

HENRY RIVIÈRE, JAPONISME, AND  
*LES TRENTE-SIX VUES DE LA TOUR EIFFEL*

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ABSTRACT

*Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* is a bound book that contains 36 lithographs by Henri Rivière printed in 1902. These lithographs reflect the social, political, and artistic changes that had occurred in Paris by the end of the nineteenth century. The lithographs also reflect the powerful influence of Japonisme, the study of Japanese art and design by European artists, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. While many have noted Rivière's local and global influences, none have fully examined the broader societal forces in the latter half of the nineteenth century that shaped Rivière's work. Those forces included technical advances in lithograph printing; the extensive reshaping of Paris under Emperor Napoleon III and his prefect of the Seine, Georges-Eugène Haussmann, from 1853 to 1870; the rise of flânerie; and an increased interest by artists and writers to portray the city of Paris as a primary theme.

Rivière was particularly inspired by Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai and his book *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, printed between 1830 and 1832. Hokusai, in this series, used Mt. Fuji as the common element that oriented and unified his landscape prints. Similarly, Rivière chose the Eiffel Tower to orient and unify his lithograph series of Paris, *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*. This thesis uses a formal evaluation of Rivière's plates in comparison with the Japanese woodblock prints and other sources that may have served as his inspiration. Although there are many similarities in subject and composition between individual plates in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* and Japanese woodblock prints, Rivière did not produce a slavish, European replication of Hokusai's masterpiece. Rivière particularly differed from Hokusai by depicting themes of individual isolation and alienation in an urban environment in his lithographs that reflected the anxiety over modernization felt by many Parisians at the fin-du-siècle. In the end, Rivière produced one of the purest examples of Japonisme in Western art and a remarkable portrait of Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century.

## APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, have examined a thesis titled “Henri Rivière, Japonisme, and *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*,” presented by Paul J Christenson, candidate for the Master of Arts degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* is a bound book, printed in 1902, that contains 36 lithographs by the French artist Henri Rivière. The book offers a window into the social, political, and artistic climate of Paris at the fin-de-siècle. Rivière's book exemplifies, among other things, the powerful influence of Japanese woodblock prints on European artists at the time. His lithographs reflect the dramatic physical changes that occurred as a result of Georges-Eugène Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris during the Second Empire from 1853 to 1870; and, above all, reflect the influence of Paris' wrought-iron icon, the Eiffel Tower.

Like many of his contemporaries, Rivière was fascinated by the Eiffel Tower during its construction and after its completion in 1889. In the prologue to *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, art critic Arsène Alexandre noted the Eiffel Tower served as a modern "Fujiyama in metal" for Rivière that oriented and bound his disparate scenes of Parisian life to one another.<sup>1</sup> Alexandre also acknowledged that another inspiration for Rivière's book was *Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji* by the Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849 CE).

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Rivière, *Les Trente-Six Vues de La Tour Eiffel [Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower]*, 1st ed. (Paris: Eugène Verneau, 1888), iv.

In his autobiography, *Les Détours du Chemin*, Rivière admitted a special affection for Hokusai. Yet, to date, only one previous study has made even a cursory comparison between the plates of Rivière and those of Hokusai.<sup>2</sup> While many have noted Japanese influences on Rivière, none have yet fully examined the broader societal forces that also shaped his work. Those forces included technical advances in lithograph printing and how many artists and writers developed an interest in portraying the city of Paris as a primary theme and not solely as a background for other subjects in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Most significant was the extensive reshaping of Paris under Napoleon III and his prefect of the Seine, Georges-Eugène Haussmann, from 1853 to 1870. Dramatic changes in the physical character of Paris encouraged the rise of the flâneur, a new type of Parisian whose occupation was to experience and observe the pageantry of life that surrounded him on the streets and in the parks. This new, modern flânerie appears as an implicit subject in the plates of Rivière's book.

This thesis argues that it is only within the context of the extraordinary social and political developments in Paris during the latter half of the nineteenth century that Henri Rivière could have created *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* from a fusion of Japanese-style elements and Western landscape traditions. To make this case, this thesis offers a formal discussion of the 36 individual prints in Rivière's book as well as the design sources and the social factors that may have inspired

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<sup>2</sup> Henri Rivière et al., *Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2010), 100-105.

them. It also delves deep into the changes that took place in Paris during the Second Empire which would have a profound influence on Rivière and many other artists.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF PARIS

Benjamin Jean Pierre Henri Rivière was born on 11 May 1864 in Paris. He was the eldest child of a prosperous embroidery merchant and lived at 135 rue de Montmartre until six years of age. Rivière was born during an extraordinary period of social and physical transformation that occurred during the French Second Empire. In 1850, Paris was an overgrown medieval town devoid of light, air, or views, and the population was afflicted with pervasive stench, inadequate roads, bad water, frequent popular uprisings, and recurring epidemics. During the seventeen years between 1853 and 1870, the appearance and character of Paris changed profoundly. It transformed into one of the most beautiful and modern cities in the world. The reconstruction of Paris irrevocably changed how Parisians interacted with their city, how artists described it, and how the world viewed it. Rivière portrayed in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* a Paris reborn.

The individual most responsible for the modernization of Paris was Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1840, he was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for attempting to overthrow the monarchy of Louis Philippe I of France. He remained optimistic, though, about his future while languishing in the fortress of Ham. In 1842 he wrote to the historian Amédée Thierry about his plans for Paris when he returned to power. "I will be



Augustus, for it is Octavius . . . who made Rome a city of marble.”<sup>1</sup> He escaped from prison four years later in 1846.

Louis Napoleon returned to Paris and became President of the Second Republic in 1848. Two years later, he re-established the Empire and styled himself Napoleon III (see fig. 1). He found in an obscure provincial prefect, Georges-Eugène Haussmann, the man who would help him remake Paris (see fig. 2).



Figure 1. Franz Xaver Winterhalter, "Napoleon III," exhibited at the 1855 Paris Salon.



Figure 2. Anonymous, "Georges-Eugène Haussmann," photograph, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred Des Cilleuls, *Histoire de L'Administration Parisienne au XIXe Siècle [History of the Paris Administration in the XIX Century]*, vol. 2 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1900), 208.

After Haussmann took the oath of office as prefect of the Seine, he was handed a map by Napoleon III that indicated streets to be built and their relative importance.<sup>2</sup> This map was to be the guide that transformed Paris over the next twenty years.

The Paris that Napoleon III found in 1850 had been shaped by a series of defensive walls built over the centuries (see fig. 3). The fortifications built by Philip Augustus at the end of the twelfth century CE enclosed 600 acres that included the Île de la Cité, the Île Saint-Louis and the land immediately opposite on both sides of the Seine. Over the next four centuries, the walls on the Right Bank were moved

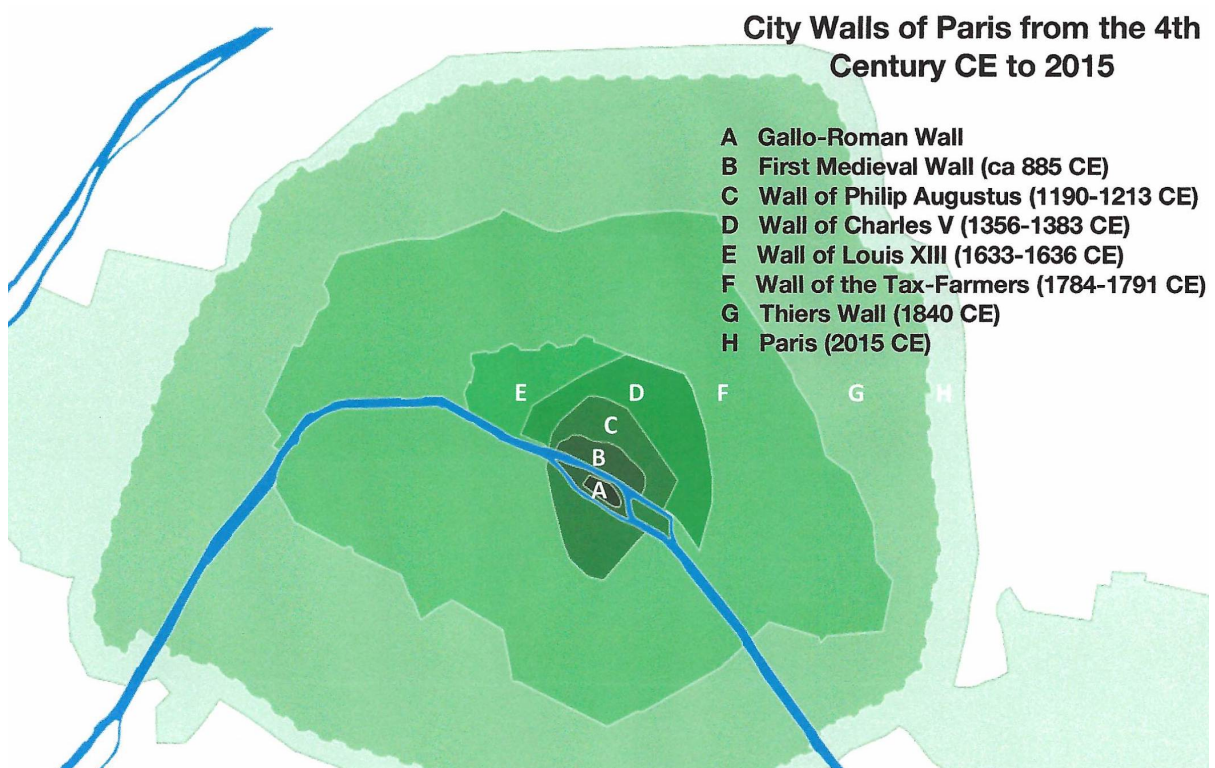


Figure 3. City walls of Paris from the fourth century to the present. Adapted by the author from Wikimedia.org/File:The city limits of Paris from the 4<sup>th</sup> century to 2015.svg.

<sup>2</sup> Georges-Eugène Haussmann, *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann [Memories of Baron Haussmann]*, vol. II (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890), 53.

outward to the present rue Royale and enclosed about 14,000 acres. Louis XIV demolished the old wall and built a new fortified wall between 1784 and 1791 broken by sixty gates (Wall of the Tax-Farmers) at the level of Paris' second ring of boulevards to enable the efficient tariffing of goods entering the city. Finally, in 1840 a ring of fortifications (Thiers wall) was built about a mile distant from the tax wall to repel an invasion that never materialized.<sup>3</sup>

By 1846, the Paris census had doubled to over a million from under 550,000 in 1801.<sup>4</sup> Building outside the walls had been discouraged by subsequent administrations to maximize tariff collection. As a result, residential buildings grew upward, gardens and open spaces were built over, only narrow openings were left for streets between buildings, and the population grew ever more crowded and constrained.

The city's worst slums were located in the city center and on the Île de la Cité. Multistory tenements of five or more stories fronted narrow winding streets.

Eugène Sue described them in his novel *The Mysteries of Paris*:

. . . in the dark and dirty gullies of the Cité; the blinking and uncertain light of the lamps which swung to and fro in the sudden gusts were dimly reflected in pools of black slush, which flowed abundantly in the midst of the filthy pavement.

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<sup>3</sup> David H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), 6-7.

<sup>4</sup> Seine Service de la statistique municipale, "Résultats Statistiques Du Dénombrement de 1886 Pour La Ville de Paris et Le Département de La Seine et Renseignements Relatifs Aux Dénombrements Antérieurs [Statistical Results of the 1886 Census for the City of Paris and the Department of the Seine and Information Relating to Previous Counts]," issue, Gallica, 1887, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k9922599>, 826.

The murky-coloured houses, which were lighted within by a few panes of glass in the worm-eaten casements, overhung each other so closely that the eaves of each almost touched its opposite neighbour, so narrow were the streets. Dark and noisome alleys led to staircases still more black and foul, and so perpendicular that they could hardly be ascended by the help of a cord fixed to the dank and humid walls by holdfasts of iron . . . Stalls of charcoal-sellers, fruit-sellers, or vendors of refuse meat occupied the ground floor of some of these wretched abodes. Notwithstanding the small value of their commodities, the fronts of nearly all these shops were protected by strong bars of iron—a proof that the shopkeepers knew and dreaded the gentry who infested the vicinity.<sup>5</sup>

A notorious slum grew in the space between the old Louvre and the courtyard of the Tuileries Palace. Honoré de Balzac described it as:

A dozen houses with dilapidated façades, whose discouraging landlords have not troubled to repair them . . . In passing this dead wedge . . . one experiences a chilling of the soul, and wonders who could possibly live in such a place, and what goes on there at night, when the alley becomes an ambush, and where the vices of Paris, wrapped in the mantle of the night, are given full scope.<sup>6</sup>

Balzac later wrote that “our grandsons will refuse to believe that such a piece of barbarism existed for thirty-six years in the heart of Paris.”

The streets of Paris were paved, when paved at all, with nine-inch blocks of hard sandstone from state quarries that had the advantages of low cost, availability, and excellent traction.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, they crumbled readily at the edges under constant traffic and soon produced an irregular surface with uncertain footing for

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<sup>5</sup> Eugène Sue, *The Mysteries of Paris*, accessed February 19, 2020, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/33800/33800-h/33800-h.htm>, 12.

<sup>6</sup> Honoré de Balzac, *La Cousine Bette [Cousin Bette]*, vol. XVII, *Oeuvres Complètes de Honoré de Balzac* (New York: Bretano’s Libraries, 1914), 61-62.

<sup>7</sup> “Pavements of Paris,” *Municipal Engineer* XV, no. 6 (October 1903), 273.

pedestrians and horses. Rain turned the dirt and sandstone fragments into thick, black mud that froze in the winter.<sup>8</sup> Many streets had no sidewalks and were frequently wet from open sewers that ran in the gutters. Having evolved over the centuries for pedestrians and horses, most streets were inadequate for carriages and wagons except for the few boulevards. Paris was a dark city at night with only 12,000 inefficient gas lamps and 1,600 even less efficient hanging oil lamps. The lamps were lit for only six months of the year.<sup>9</sup>

Throughout the year the streets were malodorous with the smell of horse droppings, waste-water in gutters that doubled as sewers, and open cesspools used for human waste disposal. What underground sewers there were discharged directly into the Seine and backed up frequently onto the streets. Paris obtained its water for domestic use from the Seine or from wells that were usually contaminated.<sup>10</sup> Epidemics were routine and fell most heavily on the poorest areas. From 1830 to 1831 cholera killed eighteen-thousand persons including the President of the Chamber of Deputies, Casimir P rier. Between 1848 and 1849, 19,000 Parisians died of cholera.<sup>11</sup> Giacomo Puccini set his opera *La Boh me* in 1830 Paris for good reason. The beautifully melodic but tragic romance about

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<sup>8</sup> Georges-Eug ne Haussmann, *M moires du Baron Haussmann [Memories of Baron Haussmann]*, 4th ed., vol. III (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1893), 137-38.

<sup>9</sup> Haussmann, *M moires du Baron Haussmann [Memories of Baron Haussmann]*, 152-54.

<sup>10</sup> Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 106.

<sup>11</sup> Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 21-23.

Rodolfo, an impoverished poet finding love amidst the garrets with a poor seamstress, Mimi, only to have her die in his arms from consumption was a brutal reality for many Parisians. Tuberculosis was endemic and as many as 14,000 people died from it annually.<sup>12</sup>

Paris was disrupted eight times between 1827 and 1849 by popular uprisings that usually ignited in the poorer neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city. Narrow winding streets, congestion, and high buildings made it relatively easy to quickly construct effective barricades that were surprisingly difficult to breach. On three occasions these local uprisings were the prelude to a general revolution. As a result, many of the new avenues being built intentionally cut through previous centers of popular resistance and were connected to barracks for the permanent quartering of security troops or police. Haussmann wrote with satisfaction in his *Memoires* "It was the gutting of old Paris, of the neighborhood of riots, and of barricades, from one end to the other."<sup>13</sup>

When Haussmann completed the last portion of the rue de Rivoli in 1855, he finally achieved a dream that dated back to Napoleon I of having a wide, straight avenue from west to east across Paris that broke through the blockade of narrow streets and ancient buildings in the city center. The Left Bank was similarly crossed

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<sup>12</sup> David S. Barnes, "The Making of a Social Disease," accessed February 28, 2020, <https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft8t1nb5rp&chunk.id=introduction&toc.id=introduction&brand=ucpress>, Figure 2.

<sup>13</sup> Hervé Maneglier, *Paris Impérial: La Vie Quotidienne Sous Le Second Empire [Imperial Paris: Daily Life in the Second Empire]* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1990), 29.

by the completion of the boulevard Saint Germain and, with completion of the boulevard du Centre (now the boulevard de Sébastopol) from north to south, there was a great cross of broad avenues in the center of Paris on both sides of the Seine.<sup>14</sup>

The destruction of restive neighborhoods, and the displacement of their populations to decrease the likelihood of disorder, was not the primary goal of Napoleon III. In November 1851, he stated before the National Assembly that the best way to prevent popular revolutions was to satisfy the legitimate need of the citizens for steady employment. He wanted to secure good-will for his regime and planned to do it by providing jobs to stimulate the economy. “When building flourishes, everything flourishes in Paris.”<sup>15</sup>

By the time the Second Empire fell in 1870, approximately 168 kilometers of new streets had been laid in Paris and an extensive system of public parks had been created (see fig. 4). Public works were not limited to road projects. The Halles Centrales markets, the final portions of the Louvre, the new Opera House, the Salle de Travail of the Bibliothèque nationale, the Hôtel Dieu in addition to

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<sup>14</sup> Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 56-57.

<sup>15</sup> Horace Émile Say, *Statistique de l'industrie à Paris: Résultat de l'enquête faite par la Chambre de Commerce pour les années 1847-1848 [Industrial Statistics in Paris: Results of the Investigation Made by the Chamber of Commerce for the Years 1847-1848]*, 1861, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k86332h>, Part 1, 89.





Figure 4. New street construction during 1848-1870 (red) and 1870 to present (blue) in Paris. Existing streets in 1850 are shown in gray. Parks are shown in green. By Mark Jaroski for wikitravel.org.



schools, churches, synagogues, hospitals, barracks, and neighborhood markets were constructed during this transformative twenty-year period.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to job creation by government funding of street and public works projects, the land made available from the destruction of old neighborhoods brought a wealth of construction jobs from private investors who erected modern buildings along the newly opened streets. One company, the *Compagnie Immobilière de Paris*, built over one hundred buildings on the boulevard du Prince Eugène alone. Public authorities encouraged these private builders with tax exemptions and generous access to credit with a proviso. Buildings on blocks had to be uniform in appearance and maintain the established building lines and elevations. Haussmann also required that any building erected on land purchased after being condemned for public works must conform to the uniform style of Neoclassical architecture approved by the city.

A typical apartment building had six or seven stories with an opening in the face of the building that was wide enough to allow carriage access into an inner court with stairways leading up to individual apartments. Buildings were usually faced with the cream-colored limestone known as Lutetian limestone, or 'Paris stone,' which is only to be found in the area around Paris. Mansard roofs with a 45-degree angle and dormer windows were mandated to allow additional light at street-level. Exterior decorative elements included black wrought-iron railings,

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<sup>16</sup> Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 75.

carved stone moldings, decorative reliefs, and bands of uniformly shaped windows separated by pilasters with decorative capitals. The low-ceiling mezzanine level and the high-ceiling ground level were reserved for commercial spaces and often faced with different colored stone and/or a horizontal orientation of the stone courses (see fig. 5).

There was usually a progressive change in the residential floors as one went higher in the building above the mezzanine (see fig. 6).<sup>17</sup> The most expensive



Figure 5. “29 boulevard Haussmann,” typical Haussmann style. Photo: commons.wikimedia.org.

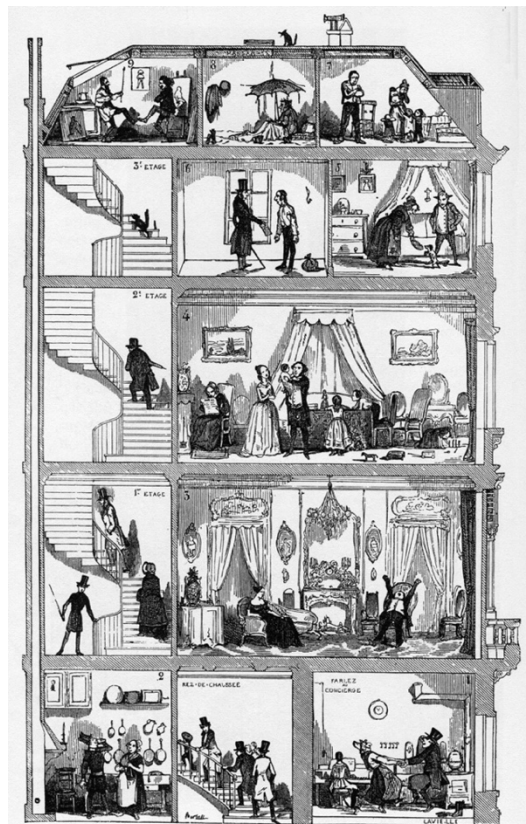


Figure 6. Edmund Texier, “Tableau de Paris.” Cross section of an 1850 Paris apartment showing economic status of residents by floor.

<sup>17</sup> Edmund Texier, *Tableaux de Paris [Paris in Pictures]*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 2 vols. (Paris: Paulin et le Chevalier, 1852), 65.

apartments occupied the first floor or *étage noble*. These apartments had the highest ceilings, largest rooms and the least number of stairs to climb. Apartments became progressively smaller and the ceilings progressively lower as one ascended the staircase to the smallest and least expensive rooms occupying the garret with dormer windows. One interesting aspect of old Paris is that the population had been economically stratified vertically in residential buildings as well as geographically across the city. This continued to be the case to some extent in the Haussmann era. Citizens of the upper, middle, and lower classes still lived in the same neighborhoods, walked the same streets, and mingled in public spaces. By Haussmann's estimation, 350,000 people were displaced by the new boulevards and open spaces.<sup>18</sup> Most of these were of the lower economic classes uprooted by the destruction of the inner-city slums and the subsequent gentrification of their neighborhoods. They were often forced by the lack of affordable housing in central Paris to new slums and faubourgs at the urban periphery where industrial concerns, with their promise of jobs, had also been relocated.<sup>19</sup> These new districts on the outskirts of Paris comprised a mixture of factories, sprawling suburbs, small farms, and displaced communities. They were described by Louis Lazare in 1870 as "veritable Siberias, crisscrossed with winding, unpaved paths, without lights,

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<sup>18</sup> Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris: The Defeat of Town Planning, 1850-1970*, Studies in Urban History 1 (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 138.

