d'un monument commémoratif de la Revolution française" in *Encyclopédie d'architecture,* Vieme série, 1886-1887, 61-63.

In December 1879, Garnier published an article in *Le Bâtiment* titled *"Si j'étais préfet de la Seine"* ("If I were the Prefect of the Seine"), in which he critiques the uniformity of Parisian houses, both in regard to their height and their facades. [607] While the Parisian houses certainly have *égalité,* according to the author, they lack *liberté* by barring residents from constructing their homes as they wish. This article is very likely in response to his *Cercle de la librairie* at 117 boulevard Saint-Germain, designed for Georges Hachette of the Hachette publishing firm in 1879. Garnier had renovated the interior of the structure, yet he lamented that he could not modify the street facade.[608] The distinction between Parisians, especially those who were insane and those who were not, had plagued him earlier in the decade. Yet by the late 1870s, the inability to distinguish oneself through architecture frustrated Garnier. Indeed, the anxiety over how environments affect peoples had taken hold: in the same way that his Tuileries Art Museum could unite diverse visitors, he was concerned about the impacts both of the inhabitants and the passersby in a modern French capital. If some portion of the French race was, in fact, degenerating, then it is possible that, much like the Tuileries Art Museum, diversity in the built environment could impact and ameliorate the racial status of the capital as a whole. If the uniformity of modernity was part of the cause of degeneration, then preserving Paris' historic, distinct aesthetic could preserve and perpetuate its racial identity.

Locating the French race's art and architectural aesthetic preoccupied Garnier during his involvement with the *Société des amis des monuments parisiens* (SAMP) in the mid-1880s. Although the Tuileries had been destroyed, he continued to fixate on its original structure. Founded in 1884 by architect Charles Normand, the SAMP was presided over by the chronically ill Albert

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[607] Charles Garnier, "Si J'était préfet de la Seine," *Le Batiment,* 21 Décembre 1879.
[608] Leniaud, *Charles Garnier,* 111.

Lenoir until Garnier became president in 1886. The first bulletin was released in 1885 and included a summary of the meeting minutes from the inaugural discussions that occurred in 1884-1885, as well as membership lists. The stated goal of the society, as printed in their bulletin, was "to watch over [*veiller*] monuments and over the artistic physiognomy of Paris." In parentheses, this included the city's architecture, painting, sculpture curiosities and historic memories.[609] Normand detailed the objectives of the society in the first meeting on February 7, 1884.

> "We are interested… in questions not only of the past, but above all of *Paris moderne,* about the proper measures to develop a monumental and picturesque [*pittoresque*] physiognomy."[610]

While maintaining existing monuments and upholding Paris' aesthetic is already a lofty goal, Normand further elaborates on the stakes of their task: to protect France from herself. In order to illustrate this, Normand uses the example of the Tuileries,

> "what laughter would have met someone in 1870 who would have said that in the grand *place* of Modern Athens, the most frequented, the masterpiece of French glory, the architecture of Philibert Delorme, would become a place of sad, provisional shanties. Who would have that these admirable "*francoyses* [sic] column" would fall one by one under the hands of foreigner workers, destructors ordered in the *welche* language? Who could have believed that this palace would be transported in cases to foreign countries?... You are witness, by your association, that you are not here to watch France *destroy herself.*"[611]

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[609] Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 6.
[610] Italics in original. Reprinted in Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 10.
[611] Italics in original. "Quel rire n'eût pas accueilli en 1870 celui qui eût osé dire que sur la plus grande place de l'Athènes moderne, sur la plus fréquentée, le chef-d'œuvre d'un Français glorieux, de l'architecte Philibert Delorme, ferait place à de tristes masures *provisoires* ! Qui eût cru que ces admirables « colonnes francoyses » (ainsi baptisées par leur auteur) tomberaient une à une sous les mains des ces ouvrier étrangers, destructeurs commandés en langue welche ? Qui eût pu croire que ce palais serait transporté en caisses dans les pays étrangers ?.. Vous avez témoigné, par votre *ligue,* que vous n'êtes pas disposé à voir la France *se détruire elle-même. »* Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 12-13.

These opening remarks not only set the tone for the future projects of the SAMP, but they also indicate the depths to which the society feared the instability of the French people. Of special note in this quotation is the term "welche." Originally a Gallic tribe, "welche" was used by Voltaire to argue against France's Frankish or Germanic origins, but ultimately signals a divided French nation and race.[612] When preserving Paris, a key point was preserving selective French structures, ones that were, indeed, 'French enough.' In addition, this quote is notable for how it reflects lingering concerns over French nationhood and racial origins, the destruction of which would occur from the inside rather than due to foreign invaders.

While the SAMP was founded to protect the city from future damage, a more concrete goal was to preserve and track the whereabouts of the Tuileries fragments. Garnier took an active role in this society from mid-1884, and in the meeting on May 12, 1884, the society was concerned with locating any salvageable remnants of the Tuileries palace.[613] In the following meeting a month later, Garnier reports that it was "too late." Instead, he planned to write a catalogue detailing the contemporary locations of remnants of the palace, whether in museums or housed in other Parisian sites such as the Panthéon, which would be of use for the history of art.[614] Garnier headed this project and requested that the list of French institutions that had fragments of the Tuileries, such as the École des ponts et chaussées and the Musée du Louvre, be reproduced in the *Bulletin*.[615]

As a member of the SAMP, Garnier repeatedly praises the distinctly French character Delorme's building and uses it as a warning to save other Parisian monuments.[616] But it is worth reiterating that he only praised certain portions of the Tuileries and he was willing to preserve

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[612] Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth,* 25.
[613] Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 7.
[614] Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 15-16.
[615] Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 15-16.
[616] Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens, 1885, 23.

exclusively the aspects designed by Delorme. In this same meeting, Garnier brought attention to the disrepair that had befallen the Porte Saint-Denis. This led the society to form a sub-committee should be charged with obtaining the necessary credits for preservation. According to a summary of the 25 June 1884 meeting, Garnier had been trying in vain for four years to secure funding to preserve this "masterpiece of French art.[617]

The *Métroplitain* train line was perhaps the widest reaching subject that most concerned Garnier. The April 1886 *Bulletin* reprinted Garnier's letter to the Minister of Public Works in which the architect warns against the destruction that building the train would wreak on the built environment. Garnier argued that it would 'destroy the physiognomy of many monuments, would mutilate many of the most attractive perspectives of Paris.' Garnier requested that the minister create a committee that would address the architectural and archeological effects of the *Metropolitain*.[618] In this open letter, Garnier's ambivalence about modernity is clear: the rationale for such a commission was to unite individuals who want *progrès,* but who fear that ancient markers of art and history will be destroyed.[619] The Minister conceded and charged the Société with assembling the commission. The section of Paris in question was the area that stretched from the Gare Saint-Lazare to the Gare d'Orléans.[620]

In his extended report, Garnier describes that he met with the engineer M. Lax, the *directeur des chemins de fer,* who assured him that he would protect, as much as possible, the

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[617] *Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens*, 1885, 24-25.

[618] Charles Garnier, "Le métropolitain et l'aspect de Paris," *Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens* (1885): 47-48.

[619] Garnier, "Le métropolitain," 47-48.

[620] The committee divided this section into two parts, with the Hôtel des postes as the mid-point. Garnier's group addressed the path from Saint-Lazare to the Hôtel des Postes. See *Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens*, "Commission artistique et archéologique du Métropolitain" 60.

monuments of Paris.[621] Garnier was concerned that the Métro would disrupt Paris' carefully planned site lines, which were of course the product of Haussmann's planning.[622] Yet Garnier and the SAMP's concerns went beyond simply obstructing views: they wanted to maintain what they prescribed to be the Parisian aesthetic. For the new bridges that would be built for the train he stated, "[these should be constructed] not in iron, but certainly in stone, to give them an artistic character that corresponds with the monuments that they will accompany, if we do not hope to mask them."[623] Such is the ambivalence that characterizes Garnier's beliefs in modernity and architecture: he is not unopposed to 'progress' in a technological sense, as long as it is visually rooted a historic aesthetic. It was essential to preserve a historic Parisian *physiognomy,* even if the structure served a contemporary purpose.

As a member of the SAMP, Garnier had advocated for selective historic preservation. But by October 1877, his circle of influence had expanded considerably. At the annual public meeting of the five French academies, Garnier delivered a lecture entitled "Art and Progress" in which he correlated racial character with artistic output. Reprinted in the *La Construction moderne* two days later, this brief talk has largely escaped sustained scholarly attention, yet it is crucial for analyzing why Garnier used race theory in the 1889 HHH display.[624]

Opening with the rather sarcastic remark that refers to 'Progress' as 'the successive abandonment of past traditions,' Garnier envisions a time in the not-so-distant future when

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[621] Charles Garnier, "Rapport adressé à Monsieur le Minstre des travaux publics," *Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens* (1886): 60-78.

[622] Garnier, "Rapport adressé à Monsieur le ministre des travaux publics," 64.

[623] "…non pas en fer, mais bien en pierre, en leur donnant un caractère artistique se rapportant à ceux des monuments qu'ils devraient accompagner, si on n'ose dire masquer." Garnier, "Rapport adressé à Monsieur le ministre des travaux publics," 65.

[624] This article is discussed briefly in Leniaud, but the author does not consider Garnier's ideas within the broader context of his career or the historical moment. See Leniaud, *Charles Garnier,* 145-146. Charles Garnier, "Art et Progrès," *La Construction modern,* 29 October 1887, 25-27.

mathematics and formulas will take the place of art and emotions. These concerns about the thinning distinction between architecture and engineering certainly recall Daly's concerns from the late 1860s.[625] Yet the end of Art is not only a concern for Garnier and his peers: the homogeny of art will signify the homogeneity of the races of man. In the past, art and architecture provided evidence of the, "diversity of races, of environments [*milieu*x], and of resistances to foreign things." [626] According to the author, the races of man were distinct and each had a corresponding artistic character; racial characteristics, which were determined by the place in which the artist lived, were imbedded irrevocably in their artwork. In this future time without art, humans would become mixed together, resulting in homogenous, unidentifiable race.[627]

The imprint of race was legible in artistic output no matter where the artist lived, unchanged by a new environment. Of artists, Garnier states:

> …they remained themselves and always produced artwork according to the primordial sentiment that animated them. From this diversity of races, places, and resistance to foreign things, resulted varied and strong artistic manifestations, having its own special character and coming together like a host of stars, each of which had its own, distinct radiance.[628]

To emphasize the urgency of this racial intermixing, Garnier uses the example of dwellings to visualize the consequences of modernizations. As houses become more uniform and formulaic, the human inhabitants begin to mimic their surroundings, abandoning their picturesque outfits for indistinct fashions.[629] By 1887, Garnier clearly believed that racial character seeps into every

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[625] For more, see chapter 1 of this dissertation.
[626] Garnier, "Art et Progrès," 25.
[627] Garnier, "Art et Progrès," 26.
[628] Garnier, "Art et Progrès," 25.
[629] Garnier, "Arts et progrès," 26.

aspect of a race's culture. Not only do we see the emerging relationship between race and architecture but the role that locations, homes and cities specifically, play in shaping race also comes to the fore. For Garnier, it was equally important that Paris uphold the distinctness of its architecture and built environment and that other nations are similarly visually recognizable. Modernity would potentially erase the cultural footprint that made racial difference tangible.

The "Art and Progress" lecture was delivered at a crucial moment in the planning process for the 1889 Exposition. Garnier's distrust and dislike of modern, ahistorical architecture is unsurprising, considering that he was one of the most outspoken opponents to Eiffel's *Tour de 300 mètres.*[630] In his 1887, "*La Tour Eiffel: complainte,*" Garnier sarcastically proposes that if a suitable place cannot be found for the Eiffel Tower within the Exposition, that the Exposition should be stacked within the Tower. This column concludes with a humorous poem about the Tower's potential future, which includes including razing Paris so that it may have a large enough footprint to reach the sky.

The polemic over the Eiffel Tower provides a glimpse into the dynamics of the personalities who planned the 1889 Exposition and is exemplified by a series of three letters reprinted in the *Encyclopédie d'architecture.*[631] The infamous letter opposing the construction of the Eiffel Tower, signed by some of the most famous writers and artists of the late nineteenth century including Garnier, opens the series. It is followed by a response from Édouard Lockroy, the minister of Commerce, to Alphand, the Exposition's *directeur general des travaux* (and the Exposition official to whom Garnier would later pitch his ideas for HHH). Lockroy mentions that he had appointed Garnier, the same architect loudly opposing the one of the Exposition's central

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[630] Charles Garnier, "Complainte a Lockroy" *La Construction moderne*, 1er janvier (1887) : 134-135.
[631] Encyclopédie d'architecture, troisième série, Ve. volume, 1886-1887.

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buildings, to the position of architecte-conseil de l'Exposition just three weeks earlier. Garnier's

response to Lockroy follows and is the final letter in the series. Garnier states that he had offered

to step down from his position as architect-conseil, but that Lockroy had insisted he stay for the

overall benefit of the Exposition. By the time of this exchange, the foundations for the Eiffel Tower

had already been established, meaning that the artists' complaints would not halt construction of

the Tower.

This chain of letters shows that while Garnier was publicly railing against modern

materials, he was meanwhile already involved in planning the 1889 Exposition. However, he had

not yet been assigned his own exhibit. From 1886, Garnier is listed as a member of the planning

committee for the *Exposition retrospective du travail et des sciences anthropologiques*

(*Retrospective*). Held in the Palais des Arts libéraux, the *Retrospective* was planned by

archeologists and scientists, most of whom were funded to complete a *Mission scientifique.* It was

created to represent different moments in the history of work, from prehistoric times to historic

cultures such as Persia, Greece, Egypt and Rome and to celebrate the achievements of French

anthropology. To illustrate specific time periods and various locations around the world, French

scientists created full-size dioramas with wax figures executing a certain type of work (Figures 97-

98).[632] Mirroring the breadth of human history encompassed in HHH*,* the wax figures and

dioramas were a natural accompaniment to Garnier's full-size houses with live actors. Such a

coupling was not lost on the Exposition planners, who had intended to create an exhibition of

decoration to serve as a bridge between the two displays.[633] Garnier remains assigned to the

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[632] This exhibit was originally displayed at the 1867 Exposition universelle. It was replaced by the "[ancient history exhibit]" in the Trocadéro.
[633] Dated to March 7, 1888. Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3768.

Restrospective exhibit through June 1887 and his departure from the committee is unexplained in the archival record.[634]

In comparison to other Exposition displays, the planning for the HHH began rather late. Garnier submitted his project to the council of the Direction Générale des travaux in January of 1888.[635] In the six months that followed, Garnier was allotted 560,000 francs from the Exposition's budget.[636] He submitted a first round of drawings to the Dirécteur Générale in February,[637] while the finalized, typed reports that detailed each of the houses were printed in June 1888.[638] This is to say that for the 49-structures that Garnier had to design, he had a very efficient turnaround time. While Garnier was named *architecte-conseil* of the Exposition in January 1887, the swiftness with which the exhibit was planned and constructed indicates both the agency that Garnier had and the trust that Exposition planners placed in him. Considering how keen Lockroy had been on keeping Garnier involved in the project, this is unsurprising.

Garnier described that his goal was, above all, to show the *first* types of houses of the diverse nations to the Exposition visitors.[639] From January to February, Garnier reported that with available funding, he would have only been able to execute 17 of his originally proposed houses, so he continued to modify the exhibit. Between his preliminary proposal in February and the final version in June, Garnier made three major changes that affect the display's overall sequence and narrative. First, Garnier's final order is planned explicitly around the Aryan race theory and the race's geographic movements dictate the sections of the display. Second, the Renaissance house

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[634] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3786.
[635] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3958.
[636] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3786.
[637] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3958.
[638] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3825 for Lot 1 and Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3775 for Lot 2.
[639] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3833.

was the most contemporary to the 1889 Exposition in both iterations. However, while the February version was chronological and concluded with the Renaissance, in June this pavilion was re-located to the middle of the sequence. Third, beyond the division of Aryan and non-Aryan in the final order, Garnier designates each house as either 'picturesque' [*pittoresque*] or 'architectural ['*architecturaux*'], which I will return to when analyzing the final constructed display.

In an undated report to the *Directeur Générale des Travaux* of the Exposition, Garnier vaguely describes why he made these changes to the final exhibit, stating that his work was supported by numerous collaborators such as "historians, explorers, archeologists, writers – each brought their stone to the monument."[640] Auguste Ammann,[641] his future collaborator on the 1892 book, is the only scholar that Garnier references in this report and this is the only time that he is mentioned in the archival documents for the Exposition.[642] However, throughout the archival documents from the Exposition, Garnier is transparent about how his exhibit would weave race theory and architecture. In the climate of racial anxieties during the last three decades of the century, Garnier's display begs the question: why Aryanism? And how does the history of France, especially concerns over France's racial status and identity, factor into the display?

In the late eighteenth century, English, Germans, and French philologists began attempting to uncover the origins of human civilizations and through these studies the myth of the Aryan race emerged. By studying ancient and contemporary languages, scholars such as William Jones argued

[640] "…historiens, voyageurs, archéologues, écrivains – chacun a fourni sa pierre au monument," See Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3775.
[641] Auguste Ammann was Christian Garnier's professeur at Louis-le-Frad, where he began taking courses in 1883. As the relationship between student and instructor progressed, Ammann travelled with the Garnier family to Vittel, where Garnier erected a thermal spa in 1887 and Plombières, even travelling to their winter home in Bordighera. *Revue de Géographie,* "Notice biographique sur Christian Garnier (1872-1898)," Tome XLIV, janvier-juin, 1899, 166.
[642] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3775.

that Sanskrit was the root of Indo-European languages. Jones forwarded that Sanskrit had strong similarities to Latin and Greek, linking it to modern European languages.[643] This idea that white civilization had been born in India, and traveled west, was 'proven' by the multitude of Indo-European languages.[644] Scholars quickly melded this re-interpretation of man's roots into their respective disciplines. By 1816 the first university chair of Sanskrit was inaugurated in Paris[645] and when famed French historian Jules Michelet wrote his book *The History of the Roman Republic* in 1833, he stated, "follow the migrations of mankind from East to West… observe its long voyage from Asia to Europe, from India to France… at its starting point, in India, the birthplace of races and religions, the womb of the world."[646]

When considering both Garnier's 1889 HHH display and 1892 text, it is nearly impossible to pinpoint a single scholar's race theory around which the display was planned. If there is one theorist who warrants special consideration, it is Comte Arthur de Gobineau, whose 1852 *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* is credited with conflating white superiority with the terms Indo-European and Aryan for the first time.[647] Gobineau not only created a hierarchy of white, yellow, and black races but also assigned each group specific intellectual capabilities and potentials.[648] According to Gobineau, what leads to a nation's downfall is degeneration [*dégéneration*], when a people or race no longer has the intrinsic value that it once possessed

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[643] Maurice Olender, *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 6.

[644] Olender, *Languages of Paradise,* 11.

[645] Léon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), 202.

[646] Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth,* 199.

[647] Comte Arthur de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères: Paris, 1853).

[648] Gobineau, *Essai,* 139-40, and 305.

because of too much racial mixing.[649] In this case, the race no longer possesses the distinct characteristics of its founders. Such concerns about degeneration on a global scale are certainly echoed in Garnier's anxiety about the uniformization of architecture.

As discussed in chapter 1, Gobineau is distinct for another reason: his relationship with Viollet-le-Duc, whose 1875 *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine: depuis les temps préhistoriques jusqu'à nos jours* is the sole precursor to Garnier's HHH. Viollet-le-Duc's version is an easy-to-read illustrated book full of diagrams, ethnographic portraits, and recreations of historic dwellings. The text follows two interlocutors, Epergos and Doxi, who travel throughout space and time to observe and expedite the development of domestic architecture. Viollet-le-Duc was in contact with Gobineau and applied a similar tri-partite racial taxonomy to the history of architecture.[650]

The extent to which Viollet-le-Duc's text influenced Garnier's conception of the history of housing is challenging to gage – if it had any influence at all. Garnier never mentions Viollet-le-Duc in the planning documents for the Exposition. In the 1892 text, Garnier and Ammann reference him three times, but never for his 1875 book.[651] It should be highlighted, moreover, that Viollet-le-Duc and Garnier were far from friendly collaborators; Garnier had won the Opéra competition, for which Viollet-le-Duc was also a finalist. While both narratives focus heavily on the Aryan's movements, the striking similarity between Garnier and Viollet-le-Duc's printed 'Original Aryan Dwelling' certainly highlights their potential ideological lineage (Figure 99).

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[649] Gobineau, *Essai,* 39.
[650] Martin Bressani, *Architecture and the Historical Imagination: Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, 1814-1879* (Ashgate Publishing Company: Burlington, VT, 2014) 345-360.
[651] Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 625, 631, and 657.

5.7 The History of Aryan Habitations at the 1889 Exposition

On the centenary of the French Revolution, the Third Republic planned the Exposition showcase its continued cultural prosperity and its boundary-pushing in the realms of science and industry.[652] With a projected opening day of May 1889, construction of HHH was well underway by November 1888; as the Eiffel Tower rose above them, Garnier's houses were nearly complete.[653] The concept of an Aryan race allowed Garnier to weave the history of France into into world history, without acknowledging any potential fissures in the French race. By viewing the cultural outputs of certain races and cultures in HHH, French viewers could reflect on their own distinctness in the face of increased architectural homogenization on a global scale. However, by concluding his sequence with the French Renaissance house, representative of a time almost three hundred years before the time of the Exposition, Garnier seems to suggest his ambivalence about the future of the French race.

To reiterate, the final HHH display included houses from pre-historic times to the Renaissance. Arranged in a linear sequence facing the Seine and the Trocadéro, the exhibit was interrupted only by a road, between the Scandinavian and Middle Ages houses, that led underneath the Eiffel tower and across the river. When viewing the trajectory from a bird's eye view with the Eiffel Tower in the center, the sequence is neither chronological nor geographically specific; the

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[652] The sheer magnitude and scale of the Expositions universelle, not to mention their millions of attendees, make analyses of entire Expositions challenging. For a contemporary account of the 1889 Exposition, see Émile Monod, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889: Grand ouvrage illustré, historique, encyclopédique, descriptive* (E. Dentu: Paris, 1890). For more on World's Fairs generally, see Paul Greenhalgh, *Fair World: A History of World's Fairs and Expositions* (Papadakis: 2011). For analyses of the 1889 Exposition specifically, see Debra Silverman, "The 1889 Exhibition: The Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism" in *Oppositions,* 8, 1977, 71-90.
[653] Paris, Archives nationales, F[12] 3958.

pre-historic dwellings stand at the far left and they are mirrored visually on the right by the African and Native American houses (apart from the Inca and Aztec houses that conclude this side). Although a visual analysis of the exhibit as a whole does not necessarily evoke how the French viewer would have experienced it, this layout mirrors the list form that Garnier used when presenting the exhibit in writing and is thus valuable for our analysis of its chronology.

It is important to emphasize that HHH's placement below the Eiffel Tower was for lack of Exposition space, not because the tower served as a symbolic 'house' in the sequence. HHH had originally been slated for the Esplanade des Invalides, across the fairgrounds, but, as we saw in chapter 3, that space was ultimately designated for the Colonial Exposition.[654] Instead, it seems that, due to the late moment in the Exposition planning process in which Garnier proposed his display, that the space below the Eiffel Tower was the only site that could accommodate his vast sequence.

Discussing each house in detail is not only too vast a project to be undertaken here, it would also be tedious and would reduce the impact of certain houses. In particular, this analysis will focus on the section from the Hindou house to the Sudanese house, with special attention paid to the German, Gaulish, Gallo-Roman, Roman, Middle Ages, and Renaissance houses. This portion of the exhibit was executed solely with Garnier's input, unlike several of the 'ancient' houses.[655] These dwellings not only engages with French history most directly, and therefore elucidates Garnier's beliefs about the French race, but its historical order has been heavily edited to neatly show the transformation from Gaulish hut to Renaissance house (Table 1). While Garnier

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[654] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3833.
[655] In the Fonds Garnier at the Opéra site of the BNF, there are letters that offer assistance for decorating the interior of the Persian house (Fonds Garnier 187-2), as well as planning the Etruscan and Pelasgian houses (Fonds Garnier 187-18).

purported to visualize the entirety of human history, the absences or lapses in his display are equally important. For example, missing is a 'Gothic house,' the place of which is occupied by a 'Middle Ages' house. Although this is a semantic detail, it perhaps signals Garnier's effort to avoid a misunderstanding, as debates about whether the French or the Germans could claim authorship of Gothic innovations had raged earlier in the century.

When reconstructing the exhibit, the text version of HHH elucidates the belief system and racial framework upon which Garnier based his designs. Garnier used the text as the venue to clearly spell out his ideas about the Aryan migration theory and he cites his 1889 exhibit as illustrating the myth. The impact of the Aryan myth on the order of the houses would not necessarily have been clear to fairgoers, as guidebooks were more concerned with describing as many of the houses as possible, rather than analyzing them.[656] In this vein, it is especially important to focus on the houses that have a connection to French history, since those would likely have been the most recognizable to Parisian fairgoers. In the 1889 Exposition, Garnier did not include a generic "Aryan house," as he does in the 1892 text. Instead, all the houses are linked to a specific culture, place, and time. Because Garnier was limited by space and funding, he uses the text as a way to further broaden his sequence in the hopes that it could inspire a future permanent display.[657]

Garnier's 1892 text describes and illustrates specific 'Aryan' houses, a fully developed illustration of the connection between race and history that he explained in his 1887 "Art et

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[656] If viewers had access to Frantz Jourdain's book, which was published at the time of the exhibit, they would have been familiar with the Aryanism of the exhibit. Jourdain explicitly discusses the exhibit with regard to the purported Aryan migration from Asia to Europe. See Frantz Jourdain, *Exposition universelle de 1889: constructions élevées au Champ de Mars par M. Charles Garnier. Pour servir à l'Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Paris, 1889), 5-18.

[657] "Impossible de rencontrer des documents historiques aussi instructifs, aussi intéressants, aussi véridiques ; les idées, les goûts, les tendances d'une nation se traduisent par la forme de ses maisons, par leur disposition intérieure, par leur ornementation même ; ils s'y reflètent comme dans le miroir le plus fidèle…" Garnier, *L'Habitation humaine,* 3.

progrès." In the first section of *L'Habitation humaine,* Garnier posits that housing is the "truest mirror" of a civilization because it is an indicator of a nation's "ideas, tastes, tendencies… translated by the form of its houses by their interior arrangement, even by their ornament."[658] According to Garnier, the form of dwellings were dictated by the same influences that shaped race, " a response to general needs, it was determined even less by the will of men but by necessities of climate, by geological resources, by the social and domestic customs, in a word, by the more or less advanced state of the civilization."[659] Garnier's description seems, at first, not to be based in race theory; 'the will of men,' did not dictate the form of houses, but instead the limits of 'civilization,' linked to where it was located and the cultural norms of that place. To Garnier, human 'will' was very much dependent the environment in which a group was born. Yet, Garnier asserts that through housing one can observe the successive evolutions [*évolutions*] of humanity; different civilizations, as a product of "climate, race, particular aptitudes" have left varying impressions on the history of housing.[660] According to Garnier, housing would not only allow Frenchmen to study historic and contemporary ethnic groups but would also provide them a glimpse of their own historical development.[661]

Throughout the lifespan of *Histoire de l'habitation humaine,* from its conception as a proposal for the Exposition to its final form as the 1892 text, Garnier was adamant about its didactic and scientific value. When Garnier addressed the Contrôle de finances on June 22, 1888, he stressed his prolonged preparatory research and said that, except for two or three houses, the

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[658] Garnier, *L'Habitation humaine*, 3.
[659] "C'est que ce type n'était pas l'expression du caprice ou de la mode ; bien au contraire, il répondait à des besoins généraux ; il était déterminé moins encore par la volonté des hommes que par les nécessités du climat, par les ressources géologiques du terrain, par les mœurs sociales et domestiques, en un mot par l'état plus ou moins avancé de la civilisation." Garnier, *L'Habitation humaine*, 4.
[660] Garnier, L'Habitation humaine, 5.
[661] Garnier, L'Habitation humaine, 5.

authenticity of his designs could not be critiqued from an archeological standpoint.[662] Perhaps as a holdover from his interactions with the scientists and archaeologists on the *Réstrospective* committee, Garnier used the 1892 text to assert the accuracy of his reproductions.[663] The connection both to French science and the *Rétrospective* exhibit is made explicit in the opening pages of the text, in which Garnier thanks French scholars specifically, such as Ernest Renan, Gaston Maspéro, and Alexandre Bertrand.[664]

Yet, as mentioned earlier, Garnier presented the sequence according to his own categorization of "architectural" and "picturesque" constructions (Table 2).[665] Finalized in printed booklets that he presented to the *Directeur general des travaux,* Alphand and the *Commissaire general,* Pierre Legrand, this is where Garnier first integrates the concept of an Aryan race into his display. Where Garnier's initial proposal did not categorize history within this racial framework, the final project fully incorporates race theory through the disparities between *'picturesque'* and *'architectural'* and their differing materiality. The *'picturesque constructions'* are the most rudimentary houses, including those of the presumably Aryan man's origins and their nearly identical 'African Dwelling' counterparts. The four transitory Assyrian, Hebrew, Hun, and Slavic tent-dwellings were categorized as 'picturesque.' The only 'picturesque constructions' that appear in the middle of the sequence are the German, Gaulish, and Slavic houses. The 'architectural constructions' are both the most permanent structures from a material standpoint because they are

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[662] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3833.

[663] Public reactions to Garnier's display were mixed.

[664] Garnier, *L'Habitation humaine*, vi. For a list of the committee members of the *Rétrospective* exhibit, see Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 7368.

[665] For the *Constructions pittoresques* see Arch. Nat., F^{12} 8325 and for *Constructions architecturales* see Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3775.

constructed of stone. In addition, the 'architectural construction' fall almost exclusively into two categories: Aryan architecture that which preceded the Aryan invasion.

In the section from the Hindou house to the Sudanese house, we find the history of France; this portion appears vaguely chronological, yet Garnier arranges it to form a climax with the Renaissance house, meaning that this house is both the near middle of the exhibit and the closest temporally to nineteenth-century France. Garnier was precise about dating the houses: in his preparatory watercolors for each, Garnier depicts the stand-alone house, surrounded by appropriate foliage and fully colored, with a description of the exact time period that it is meant to represent. For example, the Gaulish house is specifically from "the first century before Christ" (Figure 100).[666] Despite the precision with which he created the display, he negates chronology in the final format of the display and re-organizes the houses without explanation. By changing the chronology, Garnier composed a fictive history to coincide with the theory of Aryanism.

To begin the French sequence, a close examination of the juxtaposed German and Gaulish dwellings reveals the role that Germany, as the origin of the Frankish race, plays in HHH. Garnier's 'Germanic' house is much more than a house; it is more akin to Colonial Villages on the Esplanade des Invalides, with multiple structures, discussed in chapter 2. Within the HHH display, it is most similar to the prehistoric groupings of dwellings, as evidenced by Garnier's preparatory watercolor (Figure 82).[667] Although Garnier's section "civilization born from the Aryan Invasions" begins with the Hindou and Persian houses, the visual similarities between the German and Gaulish houses and the Prehistoric *cité lacustres* not only implies a second start for the HHH, but also

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[666] Garnier's preparatory sketches, for many but not all the houses, are located in the Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 4555.