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Gandy, *The Fabric of Space: Water, Modernity, and the Urban Imagination* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2014), 78.

without shops, with no water laid on, where everything is lacking.” Lazare further lamented “we have built within Paris two cities, quite different and hostile: the city of luxury, surrounded, besieged by this city of misery.<sup>20</sup> T. J. Clark would characterize these ‘melancholy banlieues’ as “sad, grey, desolate, ruined.”<sup>21</sup>

There is no question that the physical character of Paris was altered during the Second Empire. Many old neighborhoods of historical interest were lost, and public spaces with open-air markets were reconfigured for modern commerce. However, the destruction and gentrification of previous slum areas in combination with numerous important civic projects left Paris, in 1870, a much more modern city than Napoleon III and Haussmann had found it in 1848. In facilitating the movement of traffic on direct routes joining principal parts of the city and with the creation of many new public gardens and parks, they had made Paris a more livable city. Finally, by constructing a modern system of sewers and assuring adequate sources of potable water for domestic use they had ensured that Paris would be a safer and healthier city.

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<sup>20</sup> Louis Lazare, *Les quartiers de l'est de Paris et les communes suburbaines [The Districts of Eastern Paris and the Suburban Communities]*, 1st ed. (Paris: Bureau de la Bibliothèque Municipale, 1870), <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6465697r>, 62-63, 142.

<sup>21</sup> Timothy J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, Rev. ed (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1999), 26-27.

## CHAPTER 3

### LE FLÂNEUR IN PARIS

Before the mid-nineteenth century, the verb *flâner* meant to waste time while strolling or idling. In 1829, Balzac wrote:

Ah, to wander over Paris! What an adorable and delightful existence is that! To saunter is a science; it is the gastronomy of the eye. To take a walk is to vegetate; to saunter is to live . . . To saunter is to enjoy life; it is to indulge the flight of fancy; it is to enjoy the sublime pictures of misery, of love, of joy, of gracious or grotesque physiognomies; it is to pierce with a glance the abysses of a thousand existences; for the young it is to desire all, and to possess all; for the old it is to live the life of the youthful, and to share their passions.<sup>1</sup>

Balzac may have described his saunters in Paris as “gastronomy of the eye”, but very few of his fellow citizens were sauntering with him at that time because the streets were typically narrow, dark, disorienting, rank with sewage, and dangerous. Until the mid-1800s, Parisians usually worked, lived, and found their amusements in their immediate neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup> Only by the most circuitous of routes could one cross from one end of Paris to the other. Most streets running west and east were blocked at the city center by the Louvre, the Palais-Royale, and the Bibliothèque nationale. On the eastern side of Paris was the Canal Saint-Martin

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<sup>1</sup> Honoré de Balzac, “The Physiology of Marriage,” in *The Works of Honoré de Balzac*, vol. XXXIII–XXXIV (New York: The Kelmscott Society, 1901), 31–32. 31-32.

<sup>2</sup> David H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958), 17.

which could only be crossed at a few points on anything but narrow footbridges. Crossing from the Right Bank to the Left Bank was hampered by there being only sixteen bridges across the Seine, and only six of those were gratis. The remainder were toll bridges operated by private concessions until the toll booths were destroyed by rioters in 1848. They were never replaced.<sup>3</sup> The Left Bank was a medieval warren of tortuous, narrow streets, and perhaps even more confined by fortification walls than on the Right Bank (see fig. 7). Balzac typified the majority of Parisians in his *La Comédie Humaine* novels by having most of the characters content to know nothing of Paris beyond their street.



Figure 7. Charles Marville, "Rue des Prêtres Saint-Séverine," Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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<sup>3</sup> Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 13.

And there was not much to saunter towards in Balzac's time! Only the Champs Elysées and a few small parks relieved the urban congestion: the Place des Vosges and the Tuileries Garden on the Right Bank and the Luxembourg Garden and Jardin des Plantes on the Left Bank. Compounding the lack of green-space, most trees in the garden of the Palais-Royal and those lining avenues had been cut down to provide barricade material during popular uprisings.<sup>4</sup>

Hausmann knew first-hand the difficulty of navigating from one place to another in old Paris. In his memoirs, he described walking as a student from his home near the Chaussée d'Antin on the Right Bank to the School of Law on the Left Bank. This trip in 2020 could be made in three turns by walking down the rue de l'Opera to the rue de Rivoli; then walking to the pleasant square de la tour Saint-Jacques where one turns to cross the Île de la Cité and then continues down the rue Saint-Jacques to l'Université. Hausmann's route was considerably more complicated.

Setting out at seven o'clock in the morning, . . . I reached first, after many detours, the rue Montmartre and the pointe Sainte-Eustache; I crossed the square of the Halles, then open to the sky, among the great red umbrellas of the fish dealers; then the rues des Lavandières, Saint-Honoré and Saint-Denis; . . . I crossed the old Pont au Change; . . . I next walked along the ancient Palais de Justice, having on my left the filthy mass of pot-houses that not long ago disfigured the Cité . . . continuing my route by the Pont Saint-Michel, I had to cross the poor little square (place Saint-Michel) . . . Finally, I entered the meanders of the rue de la Harpe to ascend the Montagne Saint-Genève and to arrive by the passage de l'Hôtel d'Harcourt, the rue des Maçons-Sorbonne, the Place Richelieu, the rue de Cluny and the rue des Grés . . . at the corner of the School of Law.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 7.

Dramatic changes to the Paris infrastructure after 1860 served to open up most parts of the city to all classes and encouraged walking down newly constructed avenues that were broad, straight, and had sidewalks that protected pedestrians from traffic. The Seine was no longer an open sewer, and strolling along its banks was now a pleasant, even romantic activity. One could relax and renew the spirit along paths that wended among the forested acres of the bois du Boulogne in the west, the bois de Vincennes in the east, and three new metropolitan parks: Parc Monceau, Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, and Parc Montsouris. All these fresh and modern urban options to be explored on foot, as well as the immensely satisfying occupation of watching other people work at many construction sites for buildings or roadways, fostered the development of that quintessential character of nineteenth-century Paris, le flâneur.

The connotations associated with the verb flâner began to improve in the mid-1800s. Rather than merely being lazy, the flâneur could now be recognized as purposefully engaged in finding and understanding the rich variety available in an ever-changing city landscape. Pierre Larousse's 1872 *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle* reflected this transition by including several varieties of flâneur described as being either mindless or intelligent. The shiftless loungeur was still easy to find:

There are a thousand forms and a thousand causes of strolling in Paris, where a barking dog, a crying woman, a drunk who stumbles, enough to

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<sup>5</sup> Georges-Eugène Haussmann, *Mémoires du Baron Haussmann [Memories of Baron Haussmann]*, 4th ed., vol. III (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890), 535-6.



amass a crowd of curious people; and this city where reigns a life, a circulation, an activity without equal, is also, by a singular contrast, the one where we find the most idlers, lazy and onlookers.

Larousse then described a more rarified and flattering version of the flâneur (see fig. 8):

Next to this unconscious “stroller”, in whose mind all objects come to reflect like in a mirror and without leaving it no more traces, there is the intelligent “stroller”, for whom the aimless walk, inaction apparent, is a necessary rest, relaxation faculties, after work . . . he is an artist, a poet, a philosopher, who refreshes with impressions . . . His open eye, his ear tense, looking for something other than that that the crowd comes to see. A word launched randomly will reveal to him one of these traits of character, which cannot be invented and which must be captured on the spot; these physiognomies so naively attentive will provide the painter an expression he dreamed of; . . . this agitation exterior is profitable, it mixes and shakes his ideas like the storm mixes the waves of the sea and protects them from stagnation. Most men of genius were great “strollers”; but “strollers” laborious and fruitful.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 8. "Le flâneur," vignette from *Physiologie du Flâneur* by Louis Huart, p 57, 1841.

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<sup>6</sup> Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle [Large Universal Dictionary of the XIX Century]*, vol. 8, 17 vols. (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1872), 436, columns 2-3.

In 1863 Baudelaire offered a poetic view of the flâneur as an artist in “Le Peintre dans la Vie Moderne”:

The crowd is his element, as the air is that of birds and water of fishes. His passion and his profession are to become one flesh with the crowd. For the perfect flâneur, for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite. To be away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the center of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world – impartial natures which the tongue can but clumsily define. The spectator is a prince who everywhere rejoices in his incognito.<sup>7</sup>

In 1862, Antonin Proust showed Manet to be a flâneur and fascinated by Haussmann’s vast reconstruction:

That day we walked up from what was to be the boulevard Malesherbes, amid demolitions interspersed with the yawning gaps of leveled lots. The Monceau district was not yet laid out. Manet kept stopping me. At a certain point, an isolated cedar loomed from a devastated garden . . . Farther on, men working as wreckers stood out, white against a less white wall that crumbled under their blows, swathed in a cloud of dust. Manet lingered, lost in a long admiration of the spectacle.<sup>8</sup>

Impressionists who developed theories based on painting as the eye sees *en plein-air* were of necessity flâneurs. It is reasonable that the Impressionist artists

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<sup>7</sup> “Figaro,” issue, November 26, 1863, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k270260r>, 2-4. Note: Walter Benjamin through his analysis of Baudelaire’s poetry (*Charles Baudelaire: a lyric poet in the era of high capitalism, 1901*) would find in the flâneur who “goes botanizing on the asphalt” (p. 36) the origins of the modern urban spectator and popularize in the early 1900s the notion that flânerie was a symptom of the alienation inherent in modern cities and capitalism. Some recent writers have argued for the presence of an equivalent female counterpart, the flâneuse, but Janet Wolff argues convincingly “that such a character was rendered impossible by the sexual divisions on the nineteenth century” (“The invisible Flâneuse: Women and the literature of modernity,” in *Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin*, Coventry: Warwick University Press, 1989 141-156).

<sup>8</sup> Antonin Proust, *Édouard Manet Souvenirs [Édouard Manet Memories]*, 1st ed. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1913), 27.

adopted the new Paris as an artistic motif not only to reflect an interest in the physical changes taking place around the city but also to symbolize their desire to revitalize French painting, beyond the academic classicism of the Salon, just as Haussmann was revitalizing the city.<sup>9</sup> Monet went to the Louvre in 1867 not to copy paintings but to look out of windows and paint the living tableaux spread before him in “Le Quai du Louvre” (see fig. 9), “Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois,” and “Le Jardin de l’Infante.” Monet also painted the boulevard des Capucines from the window of the photographer Nadar’s studio in 1873 and multiple paintings of the Gare Saint-Lazare in 1877. Manet painted the rue Mosnier under construction in 1878 (see fig. 10).

No Impressionist embraced Haussmann’s Paris more enthusiastically than Gustave Caillebotte. Caillebotte made numerous paintings of figures crossing bridges or strolling on wide avenues lined with exalted blocks of identical apartment houses (see fig. 11). The willingness by Impressionists to portray the citizens of Paris engaged in the aspects of modern Parisian life represented a dramatic change in attitude by artists. This same regard for portraying contemporary urban life would be continued by the next generation of French artists including Henri Rivière. Rivière embraced this artistic interest in portraying life in modern Paris but then combined it with compositional techniques he learned

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<sup>9</sup> Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art: Distributed by H.N. Abrams, 1994), 288.



Figure 9. Claude Monet, "Quai du Louvre," 1867, oil on canvas, 65 x 92.6 cm, Kunstmuseum Den Haag.



Figure 10. Édouard Manet, "Paveurs de la rue Mosnier," 1878, oil on canvas, 63 x 79 cm, private collection.



by the close study of Japanese woodblock landscapes. This combination of European and Japanese influences resulted in his lithographic series *Paysages Parisiens* (1900) and *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* (1902).



Figure 11. Gustave Caillebotte, "Rue de Paris, temps de pluie," 1877, oil on canvas, 83.54 x 108.74 cm, Art Institute of Chicago.

## CHAPTER 4

### EARLY LIFE OF HENRI RIVIÈRE

At the outset of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, Rivière's father deemed it prudent to relocate his family to the small town of Aix-les-Bains nestled in the Pyrenees Mountains where he had been born and where his brother still resided.<sup>1</sup> Rivière spent the next two years in this peaceful part of France surrounded by mountains, swift-flowing rivers, and a raw natural beauty that differed greatly from the congested streets of Paris. It may have been here that Rivière developed the deep love of nature that continued throughout his life and that he wove so beautifully into lithographs and paintings. He returned to Paris with his family shortly after the war ended and briefly attended a local day school with another student from the neighborhood, Paul Signac.<sup>2</sup> Henri excelled at school in reading and painting and spent a great deal of time copying pictures from magazines. In 1879 a revolutionary new magazine appeared that caught young Rivière's attention.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the black and white wood engravings found in other publications, *La Vie Moderne* used a new process, gillotype, to print colored illustrations. In 1850, Charles Gillot invented the process of transferring photographic images with

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Rivière, *Les Détours Du Chemin: Souvenirs, Notes & Croquis, 1864-1951 [The Detours of the Path: Souvenirs, Notes and Sketches, 1864-1951]* (Saint-Remy-de-Provence: Equinoxe, 2004), 16-18.

<sup>2</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 21.

a greasy ink onto a zinc plate which was then etched with acid and the result used for printing. In 1872, Gillot further refined the process by using different plates for each color separation in an image and allowed for the inexpensive printing of images in color.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, Gillot was an ardent collector of Japanese prints. It is possible that these exotic images, which required a separate woodblock to print each color, inspired his printing innovation. Gillot's colored images, in turn, inspired the young Rivière to continue drawing and painting.<sup>5</sup>

Rivière's early determination to be an artist was not shared by his mother. She arranged a position for him in a business importing ostrich feathers, but he lasted only one week at the job before quitting to spend his days drawing in the countryside. His stepfather discussed Rivière's behavior with a friend, the painter Père Bin. After reviewing some of Rivière's work, Bin agreed to instruct the young man in his studio. Here, Rivière found his old schoolmate, Paul Signac, was also a pupil of Bin. This period of formal art instruction was to last only a year and a half before Bin died and Rivière was again on his own.<sup>6</sup>

It was Signac who introduced the 18-year-old Rivière (see fig. 12) to a newly opened cabaret in Montmartre called Le Chat Noir.<sup>7</sup> There, the two young friends

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<sup>4</sup> André Béguin, *A Technical Dictionary of Print Making* (Bruxelles [Belgium]: A. Béguin, 1981), 1981-1984.

<sup>5</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 21-22.

<sup>6</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 23-26.

<sup>7</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 31.

mingled with prominent artists, poets, and writers in an easy, bohemian atmosphere. Rivière became a regular visitor, and it was not long before he was noticed by the owner, Rodolphe Salis. In 1882, Salis began publishing *Le Chat Noir*, a journal which featured articles, poems, and artwork by the cabaret's patrons (see fig. 13), but the journal proved too much for him to manage in addition to all his other responsibilities. Salis offered, and Rivière readily accepted, the position of assistant editor for a small salary and two meals per day at the club.<sup>8</sup>



Figure 12. Unknown, “Henri Rivière at age eighteen,” photograph.



Figure 13. *Le Chat Noir*, 4 April 1882, première année, no. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Armond Fields, Victoria Dailey, and Henri Rivière, *Henri Rivière*, 1. ed (Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith, 1983), 6.



The artists who frequented the Le Chat Noir likely introduced Rivière to etching. Rivière's earliest works are a series of ten monochromatic blue etchings completed between 1881 and 1885. He had been exposed to and had studied Japanese woodblock prints by this time. His etching of a funeral procession, "L'enterrement des parapluies" from 1885 (see fig. 14) has a diagonal composition, the use of silhouette and stylized rain strongly reminiscent of Utagawa Hiroshige's "Sudden Shower at Shōno" (see fig. 15) from the series *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*. Rivière even placed a red signature cachet designed by his friend George Auriol at the lower-left corner in an oriental manner (see fig. 16).<sup>9</sup> The Japanese influence on Rivière is hardly surprising since many artists in France had been adopting and adapting Japanese compositional techniques and/or style elements beginning shortly after woodblock prints became available in significant numbers to the West in the 1850s. Rivière would ultimately prove to be one of the French artists most influenced by Japanese art.

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<sup>9</sup> George Auriol, *Le Premier Livre des cachets, marques et monogrammes dessinés [The First Book of Cachets, Marks and Monogram Designs]*, 1st ed. (Paris: Librairie Central des Beaux-Arts, 1901), 5.



Figure 14. Henri Rivière, "L'enterrement des parapluies," 1891.



Figure 16. George Auriol, "Cachet" for Henri Rivière.



Figure 15. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Sudden Shower at Shōno" from the series *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1834-35, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 24.8 x 36.2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

## CHAPTER 5

### JAPONISME AND ITS INFLUENCE ON FRENCH ARTISTS

On 8 July 1853, Commodore Perry of the United States Navy sailed his Black Fleet into Tokyo Bay. He forced a negotiated treaty that ended two-hundred years of isolation and opened Japan's ports to the world on 31 March 1854 (see fig. 17). Trade agreements were soon concluded by Japan with France, Russia, Britain, and the United States. During the long period free from outside influences, aristocratic patronage and a wealthy middle class had supported the artists and artisans who produced lacquerware, textiles, metal-ware, pottery, paintings, and woodblock prints of great beauty in a uniquely Japanese style.



Figure 17. Anonymous, "Commodore Perry and the Black Fleet enter Tokyo Bay," c. 1889, polychrome woodblock print on paper.

Walter Crane, an artist, art theorist, and one of the leading students of Japanese art in England would write in 1896:

There is no doubt that the opening of Japanese ports to Western commerce—whatever its after-effects, including its effect upon the arts of Japan itself—has had an enormous influence on European and American art. Japan is, or was, . . . in the condition of a European country in the Middle Ages, with wonderfully skilled artists and craftsmen in all manner of work of the decorative kind who were under the influence of a free and informal naturalism. Here at least was a living art, an art of the people, in which traditions and craftsmanship were unbroken, and the results full of attractive variety, quickness, and naturalistic force. What wonder that it took Western artists by storm, and that its effects have become so patent.<sup>1</sup>

Long centuries of isolation made Japan exotic and clouded in mystery to those in the West. During the mid-1800s many Europeans held the vision of Japan as a pristine, idyllic Eden populated by innocent people who lived in harmony with their land while producing arts and crafts of refined beauty. Thus, Japan was particularly appealing to those Europeans pessimistic about their future or disillusioned by the environmental degradation and urban slums resulting from industrialization.<sup>2</sup>

Japanese art was felt to have a freshness of expression and purity that was thought to be lost or stultified by convention in the West. Japanese manufacturing was based on highly skilled artist-craftsmen, and their exquisitely finished works only accentuated the poor design and shoddy quality of many manufactured goods

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Crane, *Of the Decorative Illustrations of Books Old and New*, 1st ed. (London: George Bell and sons, 1896), 132.

<sup>2</sup> Elisa Evett, "The Late Nineteenth-Century European Critical Response to Japanese Art: Primitivist Leanings," *Art History* 6, no. 1 (March 1983): 82–106, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8365.1983.tb00795.x>, 104.



in the West. Soon after the trade agreements were signed, merchants in many European cities began creating displays of Japanese goods including woodblock prints in their shops (see fig. 18).



Figure 18. James Tissot, "Young Ladies Looking at Japanese Objects," 1869, oil on canvas, 70.5 x 50.2 cm, Cincinnati Art Museum.

Japanese woodblock prints offered a particularly sharp contrast in style and content with Western painting. The story that woodblock prints initially arrived in Europe as packing material in a shipping carton of Japanese pottery is apocryphal. The first documented Japanese prints in Paris appeared much earlier as part of a collection amassed by Isaac Titsing, head of the Dutch Colony in Nagasaki, and sold at his death in 1812. The first recorded exhibition of Japanese prints in the West was an astonishingly comprehensive collection of ukiyo-e, including prints by Hokusai and Hiroshige, collected by Philipp Franz von Siebold in Japan and exhibited in 1837 at his museum in Leiden, Holland.<sup>3</sup>

The graphic artist Felix Bracquemond studied a volume of Hokusai's *Manga* series in 1856 and acquired a copy one year later. Bracquemond began to incorporate Japanese motifs into his work at the Manufacture nationale de Sèvres and decorated a stoneware service with Hokusai motifs in 1867. The same year, Edmond Goncourt published his novel *Manette Salomon*. In it, Goncourt demonstrated extensive knowledge of Japanese woodblock prints by including, as the private musings of the fictional character Coriolis, one of the first summaries of the two-hundred-year history of ukiyo-e. The novel even referenced specific prints and identified as their notable aesthetic principle that they were inspired by nature but composed of intense colors juxtaposed in flat, solid blocks.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Deborah Johnson, "Japanese Prints in Europe before 1840," *The Burlington Magazine* 124, no. 951 (1982): 343–48, 347.

<sup>4</sup> Edmond de Goncourt, *Manette Salomon* (Paris: Académie Goncourt, 1925), 188-90.

Many Europeans were introduced to Japanese culture through Japan's unofficial participation in the 1862 International Exhibition in London where a display of Japanese arts and crafts caused an immediate sensation. Japanese pavilions were later included at Parisian international exhibitions in 1876, 1878, and 1889.<sup>5</sup> The term Japonisme was first used in 1877 by the French art critic Philippe Burty (1830-1890) to describe the study of Japanese art and artists by those in the West.<sup>6</sup>

Impressionist painters began adopting Japanese style elements soon after woodblock prints became generally available in the 1850s. They were the first generation of European painters to be influenced, and Édouard Manet was arguably the first to be so influenced. Manet included a woodblock print and a portion of a Japanese screen in the background of his "Portrait of Émile Zola" (see fig. 19) and he favored the artist Kitagawa Utamaro (1753-1806). Manet's "The Fifer" is flat, two-dimensional, and has solid blocks of juxtaposed red, black, and white. The black vest, hat, shoes, and stripes on the pants create a strong outline against a neutral background in the manner typical of Utamaro (see figs. 20, 21).

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<sup>5</sup> Siegfried Wichmann, *Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on Western Art in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 1st ed (New York: Harmony Books, 1981), 8-9.

<sup>6</sup> Gabriel P. Weisberg, et al., eds., *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910: [Exhibition Catalog]* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), xi.

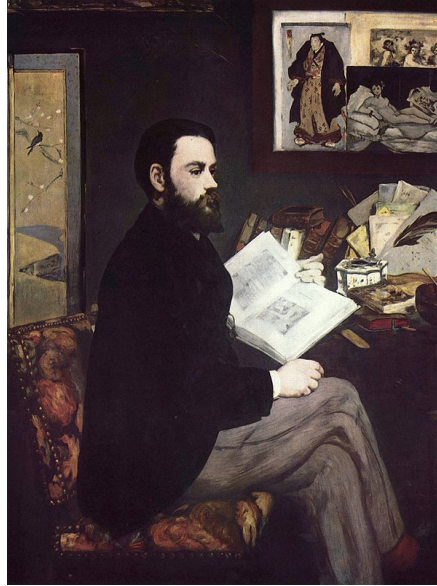


Figure 19. Édouard Manet, "Portrait of Émile Zola," 1868, oil on canvas, 146.5 x 114 cm, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 20. Édouard Manet, "The Fife Player," 1866, oil on canvas, 160.5 x 97 cm, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 21. Kitagawa Utamaro, "Mother and Child with Puppies." ca. 1800, polychrome woodblock print. on paper, 37.4 x 24.3 cm, Honolulu Museum of Art.



The liveliness and range of movement of everyday activities are reflected in Hokusai's *Manga*. Many of the women bathers and dancers Edgar Degas drew in pastel have candid poses strikingly similar to Hokusai's illustrations (see fig. 22).<sup>7</sup>

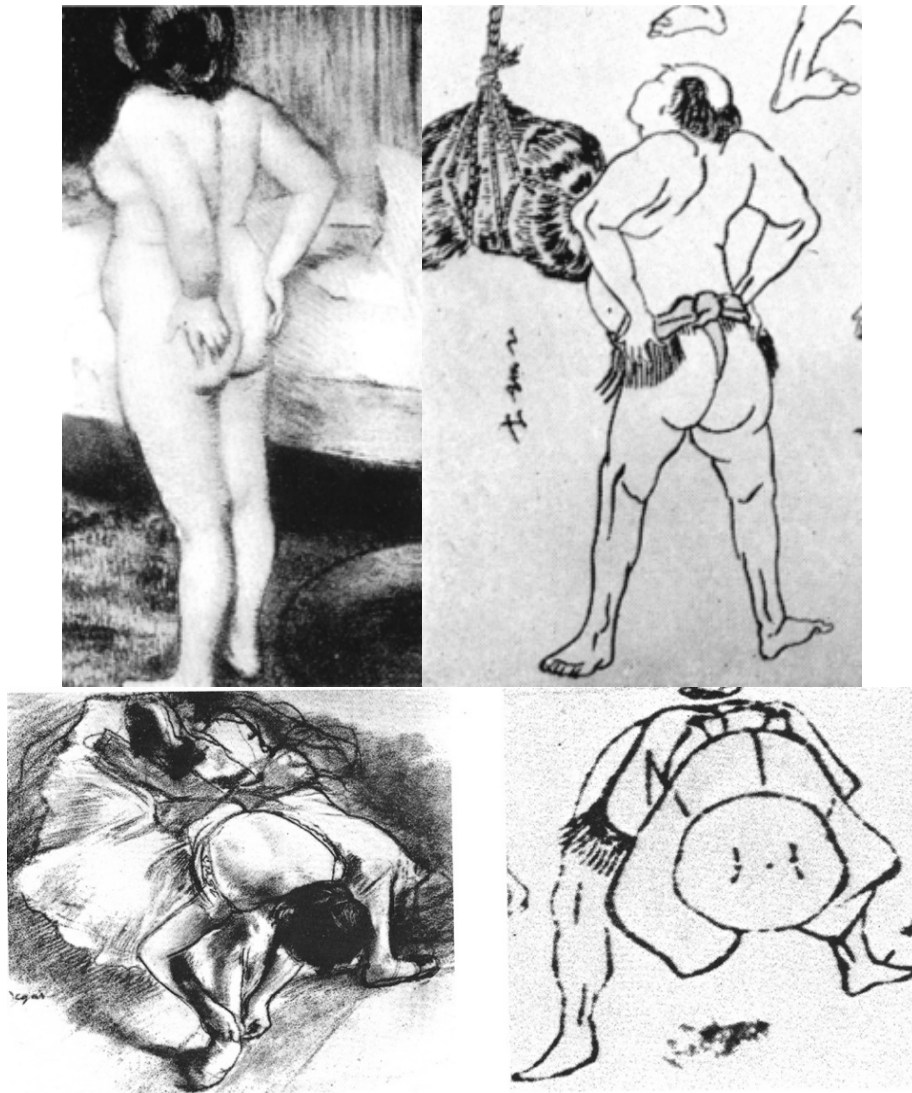


Figure 22. Edgar Degas, "Woman Stretching," pastel (upper left) and "Dancer Tying her Slipper," pastel (lower left); Katshushika Hokusai, "Man Stretching" (upper right) and "Man Bending" (lower right) from *Hokusai Manga*, ca. 1830, monochrome woodblock print on paper.

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<sup>7</sup> Wichmann, *Japonisme*, 26-34.

Vincent Van Gogh absorbed many Japanese artistic devices and compositional elements into his paintings and went so far as to replicate in oil the woodblock print “Flowering Plum Tree in the Kameido Garden” (1856-8) by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) (see figs. 23 and 24).<sup>8</sup> In 1888, he wrote to his brother, Theo, “All my work is based to some extent on Japanese art . . .”<sup>9</sup>



Figure 23. Utagawa Hiroshige, “Plum Park in Kameido” from *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1858, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 36.4 x 24.4 cm, Rijksmuseum.



Figure 24. Vincent Van Gogh, "Flowering Plum Orchard-after Hiroshige," 1887, oil on canvas, 55.6 x 46.8 cm, Van Gogh Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Wichmann, *Japonisme*, 40-44, 52-61.

<sup>9</sup> Vincent Van Gogh “Van Gogh, Vincent letter to Theo van Gogh. Arles, Sunday, 15 July 1888.640 - Vincent van Gogh Letters,” accessed April 2, 2020, <http://www.vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let640/letter.html#translation>.

To his sister he wrote:

You will be able to get an idea of the revolution in painting when you think, for instance of the brightly colored Japanese pictures that one sees everywhere, landscapes and figures. Theo and I have hundreds of Japanese prints in our possession.<sup>10</sup>

Japanese influences are also seen in the work of James Whistler, Mary Cassatt, and Paul Gauguin. Claude Monet and Auguste Rodin had large collections of Japanese prints.<sup>11</sup>

The first major French retrospective dedicated to the arts of Japan was organized by Louis Gonse, Director of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, at the Paris gallery of Georges Petit in 1883. It included paintings, bronzes, lacquers, and albums of woodblock prints dating back to the ninth century and was well attended. The critic Paul Mantz, wrote that the exhibit was “a source of astonishment and a lesson for all serious Parisians.”<sup>12</sup> Gonse followed this exhibition with the publication of a two-volume compendium of Japanese art, *L’art Japonaise*. These two events provided the first detailed Western survey of Japanese art.

In 1888, Bing began publication of a journal dedicated to the illustration and study of Japanese art, *Le Japon Artistique*. Through the 1880s, Siegfried Bing had

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<sup>10</sup> Vincent Van Gogh, *The Complete Letters*, 1st ed., 3 vols. (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1959), Letter W3.

<sup>11</sup> Valérie Sueur-Hermel, *Henri Rivière. Entre impressionnisme et japonisme. [Henri Rivière, Between Impressionism and Japonisme]* (Paris: BNF Editions, 2016), 133-143.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Mantz, “Exposition Rétrospective de l’art Japonaise [Retrospective Exhibition of Japanese Art],” *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts* 27 (May 1883), 400.

organized a commercial trading company to import art and crafts directly from Japan. He opened several stores that sold Japanese goods in Paris as well as other European cities and became the largest dealer in Europe.<sup>13</sup> One of those who avidly patronized S. Bing et Cie. was Henri Rivière.

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<sup>13</sup> Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Art Nouveau Bing: Paris Style 1900* (New York : Washington, D.C: Abrams ; Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1986), 19-26.

## CHAPTER 6

### HENRI RIVIÈRE AND JAPANESE WOODBLOCK PRINTS

Rivière and George Auriol spent many hours in Siegfried Bing's shop examining the large selection of Japanese arts and crafts, including prints. Rivière wrote in his autobiography:

George Auriol and I had a great admiration for Japanese art, not very well known until then in France. Guéneau de Mussy shared this admiration and it was he who introduced us to Siegfried Bing-in his premises in the rue de Provence. They let us leaf through albums and prints for long afternoons of our initiation by ourselves: they well knew that we were not buyers but that we were forming new skills . . . it is true that our preference at that time was for prints above all, which looked so new to us Europeans . . . And it was a great pleasure to discover one after the other, first of all the Primitives, like Moronobu, with their prints in black, then in two tones, black and pink; then in three, black, pink and green (Kiyonubu, Masamobu); and there were the polychrome printings (four, six or eight colors), the daring simplifications of Korin, the bold Haranobu, the attractive Koryusai, the elegant Kiyonaga, the gracious Utamaro, Sharaku, Shunso, Toyokuni, and so many others . . . And we reached the creator of tireless invention, this 'old man mad about drawing' as he called himself, Hokusai . . . For more than a hundred years, he transfixed on paper tragic or elegiac scenes . . . Finally, there was the landscapist Hiroshige . . . who showed us the real shape of his beautiful country in all weathers.<sup>1</sup>

Noël Guéneau de Mussy also introduced the two friends to Tadamasa Hayashi. Hayashi was Japanese but fluent in French. He initially came to Paris as an interpreter for the company that organized Japan's participation in the Paris Exposition of 1878. After the exhibition ended, he remained in Paris and

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin: Souvenirs, Notes & Croquis, 1864-1951* [*The Detours of the Path: Souvenirs, Notes and Sketches, 1864-1951*] (Saint-Remy-de-Provence: Equinoxe, 2004), 89.



established himself as a dealer specializing in Japanese art. He imported thousands of ukiyo-e prints and helped to build many of the major private collections in France. More than just a source of Japanese merchandise, Hayashi had a profound knowledge of Japanese art and culture. He was able to provide context and meaning to the objects he purveyed.

It was through Hayashi that Rivière obtained a sizable collection of woodblock prints. Hayashi commissioned Rivière to paint murals for a house he planned to build in Tokyo (see fig. 25). He proposed a payment of 40,000 Fr (approximately \$670,000 in 2020 United States dollars using relative values in gold),<sup>2</sup> but offered to give him twice that amount if he took payment in the form of

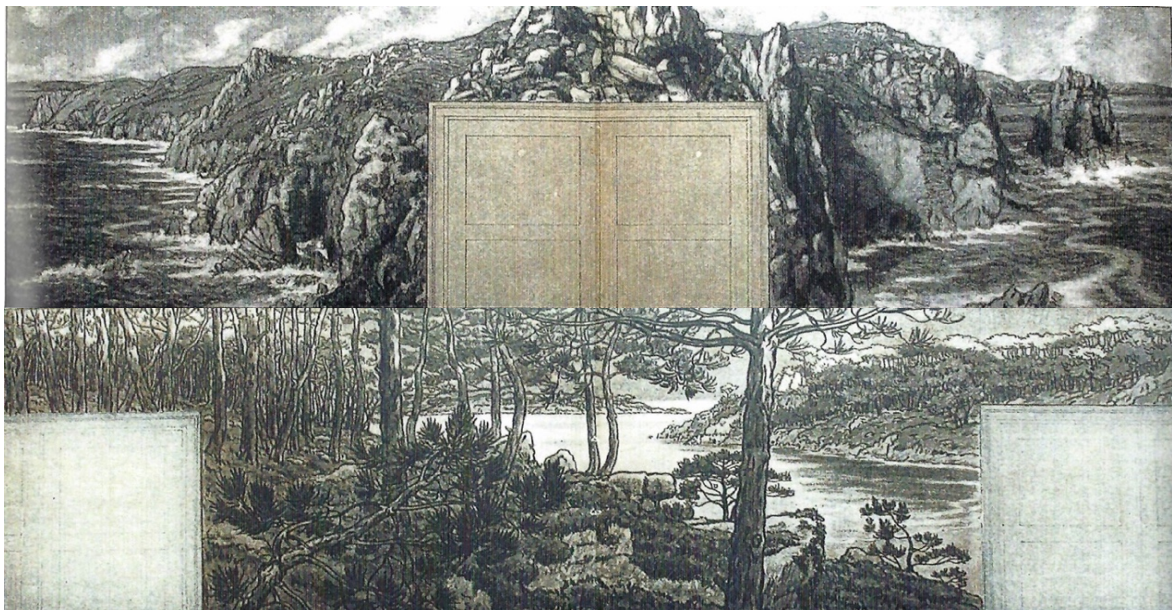


Figure 25. Henri Rivière, "Les Falaises," (above) and "Le Soir" (below), mural project for the Tokyo mansion of Tadamas Hayashi.

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<sup>2</sup> Note: Between 1863 and WWI the French Franc had a fixed value of 0.29g gold. Value of 40,000 F = 11600 g gold = \$671,363.00 on 2/27/2020 as calculated by the author.

merchandise from Hayashi's shop and his extensive private collection. Rivière readily accepted payment in merchandise.<sup>3</sup> Hayashi, unfortunately, died shortly after he left Paris for Japan in 1905, and the murals were never installed.<sup>4</sup>

A listing of only that portion of Rivière's private collection later acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale de France gives an idea of the extent and quality of the prints he acquired from Hayashi. This immense trove included 49 illustrated books and 749 superb individual prints: 455 by Hiroshige, 130 by Hokusai, 37 by Utamaro, 18 by Eisen, and 14 by Harunobu. Examples by Hokusai included a complete copy of *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, eight leaves from *Tour of Waterfalls in Diverse Provinces*, and 40 leaves from the *Tōkaidō* series. Rivière gave preference to landscapes. Unlike some contemporaries including Monet who allowed their prints to be hung in frames and damaged by light, Rivière carefully preserved his collection of prints in leather-bound volumes with covers designed by George Auriol.<sup>5</sup> For one of limited means, he was able to amass a collection of Japanese art that is remarkable both in quality and quantity.

Rivière had become thoroughly enamored with Japanese wood-block prints by 1887 and was determined to try the technique himself. He chose for his subject

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<sup>3</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 95-96.

<sup>4</sup> Armond Fields, Victoria Dailey, and Henri Rivière, *Henri Rivière*, 1. ed (Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith, 1983), 28.

<sup>5</sup> Christophe Marquet, *Hokusai, Hiroshige, Rivière: L'amour de La Nature [Hokusai, Hiroshige, Rivière and the Love of Nature]*, 1st ed., 1 vol. (Quimper: Musée Départemental Breton, Quimper, 2014), 137-139.

the controversial Tower that Eiffel was constructing for the Exposition Universelle of 1889. When completed, it would be the tallest structure ever erected.



## CHAPTER 7

### LA TOUR EIFFEL

Paris was to host the Exposition Universelle of 1889 and had entrusted the design and construction of its centerpiece to France's most prominent engineer, Gustave Eiffel. His audacious concept was a massive, tapering tower of wrought-iron latticework. France needed some way of restoring its international prestige which had been badly tarnished after the failure and execution of Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, the disastrous defeat by Germany in the Franco-Prussian War, the collapse of the Second French Empire under Napoleon III in 1870, the revolt by the Commune followed by its bloody suppression in 1871, and the continued political instability in the Third Republic. French officials hoped that a successful and impressive exhibition to celebrate the French Revolution of 1789 could improve their international credibility. The British journal *Engineering* stated the obvious when it noted:

Politics have done much to bring (France) into discredit among other nations; the Exhibition will do far more to restore its prestige, and to give even greater prominence in Art, Industry and Science . . . With the great mass of Frenchmen political strife is thrust aside for the present, and the clamor of the parties is suppressed.<sup>1</sup>

The first public mention of the project was on 22 October 1884 in a note on the back page of *Figaro*. "One of the most extraordinary (projects)," it stated, "is

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<sup>1</sup> "The Paris Exhibition," *Engineering*, May 3, 1889, 415.

certainly the three-hundred-meter tower that M. Eiffel proposes to build.” From the first submitted designs, however, the project was controversial. Paul Planat wrote in an editorial for the 1 May 1886 edition of *La construction moderne*, the Tower is “an inartistic . . . scaffolding of crossbars and angled iron” with a “hideously unfinished” appearance.<sup>2</sup> Eiffel and his two chief engineers, Émile Nouguier and Maurice Koechlin, must have agreed that their original plan was too prosaic and sparse to be easily accepted by the public (see fig. 26). They enlisted architect Stephen Sauvestre who embellished and humanized the original pragmatic design by adding stonework pedestals beneath the iron legs and monumental metal arches to link the legs to the first platform (see fig. 27).

On 22 October 1886, at a government committee meeting to discuss the details of the construction contract with Eiffel, the powerful politician Pierre Tirard railed against the design and stated it was “anti-artistic, contrary to French genius . . . and a project more in character with America (where taste is not very developed) than Europe, much less France.”<sup>3</sup> Construction began nevertheless on 28 January 1887 and all Paris watched in fascination or horror as the monstrous feet of the Tower grew upward.

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<sup>2</sup> Daniel Bermond, *Gustave Eiffel* (Paris: Le Grand livre du mois, 2002), 256.

<sup>3</sup> Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower: And the World's Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count* (New York, N.Y: Viking, 2009), 23.

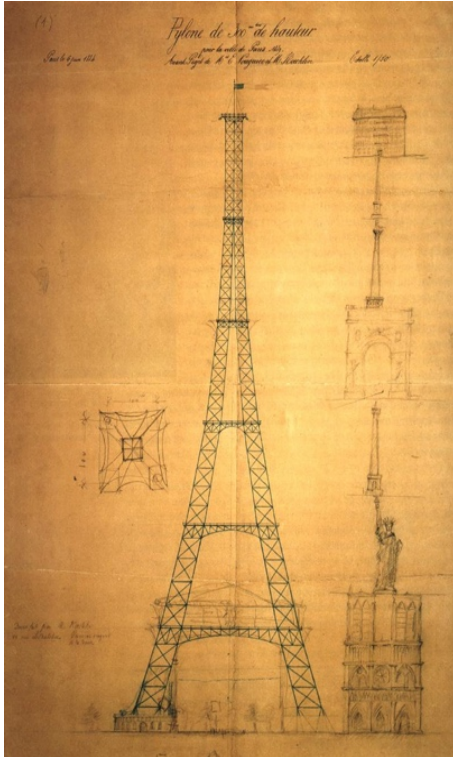


Figure 26. Maurice Koechlin, “Early blueprint of the Eiffel Tower,” 1884.



Figure 27. Detail of the Eiffel Tower showing decorative stone pedestals and decorative iron arches between the legs.

On 5 February 1887, the influential weekly newspaper *L'Illustration* published the article “La Tour Eiffel” in which it was dismissed as “a lighthouse, a nail, a chandelier.”<sup>4</sup> The private debate over the Tower erupted onto the pages of *Le Temps* on 14 February 1887. In opposition was a letter to the people of Paris signed by forty-seven of the most celebrated minds in France including writers Paul Verlaine, Guy de Maupassant, François Coppée, Alexandre Dumas, Leconte de Lisle, Émile Zola, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Victorien Sardou and René Sully Prudhomme (who was to win the first Nobel prize for literature in 1901); artists

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<sup>4</sup> “La Tour Eiffel [The Eiffel Tower],” *L'Illustration*, February 5, 1887, 3.

Ernest Meissonier, Adolphe William Bouguereau, Jean-Léon Gérôme, and Charles-Amable Lenoir; Charles Garnier, the architect of the Paris Opera; and composer Charles Gounod. The letter began:

We come, writers, painters, sculptors, architects, enthusiasts passionate about beauty, hitherto intact, from Paris, protest with all our strength, with all our indignation, in the name of unrecognized French taste, in the name of art and of French history threatened, against the erection, in the heart of our capital, of the useless and monstrous Eiffel Tower, which public malignity, often marked by common sense and a spirit of justice, has already named after of 'Tower of Babel'."

It ended by expressing the fear that Paris' famous monuments of the past synonymous with the glories of French history and culture would be reduced and humiliated by the Tower's gargantuan presence:

. . . imagine for a moment a vertiginously ridiculous tower, dominating Paris, as well as a gigantic factory chimney, crushing with its barbarous mass Notre-Dame, the Sainte-Chapel, the dome of the Invalides, the Arc de Triomphe, all our humiliated monuments, all our shrinking architectures, which will disappear in this amazing dream. And for twenty years, we will see stretching out over the entire city, still quivering with the genius of so many centuries, we will see stretching out like an inkblot the odious shadow of the odious column of bolted sheet metal . . . <sup>5</sup>

Eiffel's response was printed immediately below the combined letter and began by questioning how the critics could make any valid artistic judgment solely on the preliminary drawings then available:

What are the reasons given by the artists to protest the erection of the tower? That she is useless and monstrous! . . . I would like to know on what basis they base their judgment. Because, notice, sir, this tower, nobody saw it and no one, before it was built, could say what it will be. It is known until

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<sup>5</sup> *Le Temps*, 14 Feb 1887 page 2 col. 5.

now only by a simple geometrical drawing . . . is it possible to appreciate with skill the general artistic effect of a monument after a simple drawing, when this monument is so much of the dimensions already practiced and already known forms?

Eiffel continued with the argument that design perfectly suited to its technical requirements will have an intrinsic beauty of form:

Well! I claim that the curves of the four edges of the monument, as calculated, have provided them, which, starting from a huge and unusual wheelbase at the base, tapering to the top, will give a great impression of strength and beauty; for they will translate to the eyes the boldness of the design as a whole.

Eiffel rejected the idea that size alone should disqualify the Tower from being beautiful and out of place. “The tower will be the tallest building that men have ever built. Will it not be so grandiose in its own way? And why would that which is admirable in Egypt become hideous and ridiculous in Paris?” Far from being a useless extravagance, Eiffel pointed out that the utility of the Tower extended beyond that of public attraction for the Exhibition Universelle:

As for the scientists, the true judges of the question of utility, I can say that they are unanimous. Not only does the tower promise interesting observations for astronomy, meteorology and physics, not only will it allow wartime to keep Paris constantly connected to the rest of France, but it will at the same time be a striking proof of progress. made in this century by the art of engineers.