[667] This watercolor is housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, but the Germain house has been mislabeled as the Gaulish house.

signifies that the 'Aryan spirit' fully left the Near East and that history began anew with the Germans and Gauls.[668] The only other clustering of houses occurs at the opposite end of the trajectory in the form of the African houses. It sends the message to French viewers that even the most rudimentary European houses were more sophisticated than the great, historical cultures. In addition, the German house is the sole German representative, meaning that when visitors walked from the German to the Renaissance houses, the Germans appeared to be subsumed by the Gauls. This is all the more striking, since the German and Gaulish house formed a pair; they were often photographed as a couple and visitors moved seamlessly through the two spaces, as evidenced through the graphic "A holiday on the Champs de Mars: Improvised Dining Rooms" where fairgoers are depicted lounging on the signature marker in foreign script (Figures 85-86). The message is clear: despite any similarities in the original Gaulish and German (or Frank) populations, the Gauls were the cultural victors.

The role of the Franks in sequence, however, is opaque. In the original February 1888 proposal, Garnier included German, Gaulish and Frankish houses, yet he eliminated the Frankish dwelling from his final scheme.[669] Had Garnier depicted a Frankish house, or had he even created an additional German house, viewers could have interpreted the historical presence of a Frankish race. Instead, Garnier focuses singularly on the Gauls, weaving their presence through the history of Greece and Rome, and making France the sole focus of the European Middle Ages.

Only erudite viewers would have realized that the Gallo-Roman house and the Roman houses could have any connection to Germany. Garnier intended for the former to represent the

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[668] This is also reiterated in the *L'Habitation humaine* text, in which the Eastern travelling Aryans who settled in Persia, Cambodia, and India ultimately lost traces of their Aryan spirit. See Garnier and Amann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 341-349, 392.

[669] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3833.

"the time of Clovis, the fifth century;" the same Clovis who was the historic first king of France who united the Franks.[670] The Roman house, on the other hand, represented "the time of Charlemagne, the ninth century."[671] Charlemagne was king of the Franks, but the house is specifically Roman, not Carolingian or German. While Rome was eventually enveloped into Charlemagne's empire, it was on the outskirts and was never a major cultural capital during his reign. Instead, in both of these instances, Garnier takes a prominent moment in Frankish or German history and claims it for the Latin-speaking races.

Perhaps the only other house that could be a representative of the Germans is the Scandinavian house, yet its orientation and placement behind the Roman house visually removes it from the Italian-Roman to Roman sequence that crossed the perpendicular pathway. It is the only house that is visually grouped within the 'Aryan invasion' house that Garnier did not design.[672] For this reason, Garnier did not date the pavilion or connect it to a specific historical moment, as he did with the other houses, nor did 'Scandinavia' appear in one of Garnier's earliest proposals, dated to February 24, 1888.[673] Instead, Norwegian architect Chr. Thams sent Garnier a letter dated to December 7, 1888 stating that he would be happy to build a chalet in wood. While it is unclear how Garnier came into contact with Thams, nor why he did not feel able to design such a structure himself, Thams explains that he had already completed several similar projects in France and Spain.[674] This is likely why the Scandinavian pavilion is given such a privileged place in the sequence. By the time that Garnier divided the houses into 'architecturales' and 'pittoresques,' the

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[670] Copy of a Garnier drawing in the Salle de Documentation at the Musée d'Orsay.
[671] Garnier's drawing in Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 4555.
[672] Garnier and Ammann are clear in the 1892 that the Scandinavians, despite their 'surprising progress,' are a branch of the yellow race. See Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 617.
[673] Paris, Archives nationales, F^{12} 3833.
[674] Paris, BNF, Opéra, Fonds Garnier 187-4.

Scandinavian house was grouped with the Gallo-Roman, Roman, Middle Ages, and Renaissance house as 'Roman civilizations in the West.'[675]

Where Garnier uses the 1892 text to repeatedly denigrate the Germans as the weakest branch of the Aryan race, their absence from the HHH sequence serves as a visual argument for the inconsequential impact of the German race on world history.[676] Instead of engaging with Gaulish and Frankish debates as he had originally intended, HHH visualizes a history of architecture almost entirely absent of German influence, leaving French viewers to understand the role of the French in the Aryan's architectural achievements. Yet Garnier's display concludes chronologically with the 16th century French Renaissance house, before the question of a Frankish versus Gaulish people ever entered into scholarly parlance. Yet the Renaissance house is unique, not only because it is nearly the physical apex of the display, but also because it the house most contemporary to nineteenth-century France.

The Roman and Middle Ages houses (which were physically connected) and the Renaissance house (linked by a portico) form a courtyard. It was the largest semi-enclosed space in HHH (Figure 92). This system of houses was reserved for the President of the Republic when he visited the Exposition, cementing its importance both in the sequence and the larger fairgrounds.[677] Within this small complex, the Renaissance house is a rotated 90 degrees, facing back towards the prehistoric dwellings. Viewers arriving from the pre-historic and ancient portions of the display would have walked directly toward façade of the Renaissance house, as would visitors crossing under the Eiffel Tower towards the Seine. This change in façade orientation emphasized the importance of the Renaissance house and encouraged visitors to travel back,

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[675] Paris, Archives nationales, F12 3775.
[676] See, for example, Garnier and Ammann's hierarchy of the Aryan race in *L'Habitation humaine,* 435.
[677] Paris, Archives nationales, F12 3804.

around the wall in order to continue towards the Byzantine house. This visual and physical cue that broke up the sequence and was acknowledged by contemporary viewers.[678]

Garnier characterized the French Renaissance as a mixture of new and medieval aesthetic tastes that produced an architecture that was unique from contemporary European Renaissances.[679] It was, according to the author, the last historic moment before the forms of dwelling bowed to the "banality of modern houses."[680] If the Renaissance was the last artistic movement before nations blended and borrowed aesthetic practices, then that certainly explains why Garnier concluded HHH temporally with this moment.

The Renaissance house is an almost exact reproduction of an extant house in Orléans, about which Garnier is transparent in the 1892 text (Figure 101). Because extant Renaissance houses existed in Paris, the choice to reproduce one from a relatively peripheral city is noteworthy.[681] If Garnier planned HHH as an argument against modernization, it would have been counterproductive to include a preserved house in Paris. It was more effective to include a house from a city that remained outside the reaches of the modernity that had infiltrated the capital, as a reminder the types of national architecture that required protection.

The Eiffel Tower loomed over the entire display, but its close proximity to the three-house complex is clear from some photographs where the base of the tower is visible in the frame (Figure 87). Because Garnier was such an outspoken opponent of the Eiffel Tower, paired with his involvement in planning the Exposition, he certainly knew of the proximity to his display. It should thus be considered when analyzing the entire display, especially those houses directly before it,

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[678] *La Construction moderne*, 22 décembre (1888): 558.
[679] Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 758.
[680] Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine,* 784.
[681] One such house is discussed in the *Bulletin de la Société des amis des monuments parisiens,* 1887, 102.

even if this structure, made of unadorned iron, a feat of pure engineering, was precisely the type of structure that Garnier railed against in "Art et progrès" two years earlier. The artistic disparity between the Renaissance and this modern structure, therefore, was not accidental. If the modern materials used in the Eiffel Tower were evidence of modernization, and if it was homogenized architecture that made cultural differences illegible, then it was essential that France remain architecturally unique.

When we examine the actual chronology of the houses, it is clear why Garnier re-arranged them: in order to neatly connect the Gauls to the Latin-speaking groups, the sequence needed to be clear and uninterrupted. To do this, Garnier displaces the Byzantine, Sudanese, Arab, Slavic and Russian houses to the right side of the exhibit, so that the Roman, Middle Ages, and Renaissance house remained as a set. Moreover, if the exhibit had remained in chronological order, the middle position would have been occupied by the Arab house, and the Renaissance house would have been preceded by the Russian house.

By concluding the trajectory with a French Renaissance house, an epoch, of course, when artists and scholars studied and incorporated the ruins of ancient Rome, Garnier firmly links the history of the French people with the Latin, rather than Germanic, races. This would have firmly linked the French with the Latin speaking races, rather than the Germanic Franks. Garnier's similar intertwining of France's history with that of ancient Rome, ultimately concluding with the Renaissance, the re-discovery of Rome, would have been legible to French viewers. However, by concluding with a house that is so distant from their time, Garnier does not seem confident in contemporary French architecture because he relies on the sixteenth century to assert the artistic potential of the French race. Instead, the sequence serves as a reminder and a warning to the uniformity of modernity, one that would wipe away racial characteristics. Much in the vein of

Gobineau, Garnier is concerned about the degeneration of the French race, as it was originally made manifest during the 1871 Commune.

5.8 Conclusion

After the 1870 Commune, Garnier preoccupied himself with the Tuileries site and reconstruction of the Palace. Within his discussions and proposals, his concerns about France's racial status emerge through his judgement of the Communards as well as the connection between architecture and national identity that will see its full expression in HHH. By the early 1880s, he had turned his attention to unifying the French race through architecture. He was keen on preserving Paris's distinct *physiognomy* in the face of modernization. Garnier equated the artistic output with human race, as seen in the "Art and Progress" lecture, but he had not yet endeavored to compose a racialized history of architecture. At a time when Garnier felt an urgency to preserve the built environment from the monotony of modernity, Aryanism allowed him to engage with the specificities of each race's cultural output. Moreover, the theory allowed him to visualize a unified French race, one not hampered by the debates of the Frankish or Gaulish influence. Aryanism allowed him to embody racial characteristics through architecture in a way that was experiential and where the nuances of race theory could be presented. HHH reminded viewers of the innate qualities of French cultural production and the power of historic architecture for forming and preserving national identities.

6.0 Conclusion

The ghosts of late nineteenth-century racialized dwellings appear in unexpected places. While these structures were memorialized in scientific treatises and illustrated texts, they were also featured on chocolate boxes, collectible plates, and children's notebooks. Without the human participants to betray the messages of Otherness that they were created to visualize, these representations firmly and permanently attached non-European, colonial, and historic groups to exaggerated or stereotypical dwellings. Indeed, by the end of the century, architecture had become the surrogate body through which communicate Otherness, an experiential and didactic tool for teaching the public about race.

The human displays that occurred in Paris from 1877-1889 embodied the interconnectedness of racial identity, buildings, and urbanism. For decades, Parisians had been trained to view a connection between racial character and dwelling; when viewing the structures of human displays in the context of the city of Paris, they functioned as both a racial index and a nuanced vision of the race that they were intended to portray. As the science of race theory became increasingly nuanced throughout the second half of the nineteenth-century, architecture was mobilized as a tool for stabilizing racial representations of mixed-race groups, for promoting the French colonial project, and for understand France's place in the racial hierarchy of the world. Although much about the parallel development of architecture and race theory remains to be analyzed, this dissertation has shown that to understand the full complexity of human displays, scholars must also consider popular viewing practices, the history of display, and the broader urban context in which these displays were located.

It is crucial to underscore that popular racial representations in Paris from 1877-1889 were as much inflected by a fear of the potentially degenerate French self as by a desire to control the Other. Human displays trained Parisian viewers to associate different types of buildings with distinct races. Such widespread education was deemed necessary to teach the public about the race theory that was used to justify any number of largescale projects, from colonialism and popularizing science to international competition. However, these racial categories were unstable, and France's racial superiority required constant affirmation. Each of the case studies in this dissertation exemplifies a different facet of racial uncertainty: the relationship between racial and architectural character is addressed in chapter two on Eugène-Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc and César Daly; how to understand and exaggerate difference in mixed-race people in chapter three, on the Jardin d'Acclimatation; the contrast between white and black males in chapter four, on the Senegalese Village; and the historical and modern racial identity of the French in chapter five, Charles Garnier's *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* display.

The Expositions universelles were themselves large venues for learning, an opportunity to educate the masses on the most modern technology and the newest scientific discoveries. While Paris was already home to major art museums such as the Musée du Louvre and the Palais de Luxembourg, the Expositions universelles were the moment when new major monuments could be built, and collections could be assembled. Yet, architecture gave physical form to scientific theories about how humans are shaped by their environment and how innate human abilities were expressed in architectural form. Because Parisians had been trained to associate different types of architecture with racial character, the houses and other structures associated with human displays served as a multivalent pedagogical tool. Architecture was experiential, easily comparable, and each facet of the dwellings communicated an aspect of the race's culture, intellect, and place of

origin. Whether the building was made of long-lasting or ephemeral materials evoked the race's larger material footprint, as did the scale and material of the dwellings. Building materials indicated both a race's place of geographic origin and its adeptness at manipulating the world around them. Ornamentation communicated the extent to which a race valued aesthetics or "beauty," as well as their aptitude for decoration. By comparing these buildings to each other, their immediate surroundings, and the city of Paris, architecture was easily located in a hierarchy of built forms that both mirrored and made physical their anthropological equivalents.

The architectural displays that framed human displays were multivalent and their meanings varied based on who was looking. In the 1870s, French scientists in the anthropological community had struggled with how to present their scientific achievements to the public. From 1877, human display at the Jardin d'Acclimatation occurred on an almost yearly basis until the First World War. Because many of the groups at Jardin d'Acclimatation were purportedly mixed-race, architecture was a way for the French to anchor these races to a purportedly inferior racial parentage and to concretize notions of racial difference. In the tense climate of Franco-Germanic scientific competition, architecture was a tool for French scientists to visualize racial identity and to make it comprehensible to the public.

For colonial administrators, at a time when the colonial project was met largely with ambivalence and when the French still mourned the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the human displays validated France's continued intervention in the colonies. In the case of the Senegalese Village, the French blockhouse and over-simplified domestic architecture assured French males of their control over the potentially violent and unpredictable black body. Although the human participants stated that the buildings were far from the reality of 1880s Senegal, the consistent reproduction of these structures meant that they set a precedent both for how the Senegalese were visualized in

later Expositions and how the black race was pictured in Parisian popular culture into the twentieth century.

Nineteenth-century architects had long debated the appropriate architectural aesthetic for the modern French republic. While Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc and César Daly had focused on the relationship between racial character, architecture, and modern times, architect Charles Garnier's *History of Human Habitations* display allowed him to contemplate both the past and the future of the French race at the 1889 Exposition universelle. Garnier's belief in the connectedness between racial prosperity and the aesthetics of the French race were made apparent as early as 1871, when he published newspaper articles that condemned the communards for damaging the city. The Tuileries Palace in particular was a site of concern for Garnier and it lingered in his writings well into the 1880s. By the Exposition universelle of 1889, Garnier was prepared to use the theory of the Aryan race to mold French history and to argue that each race must preserve its own distinct architectural aesthetic. The Aryan race theory also allowed Garnier to re-order history in order to bypass contemporary debates about the origins of the French race.

By 1889, the potential causes of degeneracy were numerous. Some believed that the metropolis, and the ways that it blurred the boundary between inner and outer had its reflections in human consciousness. Others warned that it was malleability of the human mind, that by merely suggesting that the French nation was in decline, it would become so.[682] In comparison to the modern Haussmannian capital, the buildings that accompanied human displays assured the Parisian public of their continued racial superiority, despite the visible remnants of the chaos and failure of 1870-1871. The damage that had been wrought on the city was inescapable. At the Jardin

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[682] Debra L. Silverman, "Psychologie nouvelle," *Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004) 371-392, 375-381.

d'Acclimatation, the animals had been devoured, while Prussian shells and Communard fire had ravaged the Champs de Mars and the Esplanade des Invalides. In this vein, it is essential that future studies of human displays continue to acknowledge not only human displays' siting in the built environment but also broader, culturally specific viewing practices, urban histories, and notions of racial character. If this dissertation has articulated one overall message, it is this: space and built forms are not neutral, and the stereotyped, invented built forms that accompanied human displays reflect more about the French who planned them than the (equally invented) racial groups that they were created to represent.

Although the exhibits that compose this dissertation occurred in a very small area – it is only about 2.3 miles from the Jardin d'Acclimatation to the Esplanade des Invalides, and even less to the base of the Eiffel Tower – the dissimilarities between the sites are as powerful as their similarities. Each site exhibited humans in a different format and order: at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, each group was displayed one at a time in the same field; each of the enclosed Colonial Villages was part of the larger colonial section on the Esplanade des Invalides; Garnier's linear sequence of 49 houses in created a certain itinerary for the viewer to follow.

Each of these settings also had a different level of viewer immersion: an impenetrable fence at the Jardin d'Acclimatation, entrance into the Senegalese Village but no close contact with the inhabitants, and unrestrained interaction in the *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* display. Whether or not a viewer could interact with the inhabitants correlated with their cultural "closeness" to the French visitors. Garnier's display was a re-ordered history of French architecture and visitors engaged with freely with the costumed actors. In the Senegalese Village, visitors were enclosed in the broader space, but separated by waist-high boundaries. At the Jardin d'Acclimatation, where

the "savage" qualities of mixed-race groups were affirmed through the architecture, visitors had to remain fully separate from the displayed people.

In terms of the race of the displayed groups, there was very little overlap across the sites, yet the Senegalese Village and Garnier's display require further comparison.[683] The Colonial Villages and Garnier's *History of Human Habitations* (HHH) occurred at the same Exposition universelle in 1889, the fair that was meant to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution. Garnier's HHH display used history as a way to contextualize the present moment and to teach nineteenth-century Parisians about their place in the historical continuum. For viewers unfamiliar with Aryan race theory, Garnier's display read as linear sequence that unfolded in a nearly chronological way, with prehistoric dwellings that transformed and developed into the near-center Renaissance house. The houses stood close together, meaning that viewers were always aware of their physical place in the progress of the exhibit which was measured both by the surrounding houses and the looming Eiffel Tower.

In comparison, visitors to the Colonial Villages were also constantly aware of their place in space, but for other reasons. The Esplanade des Invalides was a hectic place, a cacophony of unusual sounds and foreign smells, with all exhibits blending together. The Colonial Villages were separate entities, and visitors did not have the freedom of movement that the they did in the HHH display. The designated itinerary – through the Blockhouse and around village – dictated visitor's movements, while the barriers between the villagers and themselves made them constantly aware of their own surroundings. While the HHH exhibit made visitors aware of their place in historical time, the Senegalese Village, with its strict barriers, reminded the Parisians of the potential violent

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[683] Garnier's *History of Human Habitations* display included unspecific contemporary groups such as "Africans," "Eskimos," and "Red-Skins," but by this time, there had been more specific terminology used at the Jardin d'Acclimatation. See, for example, the Nubian group described in chapter two of this dissertation.

aspects of the Senegalese. In contrast to the Tonkinese rickshaws, which zoomed throughout the Esplanade des Invalides and wove throughout the crowds, the Senegalese were completely isolated from the Parisians.

In nearly all cases where actual non-French people were present, participants were physically separated from those on display. One key exception to this rule was the *Rue de Caire,* where Maghrebian waiters attended to Parisian coffee drinkers and danced for their amusement.[684] However, the boundary between costumed and actual person was easily blurred, as one writer expressed hope, before the 1889 Exposition had opened, that the French government would build a barrier around Garnier's "Peaux-rouges" or "red-skin" house.[685] Indeed, Parisian viewers were not sure what to expect from the populated displays, nor how they, as spectators, would be affected. Considering that degeneracy was considered highly contagious in the second half of the nineteenth century, the physical presence of foreign bodies heightened viewer's anxieties. Architecture became the medium through which visitors could learn about racial characteristics, without fear that would they sabotage their own racial standing.

Another critical distinction between the HHH display and the Senegalese Village is the privilege to criticize that was afforded, or not, to the participants and viewers of the displays. When the French visitors were skeptical of the architectures' authenticity, their opinions were reproduced and acknowledge by the display's architect, as was the case with Garnier's HHH. While some viewers and critics were skeptical of the 'authenticity' of Garnier's display, the populated-house format was validated as a mode of scientific display by the preceding exhibits at the Jardin d'Acclimatation and the contemporary Colonial Villages. Although the SAP had broken ties with

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[684] Zeynep Celik and Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitionism at the Expositions universelles" *Assemblage,* 13 (1990): 34-59.
[685] *La Construction moderne*, 22 décembre (1888).

the Jardin d'Acclimatation in 1886, the SAP's participation in and documentation of human displays prepared viewers to see them as scientific. In contrast, the Senegalese villagers' lamentations were minimally reproduced. Although the Senegalese people knew more about actual Senegalese architecture than Parisian visitors, their authority was excluded from narratives of the display. Indeed, it seems architecture actually had more credibility than the people who inhabited it.

The 12-year period from 1877 to 1889 saw major shifts in key areas that affected public display practices in discipline of anthropology, the Parisian built environment, and mass education; it was during this time that scientists, colonial administrators, and architects experimented with and regularized the human display format. During this period, human displays straddled the boundary between spectacle and didactic tool, since they were frequented by scientists and the public alike. By the turn of the century, human displays had largely lost their purportedly scientific validity as viewers expected a staged production of Otherness. Yet these few years also form a distinct moment in French history when concerns about racial degeneracy, modernity, and national identity coalesced in architectural forms. Studying this period in the history of Paris not only reveals how human displays became standardized, and moreover, the critical role that architecture played in visualizing race theories.

Appendix A Figures

Figure 1. "La collection anthropologique du Prince Bonaparte," Exposition universelle de Paris (salle anthropologique), photographie, tirage sur papier albumin, 1889. Courtesy of the BNF.
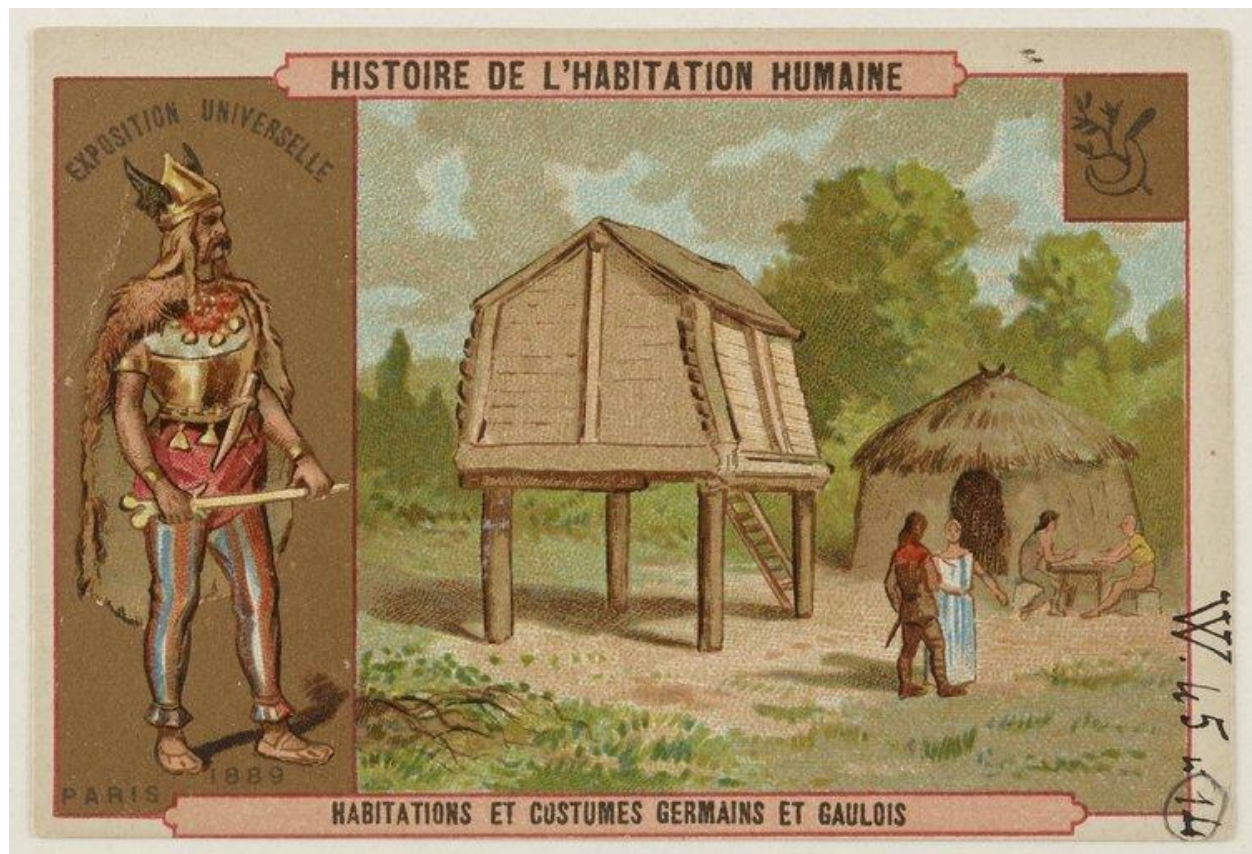
Figure 2. "Habitations et costumes germain et gaulois" from *Exposition universelle, Paris, 25 vignettes*

scolaires en couleurs représenant l'évolution de l'habitation humaine, **don du prince Roland Bonaparte.**

Courtesy of the BNF.

Figure 3. Charles Marville, one of the 425 views of old Paris, c. 1865-1869. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris

Figure 4. Photograph of Avenue de l'Opéra, c. 1885

Figure 5. Index from *Les Français peints par eux-même: encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris: 1841), 399.

LE BOMBARDEMENT* — Les premiers obus, avenue de l'Observatoire, pendant l'exercice des gardes nationaux. — (Dessin d'après nature de M. Lançon.)

Figure 6. "The Bombardment: The first shells, avenue de l'Observatoire, during a national guard exercise,"

***Le Monde illustré*, no. 719, 21 Janvier 1871, 44.**

PARIS. — Embellissements de Paris. — Percement du boulevard Saint-Germain.
Vu prise de la rue Saint-Dominique.

Figure 7. "Percement du boulevard Saint-Germain – vue prise de la rue Saint-Dominique" *Le Monde Illustré***,**

26 février (1870).
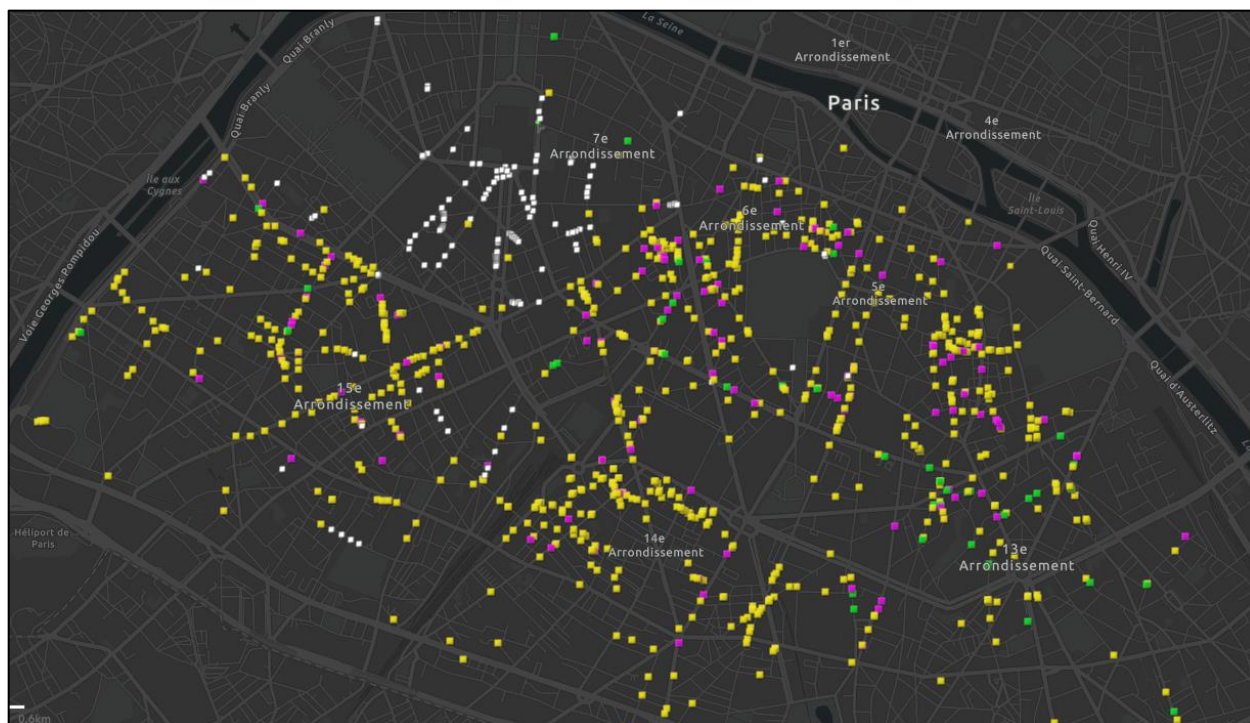
	Apartment hit by one shell (*obus*)
	Apartment hit by two shells (*obus*)
	Apartment hit by three or more shells (*obus*)
	A single obus that landed on a specific street but without a known apartment number

Figure 8. Map and key of apartments hit by Prussian shells from Hennebert, *Le Bombardement de Paris,*

1872.

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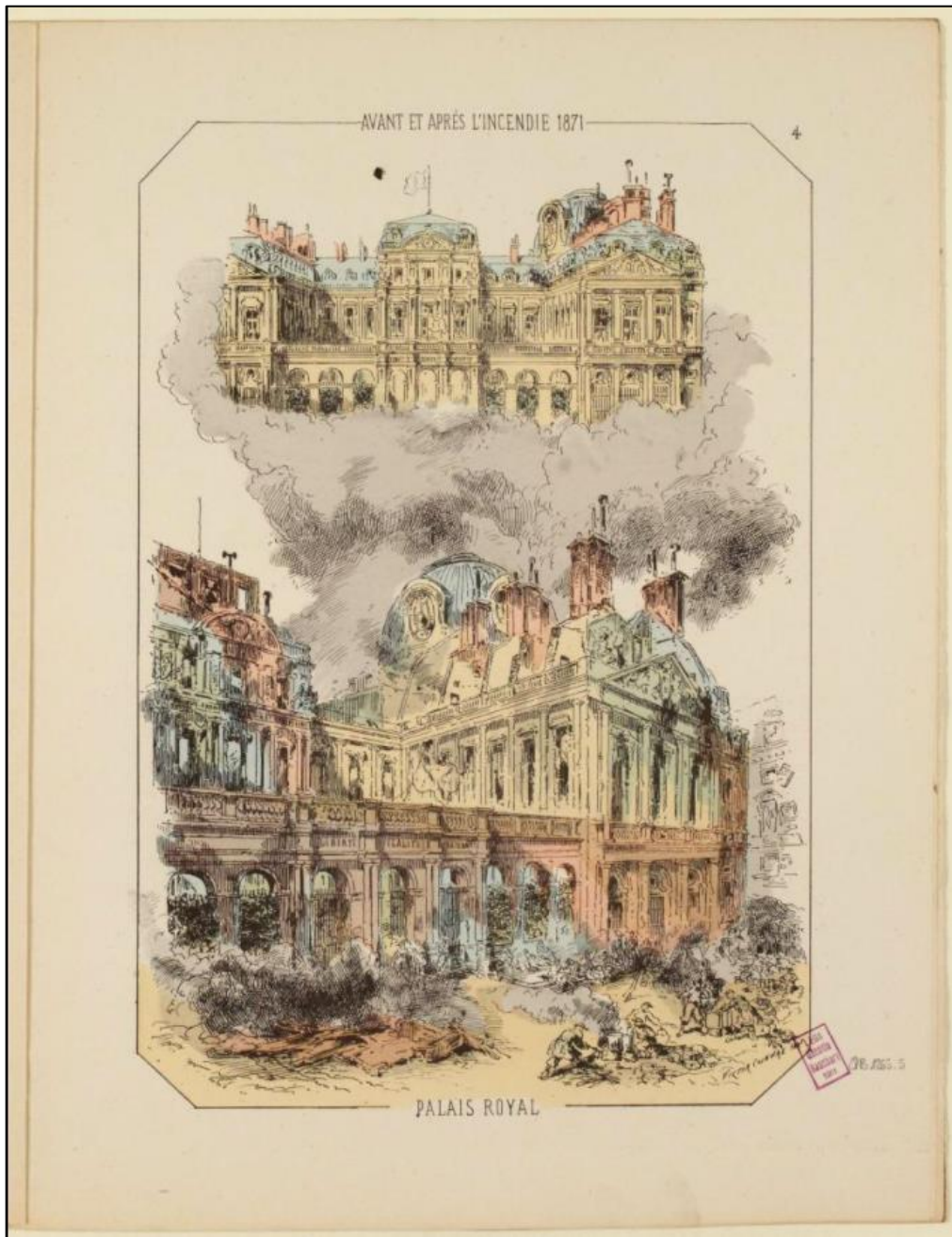
Figure 9. Victor Coindre, "Palais Royal," *Before and After the Fire of 1871,* **Plate 4, 1871.**

Figure 10. Hippolyte Blancard, "Ministère des Finances. Rue de Rivoli. Intérieur de la cour incendié," 1871.

Figure 11. The Hotel de Ville after the Commune.

Figure 12. Auguste-Bruno Braquehais, "Tuileries Palace; Main Hall, and Place du Carrousel," 1871.
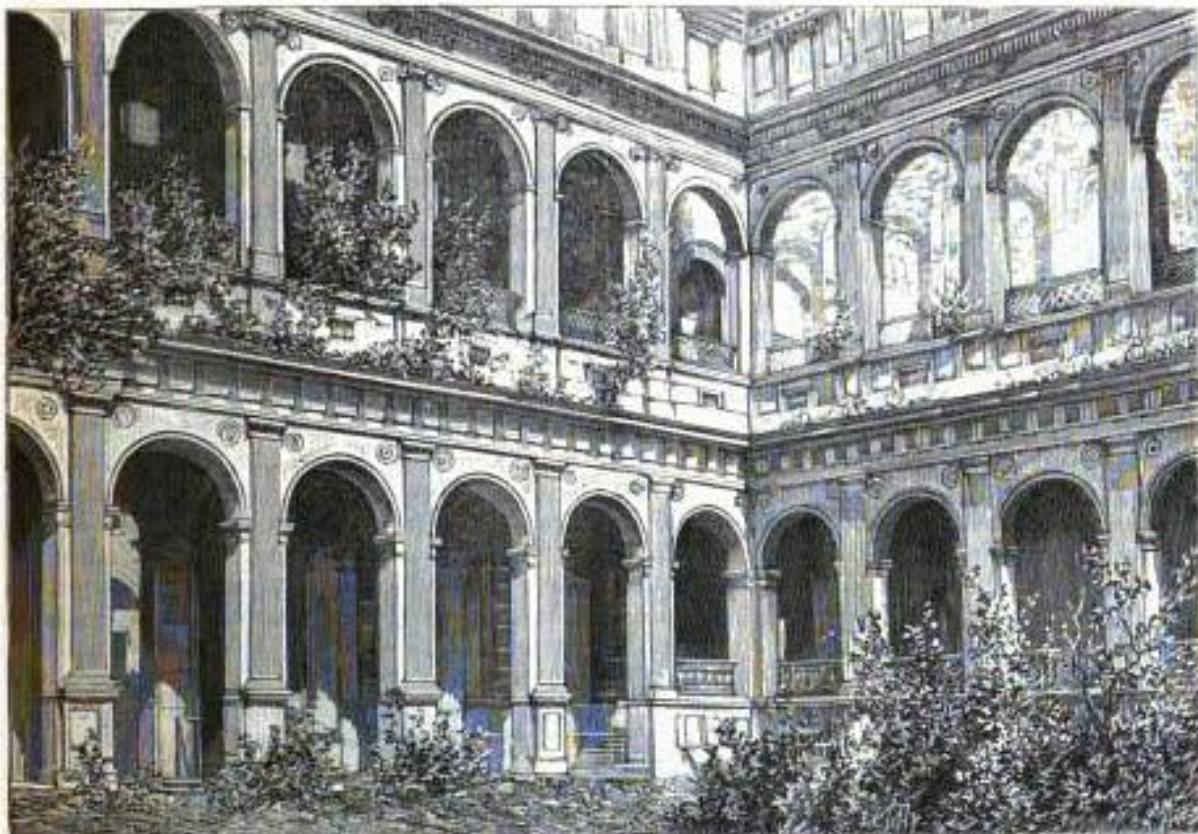
Une intérieure du Palais du mai d'Orsay, à Paris. (D'après une photographie de M. G. Tissandier.)

Figure 13. *La Nature* (1893): 329-331.
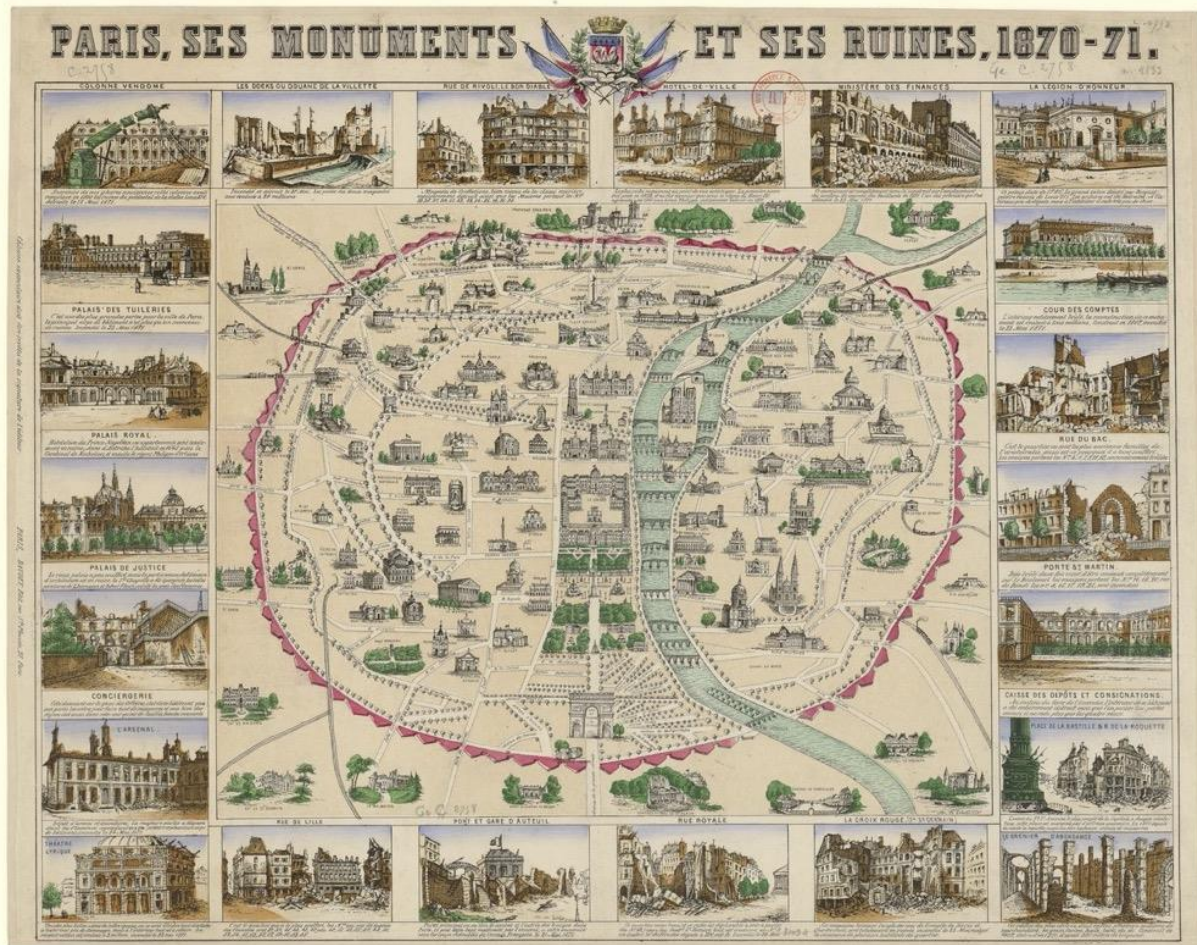
Figure 14. *Paris, ses monuments et ses ruines*, 1870-1871 (Paris: 1871).
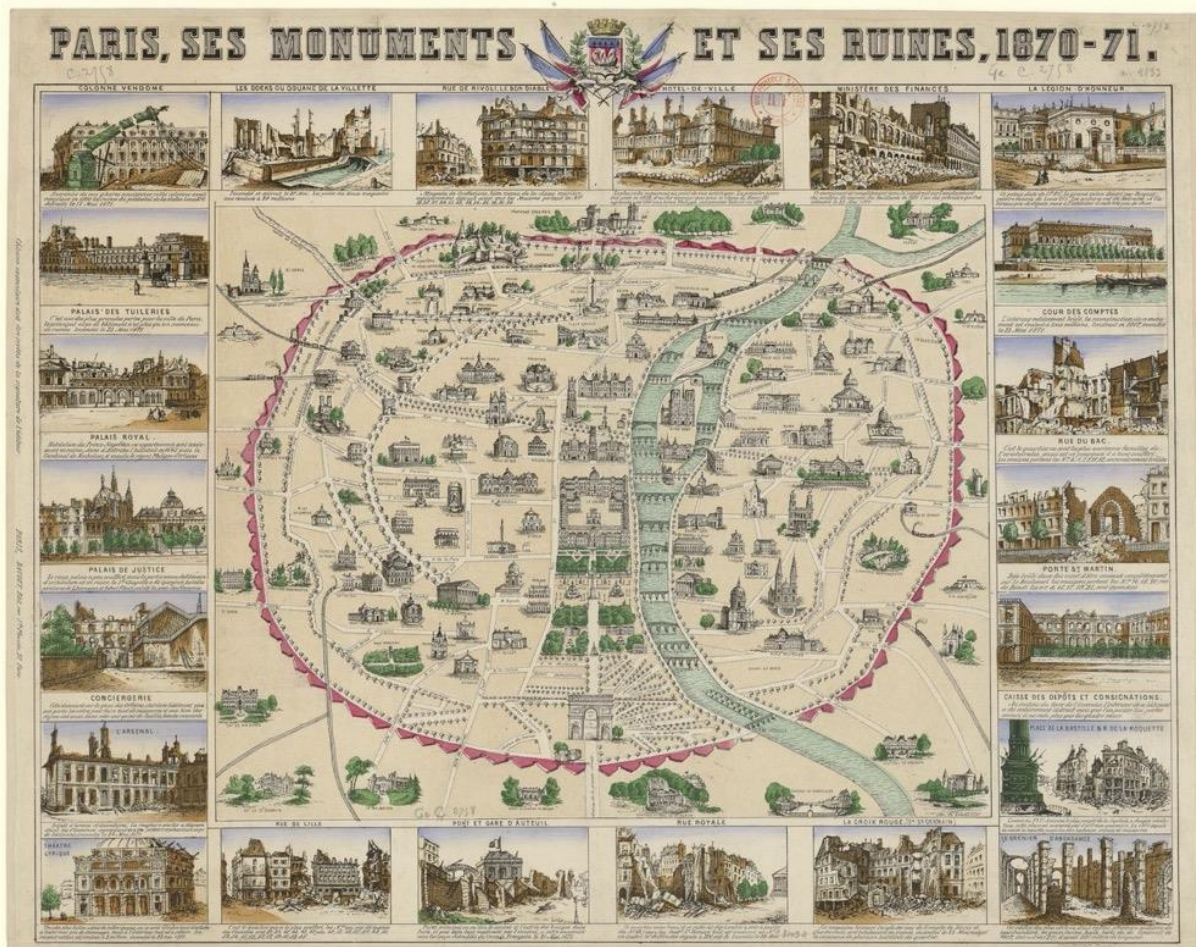
Figure 15. Paris, ses monuments et ses ruines, 1870-1871 (Paris: 1871).

Races blanches ou pouvant être regardées comme telles.

TRONC.	BRANCHES.	RAMEAUX.	FAMILLES.	GROUPES.	EXEMPLES.
		Fossile....	Canstadienne...............		r. de Canstadt.
			Magnonienne...............		r. de Cro-Magnon.
		Canarien.........................			Guanches.
		Asiatico-américain.	Tchetko......	Tchouktchi...	Tchouktchis.
				Koriaque.....	Tchougatchis.
			Golouche..................		Koluches.
			Aïno.........	Japonais.....	Aïnos.
				Américain....	Ekogmuts.
				Malais.......	Kubus.
				Hindou.......	Todas.
	ALLO-PHYLE.	Sinique.............................			Miao-Tsés
		Indonésien......	Philippin.....		Manobos.
			Sondanais....		Dayaks.
			Polynésien...		Taïtiens.
		Caucasien..	Géorgienne................		Mingréliens.
			Tcherkesse.................		Adighés.
		Euskarien..	Basquaise....	Guipuscoan...	Basques espagnols.
				Labourdain...	Basques français.
	FIN-NIQUE.	Fossile....	Franco-Belge.	Belge........	r. de Furfooz.
				Français.....	r. de Grenelle.
			Truchérienne...............		r. de la Truchère.
BLANC ou CAUCA-SIQUE.		Finnois....	Sabmi.......	Boréal......	Lapons.
				Méridional...	Dauphinois.
			Esthonienne...............		Esthoniens.
			Finnoise.....	Finlandais....	Tavastlandais.
				Ostiaque.....	Votiaks.
	SÉMI-TIQUE.	Sémite....	Chaldéenne................		Hébreux.
			Arabe........	Himyarite....	Yéméniens.
				Arabique.....	Arabes.
			Amara.....................		Abyssins.
		Libyen....	Égyptienne................		Égyptiens.
			Erythréenne...............		Bicharis.
			Amazyg......	Berbère......	Kabyles.
				Imouchar....	Touaregs.
	ARYANE.	Pamiro-Européen.	Tadjik..............		T. montagnards.
			Celtique......	Rhénan......	Allemands du Sud.
				Gaulois......	Auvergnats.
			Slave........	Esclavon.....	Serbes.
				Russe........	Moscovites.
		Indo-Européen.	Hindoue......	Mamogi......	Siapochs.
				Brahmanique.	Hindous.
			Iranienne....	Persan.......	Guèbres.
				Afghan.......	Yusufsaïs.
			Hellène....................		Grecs.
			Germaine....	Scandinave...	Suédois.
				Allemand....	Allemands du Nord.

Figure 16. Table of the White Race in Hamy and Quatrefages, Histoire Générale des races humaines, 456.

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On voit jusqu'où a été portée, au Mexique, la distinction des caté-
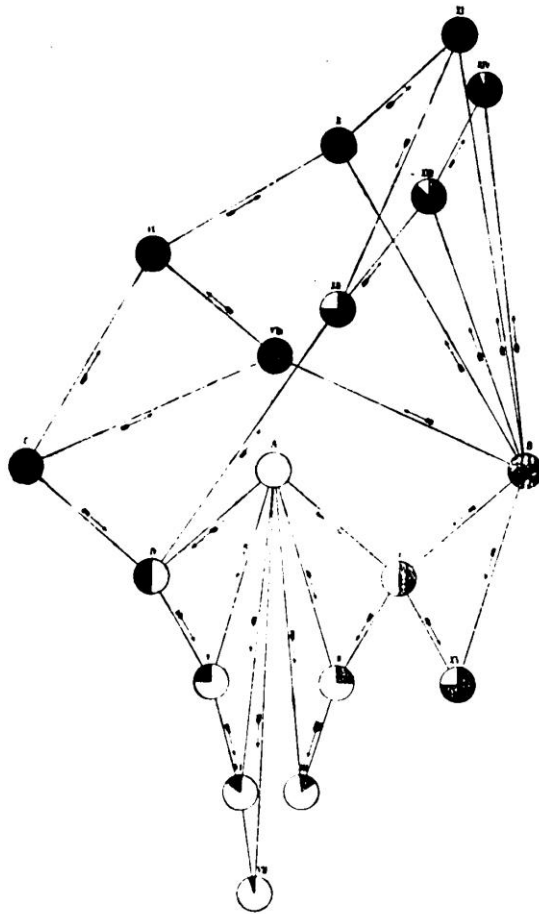
Fɪɢ. 441. — Schéma indiquant dans quelle proportion les sangs blanc, noir et indigène sont associés chez les métis mexicains (Dʳ Hamy).

A. Blanc (Espagnol). — B. Indigène (Aztèque, etc.). — C. Nègre (d'Afrique).

gories ethnologiques enfantées par le mélange des races. Mais, on comprend aussi qu'il faudrait un vocabulaire bien autrement étendu,
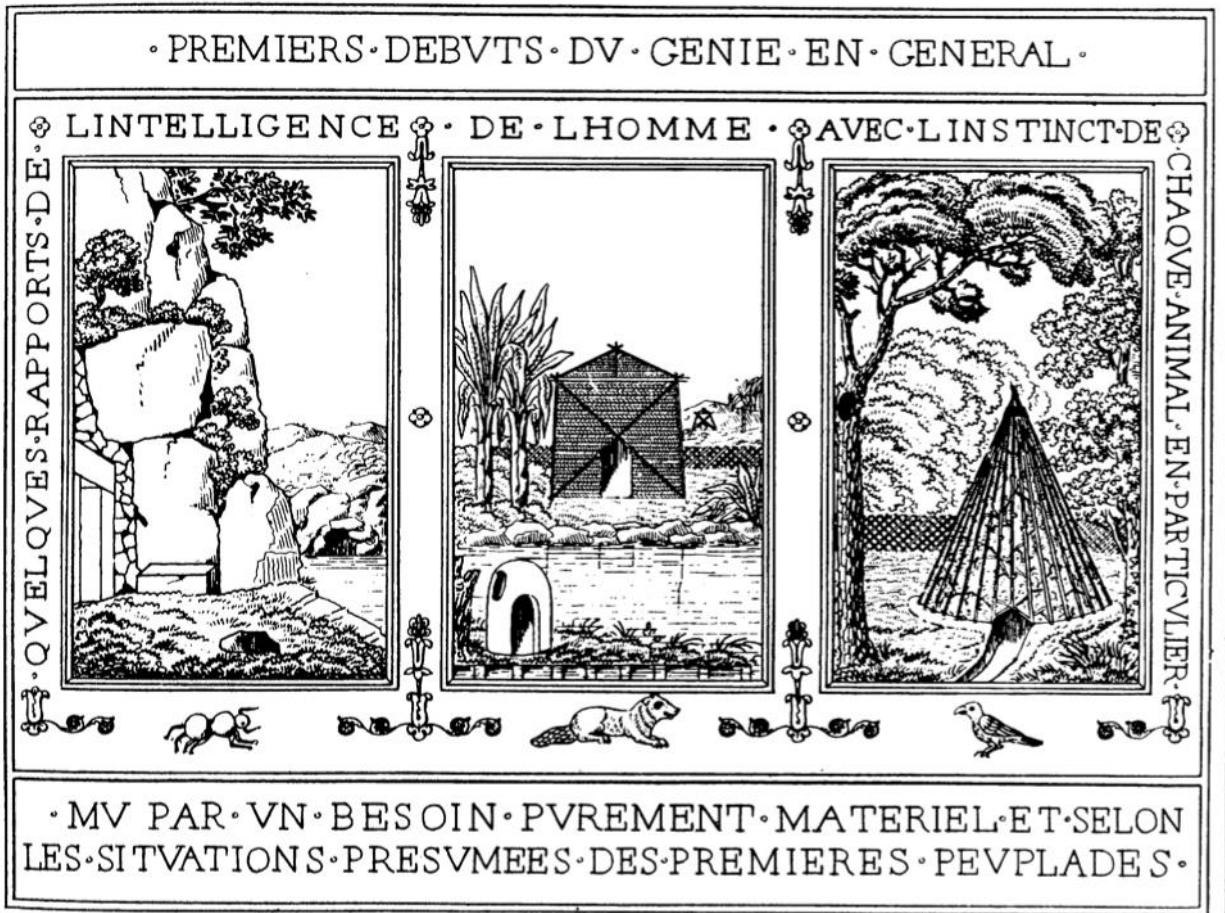
BIBL. ETHN. — *Races humaines; Introd.* 39

Figure 17. Hamy and Quatrefages, *Histoire Générale des races humaines*, 605.

Figure 18. Anthony Vidler, "Architectural Cryptograms: Style and Type in Romantic Historiography," in *Perspecta*, **Vol. 22, 1986.**

mince et déprimée, sourcils rapprochés, paupières
supérieures recouvrant fortement l'angle externe de

Fig. 3.

l'œil, os du nez saillant, narines maigres, anguleuses,

Fig. 3 *bis.*

ouvertes; pommettes plutôt anguleuses que sail-
lantes, joues plates, bouche large, abaissée vers

Figure 19. Viollet-le-Duc, Comparison of Terra Cotta relief from Palenqué versus head of a Mexican, *Cités et*

ruines américaines, **51.**

pommettes hautes, bouche large, lèvre supérieure épaisse et coupée nettement, éloignée du nez, menton fuyant, base du visage large ; et ce sujet n'est pas le seul, nous en possédons un certain nombre qui présentent les mêmes caractères et qui tous appartiennent à la plus basse classe de Mexico. Le sujet fig. 3 *bis* se rapproche du type des figures de Palenqué, quoique, dans celles-ci, les angles externes des yeux soient relevés et le menton fuyant. Mais voici, fig. 5, une copie

Fig. 5.

faite à la loupe, aussi exactement que possible, d'une des têtes les mieux conservées du bas-relief de Chichen-

Figure 20. Viollet-le-Duc, *Cités et ruines américaines*, 53.

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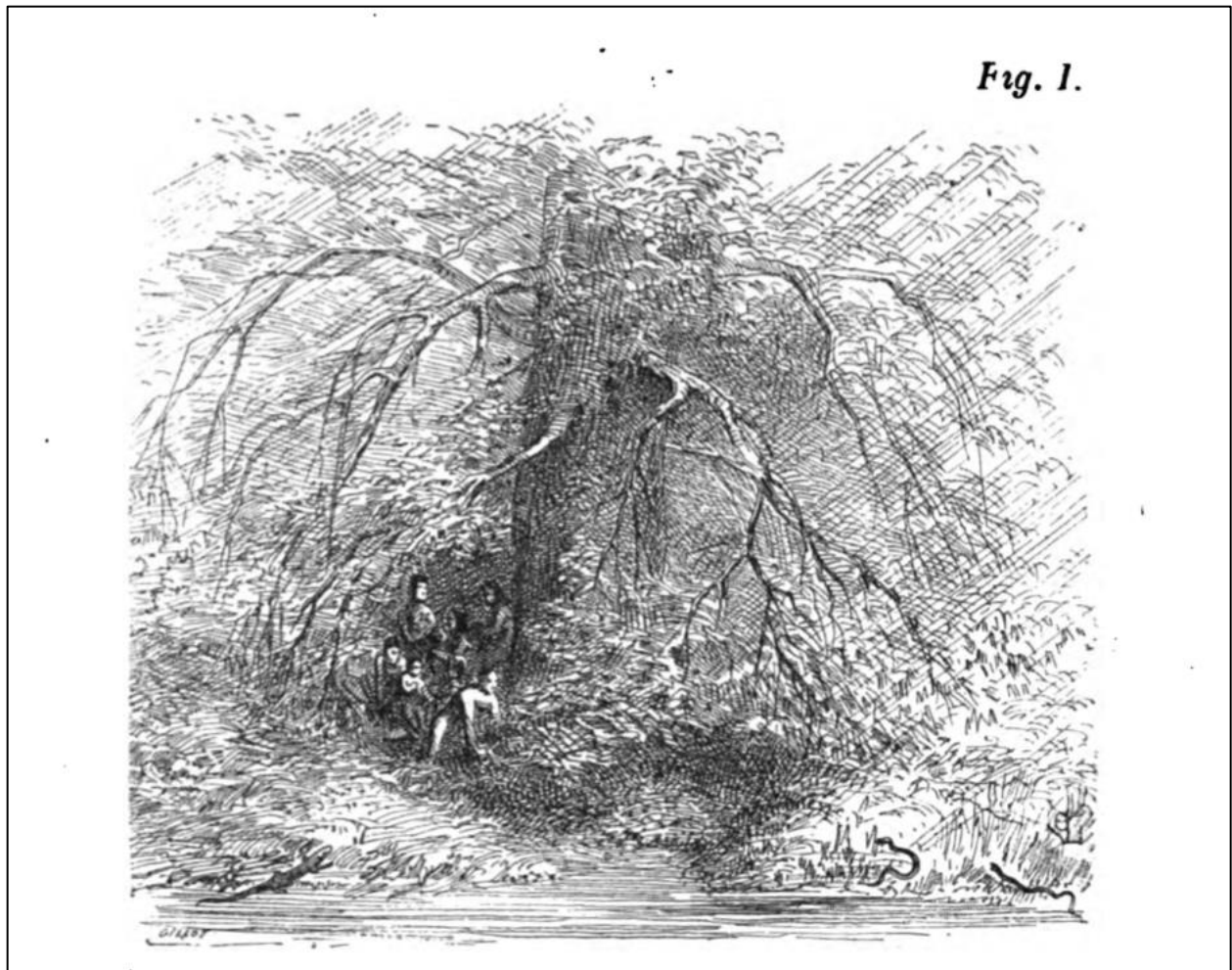
Figure 21. Viollet-le-Duc, "Are They Men," *Histoire de l'habitaiton humaine*, 5.

Figure 22. Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine*, **6.**
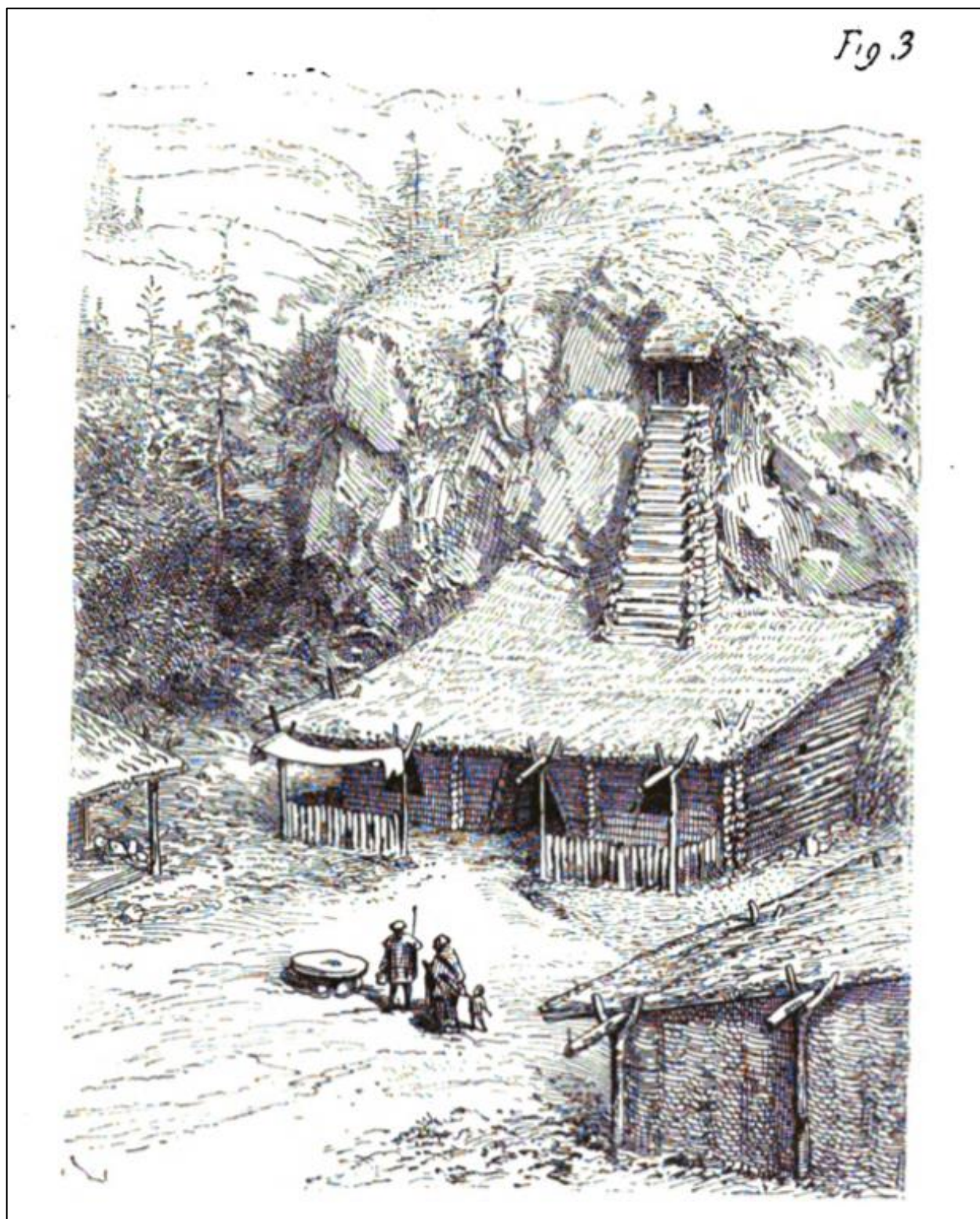
Figure 23. Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine***, 11.**

Figure 24. Viollet-le-Duc, "The New Habitation," *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine*, **22.**
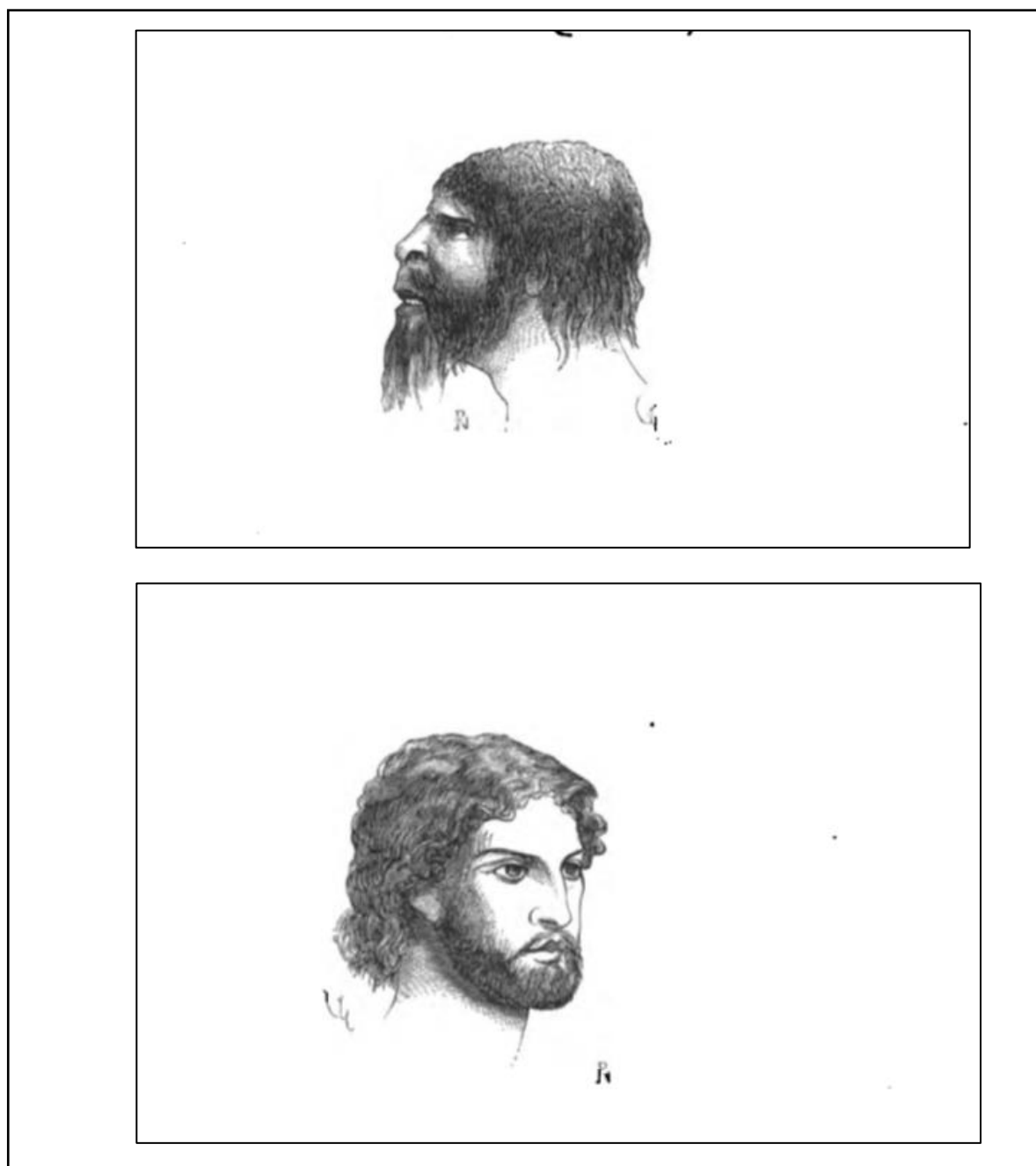
Figure 25. Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine*, **14 and 7.**
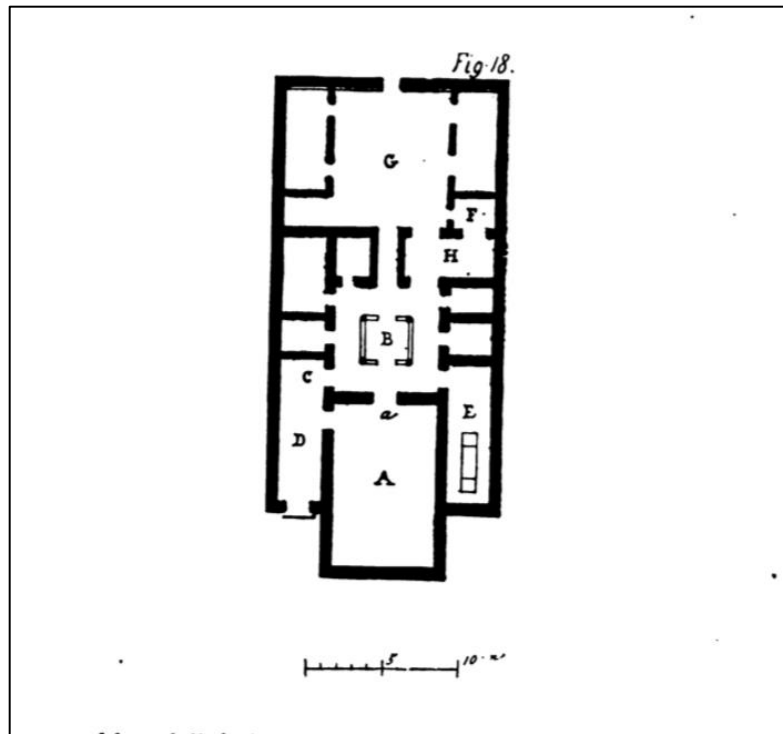
Figure 26. Viollet-le-Duc, "Maison Aryan dans les Hauts Indus," *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine*, **46.**