Eiffel ended his rebuttal by reminding the people of Paris that the Tower is a symbol they could be proud of and that it represented French accomplishment and superiority in the fields of science, engineering, and technology:

Is it nothing to the glory of Paris that this summary of contemporary science is erected in its walls? . . . It seems to me that it would have no other reason to be than to show that we are not only the country of amusements but also that of the engineers and builders we call from all parts of the world to build up bridges, viaducts, railway stations and the great monuments of modern industry.<sup>6</sup>

Eiffel's strong statements in defense of the Tower were satirized in the press (see fig. 28), but he never lost faith that his immense Tower would ultimately be embraced by Paris. "I also felt that, notwithstanding the severe attacks directed against the Tower, public opinion was on my side, and that a host of unknown friends were preparing to welcome this daring attempt as it rose out of



Figure 28. Cartoon of Eiffel published in "Le Central," 1887 satirizing his statement "And why would that which is admirable in Egypt become hideous and ridiculous in Paris?" Notre-Dame is substituted for his pocket watch.

<sup>6</sup> Les artistes contre la tour Eiffel [Artists Against the Eiffel Tower], "Au Jour Le Jour [Day by Day]." 14 Feb 1887, page 2, col. 5-6; page 3, col. 1.

the ground.”<sup>7</sup> Indeed many did come to marvel as the immense Tower progressed.

Gaston Tissandier, scientist and editor of the weekly journal *La Nature*, came frequently to the site and wrote:

When we approach it, the construction becomes monumental; and when we reach the floor of the colossus, we are lost in wonder at the enormous mass of metal which has been combined with mathematical precision and forms one of the boldest works that the art of engineering ever dared to attempt.<sup>8</sup>

When the Tower became more defined, Eiffel initiated a series of press events, tours, and a banquet on the completed first platform on 4 July 1888. Previously hostile voices such as Albert Wolf, editor of *Figaro*, now began to refer to the Tower as “a grandiose marvel as it rises majestically in the air, and at once graceful and imposing, having naught in common with that tower of Babel which, if it ever did exist, rose no higher than a fifth-story window.”<sup>9</sup>

One of those who ascended the Eiffel Tower during its construction was Henri Rivière as part of a press tour. The magazine Rivière edited, *Le Chat Noir*, was running a series of advertisements to promote the Tower and the Exhibition Universelle. When the main structure of the Tower had reached its highest point, Rivière with several others from *Le Chat Noir* was allowed to climb to the top at

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<sup>7</sup> Phillip Dennis Cate et al., *The Eiffel Tower, a Tour de Force: Its Centennial Exhibition* (New York: Grolier Club, 1989), 28.

<sup>8</sup> Gaston Tissandier and Gustave Eiffel, *The Eiffel Tower: A Description of the Monument, Its Construction, Its Machinery, Its Object, and Its Utility* London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1889, 94.

<sup>9</sup> Jonnes, *Eiffel's Tower*, 46.

their own risk, with the warning that sometimes bolts fell and ricocheted against the beams resulting in serious injury. Rivière described the ascent in his autobiography. He, his manager Henry Jouard, and the poet Jules Jouy climbed stairs as elevators had not yet been installed. Everything went well to the second platform, but to reach the third they faced a narrow and endless spiral stair. The third platform appeared eventually but could only be accessed by walking across three planks laid across a wide gap almost three-hundred meters above the ground. To climb to the summit, they entered a tube with iron spikes placed as rungs on a spiral ladder. It was awkward and unnerving, but finally, they arrived at a small platform “hardly larger than a plate” which topped the Tower and on which they were able to contemplate Paris and its distant regions.<sup>10</sup> What was not generally known until the 1980s was that Rivière brought a small wooden bellows-camera with pre-emulsified glass plates to take pictures of the unfinished structure and its construction workers. Several of these photographs (see fig. 29) were later used for the plates “En haut de la Tour” (plate 4), “Dans la Tour” (plate 25) (see fig. 30), “Ouvrier plombier dans la Tour” (plate 30), and “Le peintre dans la Tour” (plate 36) in *Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Henri Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin: Souvenirs, Notes & Croquis, 1864-1951* [*The Detours of the Path: Souvenirs, Notes and Sketches, 1864-1951*] (Saint-Remy-de-Provence: Equinoxe, 2004), 69-70.

<sup>11</sup> François Fossier, *Henri Rivière, graveur et photographe* [*Henri Rivière, Engraver and Photographer*] (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), 62-64.



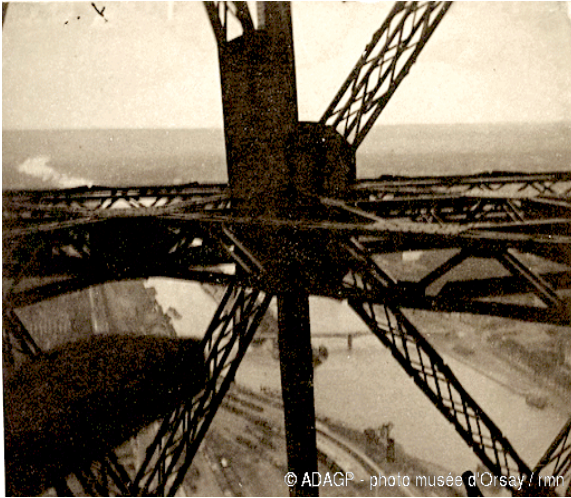


Figure 29. Henri Rivière, "La tour Eiffel. Assemblage de poutrelles avec l'île aux cygnes en arrière-plan en 1889," 1889, photograph, 9 x 12 cm, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 30. Henri Rivière, "Dans la Tour" plate 25 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Guy de Maupassant remained a remorseless foe of the Tower to the last and wrote in the first lines of his travel book *La Vie Errante*, "I left Paris and France because the Eiffel Tower bothered me too much. Not only did one see her everywhere, but one found her everywhere, made in all known materials, exposed in all the windows, an inevitable, torturing nightmare."<sup>12</sup> Roland Barthes recounted that de Maupassant "often lunched at the restaurant in the tower, though he didn't care much for the food: 'It's the only place in Paris,' he used to say, 'where I don't have to see it'."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Guy de Maupassant, *La Vie Errante [The Wandering Life]*, 1st ed. (Paris: Lassitude, 1890), 1.

<sup>13</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 3. Note: this amusing quip may be apocryphal. It was attributed by Barthes and others to de Maupassant, but never with a citation as to a source. The witticism has also been attributed to William Morris.

The vast majority of Paris, as de Maupassant lamented, embraced the structure and began to claim it as their own. The Tower was dedicated on 31 March 1889 after it achieved a height of 1024 feet and was the tallest man-made structure ever built. It would remain so until the Chrysler Building in New York surpassed it by 22 feet in 1931. On 1 April 1889, an article in the *London Times* reported on the dedication ceremony and noted:

. . . it must be admitted that the effect produced by the drawings was unfavourable. The form suggested the ugliest parts of a suspension bridge, and it was predicted that the deformity would be increased with the increase of size. The result has not been what was predicted. Even some of those who protested most loudly against the proposal now admit that the effect of the structure is not what they anticipated. They acknowledge that it has a light and graceful appearance, in spite of its gigantic size, and that it is an imposing monument, not unworthy of Paris.

The article further noted that the same M. Tirard who had so disparaged the initial drawings now congratulated M. Eiffel and admitted that he was ready to make an *amende honorable*. Tirard stated he was happy to acknowledge his error and concluded by proposing that M. Eiffel receive the decoration of an officer of the Legion of Honor. The Tower's ultimate vindication was its popular success with Parisians and visitors alike after the Exhibition Universelle opened on 5 May 1889.

## CHAPTER 8

### RIVIÈRE, WOODBLOCK PRINTING, AND LITHOGRAPHY

When Rivière decided to produce a series of woodblock prints featuring the Eiffel Tower, he had a great deal of self-confidence but no real technical knowledge of how Japanese artists made and used woodblocks for prints. He made his own tools and taught himself how to cut woodblocks. He was able to find and purchase antique Japanese paper, mixed his own colored inks, and did the printing himself (see fig. 31).



Figure 31. Anonymous, "Henri Rivière in his studio," photograph.



In 1887 he published a small edition using seven blocks of his first print, “Le Chantier de la Tour Eiffel” (see fig. 32). In 1891 Rivière produced a second print featuring the Eiffel Tower, “La Tour Eiffel du Viaduc d’Auteuil” using four blocks in an edition of three proofs. He found the process so time-consuming and difficult that he abandoned the effort after the second print.<sup>1</sup> Rivière would not return to the Eiffel Tower as a subject until 1898 when he again took up his original project with lithography rather than woodcuts.



Figure 32. Henri Rivière, "Le Chantier de la tour Eiffel," 1889, seven-color woodblock print on paper, 21.6 x 34.2 cm, Toudouze 1907, p. 162.

<sup>1</sup> Georges Toudouze, *Henri Rivière*, 1st ed. (Paris: Henri Floury, 1907), 162.

Despite the difficulty, Rivière seemed to favor the woodcut over all other techniques. He wrote in his autobiography:

If the printing is difficult, at least it is absorbing; it takes you back to your artistic craft, to the pleasure of matching tones and colors. To engrave or etch is amusing; it is a drawing that you make by a process other than the pencil or pen, that's all! But to cut with your knife, against wood grain, the contours of a lined plank is not attractive, it is a purely manual craft where the mind scarcely intervenes . . . how many thousands of insipid gouges must you make only to bring into relief the parts to be printed!<sup>2</sup>

Rivière would later show his friend and patron Tadamas Hayashi the home-made instruments and his technique for these initial attempts at printing in the Japanese manner. Hayashi was clearly amused and told Rivière that his tools, cutting, ink, and printing technique were similar to those used by Japanese artists but that better instruments had been available, naturally, to Japanese printers for hundreds of years.<sup>3</sup>

An important individual in the artistic development of Henri Rivière was the French actor, director, and theatrical producer André Antoine. Antoine had founded the Théâtre Libre in 1887 with the avowed purpose of presenting the works of avant-garde playwrights like Ibsen, Strindberg, and Chekhov that could not be performed in Paris because of official censorship. Antoine went around the censors by avoiding the sale of tickets. Instead, the performances were presented to a

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<sup>2</sup> Henri Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin: Souvenirs, Notes & Croquis, 1864-1951* [*The Detours of the Path: Souvenirs, Notes and Sketches, 1864-1951*] (Saint-Remy-de-Provence: Equinoxe, 2004), 68.

<sup>3</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 65.

closed group of subscribers. In addition to an enlightened choice of plays, Antoine provided an illustrated program for each performance designed by the best graphic artists of the day including Henri-Gabriel Ibels, Édouard Vuillard, Paul Signac, and Henri Toulouse-Lautrec. Rivière's good friend and frequent collaborator George Auriol designed a very Japanese influenced cover with multicolored peony blossoms for a performance of the plays *Myrane* and *Les Chapons* in 1889 (see fig. 33).



Figure 33. George Auriol, "Program Cover for Théâtre Libre," 1890, lithograph on paper, 22.5 x 32 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art.



Antoine knew Rivière through Le Chat Noir and asked him to design a program cover for his new theater using lithography, a medium previously unknown to Rivière. Antoine introduced Rivière to the commercial lithography printer Eugène Verneau who had printed several programs for Antoine beginning in 1888. Rivière was to form a strong bond of mutual friendship and professional collaboration with Verneau.<sup>4</sup>

Rivière found lithography to be much easier than woodblock printing and carried his experience with Japanese-style composition into a program cover for Théâtre Libre's production of *Le Pain d'Autrui* by Ivan Turgenev and *En Détresse* by Armand Ephraïm, Willy Schultz, and Henri Fèvre on 10 January 1890 (see fig. 34).



Figure 34. Henri Rivière, "Program Cover for Théâtre Libre," 1889, polychrome lithograph on paper, 12.5 x 31.1 cm, McNay Art Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin*, 71.

The cover is a five-color lithograph with a diagonal orientation that borrows heavily from Hokusai's manga-style. A solitary man, figured in heavy black outline and three subtle shades of tan, trudges through a snow-covered urban park. He carries a wrapped baguette and seems not to notice the pillar covered with posters, including one proclaiming "THEATRE LIBRE," that are differentiated by subtle shades of yellow, salmon, and grey. The sketchy quality of the drawing, use of a heavy outline to define elements within the composition, and the limited, earth-toned palette presaged techniques Rivière would use a few years later for the lithographs in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*. Also present in this cover is a sense of individual isolation in a bleak urban environment that would also be evident in Rivière's later lithographs.



## CHAPTER 9

### A NOTE ON LITHOGRAPHY AND ITS IMPORTANCE

The process of lithography was invented in 1796 by the German actor and playwright Alois Senefelder who needed a cheaper way of publishing his plays and playbills (see fig. 35).<sup>1</sup> He was granted a British patent (#2518, granted June 20, 1801) for his process which involved a design drawn on a smooth limestone slab



Figure 35. Lorenzo Quaglio the Younger, "Portrait of Alois Senefelder," 1818, lithograph, commons.wikimedia.org.

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<sup>1</sup> Alois Senefelder, *Senefelder on Lithography: The Classic 1819 Treatise* (Courier Corporation, 2013), 1-13.

with a grease-based substance (originally lamp black in hogs' lard). The limestone surface was then washed with a weak solution of acid and gum Arabic. Areas not protected with the design became water repellent. When the slab was blotted with water and ink applied, the ink adhered only to the design, and the slab was placed on a press for printing onto moistened paper or another surface.<sup>2</sup> The first commercial use of the new process was for musical scores, but it was quickly adopted by graphic artists for poster advertisements. Although publishers soon began using multicolored lithography for fine illustrated books, posters continued to be printed in a single color (usually black) or black and a contrasting color (see fig. 36). It was not until the late 1800s that multicolor lithography would be preferred for posters.

French Art Nouveau artists particularly embraced lithography for several reasons. Artists could easily correct or modify a drawing directly on the limestone printing surface in a way not possible with woodblocks or copperplates. The increased availability of steam-powered mechanical presses after 1850 made printing with the heavy limestone slabs easier, faster, cheaper, and more precise. It also allowed printing larger posters.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Great Britain. Patent office. [from old catalog], *Patents for Inventions. Abridgments of Specifications Relating to Printing, Including Therein the Production of Copies on All Kinds of Materials* (London, Printed by G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, 1859), <http://archive.org/details/patentsforinven87offigoog>, 103-107.

<sup>3</sup> David Raizman, ed., *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Laurence King, 2003), 42.

Jules Chéret is considered the father of the colored poster and popularized it in France.<sup>4</sup> He is credited with designing the first, true, multi-colored poster in 1858 for a production of Jacques Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers* (see fig. 37). The poster was printed in three colors (black, olive, and rust), and the contrasting colors dramatically enhanced its visual impact. Following this poster, Chéret was unable to obtain further commissions in Paris and left for London.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 36. Anonymous, Poster for "The Seige of Troy or the Giant Horse of Sinon," 1833, printed by Thomas Romney, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 37. Jules Chéret, Poster for "Orphée aux enfers," 1858, polychrome lithography on paper, printed by Brunel.

<sup>4</sup> "V&A · A Short History of the Poster," Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed February 6, 2020, <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/a-short-history-of-the-poster>.

<sup>5</sup> Phillip Dennis Cate, Sinclair Hitchings, and André Mellerio, *The Color Revolution: Color Lithography in France, 1890-1900* (Santa Barbara: P. Smith, 1978), 3.



He returned to Paris in 1869 with a new system of color lithography: one stone established a strong black outline, other stones added accents of violent red and yellow that attracted the eye, and the last stone harmonized the design with a graded blue or green background. Chéret was the first to employ a graded color background in posters. He used this system with great success from the 1870s through the 1890s (see fig. 38).<sup>6</sup>



Figure 38. Jules Chéret, "Poster for Le Courrier Français Exposition de douze cents dessins originaux du Courrier Français à l'Élysée Montmartre," 1891, polychrome lithograph on paper, 55 x 37 cm, printed by Chaix, Maison du livre et de l'affiche à Chaumont.

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<sup>6</sup> Henri Beraldi, *Les Graveurs Du XIXe Siècle: Guide de l'amateur d'estampes Modernes [Nineteenth-Century Engravers: A Guide for Collectors of Modern Prints]*, vol. 10, 1885, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2154800>, 32.

Although Chéret was the first to design posters in multiple colors many artists soon followed, particularly after France enacted the 29 July 1881 Freedom of the Press Law. The law was intended to decrease government censorship control over printed material including books, magazines, and newspapers but the law also liberalized regulations regarding handbills and posters. Prior to 1881, posters had to be shown to the prefect of police for official authorization and placement of a stamp on each copy before they could be posted in Paris. After 1881, only two examples of a poster needed to be filed with the authorities before an unlimited number could be placed on any public surface except churches, polling places, the special areas reserved for official notices, or areas specifically designated as prohibited (*Défense D’Afficher!*) by property owners.

The streets soon exploded with brightly colored posters, and Paris became a vast, ever-changing, open-air gallery filled with images by the best artists of the day. Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Théophile Steinlen, Pierre Bonnard, Eugène Grasset, Paul Berthon, Maurice Denis, and Alphonse Mucha made graphic art of high quality readily available to all the people of Paris on an unprecedented scale. Hermann Schardt observed:

There is an obvious attempt to break away from outworn, inhibiting traditions and to give a new dignity to everyday life through the medium of art. With the introduction of the human figure in a new form and presentation into the poster . . . the intimate relationship between art and life is thrown into sharp relief. The poster is not designed for the art gallery, or for the museum, or for aesthetic enjoyment, but for the street, for everyday life, for a specific and essentially short-term purpose.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Hermann Schardt, *Paris 1900 The Art of the Poster*, (London: Bracken Books, 1987), 4.

Alphonse Mucha enthusiastically embraced this democratization of art and said “I was happy to be involved in an art for the people and not for private drawing rooms. It was inexpensive, accessible to the general public, and it found a home in poor families as well as in more affluent circles.”<sup>8</sup>

Verneau printed a particularly ambitious lithograph designed by Paul Signac for the January 31, 1889 production of Charles Henry’s *Application du Cercle Chromatic*. The design was used on additional program covers during the 1888-89 season at Théâtre Libre. “Application du Cercle Chromatic” (see fig. 39) was one of the first prints to demonstrate the potential of full-color lithography. Verneau, at this time, was becoming increasingly interested in working directly with artists on

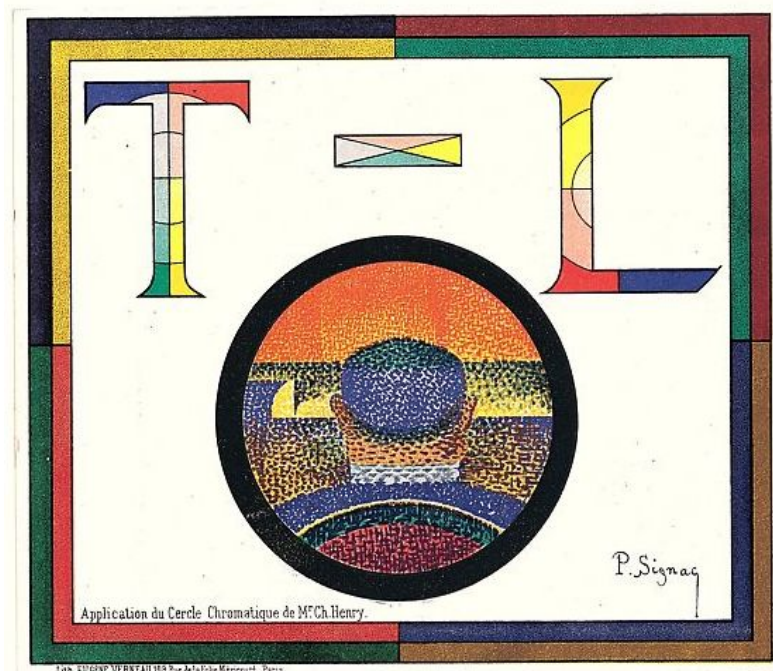


Figure 39. Paul Signac, "Program Cover for Théâtre Libre," 1889, polychrome lithograph on paper, 15 x 18 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>8</sup> Tomoko Sato et al., *Alphonse Mucha: In Quest of Beauty*, 2015, 12.

fine art prints. The Théâtre Libre program covers acted as a transition for artists between commercial advertisements and these original fine-art prints that could be sold directly to the public. The program covers also provided many artists, including Rivière, their first contact with the color lithography process that became their preferred method of printmaking in the 1890s.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Armond Fields, Victoria Dailey, and Henri Rivière, *Henri Rivière*, 1. ed (Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith, 1983), 16.

## CHAPTER 10

### RIVIÈRE, LITHOGRAPHY, AND *LES TRENTE-SIX VUES DE LA TOUR EIFFEL*

Beginning in the mid-1890s, Rivière increasingly devoted himself to color lithography but continued to incorporate Japanese elements into his images. In 1893, Rivière and Verneau produced a lithograph in eight colors, “La Vague” (see fig. 40), for the publication *L’Estampe Originale*. For “La Vague,” Rivière used an interpretation of Japanese woodblock techniques to portray a European seascape. Perspective is flattened and the horizon remains high even though the viewpoint is from a slightly elevated position. The foreground rocks, ocean waves, and spray are stylized in a manner similar to Hiroshige’s “Naruto Whirlpool” (see fig. 41).



Figure 40. Detail, Henri Rivière, "La Vague," 1893, eight-color lithograph on paper, 40.6 x 57 cm (sheet), Metropolitan Museum of Art.





Figure 41. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Naruto Whirlpools," plate 55 in *Famous Places in the Sixty-odd Provinces*, 1855, polychrome woodblock print on paper, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

As in Hiroshige, shadows are absent and the rivulets of water running down the rocks are suggested by un-inked paper. “La Vague” is a beautiful image with all the life and movement found in similar images by the Japanese masters.

Rivière continued to produce woodblock prints and completed two series, *Paysages Bretons* (1890-94) and *La Mer: Études de vagues* 1890-92. Forty different images for *Paysages Bretons* were hand-printed by Rivière in editions of 20 plus proofs. Each print required between five and twelve woodblocks except the thirty-eighth image, “Le Pardon de Sainte-Anne-la-Palud,” which required five sheets and 50 woodblocks for completion and the fortieth image, “Lavoir sous Bois à Loguivy” which required three sheets and 30 blocks (see fig. 42). Two additional images were printed for the series in 1914 using ten and twelve blocks, respectively. The six images for *La Mer: Études de vagues* were printed in editions of twenty plus proofs and each required between five to seven woodblocks. Fields referenced a



Figure 42. Henri Rivière, "Lavoir sous Bois à Longuivy," 1894, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 41 x 73.3 cm, Van Gogh Museum.



statement from Louis Morin's 1898 book *Quelques Artistes de ce Temps*, that Rivière originally intended to complete 100 images for the *Paysages Bretons* series and 33 images for *La Mer*.<sup>1</sup> Rivière signed all of his woodblock prints with his name in the block and those completed before 1914 also bear a red cartouche with his initials stamped above the lower border of the image in imitation of Japanese woodblock prints.