Figure 27. Viollet-le-Duc, "Comment étaient faites les premières habitations des Aryas établis dans la médie supérieure," *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine*, **120.**
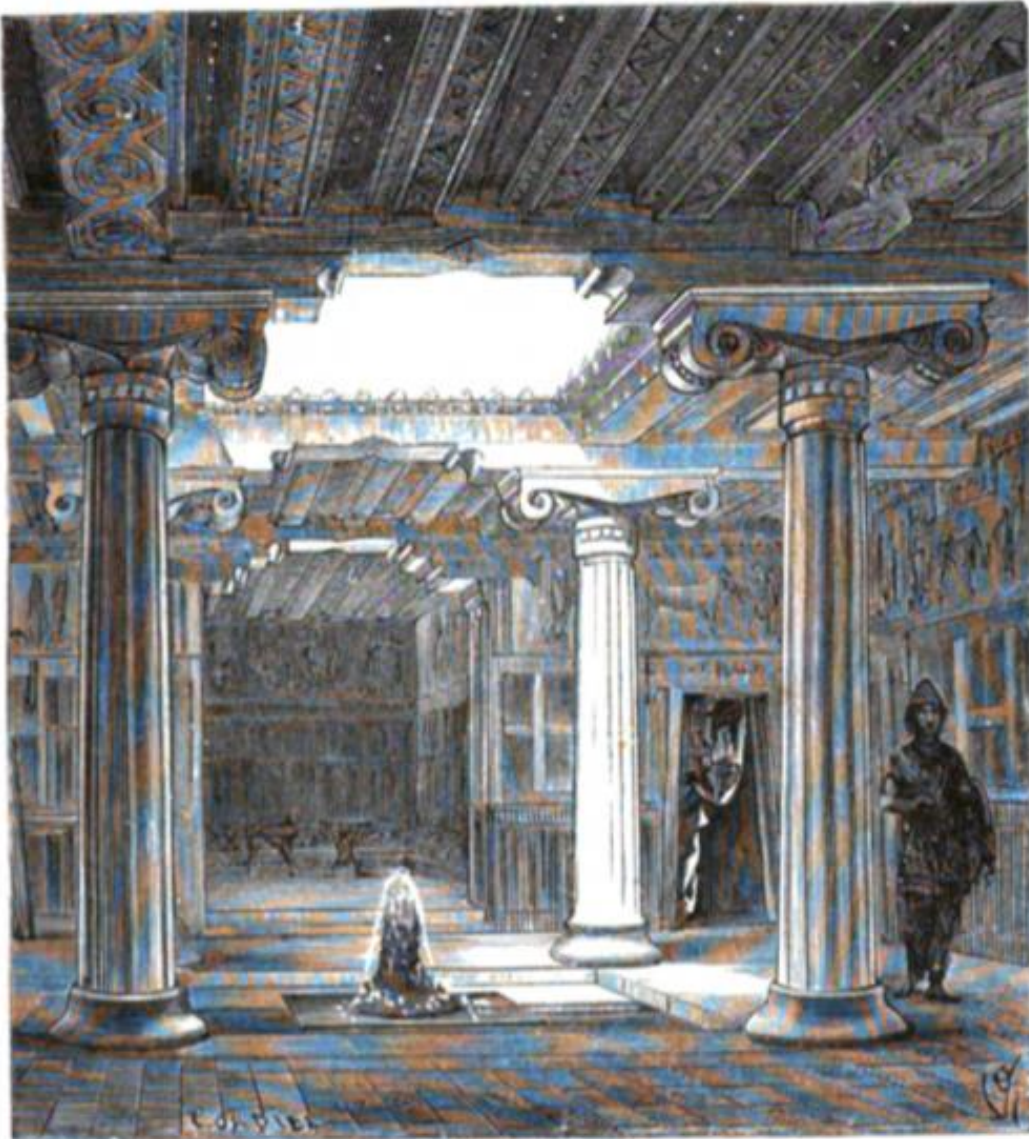
COUR DE LA MAISON IONIENNE (P. 170).

Figure 28. Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*, **no page.**

Figure 29. Bruno Bracquehais, *Siège de Paris 1870-1871,* **dated 17 May, 1871, View of the Champs de Mars**

from the Avenue Rapp.

Figure 30. *Ballon* **in front of the Tuileries palace, 1878, Courtesy of the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris.**

Figure 31. Emile Lévy, "Panorama de Paris. Vue de la nacelle du Grand Ballon captive de la Cour des Tuileries, 1879.
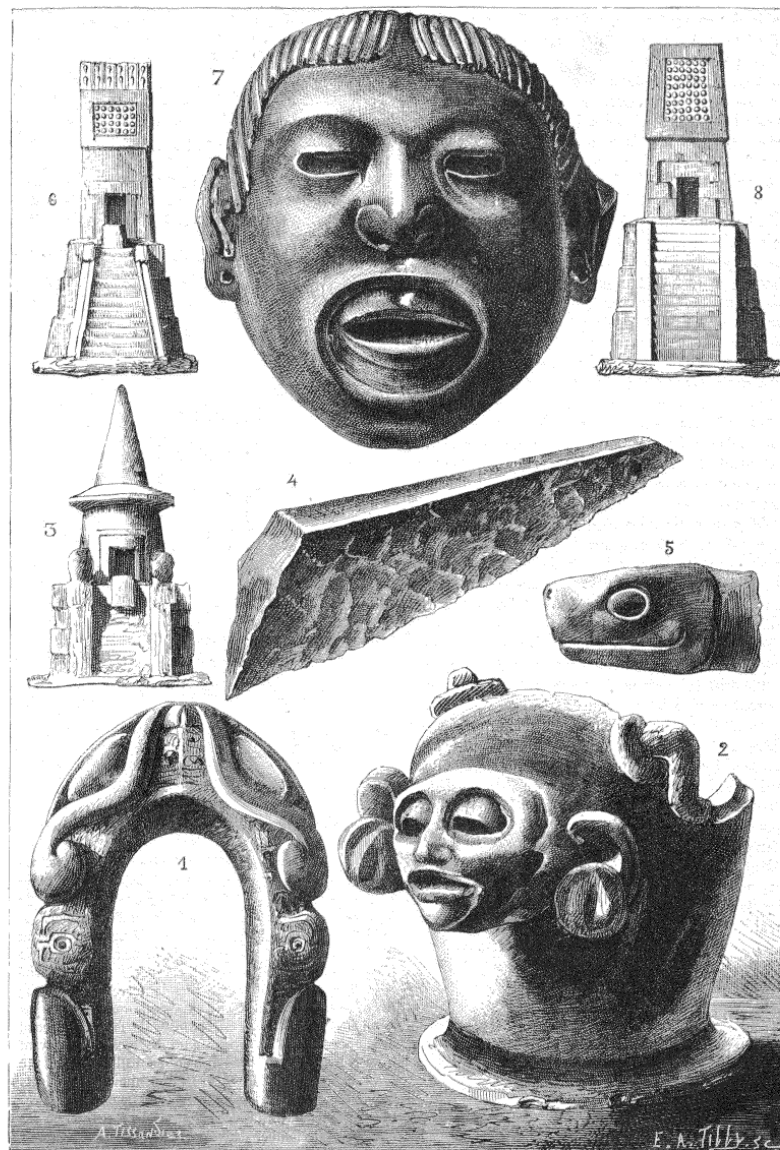
Fig. 1 à 7. — Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. — Pièces relatives aux sacrifices humains dans l'Ancien Mexique. — 1. Collier de sacrifice. — 2. Vase orné d'un sacrificateur. — 3, 6 et 8. Entrées des temples à sacrifice. — 4. Couteau d'obsidienne. — 7. Tête figurant un sacrificateur recouvert de la peau d'une victime.

Figure 32. "Le Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro : Exposition des sacrifices humaines des Aztèques" *La Nature* **(1882).**
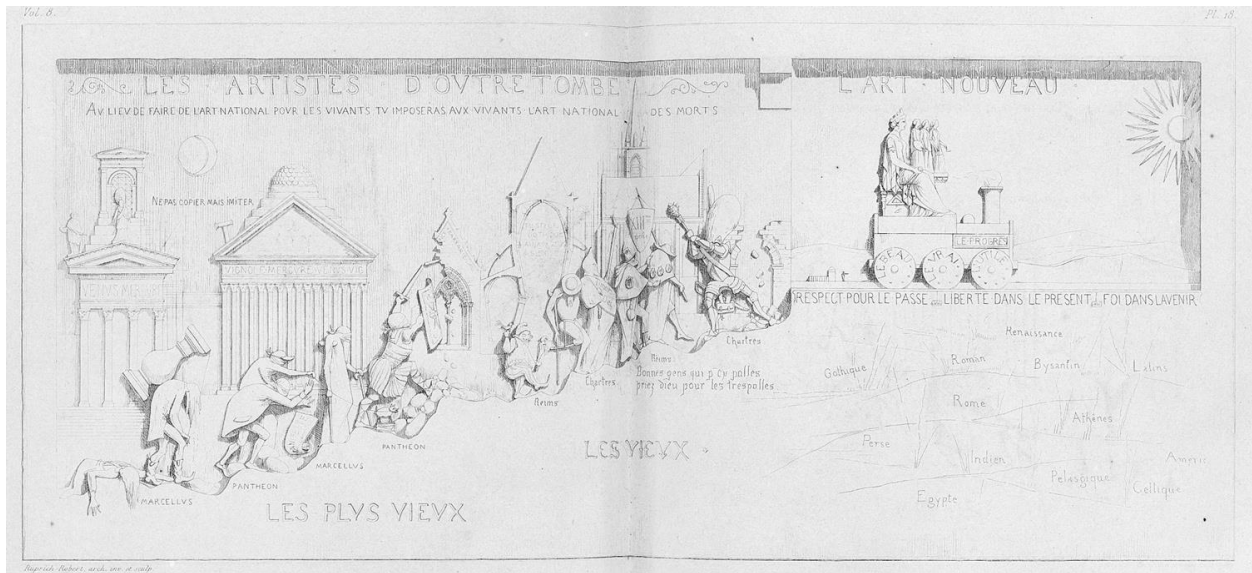
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Figure 33. Ruprich Robert, "L'Architecture Contemporaine" inspired by César Daly's "De la Liberté dans l'Art" *RGA***, (1849).**
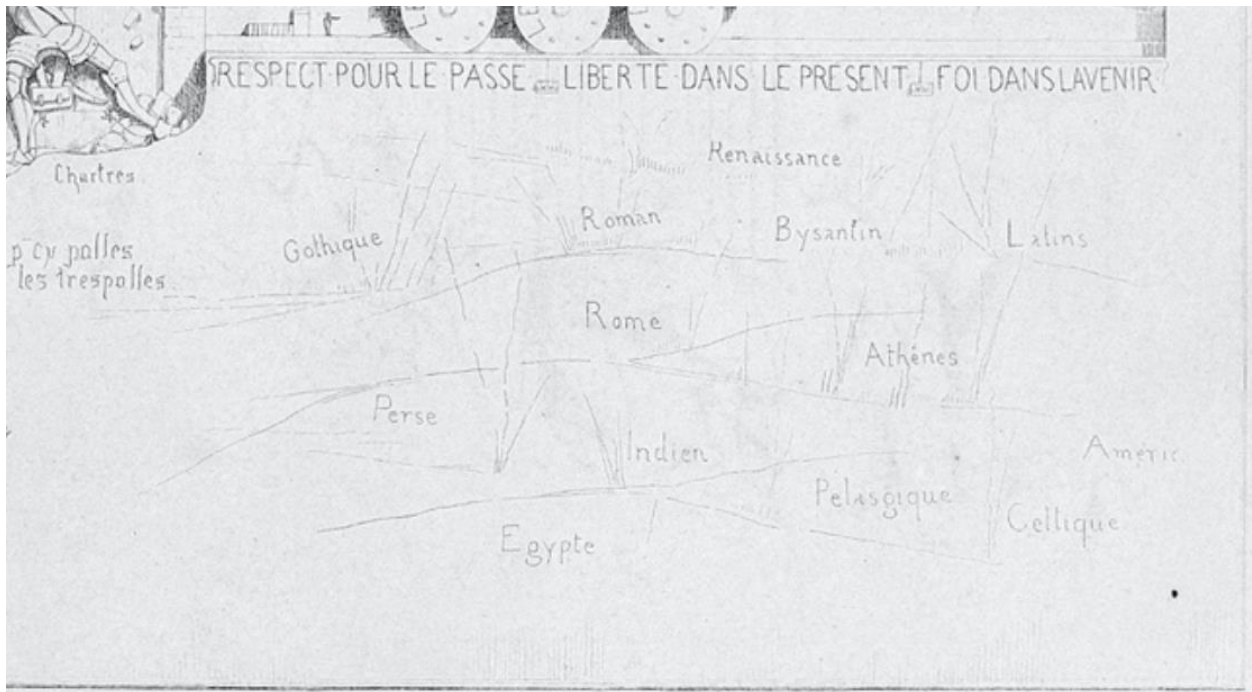
Figure 34. Detail of Figure 33. Ruprich Robert, "L'Architecture Contemporaine" inspired by César Daly's "De la Liberté dans l'Art" *RGA***, (1849).**
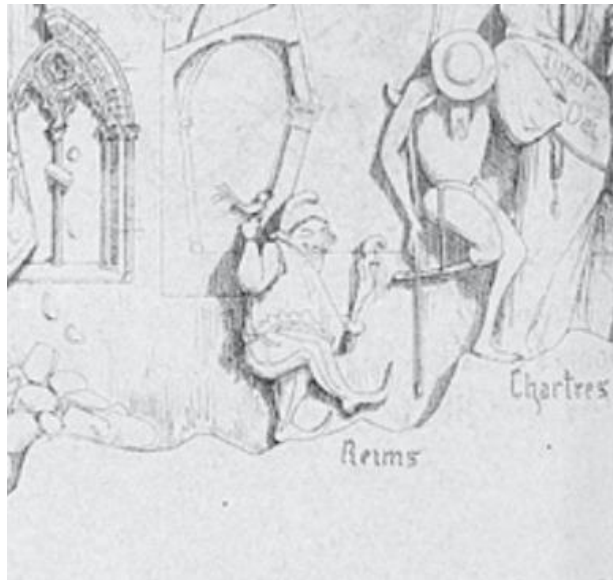
Figure 35. Central Figure in Ruprich Robert, "L'Architecture Contemporaine" inspired by César Daly's "De la Liberté dans l'Art" *RGA*, **(1849).**

Figure 36. Table from César Daly, "De l'Architecture de l'avenir" *RGA*, 1869, 38.
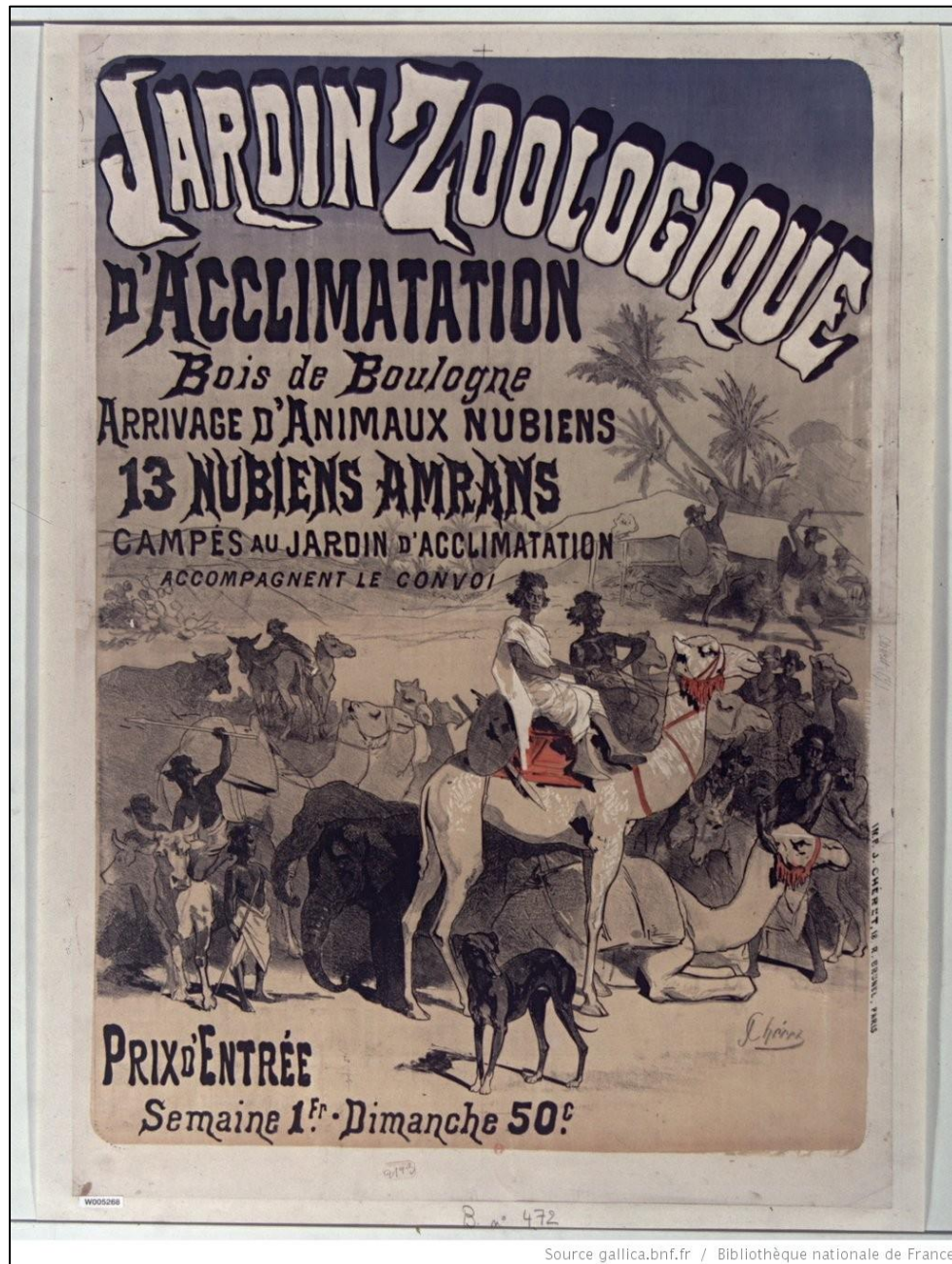
Figure 37. Jules Chéret, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation. Bois de Boulogne. Arrivage d'animaux nubiens. 13 nubiens amrans." 1877. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

INSURRECTION DE PARIS. 1871

WULFF Jne Phot

12. Porte Maillot. (Arc-de-Triomphe).

Figure 38. Wulff Jeane, Photograph 12, *Les Ruines de Paris* (Paris, 1871).

Figure 39. Auguste-Bruno Bracquehais, "Progress on the Porte Maillot" in *Siège de Paris*: 1870-1871 (Paris, 1871).

La Lapinière.
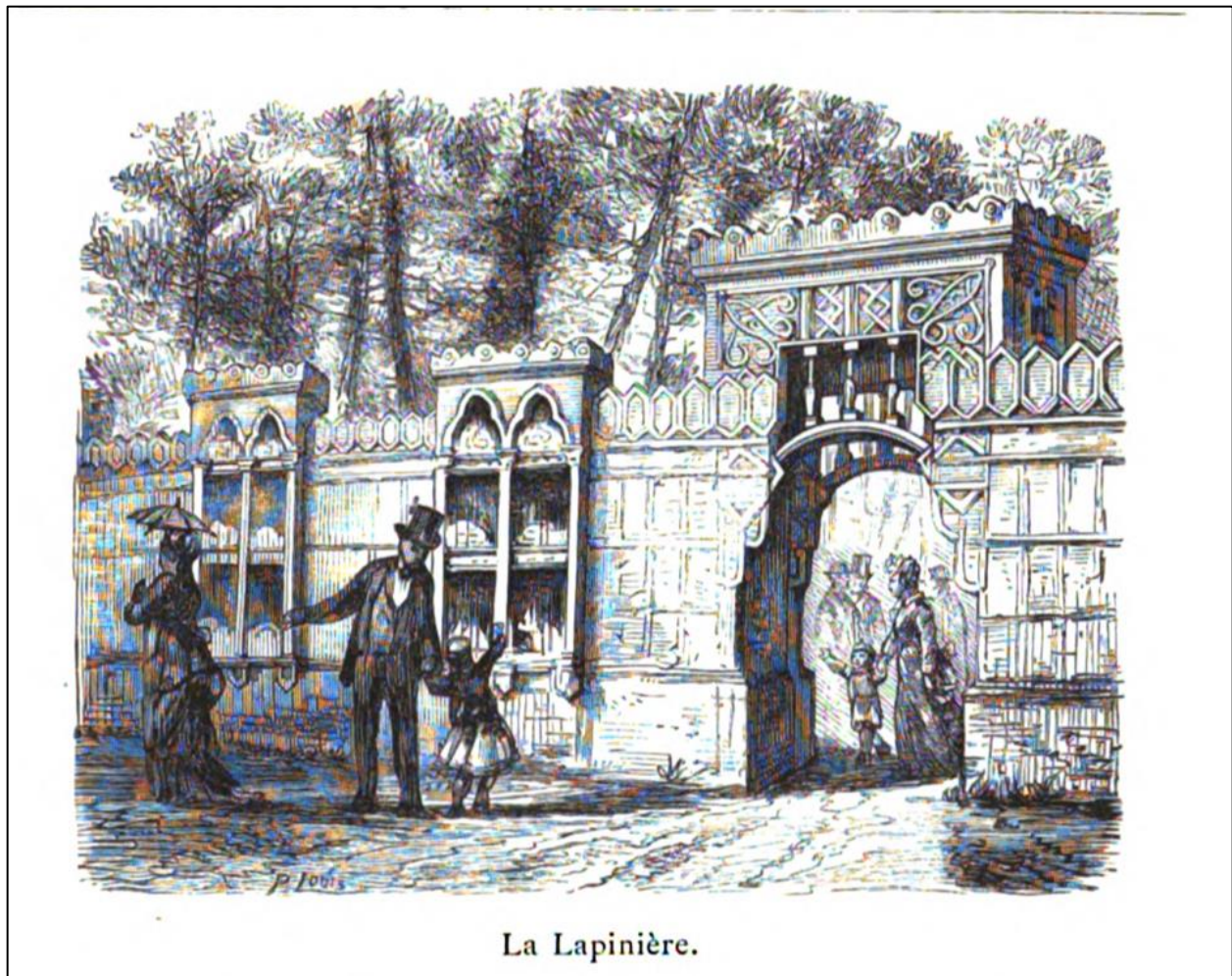
Figure 40. Grimard, *Jardin d'Acclimatation*, **1877, 303.**

Figure 41. Auguste Hippolyte Collard, "Pavillion à chaume pour animaux," 1866. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris.

Figure 42. Auguste Hippolyte Collard "Pavillon de garde(?) [sic]," 1866. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris.

Figure 43. "Constructions rustiques au Jardin d'Acclimatations, à Paris, par M. Tricotel, architecte," *Révue générale d'architecture et des travaux publics,* **volume 30, (1873) planche 19.**

Figure 44. "La caravane nubienne du jardin d'Acclimatation." *L'univers illustré*, (1879) : 480.

INTÉRIEUR DE LA TENTE D'HABITATION.
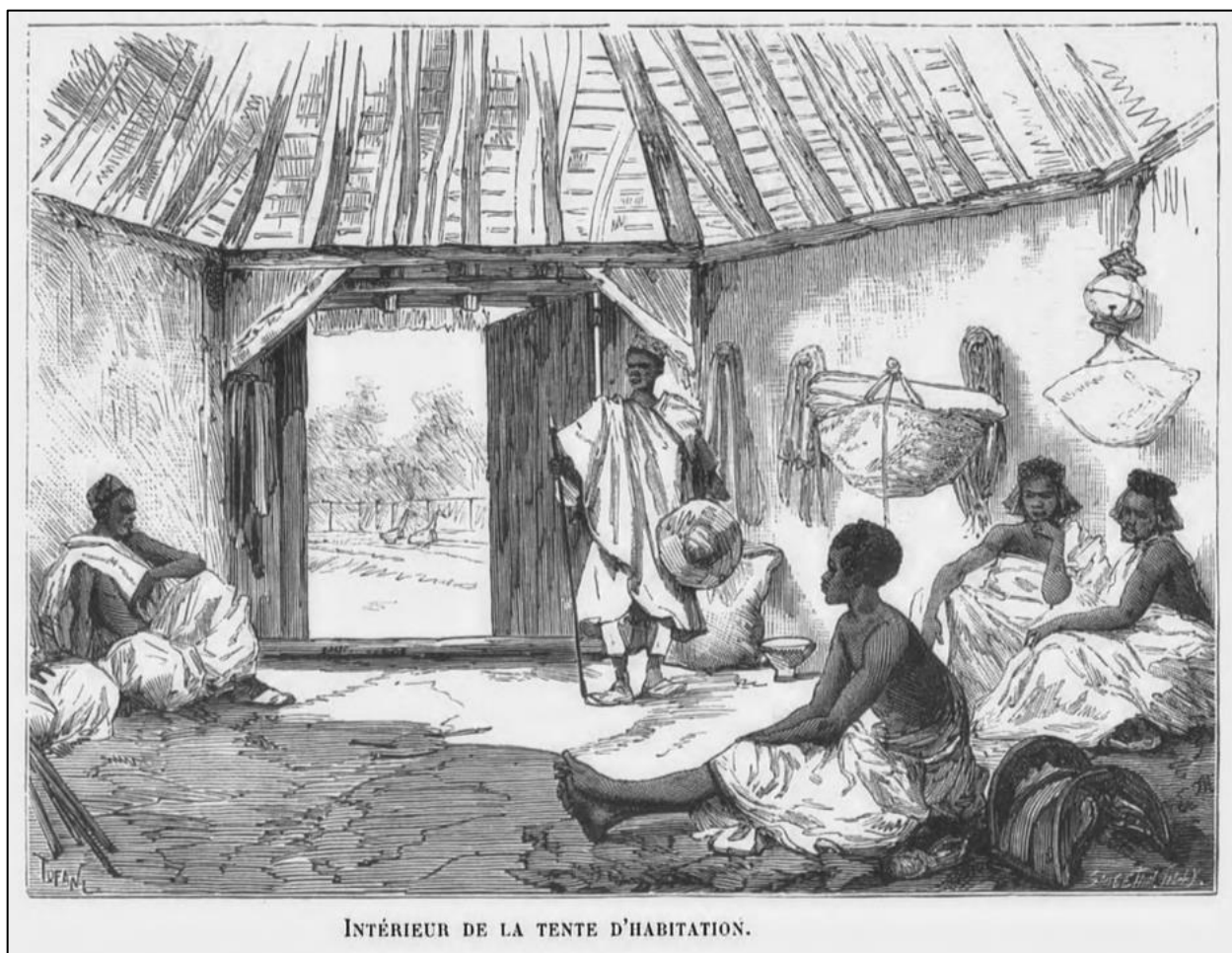
Figure 45. "Intérieur de la tente d'habitations" *L'Illustration,* **Vol. LXX., N. 1797, 4 Aout 1877, 71.**

Figure 46. The "Lapons russes" posed in front of the Hut. From Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," plate 15.

VUE GÉNÉRALE DU CAMPEMENT DES NUBIENS SUR LA GRANDE PELOUSE DU JARDIN.
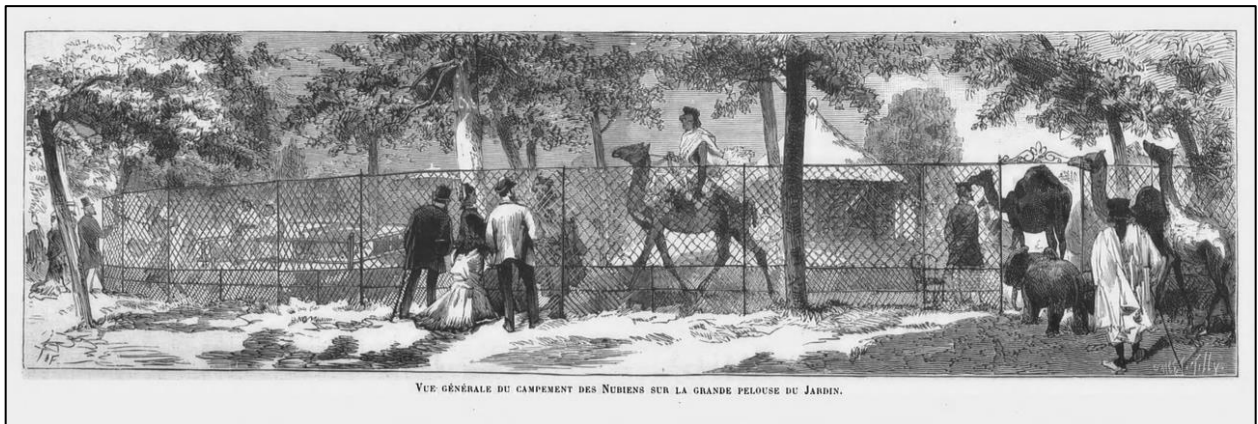
Figure 47. "Vue générale du campement des nubiens sur la grande pelouse du Jardin."*L'Illustration,* Vol. LXX., N. 1797, 4 Aout 1877, 71.
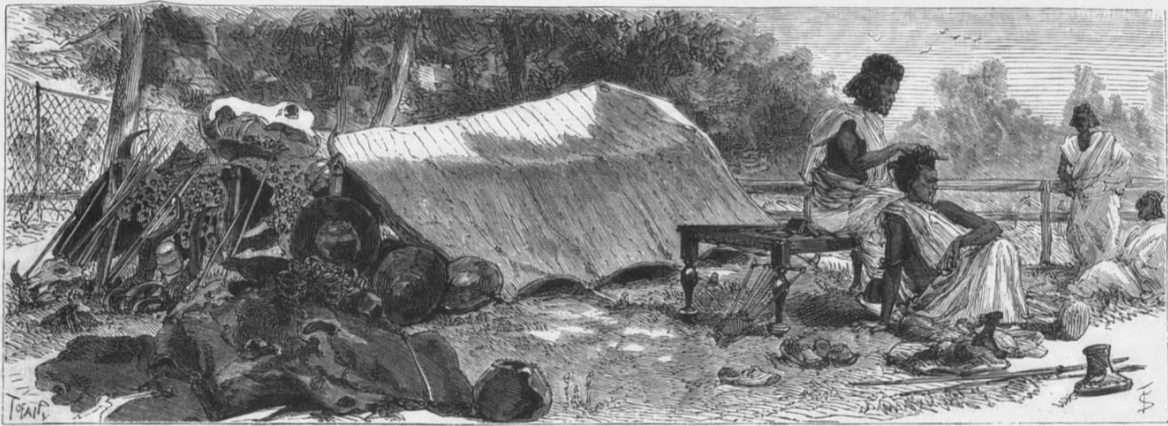
Les Nubiens au Jardin d'acclimatation. — LA TOILETTE.

Figure 48. "Les Nubiens au Jardin d'Acclimatation – La Toilette," *L'Illustration*, **Vol. LXX., N. 1797, 4 Aout**

1877, 72.

Brandin lith

Imp. Firmin Didot et Cie Paris
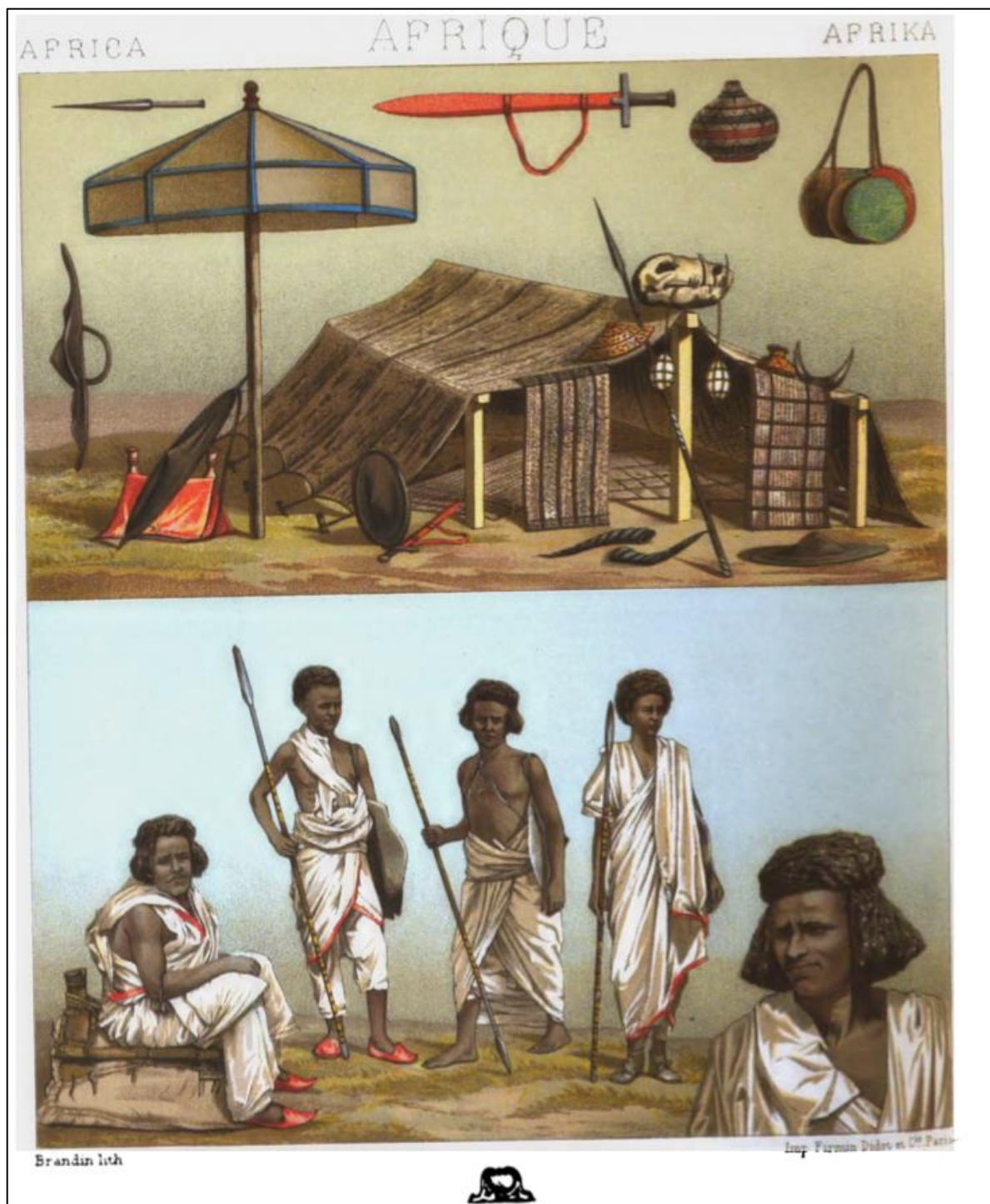
Figure 49. Albert Racinet, *Le costume historique: Antiquité : Asie. Afrique. Moyen-Age et XVIe siècle; XIIe et*

XVIIe et XIXe siècle **(Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1888), Plate 69.**

Figure 50. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 51. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 52. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.
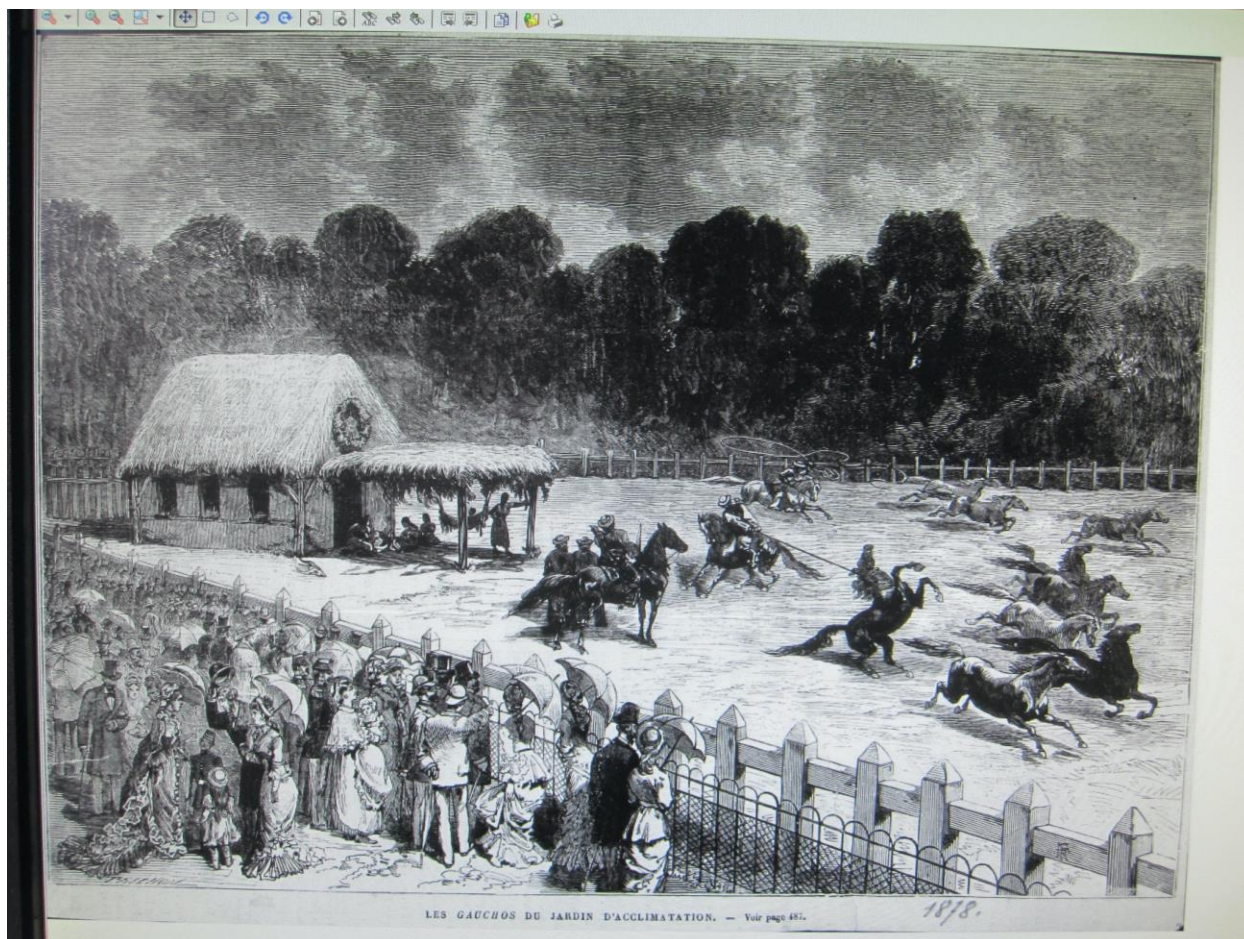
Figure 53. Les Gauchos du jardin d'Acclimatation, Courtesy of the Archives municipaux de Neuilly-sur-Seine.

Figure 54. "Paris – Les Gauchos des Pampas de la République Argéntine au Jardin d'Acclimatation,"

L'Illustration, **Vol. LXXII, n.1849, 3 August 1878, 68.**

Figure 55. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 56. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 57. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.
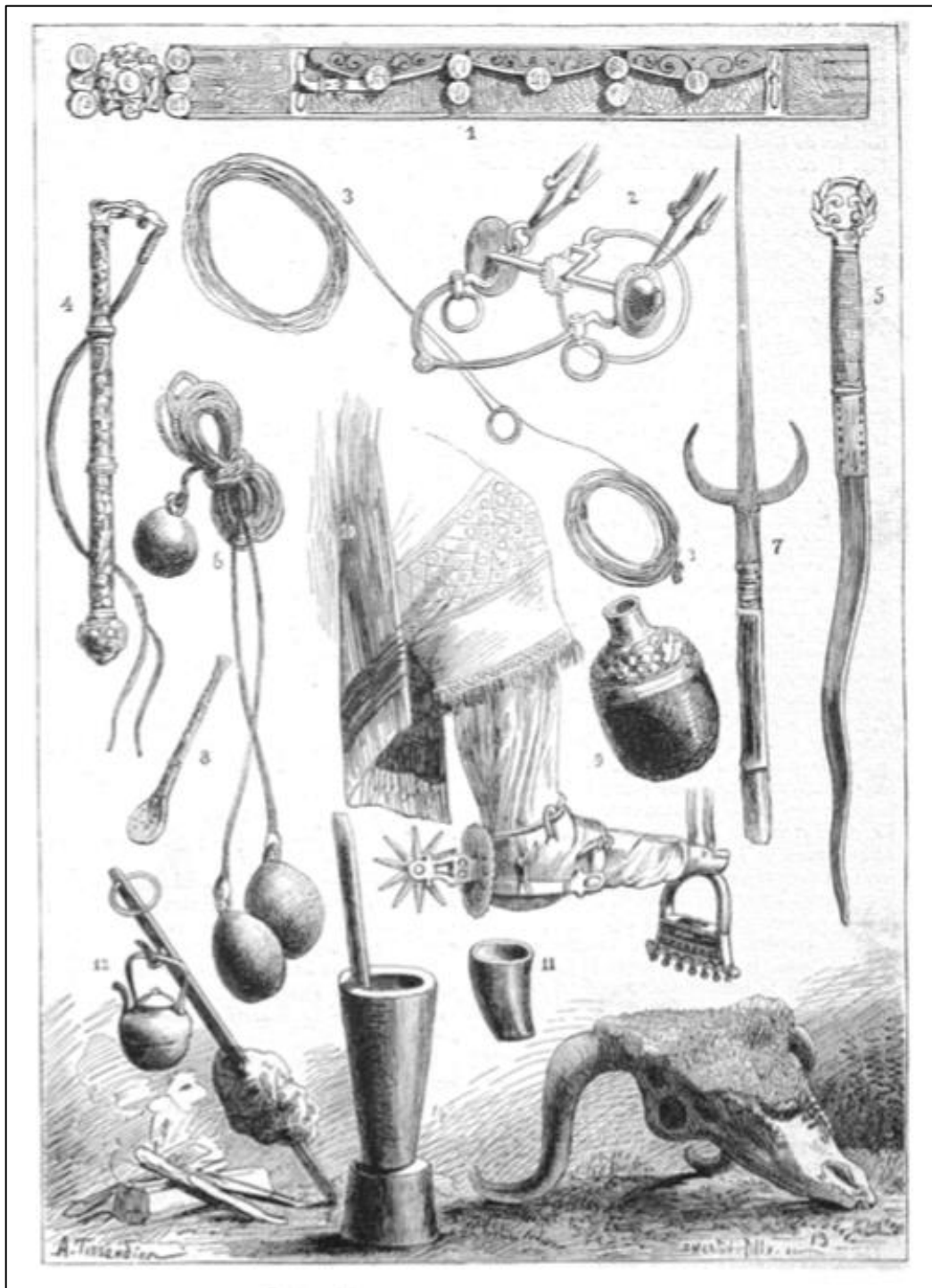
Figure 58. "Objects from the Gaucho displays," *La Nature* **(1878), 297.**

Figure 59. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 60. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 61. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 62. Roland Bonaparte, "Jardin zoologique d'acclimatation," 2 albums et 298 phot. De représentants de peoples des cinq continent. Des collections du prince R. Bonaparte.] Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 63. "Fuegiens du Jardin d'Acclimatation – Dr. Le Bon." Paris, Muséum nationale d'histoire naturelle, SAP 155 (7) / 115.
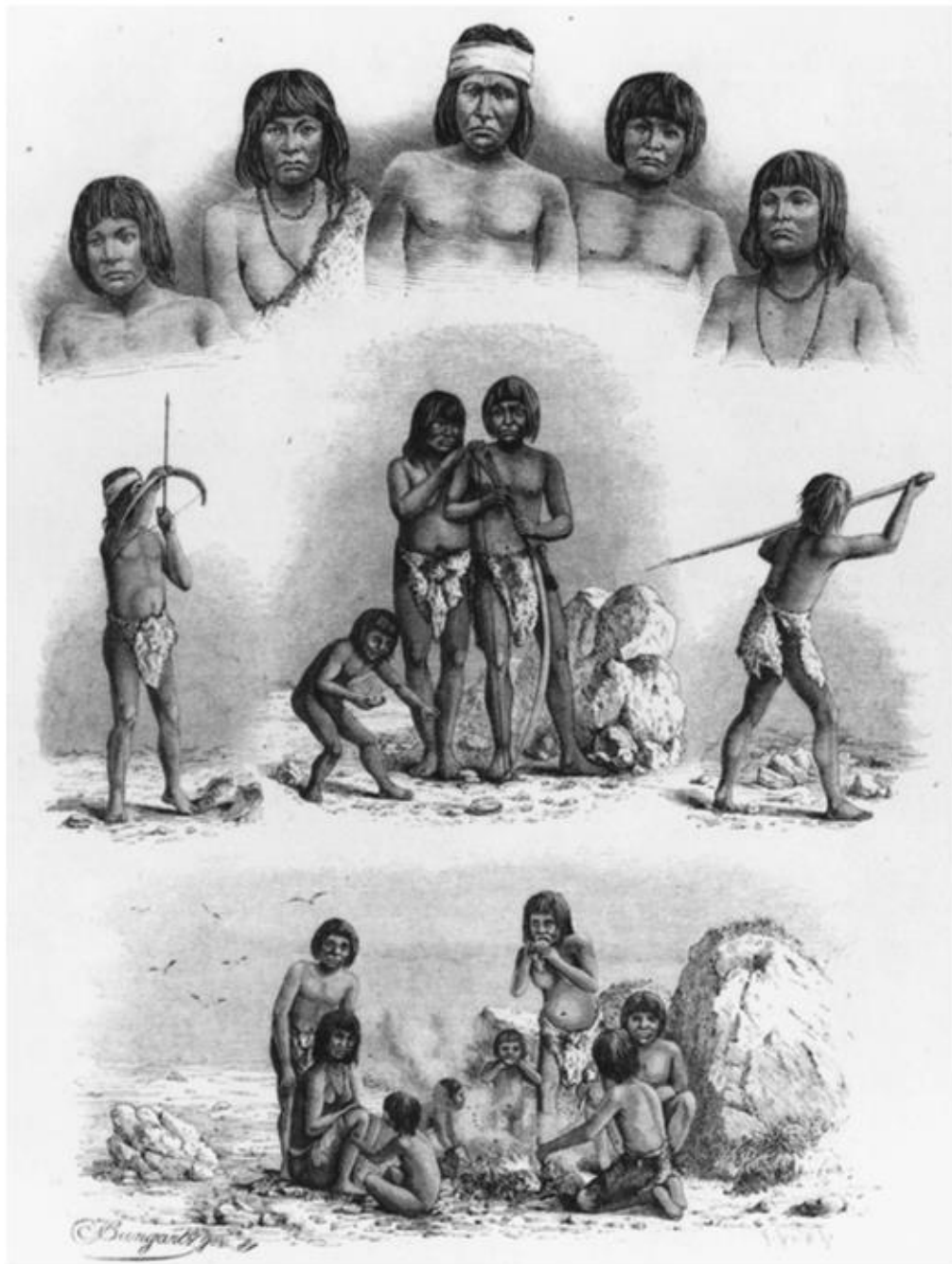
Fig. 29. "Fuegian Types," *Die Gartenlaube*, 1881.

Figure 64. "Fuegian Types," *Die Gartenlaube*, **1881.**
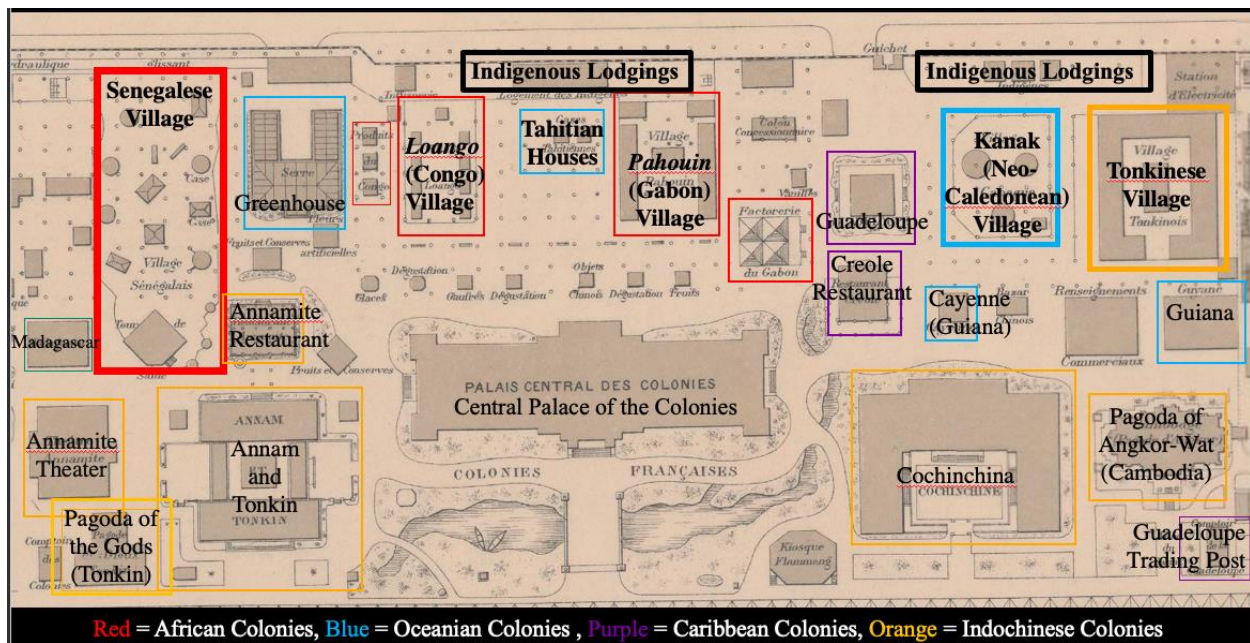
Figure 65. Plan of the Colonial Villages on the Esplanade des Invalides. Geographic labels were assigned to each of the colonies during the Exposition planning process.
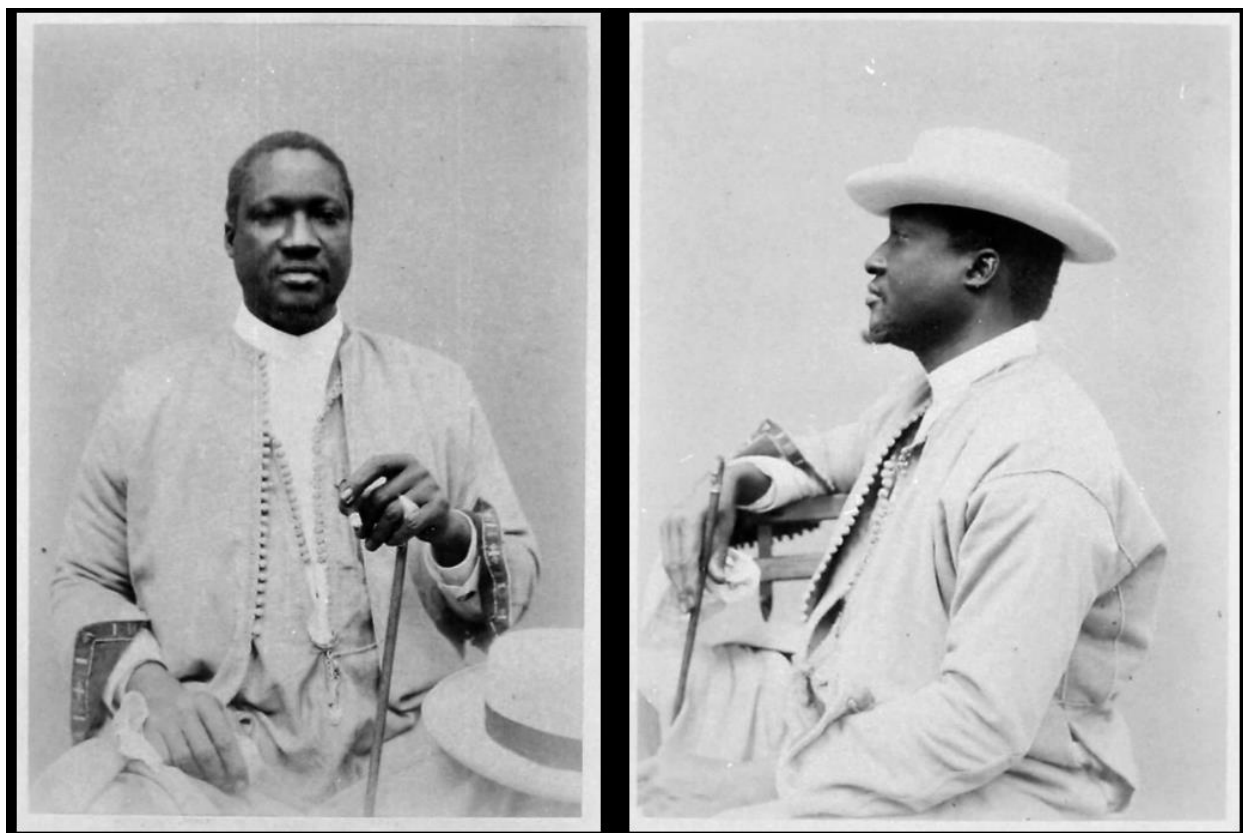
Figure 66. "Samba Lawbé Thiam– Bijoutier - né à Saint-Louis, Sénégal – 40 ans," Prince Roland Bonaparte,

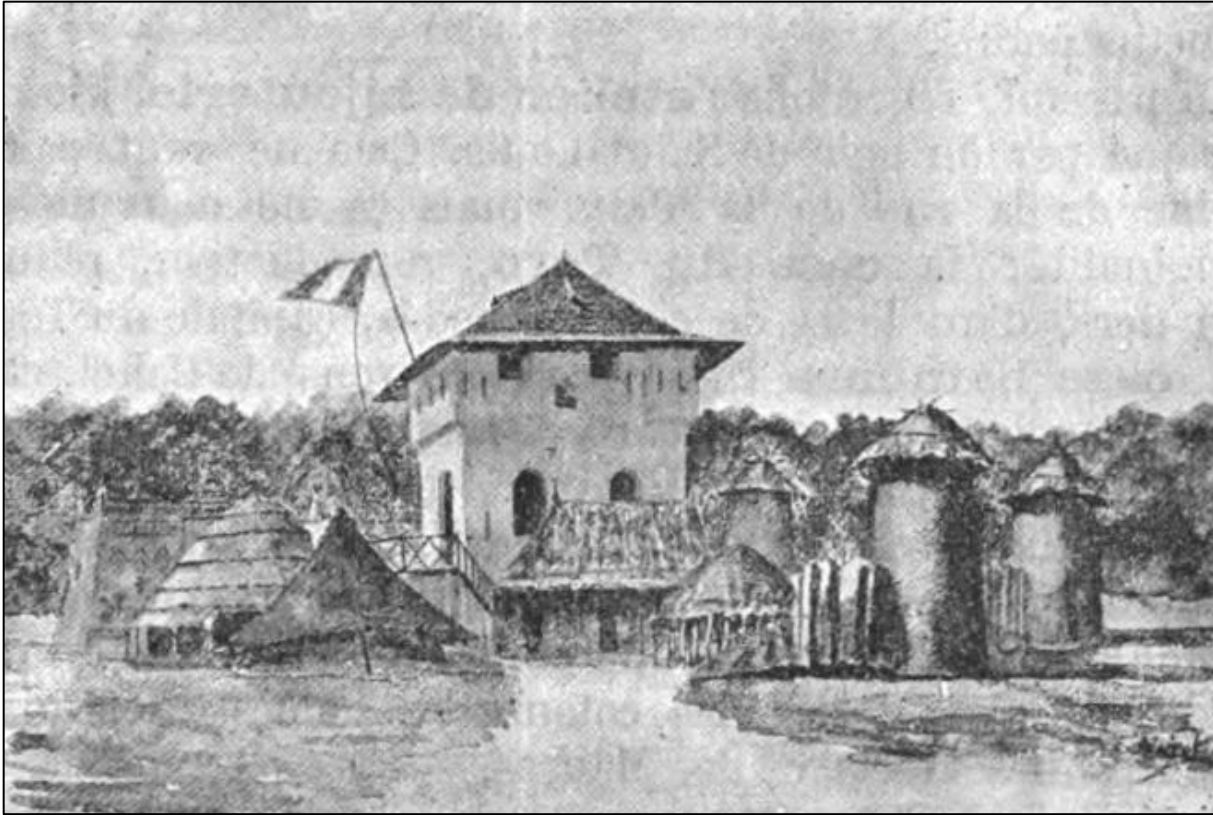Village Sénégalais, 1889, plates 1-2.

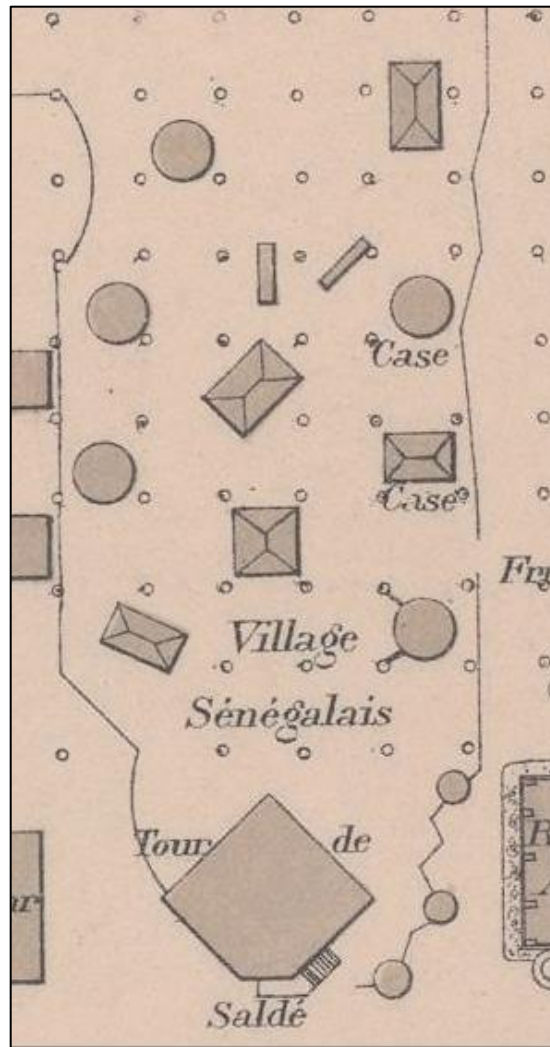**Figure 67. View from within the Senegalese Village.**

Figure 68. Plan of the Senegalese Village from *Plan de l'Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: 1889).
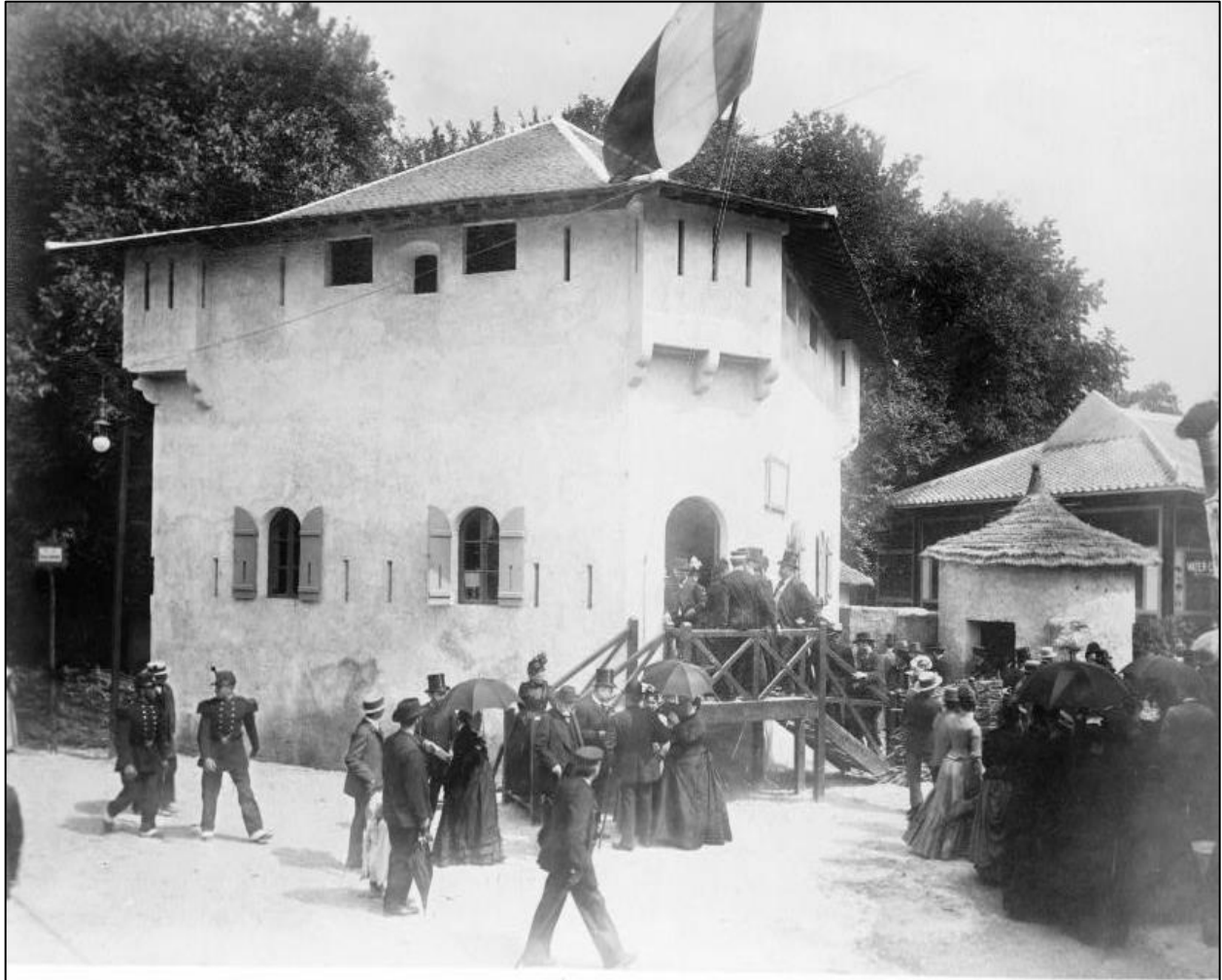
Figure 69. Unknown, "The Tour de Saldé," 1889, Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.,

USA.