Rivière was able to meld his love of nature and artistic vision with Japanese elements such as unusual perspectives, high horizons, flat colors, and balanced asymmetry. It is interesting to compare his series *Paysages Bretons* with prints by Hiroshige. In the first image from the series, "Lancier (Saint-Briac)" (see fig. 43),

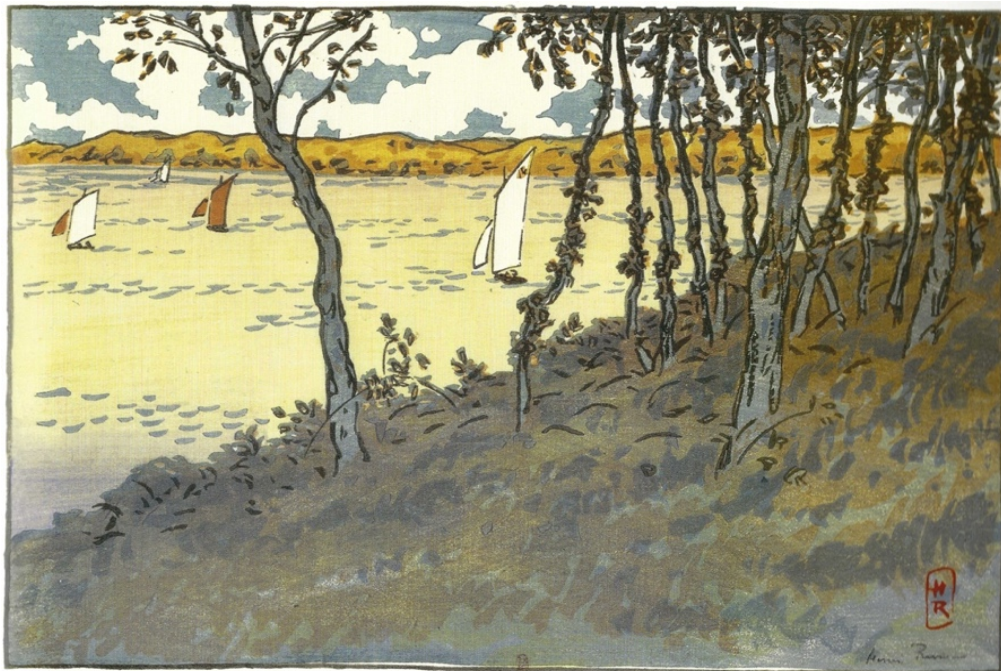


Figure 43. Henri Rivière, "Lancier (Saint-Briac)" from *Paysages Bretons*, 1890, polychrome woodcut print on paper, 46.7 x 33.5 cm.

<sup>1</sup> Armond Fields, Victoria Dailey, and Henri Rivière, *Henri Rivière*, 1. ed (Salt Lake City, Utah: Smith, 1983), 83.

Rivière does not make a direct translation of a particular ukiyo-e print but lays out a composition similar to Hiroshige's "Yoshiwara" plate 15 from *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tōkaidō* (1847-52) (see fig. 44). Rivière, like Hiroshige, uses a diagonal foreground weighted to the right corner; a grouping of bare trunked, rachitic-looking trees; and an angled slice of middle ground. "Femme de la Garde-Guérin (Saint-Briac)" (see fig. 45), shares elements with Hokusai's "Ejiri near Shimizu City," plate thirty-five from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji* (see fig. 46). In both images, travelers walk away from the viewer on a road that angles into the distance



Figure 44. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Yoshiwara" plate 15 from *The Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, ca. 1840, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 22.2 x 34.9 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



and disappears behind a hill with a sprinkling of similar skinny and crooked trees blowing in the wind.



Figure 45. Henri Rivière, "Femme de la Garde-Guérin (Saint-Briac)" plate 15 in *Paysages Bretons*, 1890, eight-color woodblock on paper, 23 x 35 cm.



Figure 46. Katsushika Hokusai, "Ejiri in Suruga Province" from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 25.4 x 37.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Rivière worked with Verneau's studio between 1897 and 1917 on several series of fine art lithographs including *Les Aspects de la Nature* (1897-1899), *Le Beau Pays de Bretagne* (1898-1917), *Paysages Parisiens* (1900), and *Le Fèerie des Heures* (1901-1902). In 1902, Rivière finally completed with lithography the series he had attempted twelve years earlier with woodblock printing, *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*.

Rivière had often gone along the quays of the Seine and up the Butte Montmartre to make sketches.<sup>2</sup> Rivière also took photographs of the city and its citizens.<sup>3</sup> He translated these sketches and photographs into lithographs. The second through fourth images in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* are in chronological order and show the Tower in progressive stages of completion. The remainder of the images reveals the completed Tower in all seasons and from different viewpoints in Paris or its environs. A map (see fig. 47) locates the vantage points for the images and confirms that virtually all the views track beside the Seine or were sited high in Montmartre. From a practical standpoint, these are the areas where the Tower was visible to Rivière from street level without intervening buildings or other obstructions.

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<sup>2</sup> Henri Rivière, *Les Détours du Chemin: Souvenirs, Notes & Croquis, 1864-1951* [*The Detours of the Path: Souvenirs, Notes and Sketches, 1864-1951*] (Saint-Remy-de-Provence: Equinoxe, 2004), 71.

<sup>3</sup> François Fossier, *Henri Rivière, graveur et photographe* [*Henri Rivière, Engraver and Photographer*] (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988), 62-79.



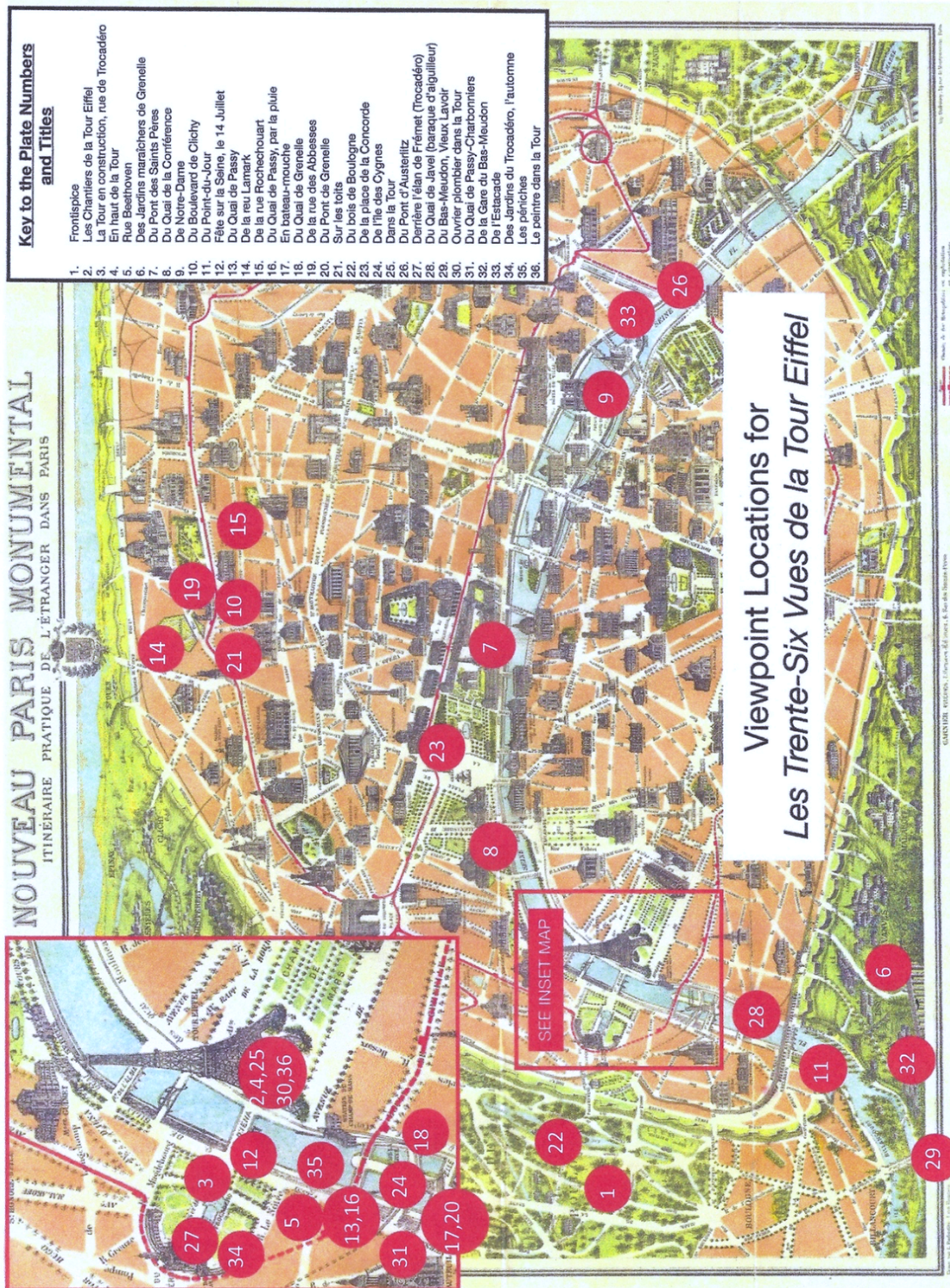


Figure 47. Map with the vantage points of plates in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* as determined by author and located on background map *Nouveau Paris Monumental* by Garnier frères, 1878.



Rivière's project was inspired by Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji* (which actually contains 46 views). Many of Rivière's prints are similar in composition to prints by Hokusai, but Rivière's work is not so much a direct Western translation of a Japanese prototype but rather a work in the same spirit as the Japanese master.

*Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* resulted from a collaboration between many of Rivière's friends. The art critic Arsène Alexandre wrote the prologue, George Auriol contributed the book design and typography, and Charles Verneau was the printer. Rivière's book referenced Japanese design in several ways. Stylized iris flowers resembling a Japanese family crest are embossed on the cover, and the title is positioned like the colophon on a Japanese painting (see fig. 48).



Figure 48. George Auriol, cover for *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, printed and embossed paper, 29 x 23 cm.



The page format is rectangular with heavy border-lines and a wide blank margin similar to that of most ukiyo-e prints (see fig. 49). There is a signature cachet with Rivière's stylized initials in red ink placed along the bottom portion of the images. Since Rivière's project was inspired by Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, it is not surprising that many of Rivière's prints are similar in composition to Hokusai prints. A full discussion of these comparisons is found in the Appendix, but one example is "De la rue des Abbesses" (see fig. 50). Here, the viewer looks out over a mound of buildings onto fog-shrouded Paris with a magnified Eiffel Tower on the



Figure 49. Henri Rivière, "Frontispice," plate 1 in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, five-color lithograph on paper, 17 x 20 cm.

left. Similarly, with Hokusai, the viewer looks beyond the famous “Cushion Pine at Aoyama” to Mt. Fuji over a valley hidden by low clouds (see fig. 51).



Figure 50. Henri Rivière, "De la rue des Abbesses," plate 19 in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, five-color lithograph on paper, 17 x 20 cm.



Figure 51. Katsushika Hokusai, "The Cushion Pine at Aoyama in Edo" plate 8 in *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-1832, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 26.2 x 38.8 cm, Honolulu Museum of Art.



Katsushika Hokusai was born in 1760 and was initially apprenticed to a woodblock cutter in the printing trade at age sixteen. At age nineteen he was apprenticed to the painter Katsukawa Shunshō, and his earliest prints were of actors.<sup>4</sup> In 1812, at the age of fifty-two, he began publishing the *Hokusai Manga*, fifteen volumes with thousands of monochrome depictions of landscapes, people, and animals filled with movement, action, and turbulent life. The ready availability around 1830 of rich, blue pigments imported through Dutch traders allowed him to publish in 1830, at the age of seventy, *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*. This work was the first to incorporate such Western elements as non-Japanese clouds and blue skies into woodblock prints with purely Japanese landscape views (see fig. 52).<sup>5</sup>



Figure 52. Katsushika Hokusai, “South Wind, Clear Sky,” also known as “Red Fuji,” from the series *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-32, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 24.4 x 35.6 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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<sup>4</sup> Matthi Forrer, Edmond de Goncourt, and Hokusai Katsushika, *Hokusai* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 14-18.

<sup>5</sup> Forrer, Goncourt, and Katsushika, *Hokusai*, 268-70.

Hokusai, and later Hiroshige, emphasized a blue and green color palette for their woodblock landscapes similar to that used by Chinese painters in the Song (960-1279 CE) and later dynasties (see fig. 53). Song painters adopted the blue-green landscape style from the earlier Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE) to indicate a religious, legendary, or mythological subject.<sup>6</sup> Hokusai may have similarly employed bright green and blue colors that referenced the earlier Chinese style to suggest the mythic and religious power that the Japanese landscape, and Fujiyama in particular, exerts over the people of Japan.

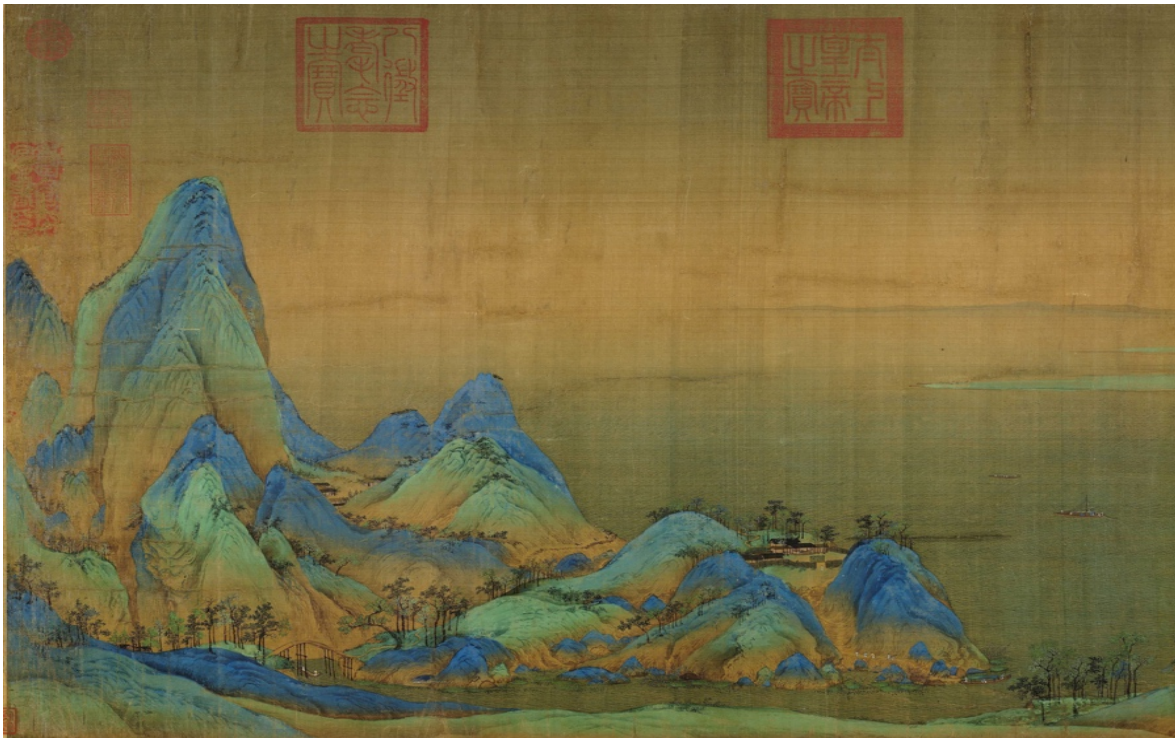


Figure 53. Wang Ximeng, "A Thousand Li or River and Mountains" (detail), ca. 1100 CE, ink and color on silk, 11.91 x 55.8 m, Palace Museum, Beijing.

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<sup>6</sup> Richard Vinograd, "Some Landscapes Related to the Blue-and-Green Manner from the Early Yüan Period," *Artibus Asiae* 41, no. 2/3 (1979): 101–31, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3249513>, 101.

Mt. Fuji has, from the earliest times, been an obsession with the Japanese.

An anonymous poem from the eighth-century CE included in the *Manyoshu*

(*Collection of One Thousand Leaves*) states:

There towers the lofty peak of Fuji  
From between Kai and waved-washed Suruga,  
The clouds of heaven dare not cross it,  
Nor the birds of the air soar above it . . .  
It baffles the tongue; it cannot be named.  
It is a god mysterious . . .  
In the land of Yamato, the Land of the Rising Sun,  
It is our treasure, our tutelary god.  
It never tires our eyes to look up  
To the lofty peak of Fuji!<sup>7</sup>

The blue-green palette chosen by Hokusai emphasizes the mythic presence Fuji

holds in the landscape (see fig. 54). The colors also suggest that the Japanese are



Figure 54. Katsushika Hokusai, "Umezawa in Sagami Province," from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-1834, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 25.6 x 37.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>7</sup> Donald Keene, translator, *The Manyoshu*, 1st ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 215.

bound in a spiritual and religious way to Fuji as the most sacred and revered place in Japan. Fuji represents more than a symbol of homeland, more than the abode of native gods, more than the incarnation of natural beauty-it summarizes Japanese cultural ideals.

In contrast to the blues and greens used by Hokusai and Hiroshige in their colored landscape woodcuts, Rivière chose a palette of bronze, tan, and grey with heavy black outlines. The subdued palette is appropriate as many of the images are winter or autumn scenes. Some authors have suggested that these muted colors were meant to emulate the monochromatic color schemes in black and grey to be found in Hokusai's three-volume masterpiece *One Hundred Views of Fuji*.<sup>8</sup>

Consider Rivière's "Derrière l'élan de Frémiet (Trocadéro)" (see fig. 55) and its obvious inspiration, "Fukurokujio" (see fig. 56) by Hokusai. In the monochrome plate by Hokusai, the stag (symbol of a Chinese god of good fortune, Fukurokujio, who is often accompanied by a stag) is seen from the rear in three-quarter profile while standing on an inclined hillside with a partially cloud-shrouded Fuji in the background. The stag, Fuji, and the hillside are all expressions of the natural world. All three elements are integrated visually together by having similar black outlines and a common pattern of dark stipples on a predominately white background. Rivière took considerable artistic license (see discussion page 105) to present a close translation of Hokusai. He presents a stag in three-quarter profile from

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<sup>8</sup> Henri Rivière et al., *Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2010), 102-103.





Figure 55. Henri Rivière, "Derrière l'élan de Frémiet (Trocadéro)" plate 27 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

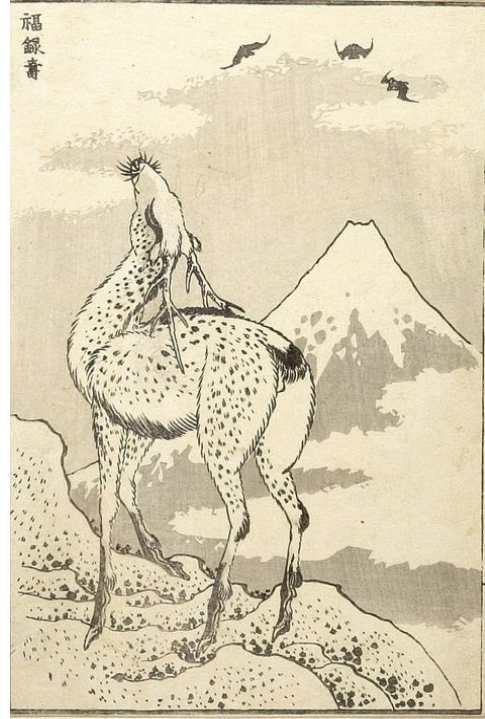


Figure 56. Katsushika Hokusai, "Fukurokujio," vol. 3, plate 28 in *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1834-1835, monochrome woodblock print on paper, 22.8 x 16 cm.

the rear on an inclined surface. Both the stag and its base share a similar stippled pattern though on different colored surfaces. Rivière's stag, however, is bronze. Its rocky base has been artificially planted in the reflecting pool of the Trocadéro and silhouetted in the background is the enormous metal lattice of the Tower. It is the iris in the lower-left corner that looks out of place and unnatural in this new environment created by men. In Rivière's compositions, as in Hokusai's landscapes, the power and vitality of heavy, black outlines emphasize blocks of uniform color.

I argue that Rivière intentionally chose his muted palette to give the images of Paris a gritty, urban aesthetic even when the setting was rural (see fig. 57). The metallic shades certainly give Paris an industrial quality in harmony with Eiffel's wrought-iron Tower that dominated the skyline. Here is the parallel with Hokusai. The images of Fuji in blue and green represented for the Japanese the spiritual essence of their land and history embodied in the shape of Mt. Fuji. So, too, images of the Eiffel Tower in shades of iron and bronze symbolized for Rivière, at the turn of the century, the spirit of his age: faith in technology and science as a means of progress.