Figure 70. Unknown, "The Rickshaw in the Tonkinese Village," 1889. Courtesy of The Library of Congress.

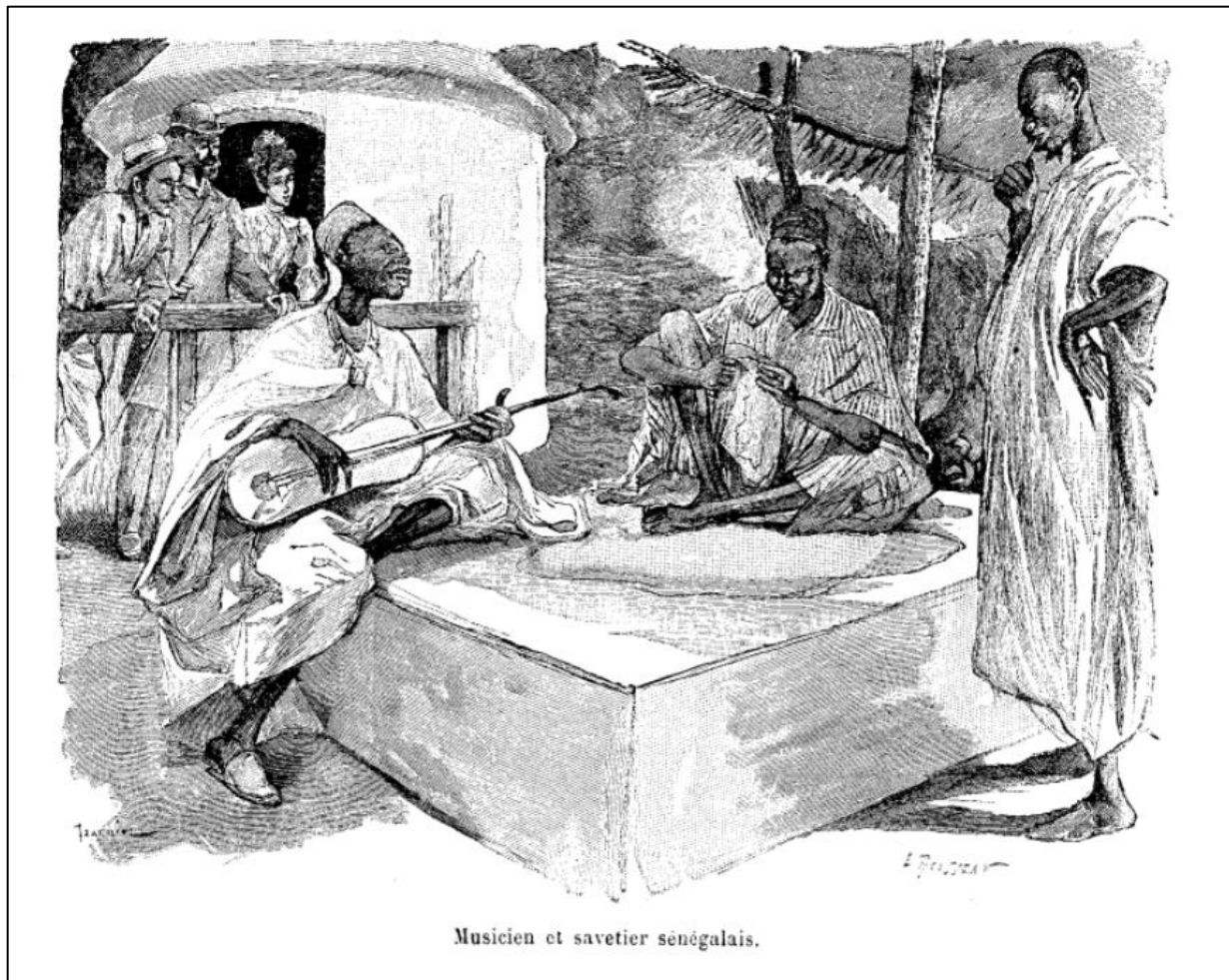Musicien et savetier sénégalais.

Figure 71. Senegalese musician and cobbler," Émile Monod, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889, grand ouvrage illustré, historique, encyclopédique, descriptif,* **Volume II (Paris: 1890).**
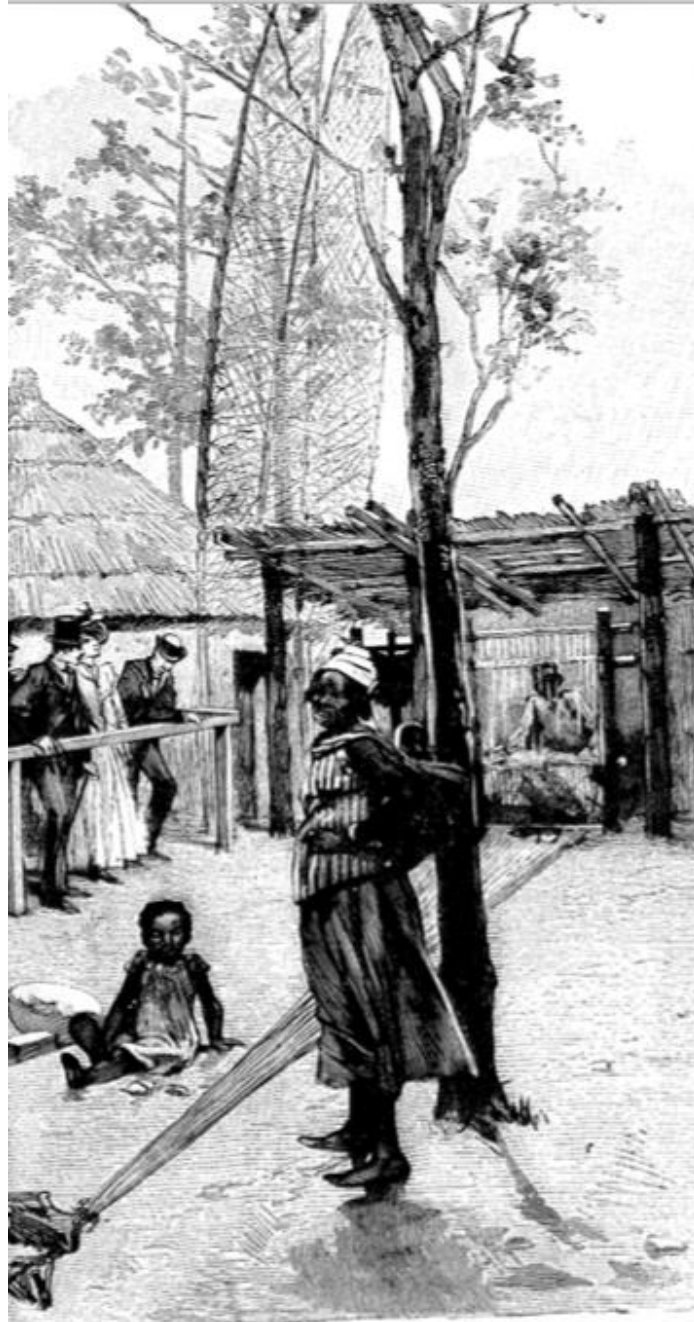
Figure 72. "La Maison d'une tisseur sénégalaise," from Émile Monod, *L'Exposition universelle de 1889, grand ouvrage illustré, historique, encyclopédique, descriptif "Volume II,* 1890.

Figure 73. French Colonial Pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1885 in Anvers, Belgium. Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

Surveillants de la Section Française

Figure 74. Tirailleurs at the Exposition universelle of 1885 in Anvers, Belgium. Reproduced in René Corneli and Pierre Mussely, *Anvers et l'Exposition universelle 1885, deuxième edition* **(Bruxelles: Ad. Martens, 1886), 215.**

Figure 75. Unknown, View of the Histoire de l'habitation humaine sequence, 1889. Album Maciet,
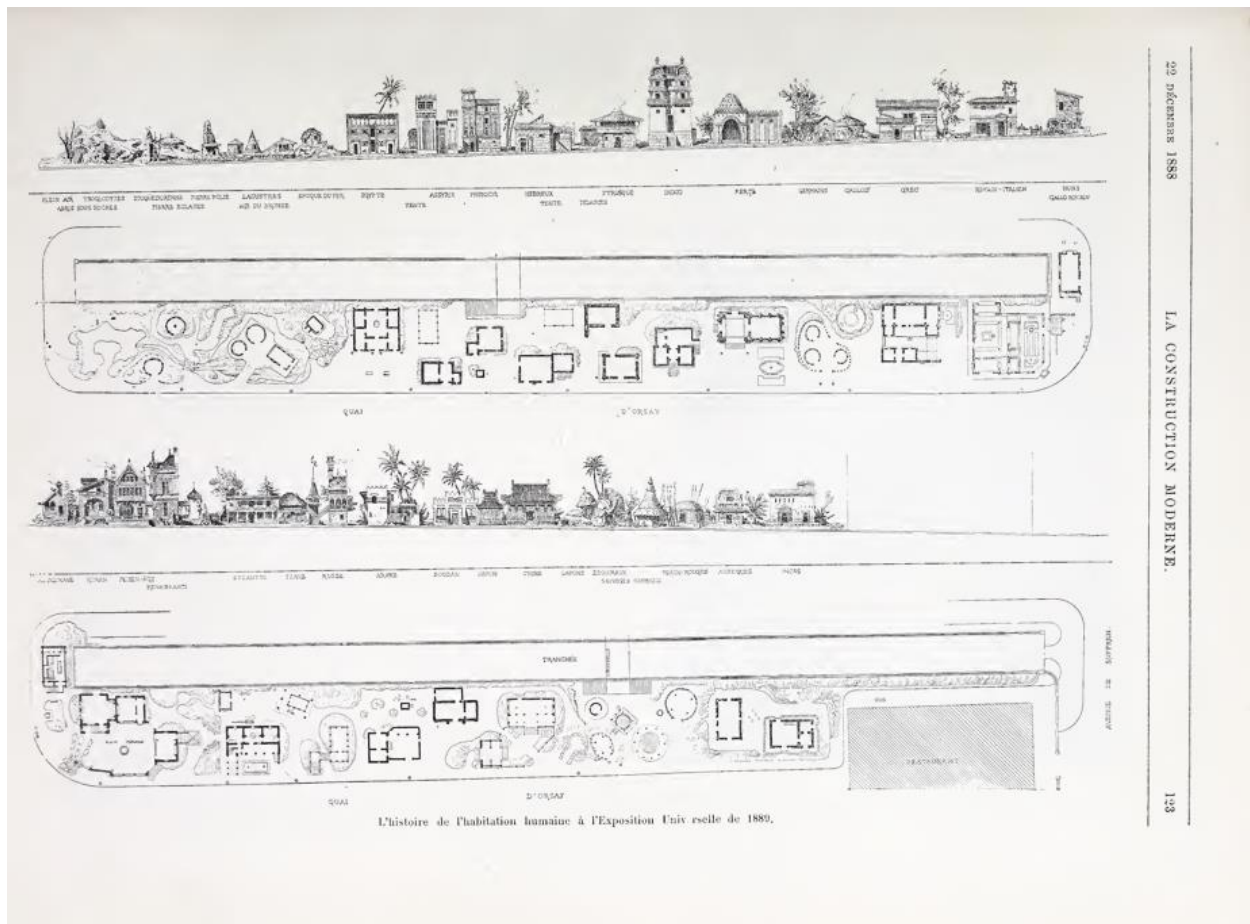
Bibliotheque du Musée des Arts decoratifs.

L'histoire de l'habitation humaine à l'Exposition Univ rselle de 1889.

Figure 76. Schema of HHH, reprinted *in La Construction moderne*, vol 4, 1888, 123.

Figure 77. Gustave Le Gray, "Palais des Tuileries," 1859.

Figure 78. Alphonse Liébert, "Palais des Tuileries incendié. Vue de la Place du Carrousel." *Les Ruines de*

Paris et ses environs **(Paris: 1871).**

Figure 79. Alphonse Liébert, Palais des Tuileries incendié. Intérieur de la Salle des Maréchaux. *Les Ruines de Paris et ses environs* **(Paris: 1871).**

Figure 80. *Ruines des Tuileries*, **1883, Siebe Joannes Ten Cate, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.**

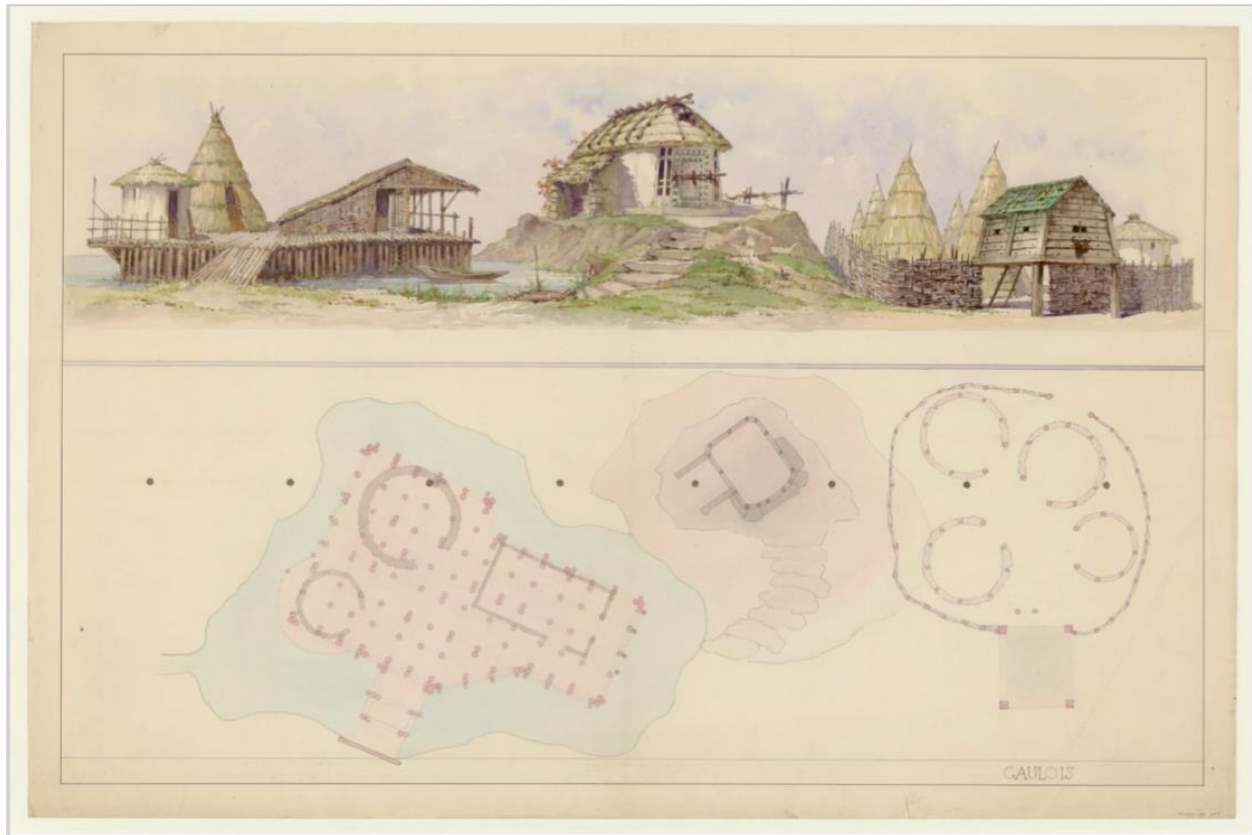**Figure 81. Jean-Eugène Durand, "The Tuileries Palace," 1882.**

Figure 82. Charles Garnier, Plan of the prehistoric houses, c. 1888. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
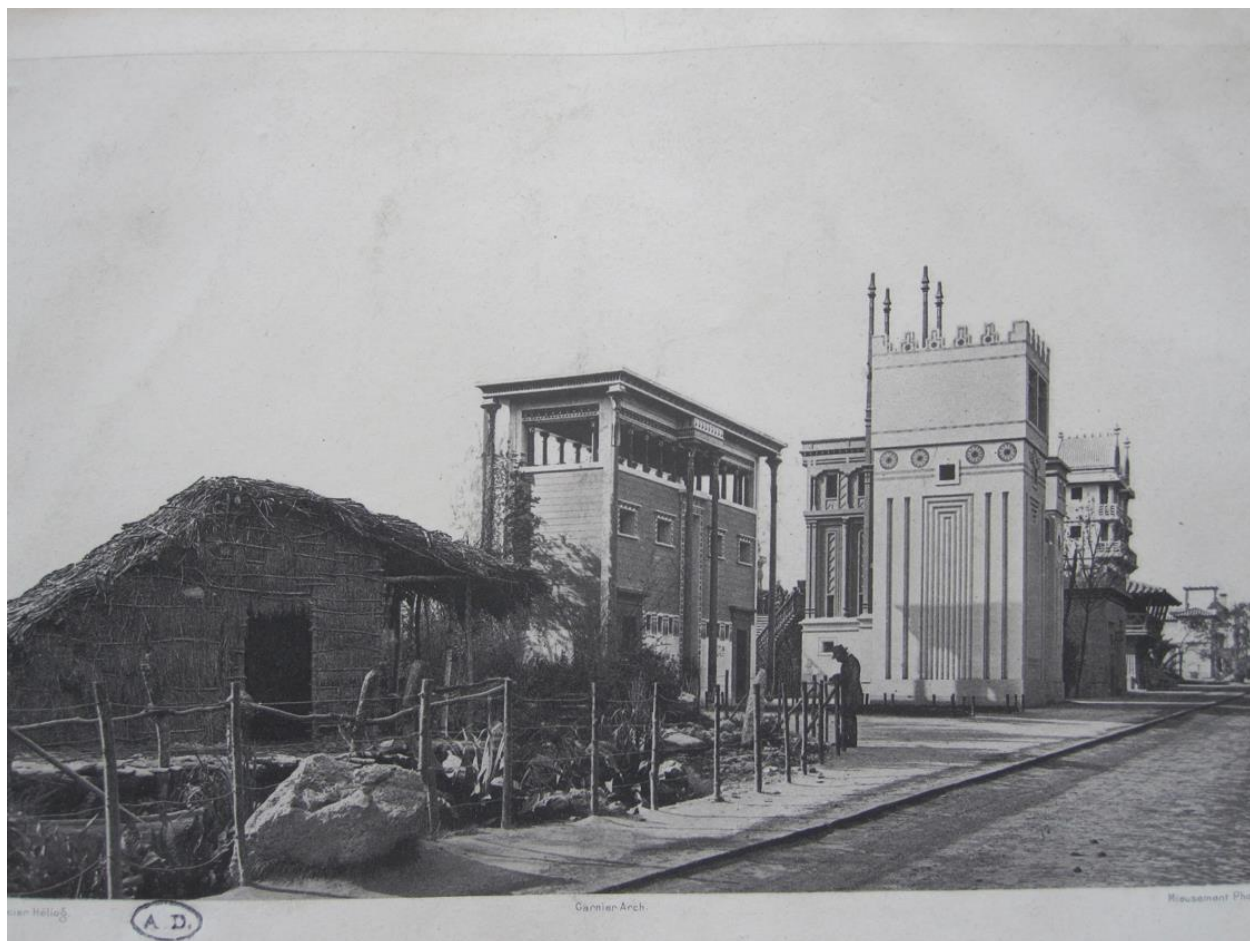
Figure 83. Unknown, Transition from prehistoric to historic dwellings, 1889. Album Maciet, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts décoratifs.

Figure 84. Hippolyte Blancard, "Vue générale de l'Histoire de l'Habitation par Charles Garnier," 1889.

Courtesy of the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris.

UN JOUR DE FÊTE AU CHAMP DE MARS : LES SALLES A MANGER IMPROVISÉES.

Figure 85. "Un jour de fête au Champ de Mars: Les salles à manger improvisées" *L'Exposition universelle de 1889,* **N. 36, 18 septembre 1889.**

Figure 86. Unknown, Persian, Germanic, and Gallic Houses, 1889. Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

Figure 87. Roman, Middle Ages, and Renaissance Houses, with Eiffel tower in the background, Album Glucq, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts décoratifs.

Figure 88. Unknown, Corner with visible Hindou House, Italian-Roman, and Gallo-Roman Houses, 1889.
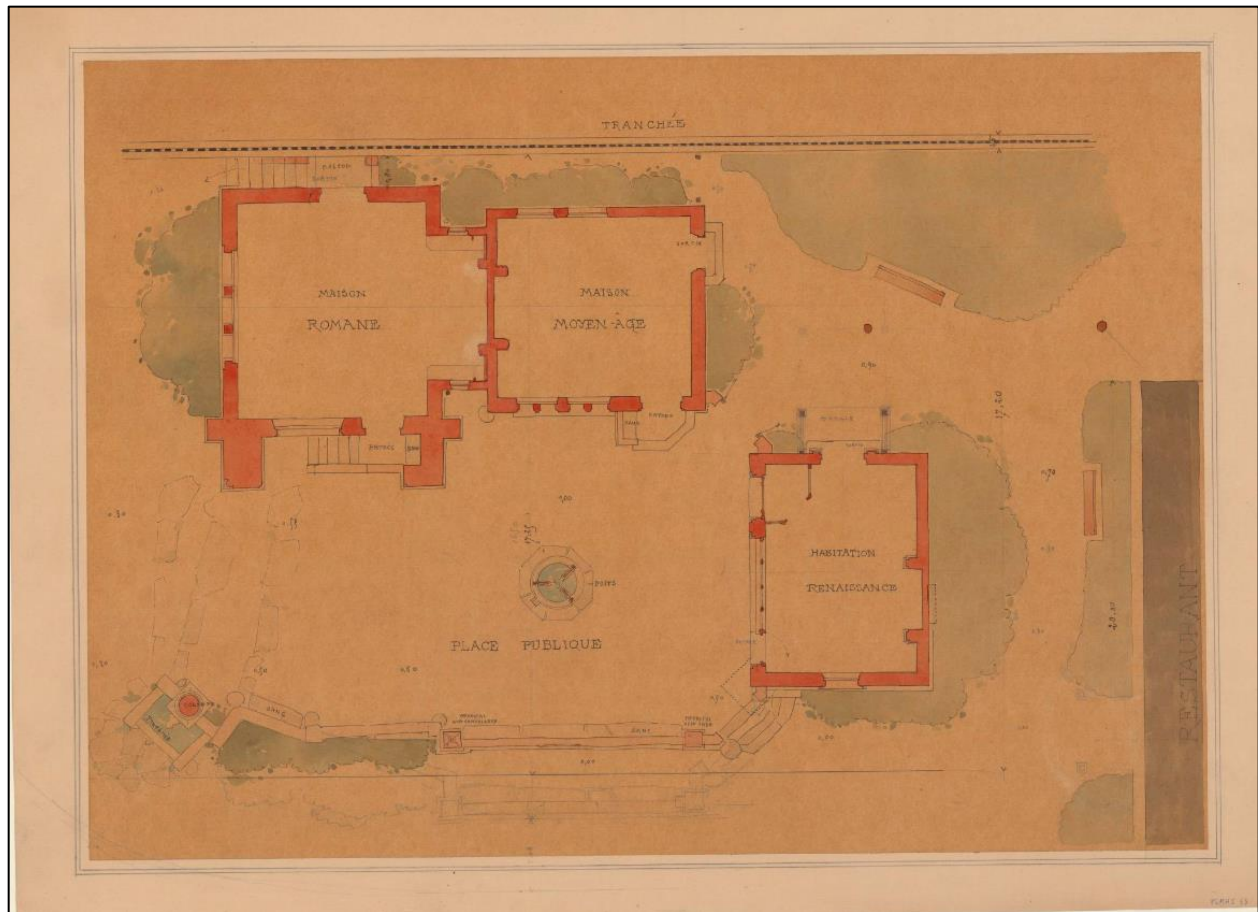
Figure 89. Charles Garnier, Floorplan of the Roman, Middle Ages, and Renaissance houses, 1886.

Figure 90. Unknown, "Byzantine House," 1889. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Figure 91. Byzantine and Russian Houses from Album Glucq, Paris, Bibliothèque du Musée des Arts décoratifs.

Figure 92. "Laplander and Japanese Houses," Unknown, 1889.

Figure 93. 'Red Skin' and Inca Houses," Unknown, 1889.

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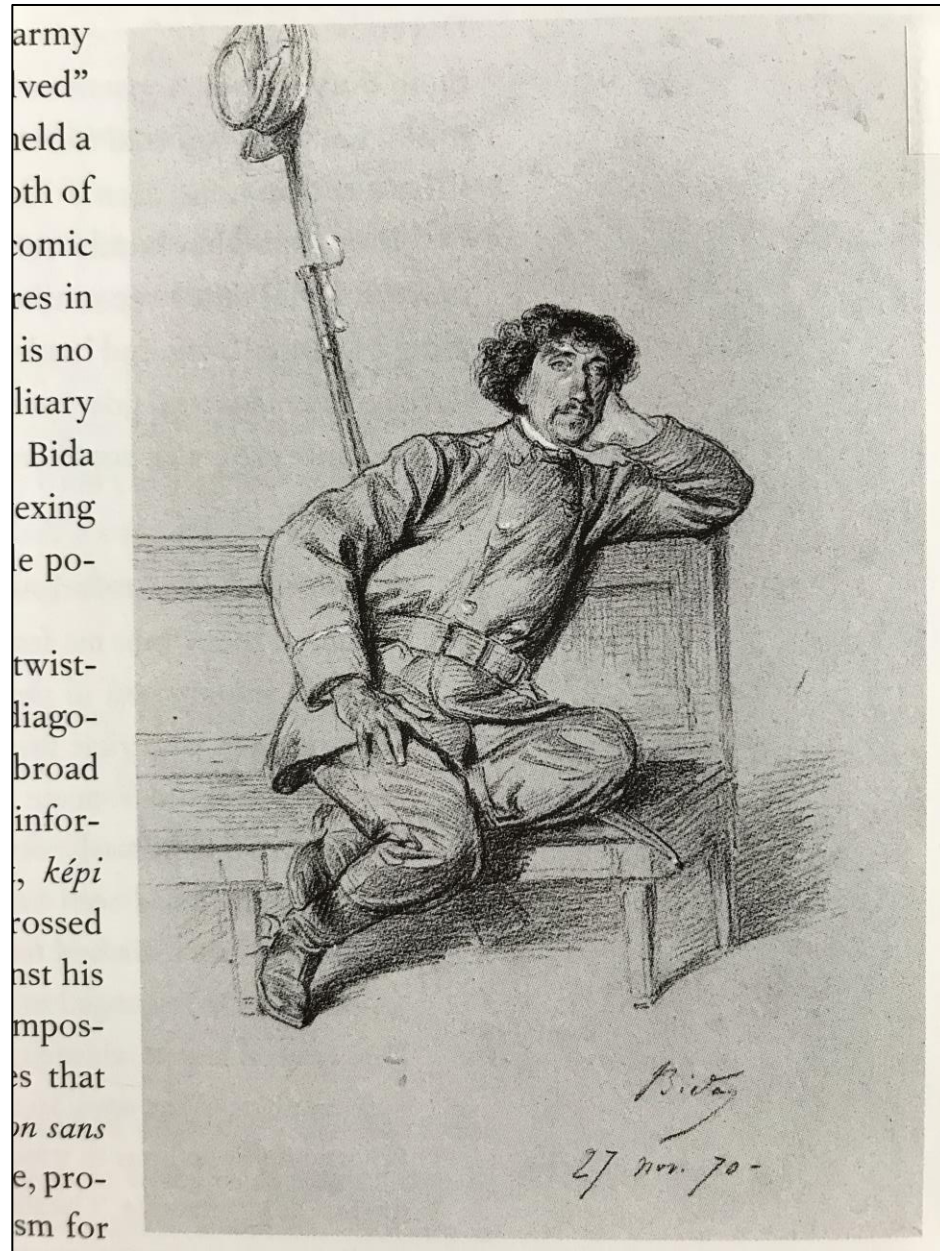s that
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Figure 94. Alexandre Bida, "L'Architecte Garnier en uniforme de Garde National," 1870 (inscription: 69e bataillon de marche, 6 e compagnie), pencil drawing, Musée Carnavalet, Paris.
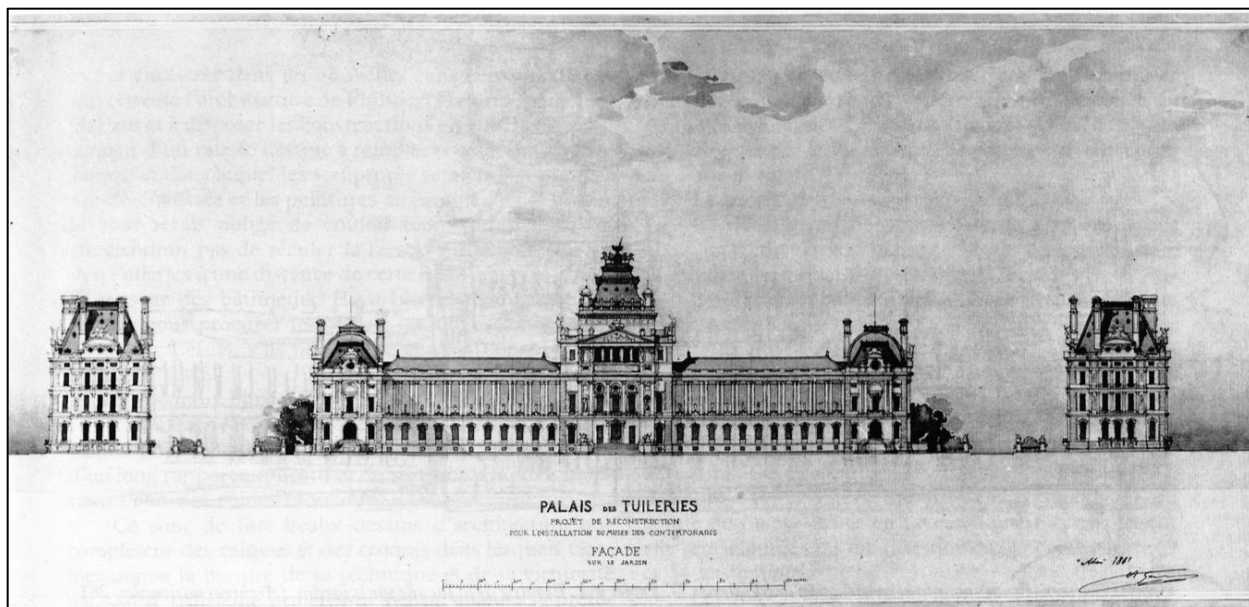
Figure 95. Garnier's first proposal for the Tuileries, May 31, 1881 Reproduced in Jacquin, "Trois projets,"