Figure 57. Henri Rivière, "Sur les toits" plate 21 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



The concept of portraying the working class realistically was considered revolutionary in Western art as late as the mid-nineteenth century. Courbet was castigated by art critics and became the subject of satire (see fig. 58) for exhibiting “The Stone Breakers” (see fig. 59) and “A Burial at Ornans” at the 1851 Paris Salon. His paintings depicted life-sized and un-romanticized common laborers and rural bourgeoisie. Champfleury summarized the critics when he wrote:

All one sees in these paintings is of such bad taste that one recognizes nature only in its degradation. The men are ugly and badly done, their suits are gross, their houses shabby. One finds in them nothing but a base truth.<sup>9</sup>

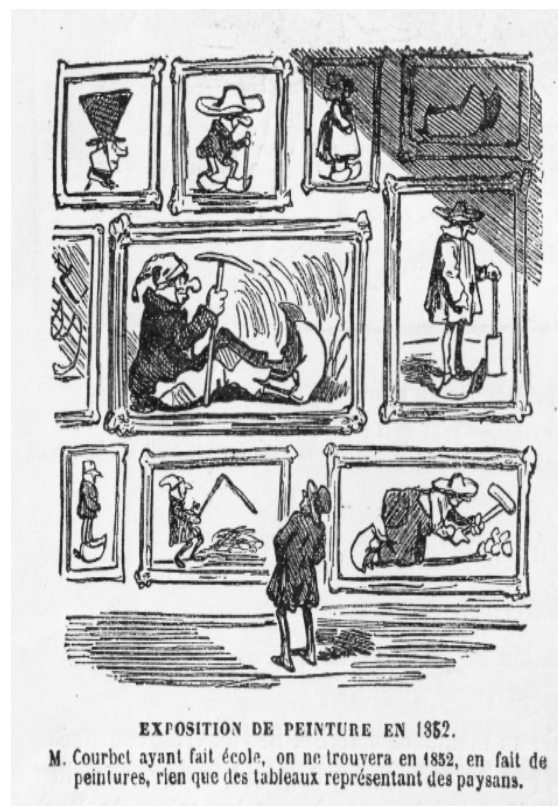


Figure 58. Caricature by Cham from *Le Charivari*, 7 April 1851, reproduced in *Courbet salon les caricatures et les images*.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 367.



Figure 59. Gustave Courbet, "The Stonebreakers," 1849, oil on canvas, 165 x 257 cm, destroyed 1945 (Dresden, Germany).

Courbet summarized his own artistic philosophy by saying "I like things for what they are . . . I recognize everything as a part of nature . . . I am contemptuous of nothing."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Pierre Courthion, ed., *Courbet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis [Courbet as Told by Himself and His Friends]*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1950), vol. I, 31.

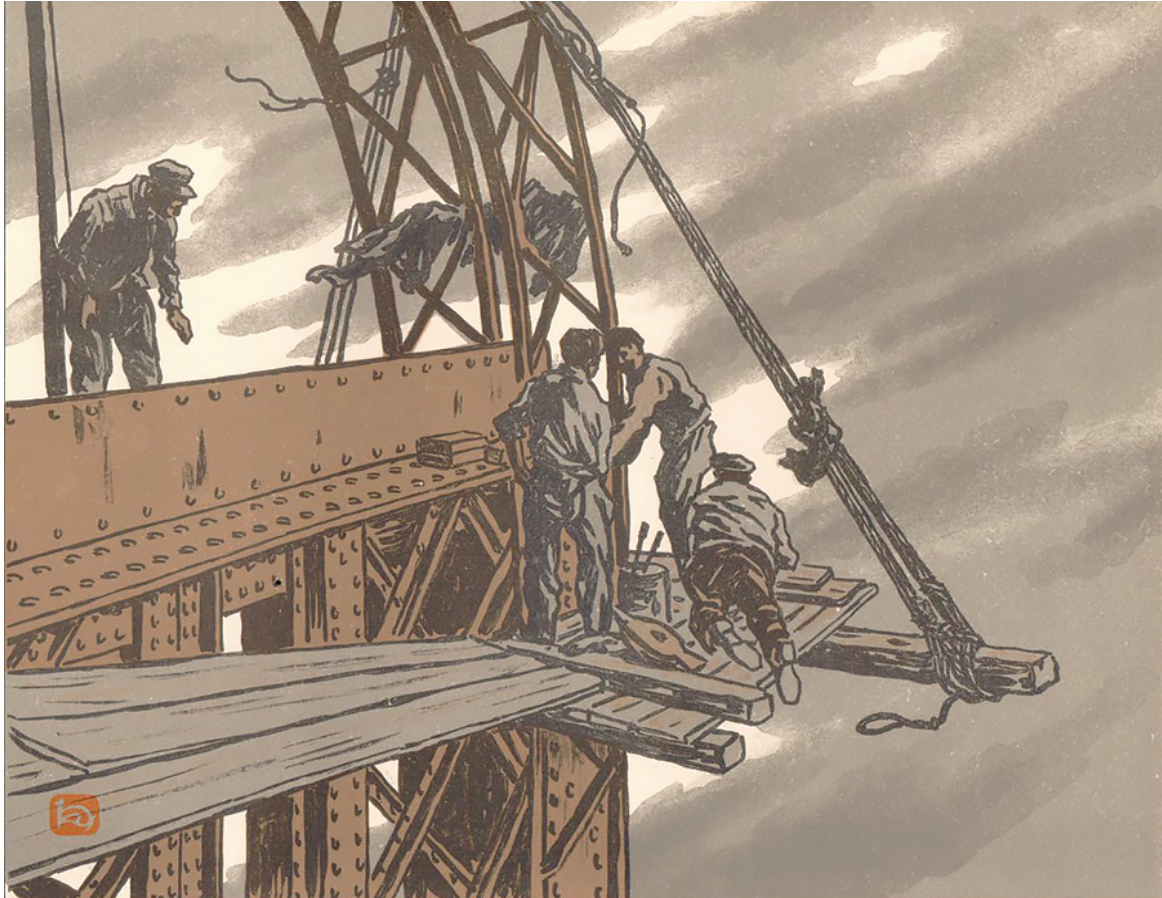


Figure 60. Henri Rivière, "Eh haut de la Tour," plate 4 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Both Rivière and Japanese artists populated their prints with people of all classes. Rivière depicted anonymous workers constructing something extraordinary, the Eiffel Tower, in "En haut de la Tour" (see fig. 60). Japanese prints portray a society that was culturally stable and integrated with the land. Figures in Japanese prints are lively, often smiling, and look content. They are seldom solitary and usually portrayed in a group or as part of a crowd as in Hokusai's "Waterwheel at Onden" (see fig. 61).





Figure 61. (Detail) Katsushika Hokusai, "Waterwheel at Onden " plate 9 from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-32, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 25 x 38 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

By contrast, Rivière's plates often suggest alienation. A possible explanation for this may be found in the writings of Edmond and Jules de Goncourt during the Haussmann reconstruction:

Our Paris, the Paris where we were born, the Paris of the way of life of 1830 to 1848, is passing away. Social life is going through a great revolution, which is beginning . . . All of this makes me feel, in this country so dear to my heart, like a traveler. I am a stranger to what is coming, to what is, as I am to these new boulevards . . . It is idiotic to arrive in an age under

construction: the soul has discomforts as a result, like a man who lives in a newly built house.<sup>11</sup>

This “discomfort of the soul” may still have been present a generation after the Goncourts and reflected in Rivière’s prints. He portrays Parisians with their backs frequently turned to the viewer (see fig. 62), expressions are serious (see fig. 63),



Figure 62. (Detail) Henri Rivière, "De la rue Lamark" plate 27 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 63. (Detail) Henri Rivière, "En bateau-mouche" plate 17 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

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<sup>11</sup> Timothy J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, Rev. ed (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1999), 35 (quoting Edmond and Jules de Goncourt from *Mémoires de la vie littéraire*).



and even barges appear forlorn (see fig. 64) while the Eiffel Tower stands aloof in the background.



Figure 64. (Detail) Henri Rivière, "Du Bas-Meudon, Vieux Lavoir" plate 29 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Certainly, there is no equivalent in Hokusai for the portrayal of deep melancholy in "Des Jardins du Trocadéro, l'automne" (see fig. 65). The manicured park and bustle of pedestrians and carriages in the background contrast poignantly with the isolation of the solitary man on a bench, fixedly staring at the ground between his feet while autumn leaves gently fall around him and the grey silhouette of the Tower looms coldly in the distance.



Figure 65. Henri Rivière, "Des Jardins du Trocadéro, l'automne" plate 34 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



## CHAPTER 11

### CONCLUSIONS

Arsène Alexandre reflected the ambivalence felt by many Parisians toward the Tower in his prologue to *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*:

In winter, when there is fog, or the sun sets behind you and you are enriched and even more fantastical, it is not you that is beautiful, it is the light. When you suddenly appear to us through a skylight, or presiding over a council of chimneys, it is not you that conveys the impression of the turbulent life of a big city, but Paris itself, which you merely accentuate.<sup>1</sup>

He then admitted that the Tower “continued to obsess our minds and our eyes for a fairly long time” and that when Rivière was composing his suite, he decided to “pin those tableaux to this nail. To be sure, he would have preferred to have Mount Fuji on the horizon . . . but we each have the Fujiyama we can find.” Eiffel’s Tower was not a random choice for the unifying element in Rivière’s otherwise disparate vignettes of 1890s Paris. Neither was it an unconscious decision by him to give the Tower a symbolic significance in Paris equivalent to that accorded by Japanese artists to Fujiyama in their landscapes. Mt. Fuji is the highest mountain in Japan and first to be touched by the sun each morning in the entire archipelago. For Japanese, it represents a physical manifestation of their inner spirit. Rivière made the artistic statement that the Eiffel Tower, though made of metal by men, reflected the spirit of Paris in the new century.

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Rivière et al., *Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2010), 95.

Although Rivière depicted the beauty of Paris in his book, he rendered that beauty in cold, metallic colors. In the 1860s, the Goncourts described the “discomfort of the soul” that resulted from the dramatic changes that had transformed their city during the Second Empire. Rivière also was sensitive to the subconscious societal anxieties that lingered into the fin-du-siècle. His figures are somber and often portrayed as isolated from fellow citizens. Rivière populated his images with the working class and reflected, whether consciously or unconsciously, the reality that most of his fellow citizens in the new Paris lived in relative poverty.

Rivière adopted many of the techniques found in the landscape woodblock prints by Japanese masters, particularly Hokusai. These techniques included diagonal compositions that often truncate objects; use of silhouette; flat, two-dimensional modeling with heavy, black outlines; and the elimination of shadows. He deftly used creative perspectives as well as broad blocks of contrasting color and empty space as design elements. He mastered the use of a few lines to create a lively sense of motion or to delineate solid images, and he deeply assimilated the Japanese sensibility that all economic classes are of artistic interest.

Rivière intended to produce a series for Parisians similar to what Hokusai created for the Japanese and adapted foreign techniques for his private vision and purpose. Alexandre summarized Rivière’s purpose in his prologue:

. . . to describe the daunting beauty of Paris, to tell it again in all its forms and colors to those care-free, ungrateful Parisians who are forever forgetting it. To make this album a memento of beauty for those who live now and a testimonial for all those who will follow. Thanks to these images, our

successors may stroll about a city that will have been completely transformed, and the one we know now will perhaps have vanished.<sup>2</sup>

Many of the plates in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* are similar in subject and composition to those of Hokusai, but Rivière did not produce a slavish, European replication. He never leaves the viewer in doubt of being anywhere but fin-du-siècle Paris and his book would not have been possible without the changes that transformed the city in the latter half of the nineteenth century. When regarding the plates in this book, viewers enter a visual time capsule. They become flâneurs and flâneuses as Rivière affectionately guides them through streets and along the banks of the Seine.

Rivière's book met with only modest commercial demand and far fewer than the intended 550 copies were eventually printed.<sup>3</sup> In the end, Rivière achieved with *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel* one of the purest examples of Japonisme in Western art. It is ironic that he accomplished this only after Japonisme had lost much of its influence as a style. Rivière correctly intuited the significance that the Eiffel Tower held in 1900 and would continue to hold into the future. Roland Barthes observed one hundred years after Rivière's birth, "There is virtually no Parisian glance it fails to touch at some time of day . . . The Tower is also present to the entire world."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Rivière et al., *Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower*, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Rivière et al., *Thirty-Six Views of the Eiffel Tower*, 105.

<sup>4</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 3-4.

## APPENDIX

### A DISCUSSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL PLATES

Plate 1: "Frontispice" (see fig. 66).

It is difficult to surpass Hokusai's humorous inventiveness and compositional delicacy in "I Am Afraid of Mt. Fuji," plate 11 from the third book of *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* (see fig. 67). The snowy mass of Fuji's iconic outline, defined in the negative by a grey uniform sky, is seen through a delicate spider's web in which a single fallen maple leaf is caught to suggest late autumn.



Figure 66. Henri Rivière, "Frontispice," plate 1 in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, five-color lithograph on paper, 17 x 20 cm.



Figure 67. Katsushika Hokusai, "I Am Afraid of Mt Fuji," vol. 3, plate 11 from *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1834-1835, monochrome woodblock print on paper, 22.8 x 16 cm.

Rivière does not attempt a direct interpretation but does present a lovely metaphor for autumn in Paris. “Frontispice” frames the Eiffel Tower with russet-colored chestnut leaves. One twig has fallen and is being carried away by the wind.

Plate 2: "Les Chantiers de La Tour Eiffel" (see fig. 68).

"Les Chantiers" is a winter scene with the Tower under construction in the background. Workers in various poses of activity or rest are pictured at its base but are visually separated from it by a band of white snow on the ground. Hokusai presents a similar scene with "Fuji in a Snow Storm" in *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji*. Travelers in a snowstorm are also clustered in various active and relaxed poses at the base of Mt. Fuji and are visually separated from it by a band of white snow (see fig. 69). This lithograph was a variation of the first image Rivière printed himself in 1889 using seven woodblocks (see fig. 32).



Figure 68. Henri Rivière, "Des Chantiers de la Tour," plate 2 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Figure 69. Katsushika Hokusai, "Fuji in a Snowstorm," book 2, plate 3 from *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* 1830-33, monochrome woodblock print.



Plate 3: "La Tour en Construction, vue du Trocadéro" (see fig. 70).

This plate shares similarities in composition with Hiroshigi's "Snow at Kanbara" from *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō* (see fig. 71). In both images, figures trudge through snow facing away from the viewer with either umbrellas or rounded hats. A line of buildings defines the horizon and, on the left, a strong vertical element is present—the partially completed Eiffel Tower in one and a snow-covered evergreen tree in the other.



Figure 70. Henri Rivière, "La Tour en construction, vue du Trocadéro," plate 3 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 71. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Evening Snow at Kanbara" from *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*, 1833-34, 22.5 x 34.9 cm, Polychrome woodblock print on paper, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Plate 4: "En haut de la Tour" (see fig. 72).

This is one of four plates based on photographs Rivière took with a small hand-held bellows camera during the ascent he made in early 1889 up the partially completed Eiffel Tower with others from *Le Chat Noir*. The plate shows a group of three workers setting rivets (there is a rivet bucket with a pair of tongs and a leather hand bellows at their feet) into the tower structure. They are precariously supported by a temporary platform of wooden planks reached by an unstable-appearing catwalk of three wooden boards (see fig. 73). A fourth worker is standing on a girder and observing from above. Grey, linear clouds cross the sky while rope ends and workers coats hung on the metal superstructure blow in a brisk breeze.



Figure 72. Henri Rivière, "En haut de la Tour," plate 4 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

A copy of the original photograph used as the model is in the collection of the Musée d'Orsay. It shows the identical placement of the figures and structural elements, however, the coats and rope ends are hanging limply. Rivière added an element of danger in his plate by implying a strong wind not actually present in the photograph.



Figure 73. Henri Rivière, one of the photographs taken in 1898 during an ascent while the Tower was still under construction, Musée d'Orsay #PHO 1981 124 4.



Plate 5: "Rue Beethoven" (see fig. 74).

This is a street scene probably adapted from a sketch or an unknown photograph. Rue Beethoven was located across the Seine from the Eiffel Tower in an area that was little altered by the Haussmann gentrification and is representative of old Paris.



Figure 74. Henri Rivière, "Rue Beethoven," plate 5 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Plate 6: "Des Jardins Maraîchers de Grenelle" (see fig. 75).

This image shows a rural view over planted vegetable fields toward the completed tower from the outskirts of Paris. In comparison, "Shimo Meguro" by Hokusai is a view over rural village rooftops toward peasants working among rice terraces with Mt. Fuji in the distance (see fig. 76).

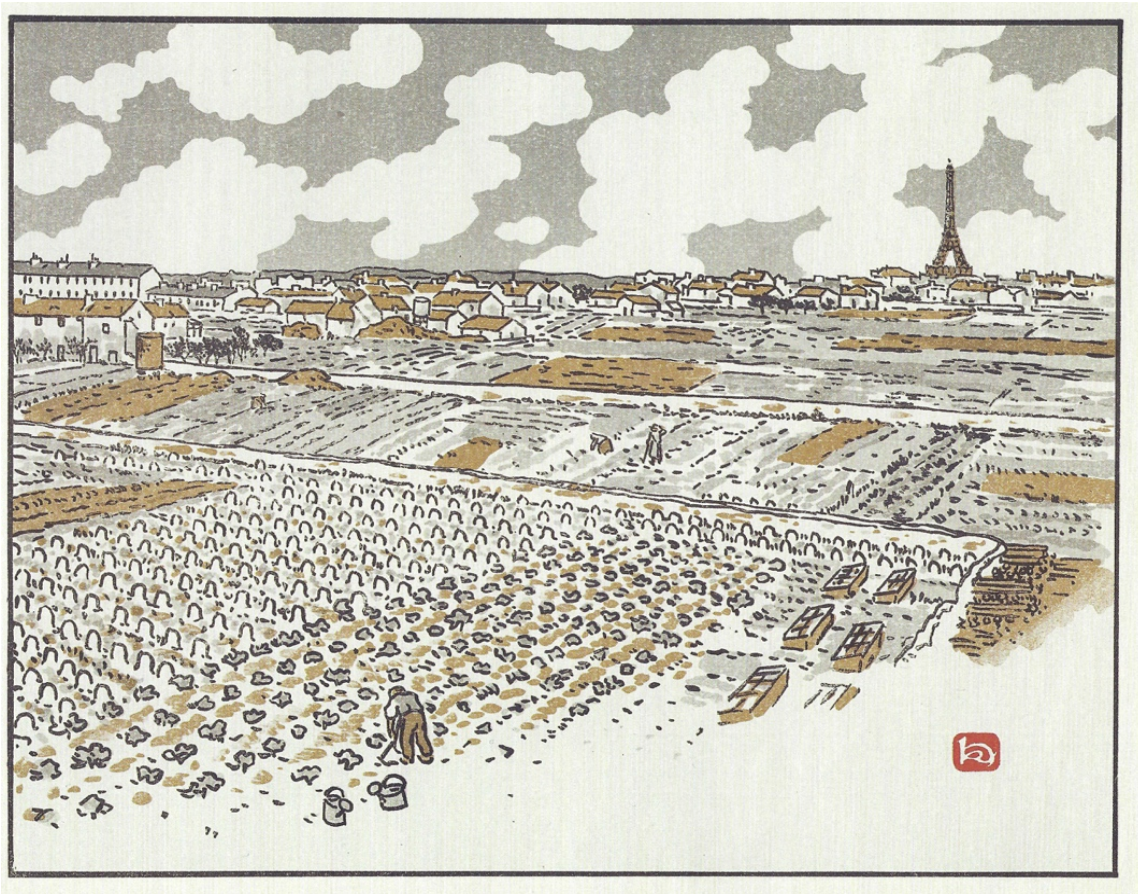


Figure 75. Henri Rivière, "Des Jardins maraîchers de Grenelle," plate 6 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 76. Katsushika Hokusai, "Lower Meguro," plate 10 from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, polychromatic woodblock print on paper, 26 x 38.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Plate 7: “Du Pont des Saints Pères” (see fig. 77).

This view from the Right Bank is looking toward what is now the Pont du Carousel. Two stevedores stack bags of bulk commodity in the foreground while others off-load additional sacks from a barge onto the Quai du Louvre. Other mounds of stacked bags have been covered by protective tarps in different shades of tan and brown. The view of the River Seine is bound on the right by a park with trees while barges and the bridge define the middle-ground. In the distance on the left is a row of buildings with the silhouette of the Eiffel Tower barely seen against a cloud.

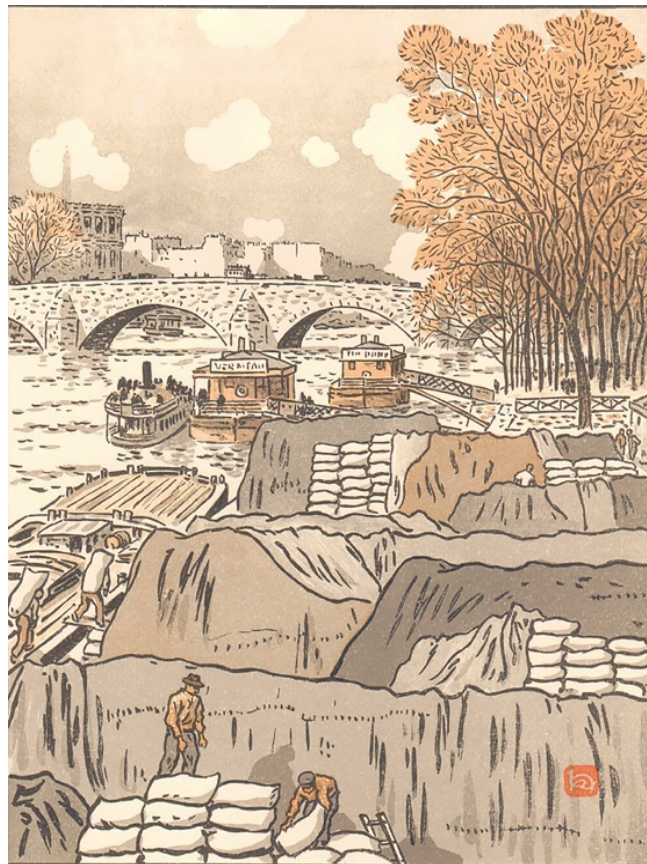


Figure 77. Henri Rivière, “Du Pont des Saints Pères,” plate 7 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

A similar scene of men at work is found in Hokusai's "Lumberyard at Honjō" where one worker tosses cut sections of wood or bamboo to another worker with arms outstretched to receive them (see fig. 78). A third worker is sawing boards, and Mt. Fuji is visibly framed by stacks of bamboo on the right. Here the piles of cut wood are protected from the elements under straw thatch.

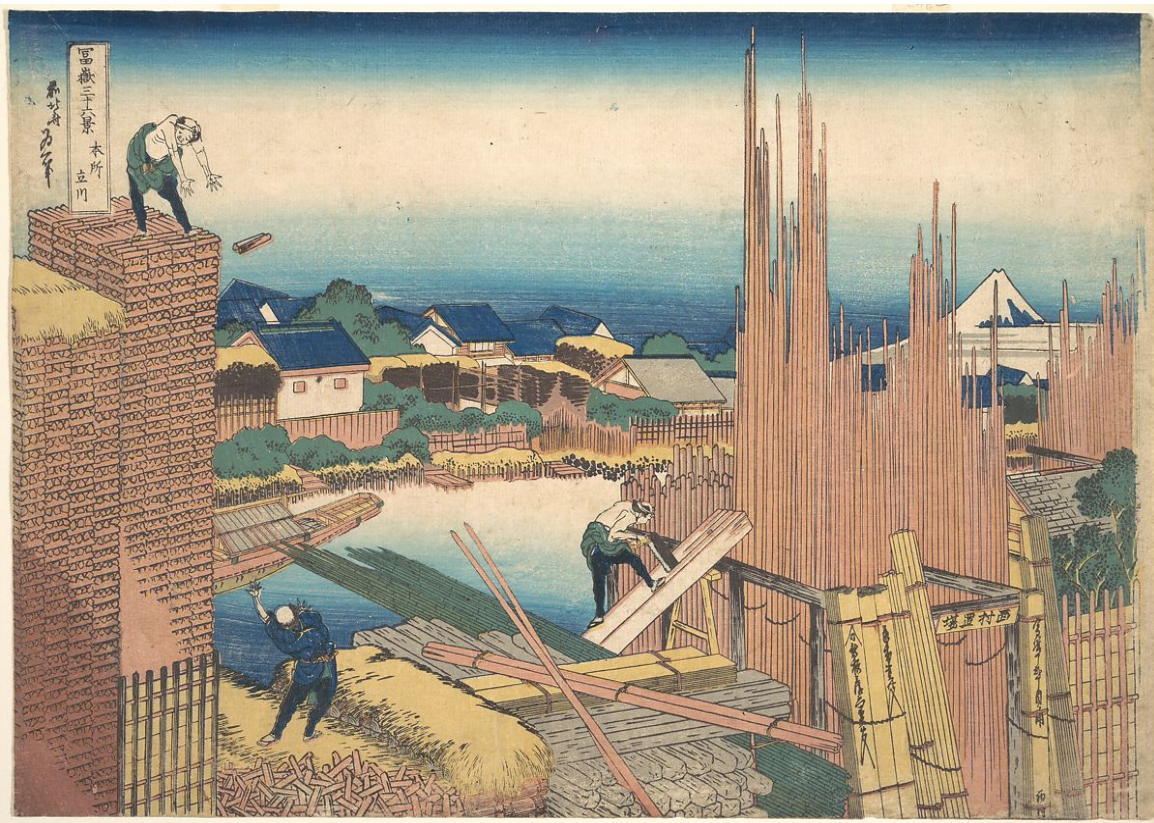


Figure 78. Katsushika Hokusai, "Lumberyard in Honjō," plate 5 from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-32, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 25.6 x 38.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Plate 8: "Du Quai de la Conférence" (see fig. 79).

Rivière took many photographs from the banks of the Seine and as a passenger on one of the many bateaux-mouches shuttling commuters along the river. This plate looks downstream toward the Pont de l'Alma with silhouettes of the Tower on the left and the Palais du Trocadéro on the right in the background. It is similar to a photograph taken by Rivière in 1889 looking upstream toward the Eiffel Tower (see fig. 80).



Figure 79. Henri Rivière, "Du Quai de la Conference," plate 8 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Figure 80. Henri Rivière, "Bateau-mouche le long des quais rive gauche: à l'arrière-plan, la tour Eiffel," 1889, photograph, 9 x 12 cm, Musée d'Orsay.

Plate 9: "De Notre-Dame" (see fig. 81).

"De Notre-Dame" is an interesting example of how Rivière reinterprets a theme by Hokusai. He presents a bird's eye view of Paris and the Tower from the roof of Notre-Dame Cathedral by looking past a grouping of stone gargoyles. It is compositionally similar to "Honganji Temple in Asakusa in Edo" (see fig. 82). In Hokusai's print, Fuji is seen beyond a complex of roof tiles whose immensity is put in perspective by a swarm of tiny workmen making repairs.



Figure 81. Henri Rivière, "De Notre-Dame," plate 9 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Figure 82. Katsushika Hokusai, "Honganji Temple at Asakusa in Edo," plate 4 from *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-1834, 24.7 x 36.5 cm, ukiyo-e.org. Detail below.



Plate 10: "Du Boulevard de Clichy" (see fig. 83).

This plate is composed as if looking down on a small urban park from the balcony of an upper floor apartment. There are typical Haussmann-style apartment blocks in the midground and in the background. The elevated viewpoint allows the tip of the Eiffel Tower to be seen in the distance, on the far left, without being blocked by other buildings as it would at street level.



Figure 83. Henri Rivière, "Du Boulevard de Clichy," plate 10 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Plate 11: "Du Pont-du-Jour" (see fig. 84).

This is a lithographic version of the second woodcut print Rivière completed in an edition of three proofs using four blocks in 1891 (see fig. 85).

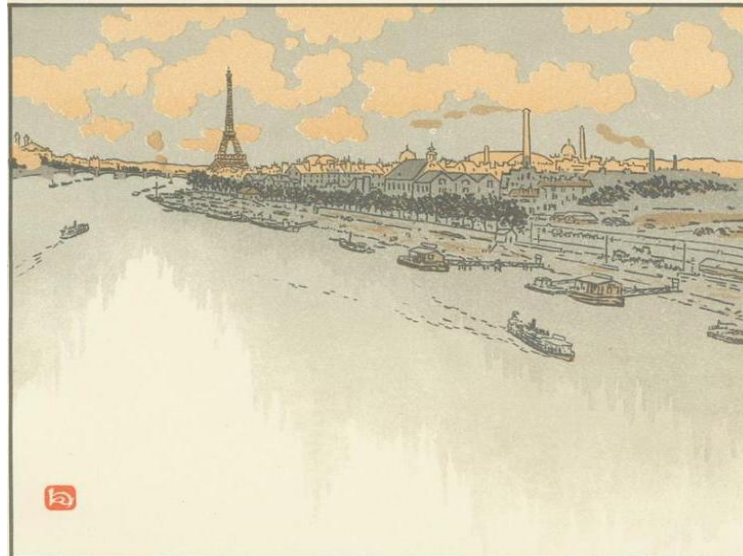


Figure 84. Henri Rivière, "Du Pont-du-Jour," plate 11 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

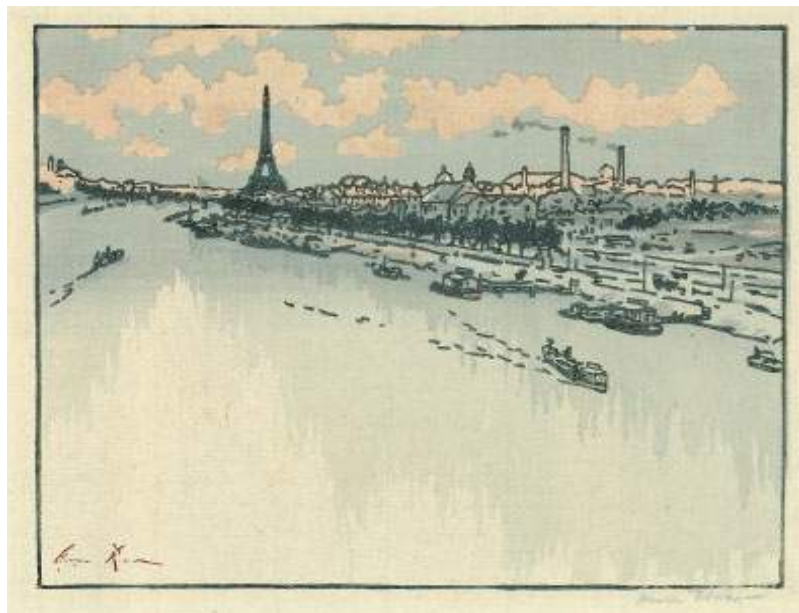


Figure 85. Henri Rivière, "La Tour Eiffel du Viaduc d'Auteuil," 1891, four-color woodblock print on paper, 17 x 20 cm.

Plate 12: "Fête sur la Seine, le 14 Juillet" (fig. 86).

One of Hiroshige's most iconic prints is "Fireworks at Ryōgoku Bridge" which provides a bird's-eye view of nighttime fireworks over a river filled with boats and a bridge congested with observers in the middle-ground (see fig. 87). Rivière reimagines this composition in "Fête sur la Seine, le 14 Juillet" to highlight the



Figure 86. Henri Rivière, "Fête sur la Seine, le 14 Juillet," plate 12 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 87. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Fireworks at Ryōgoku Bridge" from *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1858, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 33.7 x 22.2 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

illuminated Eiffel Tower at night as seen from the viewpoint of a celebrant on the river. Strings of Chinese lanterns break-up the foreground. Just as with "Fireworks," the Pont d'Iéna is filled with observers in the middle-ground.

In 1889, the Eiffel Tower was equipped with two Mangin-style search-lights (located at the top and halfway up from the second platform) that rotated a parabolic mirror in front of a gaslight to cast a strong beam outward from the Tower

like a lighthouse (see fig. 88).<sup>1</sup> Colored lenses would periodically tint the beam red or blue. A description of the Tower at night on the last day of the Exposition Universelle was reported by the New York Herald.

A glowing mass of red fire . . . At the Tower's base, the fountains shot up their jets of liquid fire in green and violet and red; thousands of Chinese lanterns hang in festoons and clusters from trees and bushes; a solid army of men and women, with here and there a bright-eyed, happy child, swayed to and fro, laughing, chatting, and reveling in the beauties around them; in the distance stretched the river, its banks outlined in rows of light. Meanwhile, the full moon, sailing along in a clear sky, did its part in the general illumination."<sup>2</sup>



Figure 88. Maurice Garin, “La Tour Eiffel embrasée, le soir de l’inauguration de l’Exposition, le 6 mai 1889,” photograph.

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<sup>1</sup> Shelley Wood Cordulack, “A Franco-American Battle of Beams: Electricity and the Selling of Modernity,” *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 2 (2005): 147–66, 156.

<sup>2</sup> “The Exhibition Closes,” *New York Herald, European Edition*, November 7, 1889, 1.



Plate 13: "Du Quai de Passy" (see fig. 89).

Presented here is a scene of workers transferring large, shaped blocks with a steam-powered crane. The crane arm is angled to form a strong parallel line with the carefully drawn framework of the Tower.

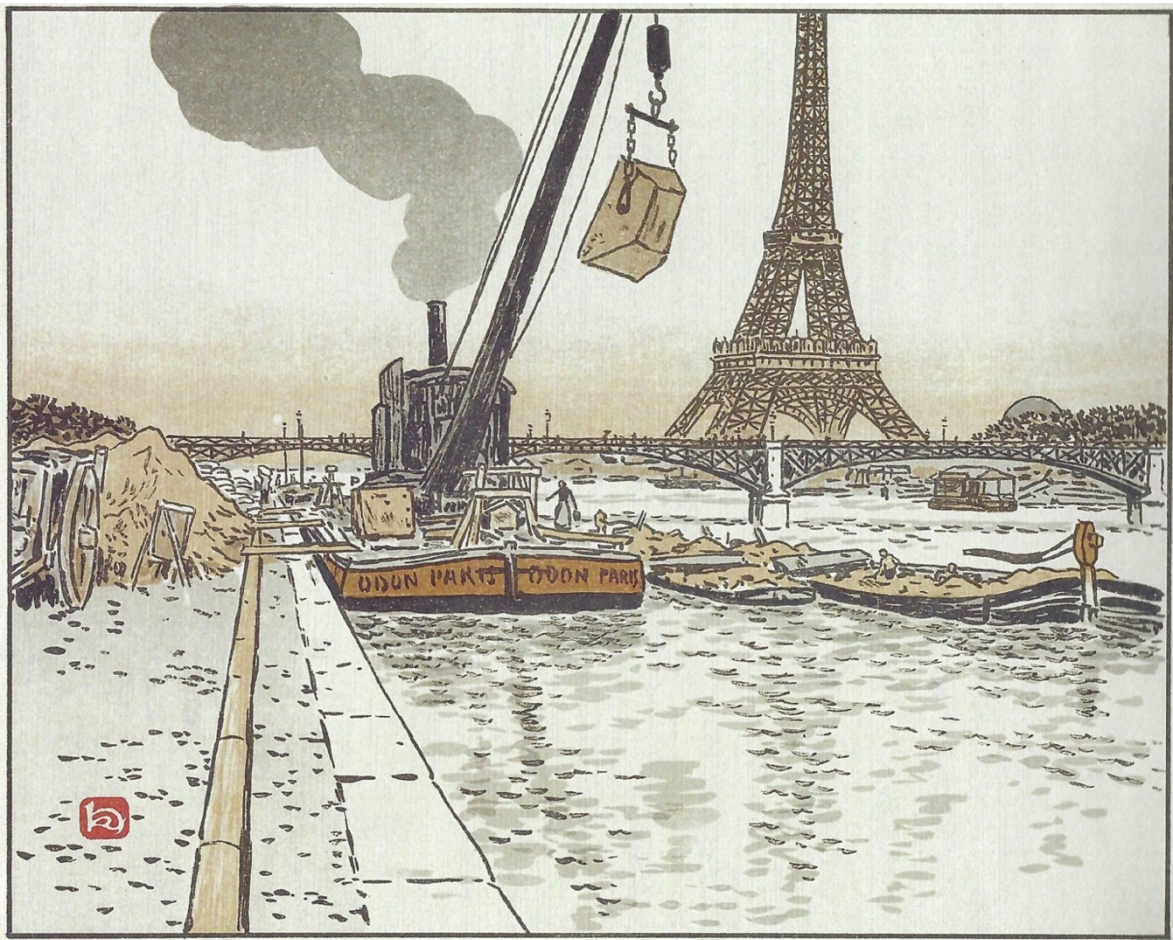


Figure 89. Henri Rivière, "Du Quai de Passy," plate 13 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Plate 14: "De la rue Lamark" (see fig. 90).

The wind is the theme of Rivière's "De la rue Lamark". The Eiffel Tower is seen in the distance on the left, silhouetted against a cloud. A lonely figure walks away from the viewer and huddles from the gusts while walking along a curved cobblestone road. The figure's coat is blown by the same autumn wind that tears the last remaining leaves from four rachitic-looking trees in the middle ground.



Figure 90. Henri Rivière, "De la rue Lamark," plate 14 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Hokusai presents a livelier scene in “Ejiri in Suruga Province” as peasants walk along the curving banks of a rice field. They hold their hats against a brisk wind that blows leaves from the two trees in the foreground. A man on the far left of the image has lost both a hat and papers from his pack. Fuji is reduced to an outline in the left background (see fig. 91).



Figure 91. Katsushika Hokusai, "Ejiri in Suruga Province," plate 35 from *Thirty - six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-32, polychrome woodblock print, 25.4 x 37.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Plate 15. "De la rue Rochechouart" (see fig. 92).

As in "Du Boulevard de Clichy," Rivière takes a vantage point from the upper floor of a building in a newly built residential neighborhood filled with Haussmann-style apartment buildings that line a wide avenue with ample sidewalks. A workman below is installing paving setts in the street.

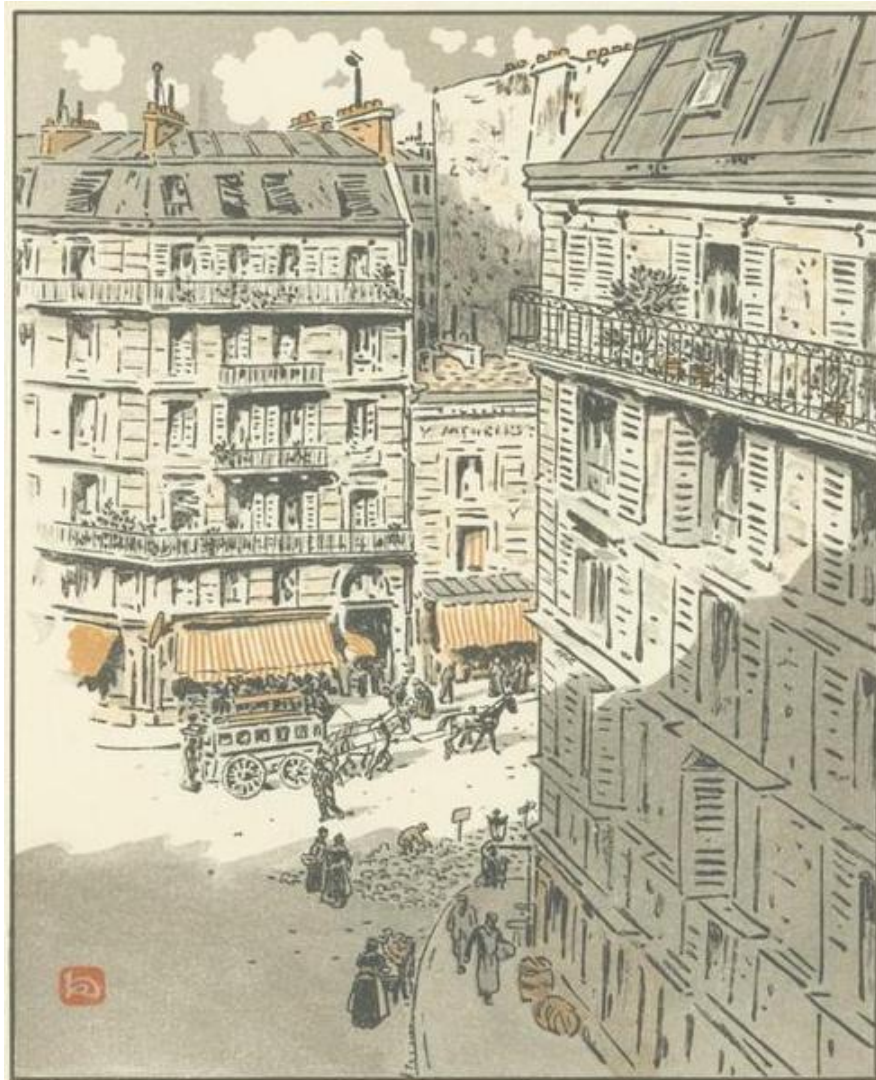


Figure 92: Henri Rivière, "De la rue Rochechouart," plate 15 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Plate 16: "Du Quai de Passy, par la pluie" (see fig. 93).

Japanese woodblock artists and Rivière seemed to be fascinated with portraying laborers at work. In Rivière's "Du Quai de Passy, par la pluie" a group of freight haulers ignore the rain as they load their horse carts with a crane then continue up along the bank of the Seine across from the Tower. Rivière uses the same convention to indicate rain as Hiroshige in "Night Rain at Karasaki": blurred, gray bands with thin, parallel lines (see fig. 94). An animated group of peasants leading loaded oxen is the theme of Hokusai's "New Fields at Ōno in Suruga Province." Mt. Fuji is centered in the distance (see fig. 95).



Figure 93. Henri Rivière, "Du Quai du Passy, par la pluie," plate 16 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Plate 17: "En Bateau-Mouche" (see fig. 96).

A group of working-class Parisians, including a woman with her market basket, are depicted as they commute by bateau-mouche on the Seine and pass by the Île aux Cygnes with the Eiffel Tower in the background. There are a number of photographs taken by Rivière on similar bateaux-mouches as they pass by the Tower (see fig. 97). This plate may have been drawn from a photograph that is now lost.



Figure 96. Henri Rivière, "En bateau-mouche," plate 17 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 97. Henri Rivière, "La Tour Eiffel, prise d'un bateau-mouche," 1889, photograph, 9 x 12 cm, Musée d'Orsay.



Plate 18: "Du Quai de Grenelle" (see fig. 98).

Again, the theme of working-class laborers is portrayed against the background of the Eiffel Tower. In this plate, two workers are shoveling sand or soil onto horse carts.



Figure 98. Henri Rivière, "Du Quai de Grenville," plate 18 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Plate 19: "De la rue des Abbesses" (see fig. 99).

Rivière gives the viewer a sunset panorama from Montmartre over rooftops onto a mist-shrouded Paris. The silhouettes in the distance include, from the left, Notre-Dame Cathedral, Sainte-Trinité Church, Grand Palais, Saint-Augustine Church, and an exaggerated Eiffel Tower at the far right.

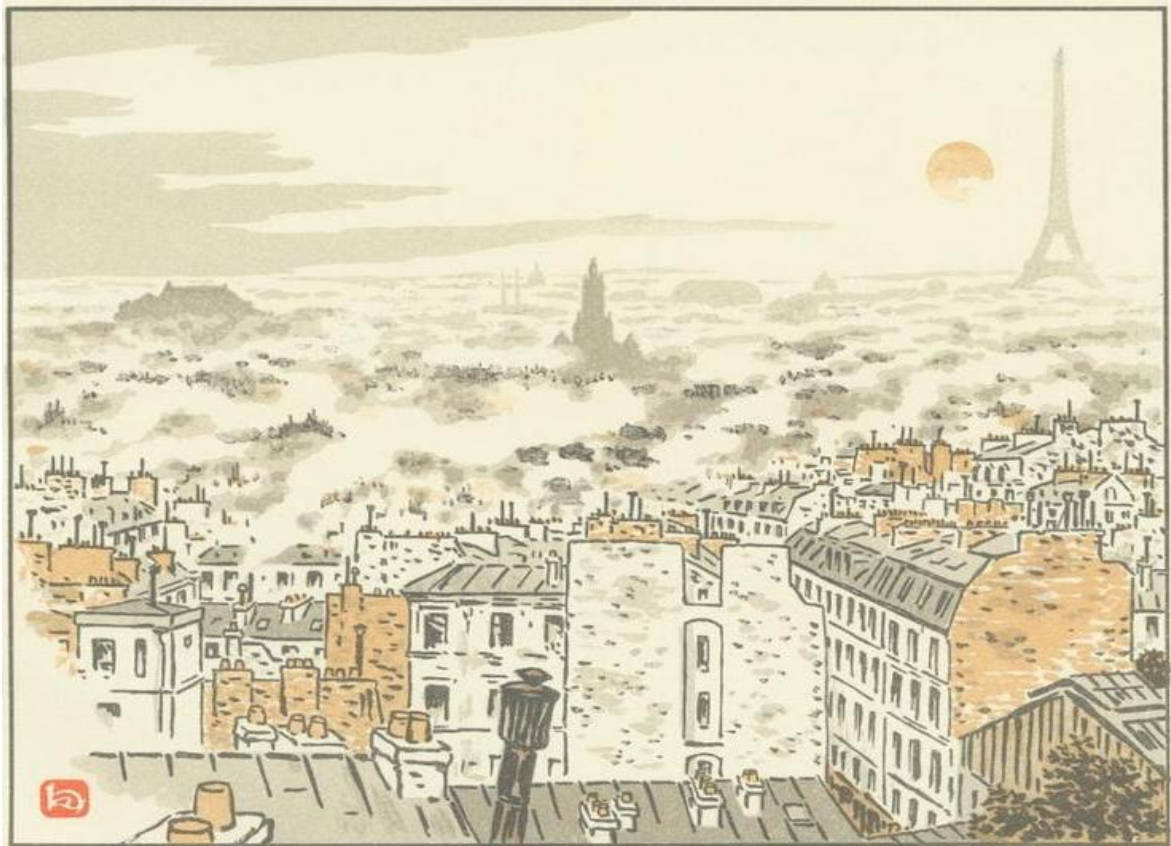


Figure 99. Henri Rivière, "De la rue des Abbesses," plate 19 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

In comparison, Hokusai portrays a view over the famous “cushion pine tree” on the grounds of Aoyama Temple in Tokyo. Fuji rises in the background from a mist-filled valley (see fig. 100).