259.
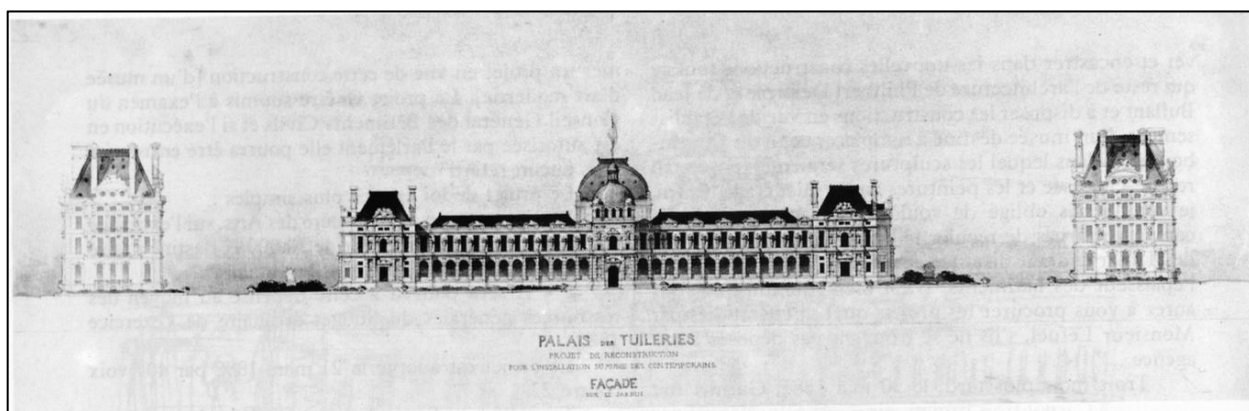
Figure 96. Garnier's first proposal for the Tuileries, May 31, 1881 Reproduced in Jacquin, "Trois projets,"

262.
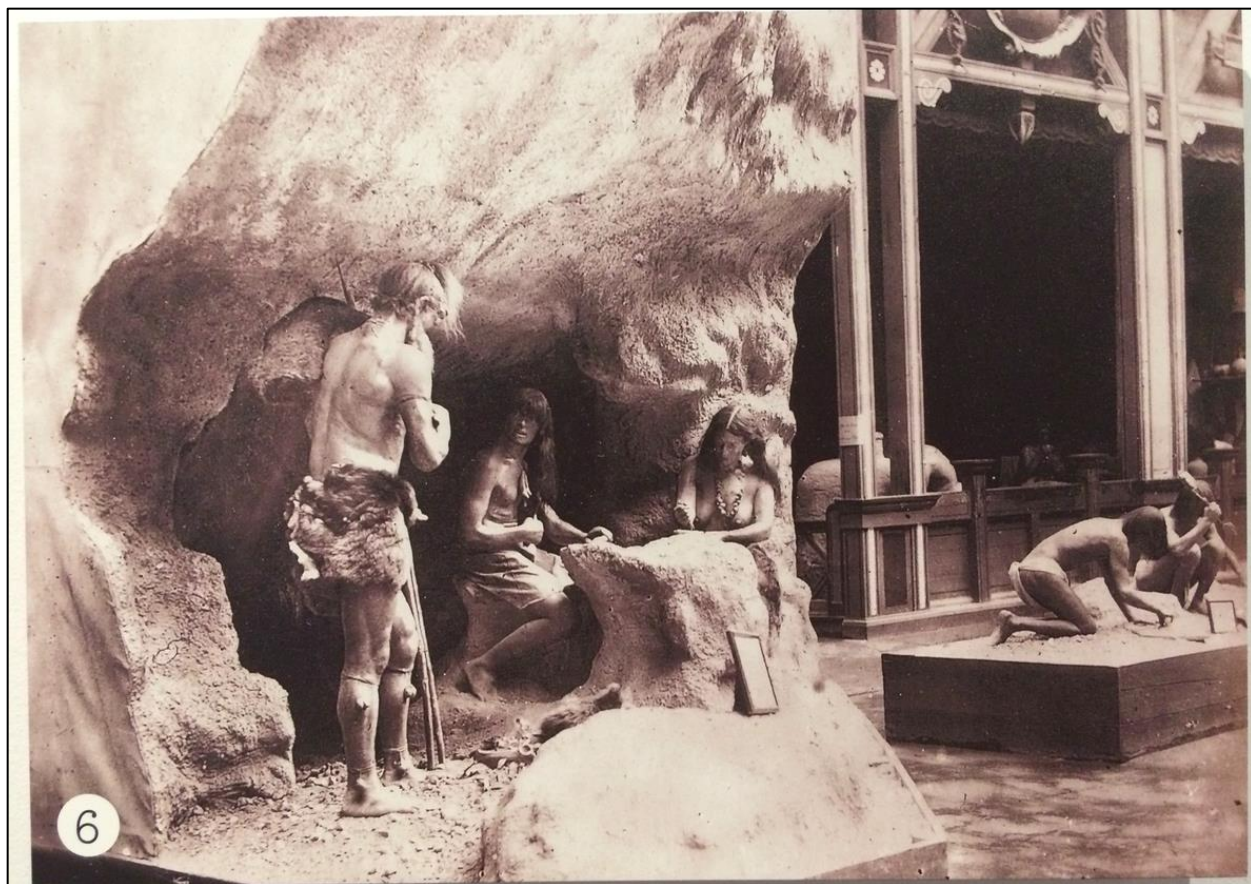
Figure 97. "Vue du diorama 'Reconsitution d'hommes de Cro-Magnon,' Exposition universelle de 1889,

Histoire du Travail et des Sciences anthropologiques section I" On view at the Musée de l'Homme, courtesy

of the Musée du Quai Branly.
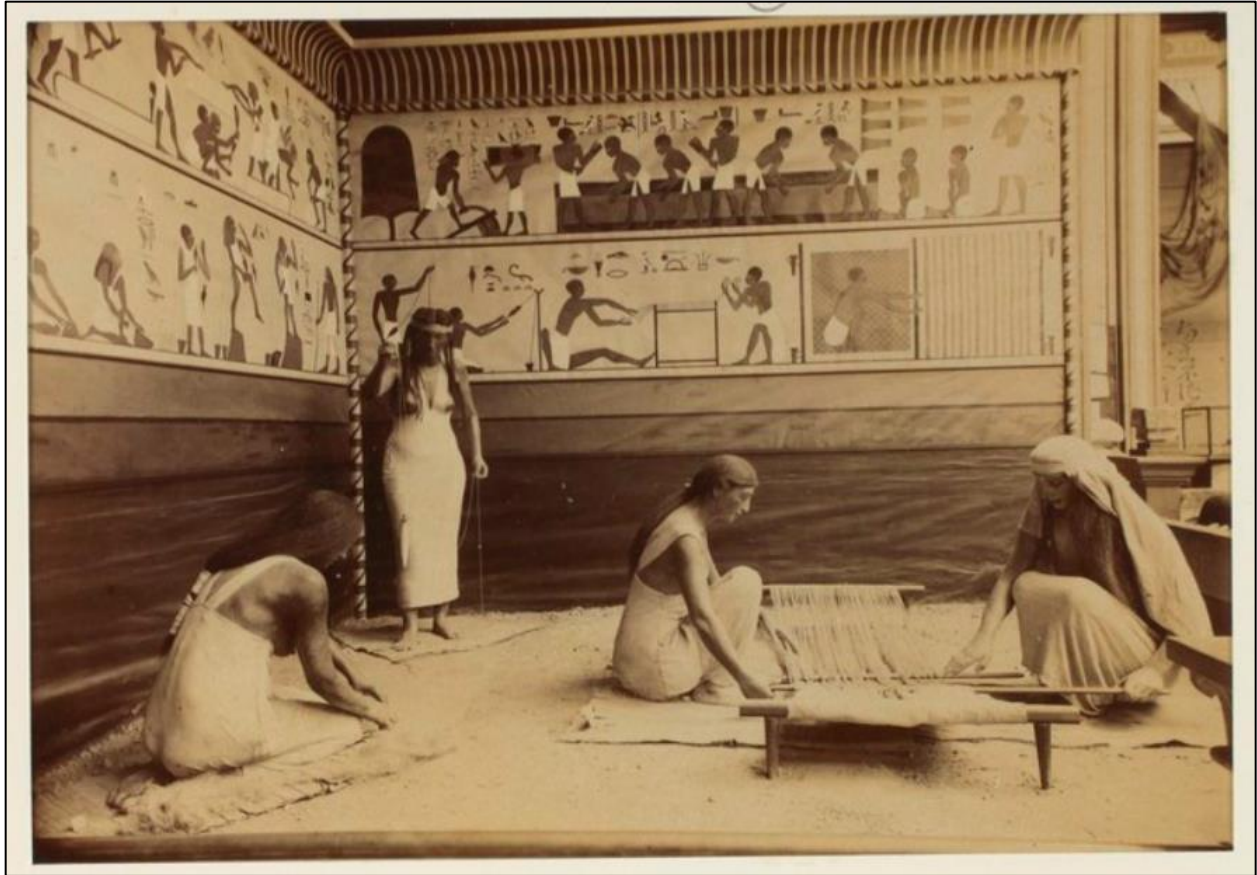
Figure 98. Roland Bonaparte, 7 photographes d'anthropologie, 1889. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Figure 99. ”The Original House of the Aryans,” From Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine*, **295.**

Figure 100. Preparatory watercolor for the Gaulish House. Paris, Archives nationales, F12 4055/D.

Maison de la rue des Hôtelleries, à Orléans.

Figure 101. The Orléons house ; Garnier's model for the Renaissance house. Garnier and Ammann,

***L'Habitation humaine*, 768.**

Table 1. The Final Order of the *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine* display at the Exposition universelle of 1889

(Terms in French)

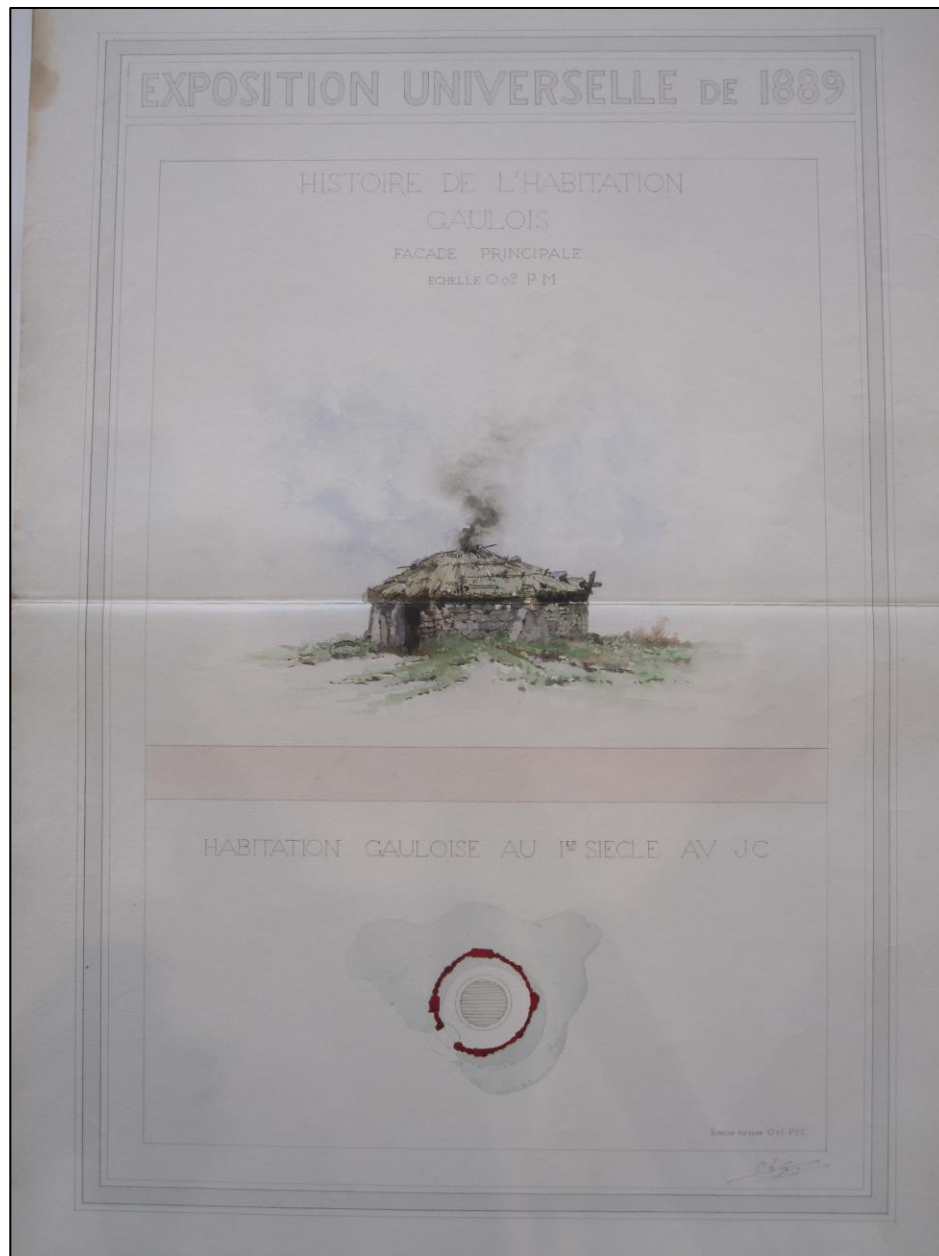| |
|---|
| 1. Plein air |
| 2. Abris sous roches |
| 3. Grottes |
| 4. Cabane (époque du renne) |
| 5. Pierre eclatée |
| 6. Allée couverte |
| 7. *Menhir* (Standing Rock) |
| 8-10. Cité lacustres |
| 11. Epoque du fer |
| 12. *Egyptien* |
| 13. Assyrien Tent |
| 14. *Assyriens* |
| 15. Pheonician |
| 16. Hebrew |
| 17. Hebrew Tent |
| 18. Pelasgian |
| 19. Etruscan |
| 20. Hindou |
| 21. Persian |
| 22-24. German |
| 25. Gaulish |
| 26. Greek |
| 27. Roman |
| 28. Huns |
| 29. Gallo-Roman |
| 30. Scandinave |
| 31. Roman |
| 32. Middle Ages |
| 33. Renaissance |
| 34. Slavic (1) |
| 35. Byzantine |
| 36. Slavic (2) |
| 37. Russian |
| 38. Arab |
| 39. Soudan |
| 40. Japan |
| 41. China |
| 42. Lapons |
| |
| 43. Esquimau |
| 44-46. Africa |
| 47. Peaux-rouges |
| 48. Azteques |
| 49. Incas |

Table 2. Changes to the *Histoire de l'Habitation humaine* display Over Time (with Garnier's Vocabulary)

Original proposal – 24 February 1888 Paris, Archives nationales, F12 3833)	June 1, 1888 (Paris, Archives Nationales, F12 3825) (Paris, Archives nationales, F12 3775)	Final Order at 1889 Exposition:
First Group: Geological Epoch *(Premier Group: Epoque géologique)* 1. Open Air (*Plein air*)	Natural or Primitive Dwellings (Abris naturels ou primitifs 1. Open Air (*Plein air*)	1. Open Air (*Plein air*)
2. Troglodyte Grotto (*Troglodytes-grottes*)	2. Rock Dwelling (*Sous roches*)	2. Rock Dwelling (*Abris sous roches*)
3. Lakeside dwellings (*Cités Lacustres – habitations sur les lacs*)	3. Grotto (*Grottes*)	3. Grotto (*Grottes*)
4-5. Habitation terrestres-cabanes au bois; huttes;	Built habitations (eight types) *Habitations construites (huit types)* 4-6. Lakestide Dwellings (*Cite lacustres*)	4. Hut, Reindeer Age (*Cabane, époque du renne*)
2e. Groupe: Epoch of Transition (*Epoque de transition)* 6. Bronze Age, the First constructions *(Age de bronze – Début des constructions)*	7. Hut, Reindder Age (*Cabane, époque du renne*)	5. Stone Age (*Pierre eclatée*)
7. Age de fer – Développement des abris	8. Covered Way (*Allée couverte)*	6. Covered Way (*Allée couverte*)
3. Groupe: Historic Epochs *(Epoques historiques)* 1er section divers	9. Menhir	7. Menhir

8. Ancient China, 5,000 BC (*Chine ancienne – 5,000 avant J-C)*		
9. Aztecs (*Astecques - ? [sic]_*	10. Hut, Iron Age (*Cabane, époque du fer)*	8-10. Lakeside Dwellings (*Cité lacustres)*
10. Peoples of the North. Laplanders. Eskimos. (*Peuples du nord. Lapons. Esquimaux)*	For the Original Civilizations (*Pour les civilizations primitives)* 11. Egypt	11. Iron Age (*Epoque du fer)*
2er section. Egyptian Origins (*Origines egyptiennes)* 11. Egyptians (*Egyptiens;)*	12. Hebrew Tent	12. Egyptians (*Egyptien)*
12. Assyrians (*Assyriens;)*	13. Assyrians (*Assyriens)*	13. Assyrian Tent
13. Babylonians (*Babyloniens)*	14. Phéonicien	14. Assyrians (*Assyriens)*
14. Pheonicians (*Phéniciens)*	15. Hebrew en Palestine	15. Phoenicians (*Phéniciens)*
15. Pelasgian (*Pélasgiens)*	16. Assyrien Tent	16. Hebrew
		17. Hebrew Tent
16. Etruscans (*Etrusques)*	17. Pelasgian	18. Pelasgian
3. Section: 1,000 BC (1,*000 ans avant J-C)* 17. ? Argedens	18. Etruscan	19. Etruscan
18. Hindus (I*ndous)*	For the Civilizations born of the Aryan Invasions: (*Pour les civilisations nées des invasions des Aryas):* 19. Hindu (*Hindou)*	20. Hindou
19. Persians (*Persans)*	20. Persia (*Perse)*	21. Persian
20. Hellenic (*Hellènes)*	21-23. German	22-24. German
21. Gaulois	24. Gaulois	25. Gaulish
22. Germains	25. Greek	26. Greek
23. Romains, Italiens	26. Roman	27. Roman
4e Section: Since the Christian Era	For the Roman Civilizations in the West:	28. Huns

(Depuis l'ère chrétienne) 24. Huns	*(Pour la civilization romaine en Occident):* 27. Huns	
25. Francs	28. Gallo-Roman	29. Gallo-Roman
26. African Savages; Sudan (*Sauvages d'Afrique; Soudan*;)	29. Scandinavian	30. Scandinvaia (*Scandinave*)
27. Byzantines	30. Roman	31. Roman
28. Russes	31. Middle Ages (*Moyen-Age)*	32. Middle Ages
29. Slaves	32. Renaissance	33. Renaissance
30. Romans	For the Roman Civilizations in the East: *(Pour la civilization romaine en Orient)* 33. Slaves (Bosniaque)	34. Slavic (1)
31. Arabes, maures	34. Byazantine	35. Byzantine
32. Turcs	35. Slaves (Valaque)	36. Slavic (2)
	36. Soudan	37. Russian
5e. Section, 1200 AD *(depuis 1200 de l'ère chrétienne)* 33. Moyen-Age	37. Russe	38. Arab
34. Renaissance	38. Arab	39. Soudan
	For the Civilizations that were contemporary but with whom they never entered into contact: *(Contemporary Pour les civilization contemporaine des civilization mais qui ne sont pas entrée en communication)* avec elles 39. China (*Chine*)	40. Japan
	40. Japan (*Japon*)	41. China
	41. Eskimo (*Esquimau*)	42. Laplanders
	42. Laplanders (*Lapon*)	43. Eskimo
	43. Red Skins (*Peaux-Rouges*)	44-46. Africa
	44-46. Tribes of Africa (*Peuplade d'Afrique*)	47. Red Skins (*Peaux-rouges*)

	47. Inca	48. Aztecs
	48. Aztèque	49. Incas

PURPLE = Constructions architecturaux
GREY = Constructions pittoresques
YELLOW = Garnier's Categorization
BLUE = Garnier's sub-categorization

Appendix B Mapping Destruction: Using Digital Tools to Visualize Late Nineteenth-Century Paris

On April 15, 2019, people around the world watched as the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris became consumed by fire (Figure 102). While reporters and tourists alike attempted to document the devastation through photography, the Cathedral, the physical footprint of which is smaller than a football field, became the focal point of the city. The blazing structure was captured from all angles, various heights, and from all corners of the city. In those few hours when the landmark's fate remained uncertain, the burning cathedral demanded the attention of all in the area, while the smell of smoke reminded those out of sight about the event that was occurring blocks away. For those who remember that day, as well as those who would eventually visit the damaged site, the expectation and emotional charge related to the structure had clearly shifted.

As I watched the events unfold through my computer screen, it was impossible not to be reminded of similar, larger blazes that had tormented the city (Figure 103). During the week of May 21-28, 1871, famously called "Bloody Week," the Communards set fire to countless Parisian monuments, buildings, and streets. In the two decades that preceded the Commune, Paris had undergone a massive aesthetic and infrastructural overhaul. Napoleon III commissioned Baron von Haussmann to transform the capital into the most modern city in the world, one with sewers, gas lamps, and wide boulevards. These boulevards not only created dramatic sight lines to new monumental structures, such as the Opéra nationale, but were also meant to be nearly impossible for revolutionaries to barricade. However, in 1871, Haussmann's deliberate destruction of the city was quickly replaced by foreign and civil attacks. Throughout the Siege of Paris, the Prussians surrounded the capital and fired a seemingly limitless supply of shells into the capital. By June

1871, hundreds of apartment buildings had been hit, while countless structures were damaged by both French and foreign hands.

This project, "Mapping Destruction," is motivated by a seemingly simple set of questions: when life resumed in Paris in June 1871, what did the city look like? How can we use digital mapping tools and photographic albums to better resurrect the landscape of Paris as it appeared during this time? When considering that many of these destroyed buildings haunted Paris into the 1890s, mapping the destruction allows historians to better understand the extent of the damage. In addition, it reveals how Paris continued to change post-Haussmann as well as the how the environment in which Parisians viewed human displays impacted viewing practices.

Using Airtable and ArcGIS, two free online tools, this project contains both a database of these imagery related to the city after 1870. Airtable is a relational database and it has proved an invaluable tool due to its ability to store images and link entries. ArcGIS is a mapping tool that allows the user to plot points, calculate distances, and display information through layering. When selecting several layers, the user may hover the cursor over a specific data point for further information and, if applicable, a thumbnail of the image. The data base includes photographic albums and mass media representations, and it can be re-organized by categories such as monument, date, and arrondissement to further understand how representations of the damage were created and disseminated. After entering the images into the data base, I endeavored to plot them onto ArcGIS. With the photography albums, each album became a layer and each dot correlates to a single photo. In addition to photographs, the map includes is a transcribed version of the 1874 Erhard Frères map of the Second Empire renovations (Figures 104-105). While this may not be the most detailed map, it outlines the major arteries that composed Napoleon III and Haussmann's renovations. It also includes Marks' *Les Ruines de Paris,* a collection of 19 etchings

that depict the destruction through dramatic, first-person visuals. Marks' renderings offer a comparison of the sites included in memorial albums. A final non-photograph layer is a list of apartments that were hit by Prussian shell fire as detailed in Eugène Hennebert's *Le Bombardement de Paris* (Figures 106-107).[686]

Appendix B.1 Method

Before discussing this projects methodology, it is necessary to mention two things. First, in its current form, this project is far from being in a state for publication. However, throughout the dissertation research process, it has been a way to generate questions, find patterns, and organize my data. Yet this means that my data is not always clean, and I often interchange French and English (especially in the Airtable database). If and when this were to become a public interface, I would tidy up the data and the aesthetics of the interface. Second, photographic albums have been this project's privileged source of data for a simple reason: they are single entities that do not include duplicate photos. Theoretically, each photographer set out to document the city through specific vistas, that would appear once in the album. While they may contain several photographs of the same site, they do not, in practice, reproduce the exact same photo taken from the exact same spot. If my database is meant to include single images without repetition, albums allow me to quickly check for redundancy, which I would not be able to do for specific photographers with large, unorganized photographic corpuses. The albums reveal patterns,

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[686] Eugène Hennebert, *Le bombardement de Paris par les Prussiens, en Janvier 1871* (Paris: Imprimeur de l'Institut, 1872).

meaning which, if any, sites were the most well documented. While some albums, for example, focus exclusively on the destruction of a single monument, such as the Hôtel de Ville, I only mapped albums that were general in scope. Because I have not been to France since I started working on this project, I was limited to mapping albums that had been digitized.

Bertrand Tillier's *Commune sans images* has demonstrated that there was ample graphic media surrounding the Commune, including newspaper imagery and caricatures.[687] This project is not predicated on the idea that that photography is a 'an authentic' medium for documentation. Instead, photographs include visible landmarks that allow us to more accurately place them in the digital map by locating precisely where the photograph was taken.

Auguste-Bruno Bracquehais' photographs are included in my visualization as an exception to the album-only rule (Figure 108). Bracquehais is one of the 'standard' photographers of the events of 1870-1871, and his work is referenced repeatedly in relation to the destruction of Paris.[688] A collection of 110 photographs has been digitized by the National Library of Brazil. Although it is unclear if this is a full, bound album or a personal collection, they appear as a layer in the ArcGIS visualization. In addition, as a result of my choice to map albums, amateur Hippolyte Blancard is absent from the visualization. Blancard's corpus of over 1000 photographs is housed in the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris and without the parameters of photographic albums, I opted to include him only sparingly in my database and did not map any of his photographs.

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[687] Bertrand Tillier, *La Commune de Paris: revolution sans images? Politique et représentation dans la France républicaine (1871-1914)* (Paris: Éditions Champ Vallon, 2004).
[688] See for example, the exhibition catalogues Quentine Bajac, *La Commune photographiée: Exposition au Musée d'Orsay* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux, 2000) and Jean Baronnet, *Regard d'un parisien sur la Commune: photographies inédites de la Bibliothèque de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Paris bibliothèques, 2006).

After separating the albums into individual images, I turned them into ArcGIS layers. Each of the photographs thus became a data point (Figure 109-110). In my visualization, all albums employ the same color-coding scheme: red, orange, blue, and green (Figure 111). Red means that the image on the map corresponds to nearly the exact location at which the photograph was taken. Orange, however, indicates uncertainty of location, in several forms. For example, many photographs have vague titles such as "Rue de Lille," "Saint-Cloud." In the case of Rue de Lille, the destruction had effaced any discernable landmarks, meaning a precise geographic location would be nearly impossible. Orange was similarly used for data points outside of urban Paris because I lack a familiarity with the Parisian suburb of Saint-Cloud and cannot pinpoint the photograph's location more accurately. When the photographs showed interior vistas, as they often did in the Hôtel de Ville, Tuileries, and Château de Saint-Cloud, since I have not extensively studied the floorplans of these buildings. As for the blue dots, many of the albums include before and after photos. To account for this change in state, blue dots signify the pre-1870 photos. Last, green dots indicate my best guess about a photograph's general location, but these are also the photographs that are likely incorrectly placed.

Users can choose both the albums that they want to layer and their arrangement. By hovering over a point, the user sees who created the photograph, any bibliographic information, as well as a thumbnail of the image (when applicable). With the houses hit by shells, hovering on the data point displays its exact address and any additional information, such as the precise number of missiles that hit there (in the case of green squares) or if a street has changed names since 1872. When a road no longer existed, the square was placed in the approximate spot with a note in text box about its ambiguity.

Appendix B.2 Analyzing Maps & the Limitations of Computing

When examining the photographs as points on a map, two things become clear. First, there is a set of views that are repeated across albums and photographers; second, the expansiveness of the destruction. Napoleon and Haussmann's general idea seems to have worked, since most of the destruction and Communard activity took place away from the boulevards (Figure 112). Yet, it is striking how many of the albums combine damage from the Prussians or French Government Army under the heading of Commune. For example, Andrieu's "Ruine de la Commune de Paris" includes sites far outside the urban center of Paris, such as the Fort d'Issy and the suburb of Bondy. The Loubère album purports to show all the monuments destroyed by the Commune, yet includes the château of Saint-Cloud. Newspapers reported that it was shelled by the Prussians, when it was actually destroyed accidentally by the French army. The albums show that when the fighting had ceased, and when demolished structures decorated the city, it was either not clear who was responsible for the damage or the Communards were the easiest scapegoat for the turmoil.

Beyond these observations, mapping the destruction of 1870-1871 still does not provide a full glimpse into the changing landscape of Paris. Ephemeral events, such as the Prussian soldiers' march on the Champs-Elysées, or the occupation of French soldiers in the Jardin des Tuileries or Luxembourg, are not included in the albums. Nor is the Mur des fédérés, where 147 communards were executed at the end of Bloody Week. While the physical destruction is the clear focus, these sites were affected by the events of 1871, but were not marked visually.

Above all, for an architectural historian, ArcGIS has many insufficiencies. First, the user is limited to the layers that they create. It cannot search through the layers, though it can search for addresses, so that the user can more easily locate the points that they have plotted. In addition, the image function is not especially well-suited to visual analysis, since images must be linked from

the internet and are only displayed as thumb nails. Moreover, there are more complex humanistic questions that GIS software is not equipped to answer. Maps, of course, are intended to show an abstraction of space, meaning the amount of physical area that an object occupies. They do not include site lines, such as how architectural monuments peak through or above buildings. Moreover, when searching for an address, ArcGIS locates the building's street-facing side. When mapping apartments hit by Prussian shells, this does not provide a clear indication of where the missile hit nor its level of visibility from the street. However, it is not simply the destruction of Paris that concerns this project. It is the ways that the urban environment is shaped physically by war and violence as well as how individuals experience it differently as a product. Indeed, what the city "looked like" is dependent on who is looking and, as it turns out, the intricacies of human experience are challenging to visualize.

An obvious example: the passing of time is taken as a given in the photographs. Of course, the late nineteenth-century photographers could not take several photos simultaneously, but some of the images follow a clear narrative, beyond the comparative before and after shots. In Bracquehais' collection, for example, the viewer watches as the Vendôme column is measured, pulled down, and then strewn in pieces on the ground (Figure 113). But, within the context of the Commune and Bloody Week specifically, the timing of the destruction represents a distinct moment in the history of Paris. For example, the Communards toppled the Vendôme column five days before the start of Bloody Week, on May 16, 1871. This moment and the uncertainty of its repercussions certainly had different stakes than, say, the burning of the Tuileries Palace, which occurred just half a mile away. Simply mapping the photographs as points cannot convey the tension in the air beforehand, the sound of the column falling, or the finality of the toppled and

broken Napoleon statue. In these few moments, before and after, the Place Vendôme and the column possessed fat more energy than can be captured in a photograph.

To address similar phenomena, Johanna Drucker, in her article, "Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display" uses the example of a shipwrecked boat that has washed ashore on an open beach (Figure 114). For visitors to the site, Drucker posits, "the space almost palpably bends, compresses, expands, and warps around it, with waves of resonance rippling outward from that point." [689] Drucker uses a measured grid surface, maps the boat and draws the shoreline, then distorts the image to visualize that enlarged space that this occupies. When the space of the beach is no longer neutral, the grid must reflect these changes in space.

To build on this and to abstract the phenomena of human experience, I have created a Venn Diagram that accounts for the various facets of human experience when visiting a site (Figure 115). While I agree with Drucker's reflex to bend the cartesian grid, I believe that there are other factors that impact our personal experience in space. In order to understand the experience of visiting of a site, especially after the trauma of war, we must consider a relationship that is far longer than the amount of time spent in the place. The three overlapping categories are beholder, object, and influence. Humanists tend to focus on the individual, represented by 'the beholder,' but when examining the city, yet the object of inquiry, such as architecture and the conditions surrounding it, exist apart from the viewer. When the beholder views urban architecture, their pre-existing relationship with that site or building impacts how they understand it in physical space. The beholder is similarly "influenced," for lack of a better term, by internal and external factors such as his or her mental state and physical surroundings.

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[689] Johann Drucker, "Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display," *Digital Humanities Quarters,* vol. 5, no. 1 (2011).

Let us examine, for example, how someone like the famed architect of the new Opéra nationale, Charles Garnier, would have experienced the city (Figure 116). Although he had remained in Paris during the Prussian Siege, Garnier left for Italy before the start of the Commune. As the premier architect of the Second Empire, whose Opéra functioned as one of the key anchor points for Haussmann's renovated Paris, how did the city's topography change for him? When he re-entered the capital, the Tuileries Palace stood as a literal shell of the formerly re-designed urban party palace for Napoleon III. It was here that Garnier first met the Emperor and Empress after he had won the Opéra competition, a moment that represented not only a watershed moment in his career but also his entrance into the upper-most echelon of society. In June 1871, he published several articles that damned the Communards and strongly advocated for the reconstruction of the Tuileries Palace, which stood in the center of the city a memorial to Communard destruction until 1883. I return then, to the passing of time, and reflect on the burned-out shell of the Tuileries that stood in the center of Paris until 1883. Because Garnier advocated for re-building the Tuileries as late as 1885, his personal relationship with the site would have fluctuated, which highlights that, indeed, our relationship with space and monuments is in constant flux. For example, there are areas of Paris, such as the Arsenal, that were heavily damaged but that Garnier never frequented. In this vein, a worker in the outskirts of Paris likely cared much less about the Royal sites, focusing instead on their immediate environ.

To attempt to visualize the effects of trauma in the built environment, I used the locations of all photographs taken of the Vendôme column, the Tuileries, and the Hôtel de Ville to create a new urban footprint for these landmarks (Figure 117). While the photographic process necessitates a certain distance from the subject that it is capturing, meaning that the "footprint" of the structures are necessarily larger than the physical footprint. Yet, by outlining the shape that these photographs

make, we can start to better understand how their largesse as focal points in the built environment. ArcGIS software is insufficient for evoking the full texture of human experience, but it has helped generate several questions and highlight key patterns in early documentary photography. For example, there are 'standard views' of the destroyed monuments, such the Hôtel de Ville as seen from across the Pont d'Arcole.

To conclude, using digital tools for historical work is certainly helpful for organizing data, placing the location of photographs, and generating questions. Yet, in the case of Paris after 1871, or even the case of Paris after April 2019, computers cannot capture the nuances, texture, and intricacies of human experience. The symbolic nature of sites and the way that they change over time is immensely individualized. While the ArcGIS software is a good jumping off point, humanists needs to consider individuals and their routines, such their daily patterns and their freedom, or not, to move through the city, when using digital maps to form arguments.

Despite its shortcomings, I will continue to expand this project by adding different types of evidence. In addition to the list of houses, Hennebert's text includes an index of notable sites that were damaged and adding that will certainly widen the maps' potential for meaning. In addition, mapping the French-made barricades, as well as the locations of prominent French forts, will show the extent to which these boundaries directed the destruction in May 1871. Last, I will continue to comb through illustrated presses, such as the *Magasin pittoresques,* and add further images to the data base. This will reveal how the events of 1870-1871 were depicted in and across the French media.

Figure 102. News photographs of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame on April 15, 2019.

Figure 103. Hippolyte Blancard,"Incendie de la préfecture de police de Paris, 24 mai 1871," 13ème arrondissement, Paris.
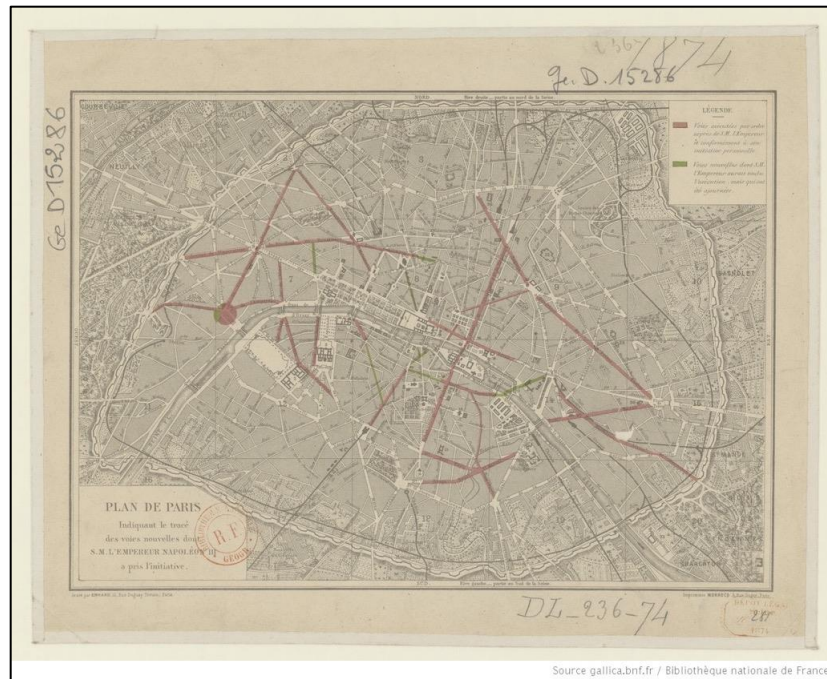
Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 104. "Plan de Paris indiquant le trace des voies Nouvelles don't S. M. l'empereur Napoléon III a pris l'initiative. Gravé par Erhard, 1874.
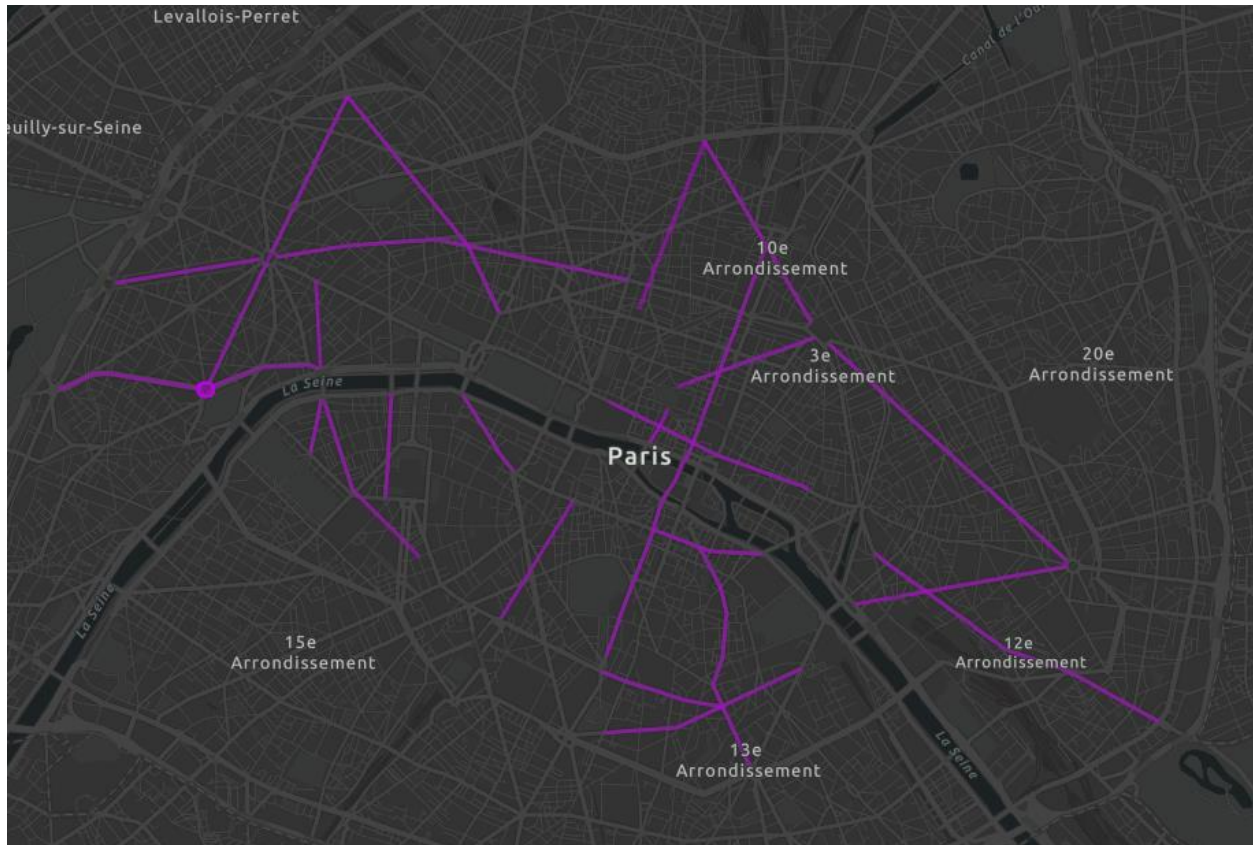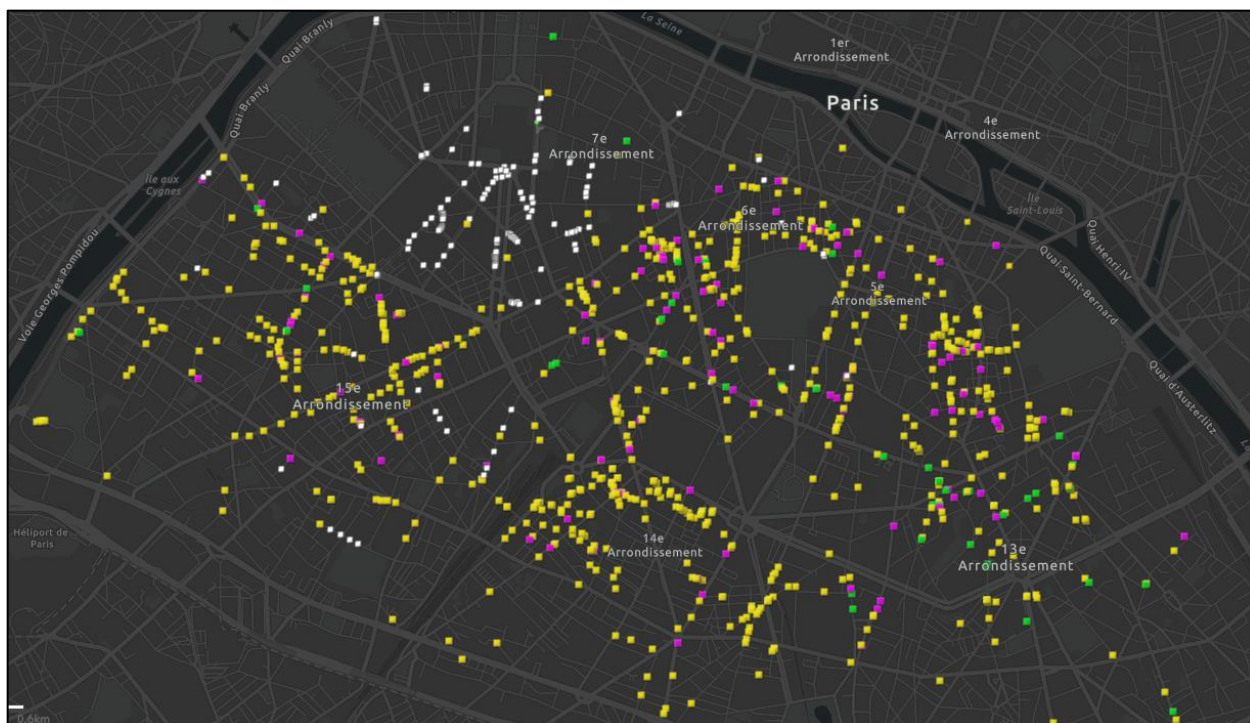
Figure 105. Erhard Map transposed into ArcGIS.

Figure 106. Detail of the houses hit by Prussian shells as detailed in Eugène Hennebert, Le Bombardement de Paris (Paris: 1872).

Figure 107. Symbol Key for Hennebert's mapped list of houses.

Figure 108. Map showing the distribution of Bracquehais' photographs.

Figure 109. Map showing all of the photographic album layers.

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Figure 110. Detail of map with all photographic albums layered.

Exact location from which a photograph was taken

Approximate exact location from which a photograph was taken

Location of a "before" photograph

Rough approximation of where a photograph was taken
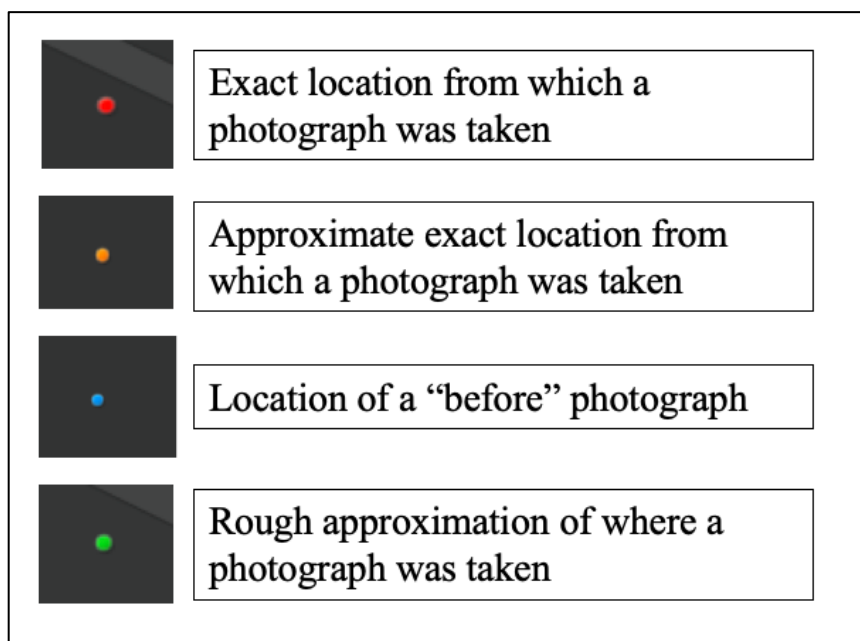
Figure 111. Symbol key for photographs.
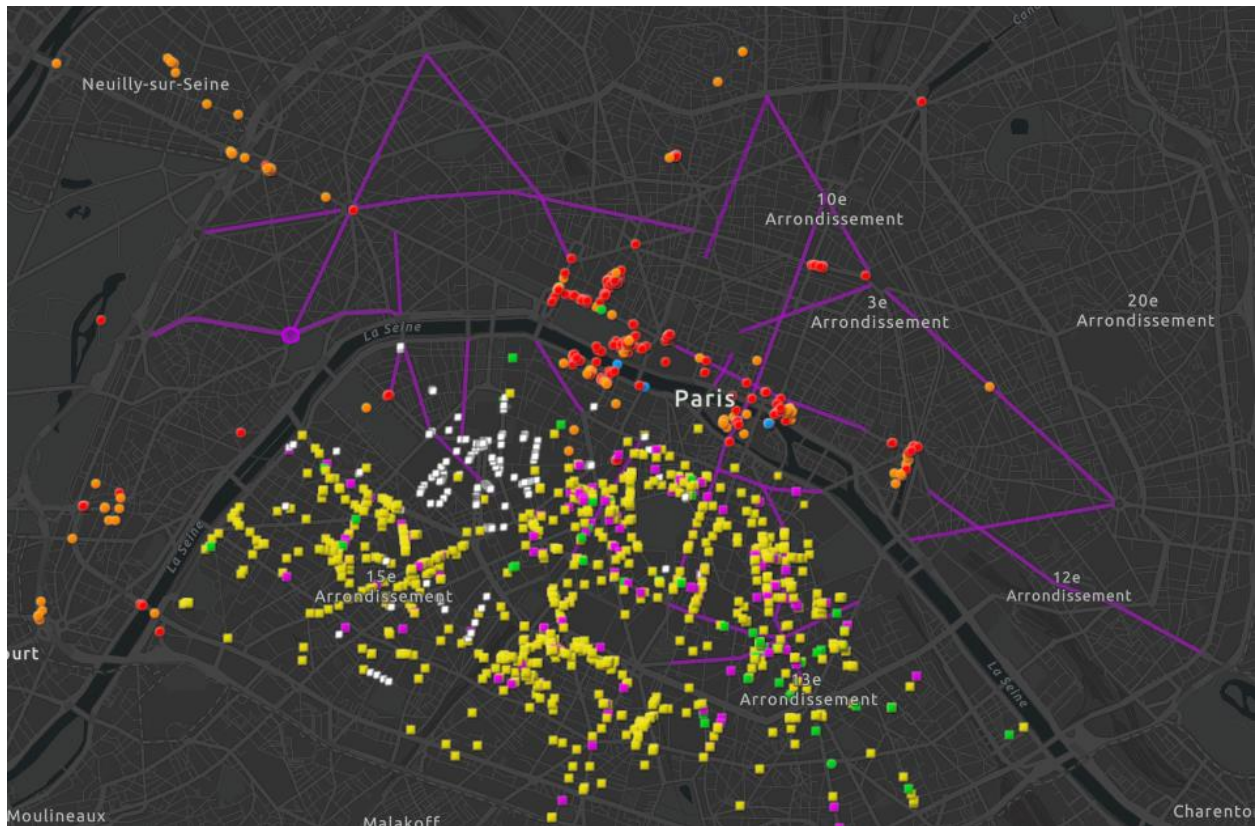
Figure 112. Map with all layers.

Auguste-Bruno Braquehais, "Siège de Paris: 1870-1871," 1871

Place Vendôme. General
Staff Officers Supervising
Felling Measures of the
Column

Place Vendôme.
The Felling of
the Column.
Final Measures

Place Vendôme.
The First Red Flag,
after the Fall of the
Column

Figure 113. The Vendôme Column

375
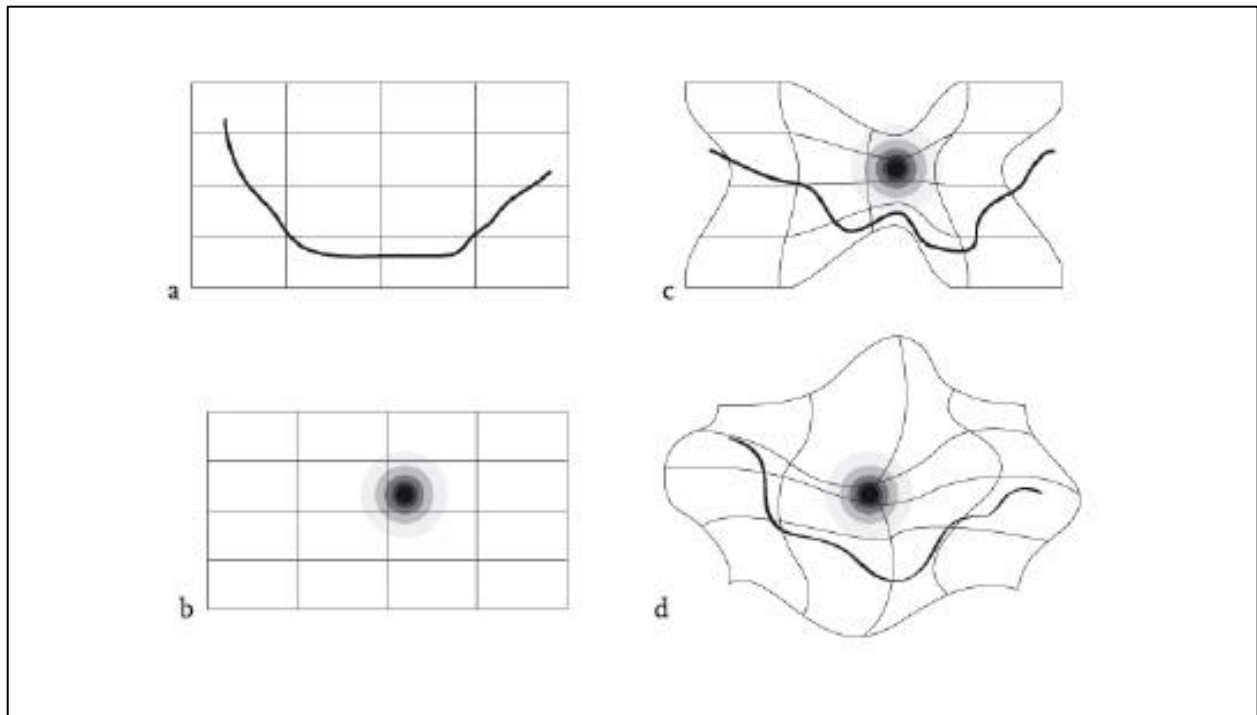
Figure 114. From Johann Drucker, "Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display," Digital Humanities Quarterly, vol. 5, no. 1 (2011).
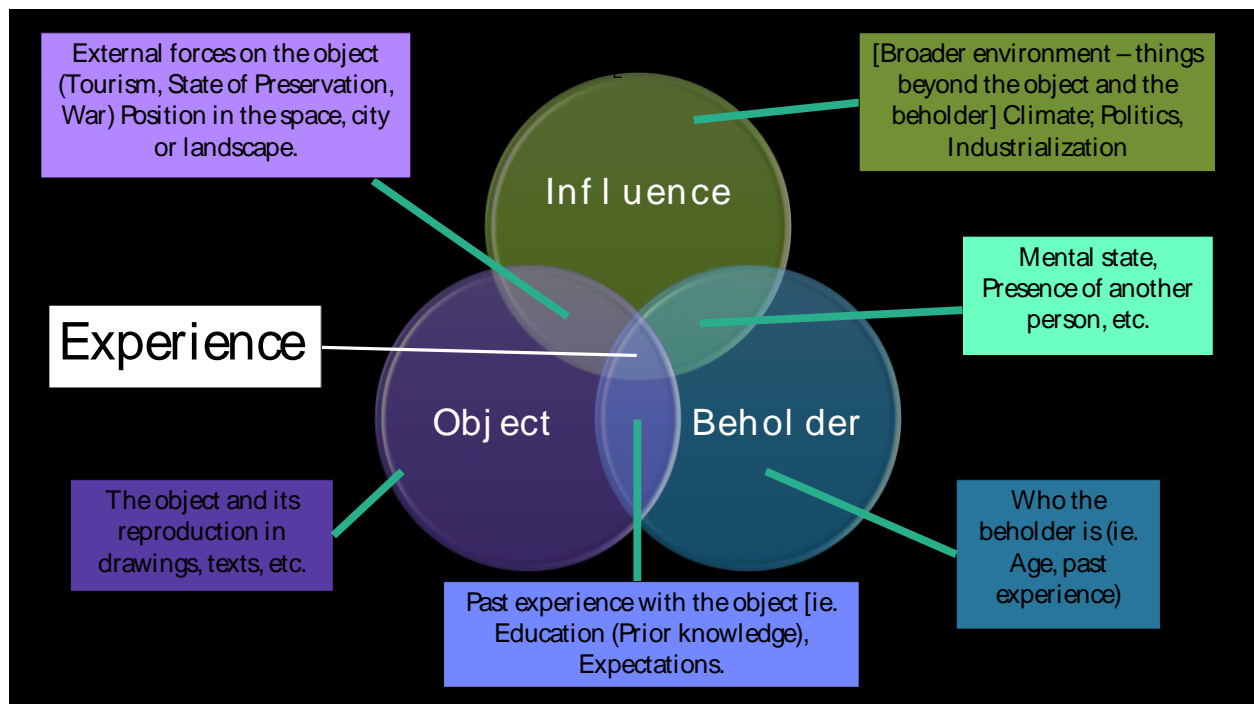
Figure 115. The intricacies of capturing human experience.

Garnier's Return to Paris in 1871

Burnt out shell as one of many destroyed buildings on the Rue de Rivoli.

Smell of smoke and blood. The modern Haussmannian city.

Influence

Garnier damned the Communards and blamed them for the destruction

Experience

Tuileries Palace

Charles Garnier

Created in 1564 for Catherine de Medici. Heavily restored in the Second Empire as an urban party-palace for Napoléon III

Academically trained architect of the Second Empire, author of the *Opéra nationale*

Garnier met Napoléon III and Empress Eugènie at the Tuileries Palace after winning the contest for the Opéra

Figure 116. Charles Garnier's experience in Paris in 1871.

Figure 117. The new "footprint" or the Vendôme Column (purple), Palais des Tuileries (green) and Hôtel de Ville (yellow).

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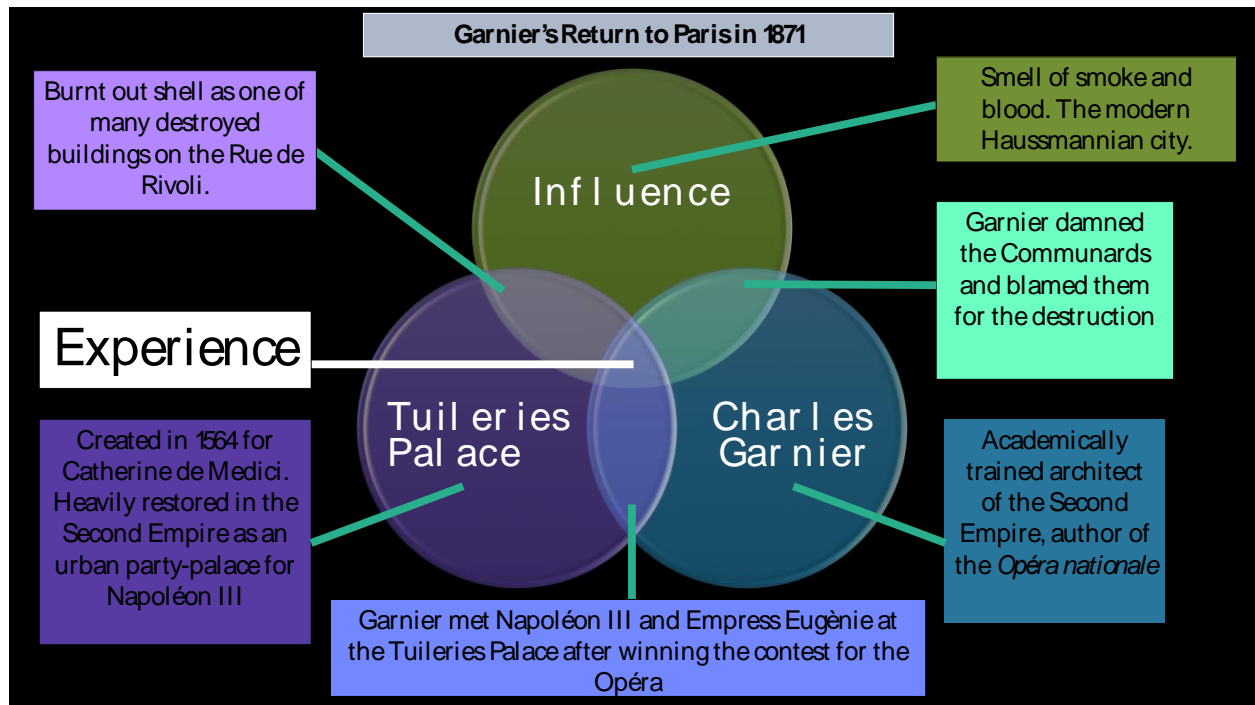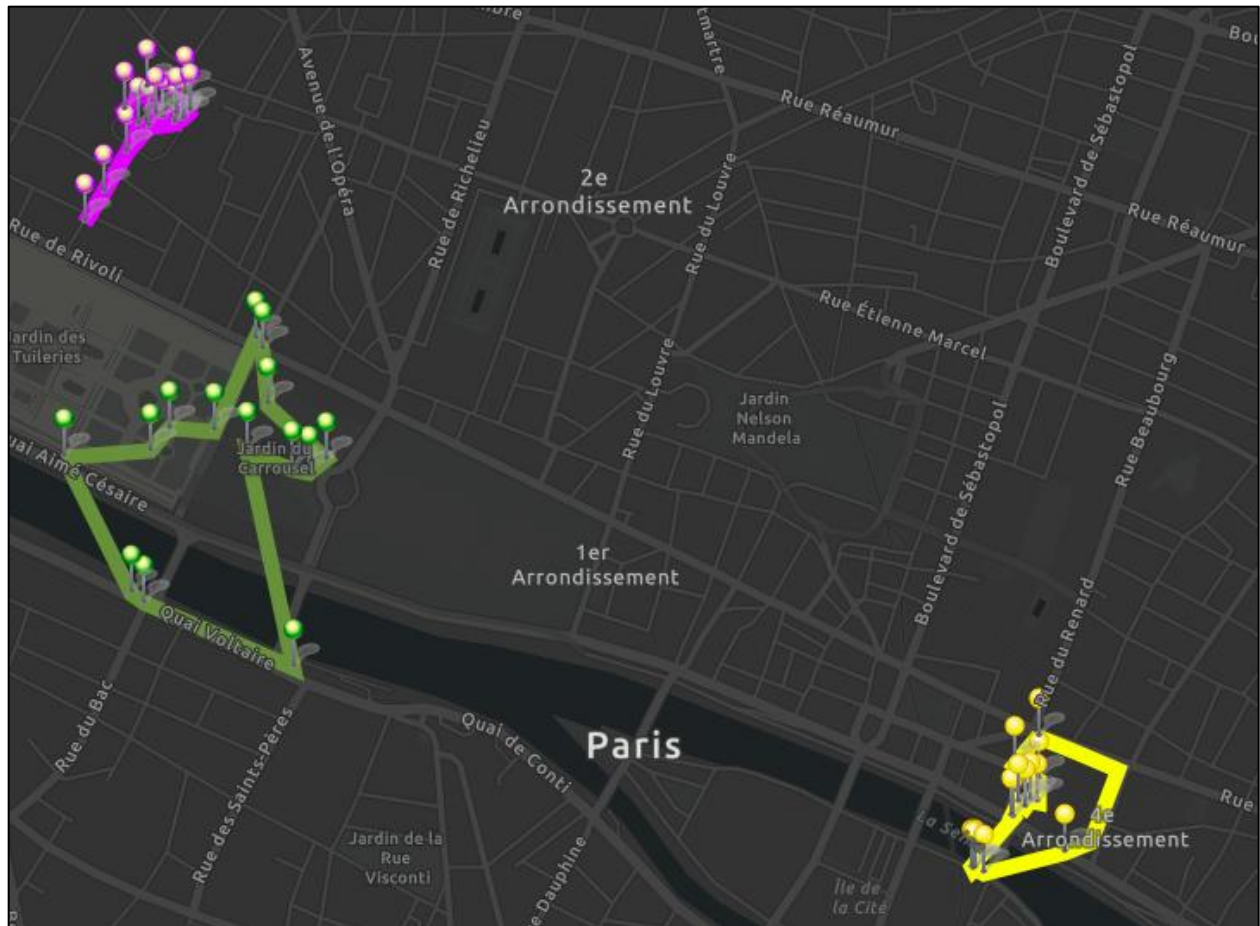Al Sayyad, Nezar, ed. *Forms of Dominance on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise*. Ethnoscapes 5. Aldershot ; Brookfield, U.S.A: Avebury, 1992.

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