Figure 100. Katsushika Hokusai, "The Cushion Pine at Aoyama in Edo" plate 8 in *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-1832, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 26.2 x 38.8 cm, Honolulu Museum of Art.



Plate 20: "Du Pont de Grenelle" (see fig. 101).

Here Rivière draws our attention to a dog and a man holding a small child on the Right Bank of the Seine. The tree-lined Île aux Cygnes and the Eiffel tower are seen through the arches of the Pont de Grenelle. Hokusai also liked compositions with bridges such as "Under Mannen Bridge, Fukagawa" where Fuji is seen between the piles of a congested arch-bridge that crosses a river busy with water traffic (see fig. 102).



Figure 101. Henri Rivière, "Du Pont de Grenelle," plate 20 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Figure 102. Katsushika Hokusai, "Under the Mannen Bridge, Fukagawa," plate 6 in *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-32, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 25.7 x 38.6 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Plate 21: "Sur les toits" (see fig. 103).

This plate takes the unusual perspective of looking out over the rooftops of Paris at sunset with the Tower seen in the hazy distance. Rivière used a photograph he took as the basis for this plate (see fig. 104). Given the size and position of the Eiffel Tower relative to the sun behind the clouds and the barely seen top of the two-hundred-foot-high dome on the Église Saint-Augustin de Paris at the far right of the original photograph but not included in the plate, the picture was probably taken in the area of the rue de Clichy. Rivière combined elements from

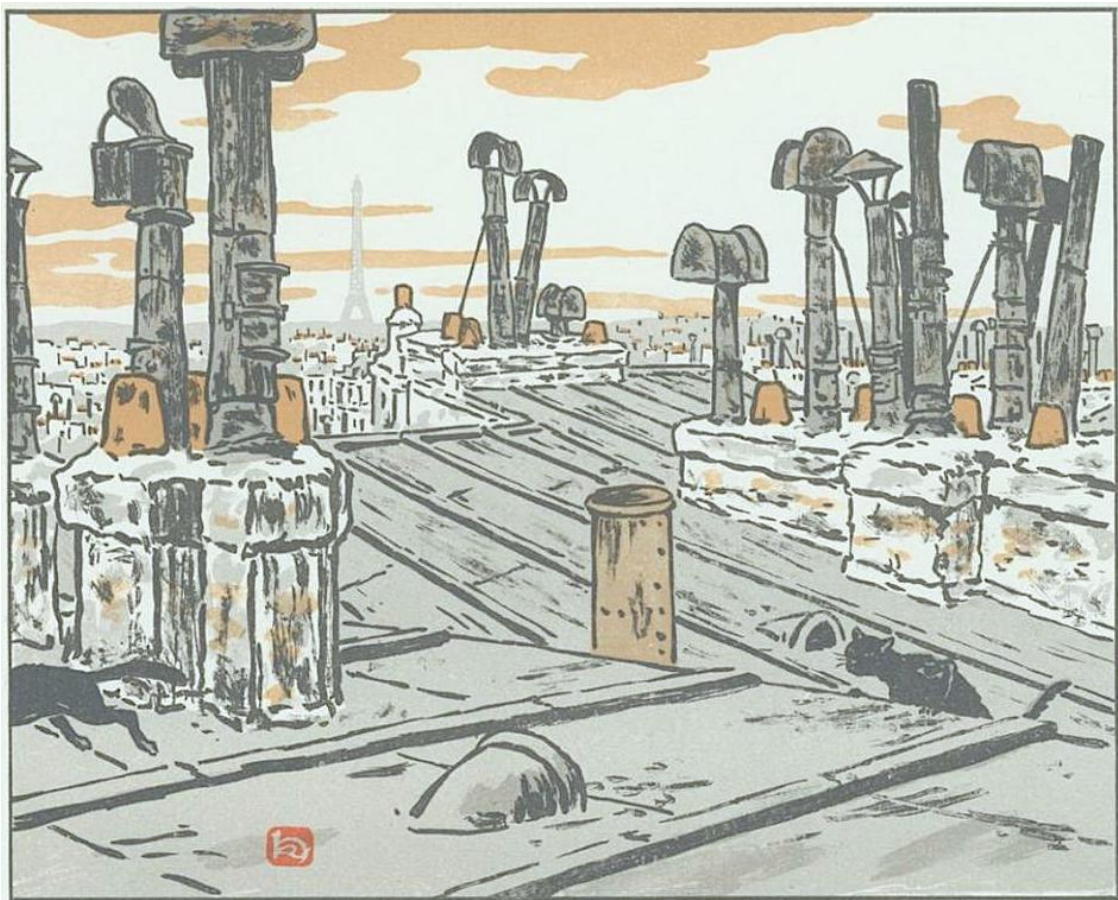


Figure 103. Henri Rivière, "Sur les toits," plate 21 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



several roofs on different levels into one continuous plane, reversed the chimney clusters from right to left, and added a pair of scruffy black cats. Only the back half of the cat on the left is seen as it leaps out of the picture. The cats may have been a subtle nod to the cabaret Le Chat Noir where he worked for many years.



Figure 104. Henri Rivière, "Sur les toits de Paris," photograph, 8 x 12 cm, Musée d'Orsay.

Plate 22: "Du bois de Boulogne" (see fig. 105).

Rivière's print featuring birds and the Tower is an intimate and urban portrayal of domestic white ducks quietly resting on the bank of a lake in the beautiful bois de Boulogne on the western outskirts of Paris. A few figures are seen strolling among trees in the distance on the left, and the tip of the Eiffel Tower is barely visible through the branches of a tree on the right. Hokusai presents the theme of birds and Mt. Fuji by placing a group of five standing cranes in a verdant scene that is empty of human presence and partially obscured by mist and cloud in "Umezawa Manor in Sagami Province" (see fig. 106). An inventive composition, "Fuji on the face of a Paddy," places groups of geese at the edge of a marsh where the inverted image of Fujiyama is seen reflected in the still water (see fig. 107).



Figure 105. Henri Rivière, "Du bois de Boulogne," plate 22 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Figure 106. Katsushika Hokusai, "Umezawa Manor in Sagami Province," 1831, polychrome woodblock print, 25.6 x 38.1, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 107. Katsushika Hokusai, "Fuji on the Face of a Paddy," book 1, plate 20 from *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji* 1830-33, monochrome woodblock print.

Plate 23: "De la place de la Concorde" (see fig. 108).

A pair of smartly-dressed young women walk across the Place de la Concorde in front of the Fontaine de Mers. The Tower is outlined by fluffy, white clouds in the distance beyond a line of trees.

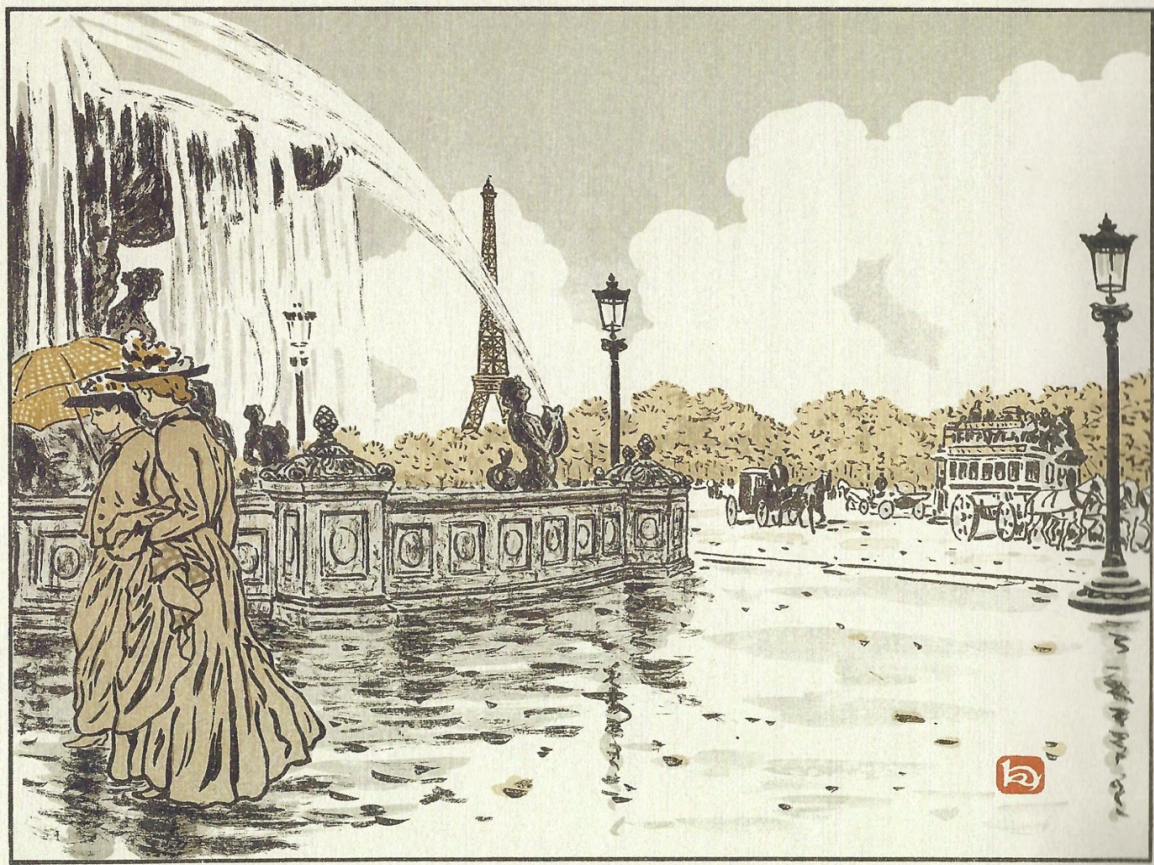


Figure 108. Henri Rivière, "De la place de la Concorde," plate 23 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Plate 24: "De l'île des Cygnes" (see fig. 109).

This plate gives a winter view looking north toward the Tower through a row of the leafless but snow-covered branches on the trees lining the Île aux Cygnes. The 850-meters-long artificial island in the middle of the Seine was created in 1827 to protect the Pont de Grenelle. Sometime later, the allée with its two rows of trees was planted.



Figure 109. Henri Rivière, "De l'île des Cygnes," plate 24 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Plate 25: "Dans la Tour" (see fig. 110).

This plate is made from a photograph taken during the ascent by Rivière as part of a press tour in late 1888 or early 1889 (see fig. 111). The scene looks through the Tower girders over the Île aux Cygnes and a steel footbridge constructed in 1878 (but later replaced in 1903-5) and the River Seine as it winds southward.

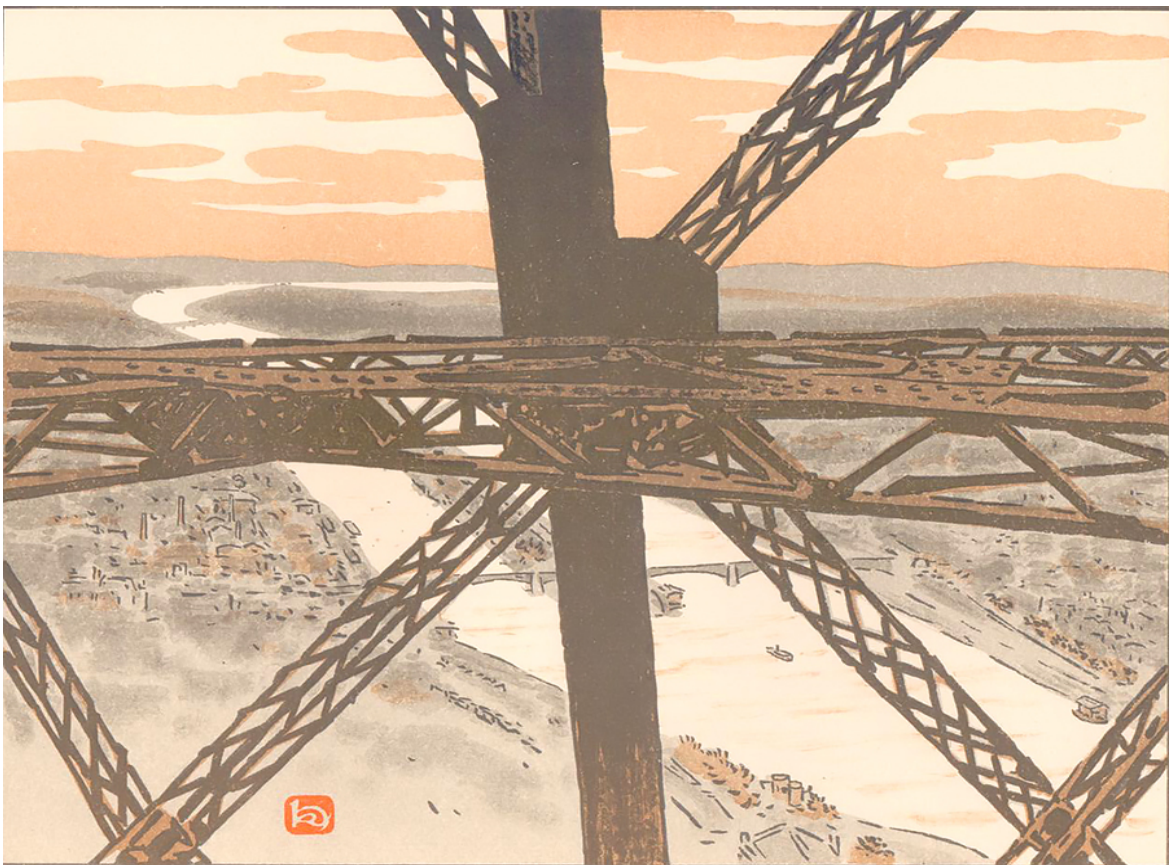


Figure 110. Henri Rivière, "Dans la Tour," plate 25 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



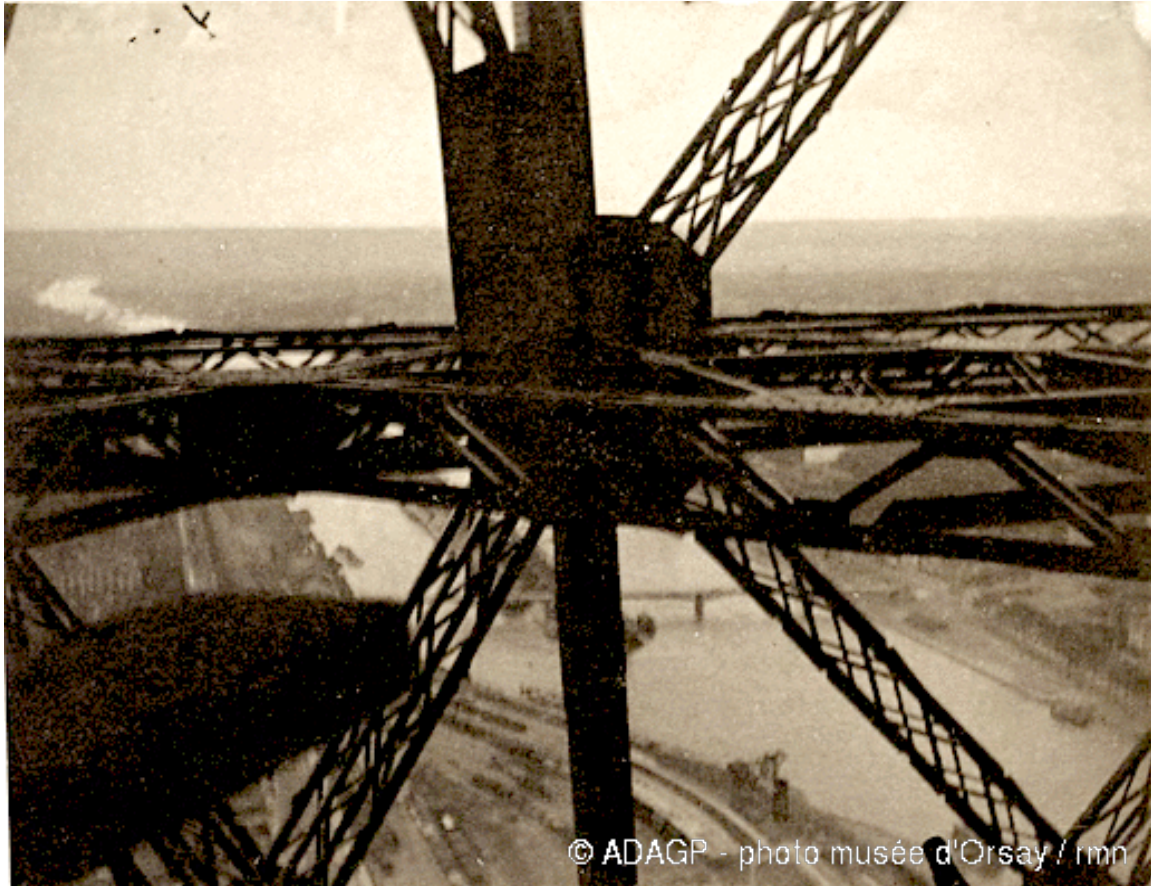


Figure 111. Henri Rivière, "La tour Eiffel. Assemblage de poutrelles avec l'île aux cygnes en arrière-plan en 1889," 1889, photograph, 9 x 12 cm, Musée d'Orsay.

Plate 26: "Du Pont d'Austerlitz" (see fig. 112).

Rivière here magnifies the silhouette of the Cathedral de Notre-Dame as seen from the Pont d'Austerlitz in addition to the more accurately-sized upper-spire of the Tower. He uses a composition similar to Hiroshige's "Clearing after a Snowfall, Nihonbashi Bridge" (see fig. 113). In both plates, the mid-ground is defined by a triangular section of the river with boat traffic that aims visually toward a bridge. Both show a complex foreground with boats and cargo. Rivière depicts the Tower as a thin spire on the left while Hiroshige shows Fuji more prominently in the upper left background.



Figure 112. Henri Rivière, "Du Pont d'Austerlitz," plate 26 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.





Figure 113. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Clearing after a Snowfall, Nihonbashi Bridge," from *Three Famous Views of Edo*, 1839-42, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 23.2 x 36 cm.

Plate 27: "Derrière l'élan de Frémiet (Trocadéro)" (see fig. 114).

This plate is one of the most literal interpretations of Hokusai, and also one of the most interesting plates in *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*. It presents the viewpoint from behind a stag sculpture with a rock base with the Eiffel Tower rising in the middle ground. In "Fukurokujio" (see fig. 115), Hokusai places a stag, seen from the back on the far left, that stands on an irregular and upwardly sloping



Figure 114. Henri Rivière, "Derrière l'élan de Frémiet (Trocadéro)," plate 27 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

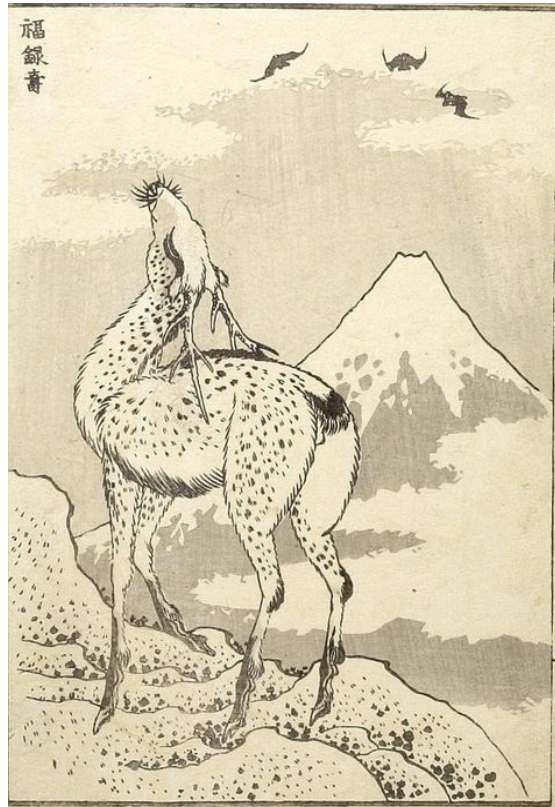


Figure 115. Katsushika Hokusai, "Fukurokujio," vol. 3, plate 28 in *One Hundred Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1834-1835, monochrome woodblock print on paper, 22.8 x 16 cm.



hillside in front of a looming Mt. Fuji. A stag is the symbol of the Chinese god of good fortune, Fukurokuju, who is often accompanied by a stag. Three bats, also symbols of good fortune, fly above.

Rivière takes considerable artistic license in his image. It is a fabricated combination of real and imagined elements present at the Exposition Universelle in 1889. Four large bronze animal sculptures on marble pedestals—a rhinoceros, an elephant, a horse, and a bull—were placed symmetrically around the reflecting pool fronting the Palais du Trocadéro (see fig. 116). Most of the view across the pool toward the Eiffel Tower is rendered by Rivière accurately, but “Rhinoceros” by Alfred Jacquemart (relocated in the 1980s to the plaza at the front entrance of the Musée d’Orsay) was actually located in the position Rivière uses for the stag—the northwest corner. Rivière’s composition has the sketchily suggested “Rhinoceros” located diagonally across the pool on the southeast corner in the middle-right side of the plate (see fig. 114).

The rocky base where Rivière places his heroic stag actually supported a bronze bull (relocated to Nîmes, France in 1937) by August Nicholas Cain. The bull had a somewhat similar posture to Rivière’s stag (see right inset fig. 116). There was a bronze statue that included a proud stag with his head held high at the Exhibition Universelle, “La Harde des cerfs” by Arthur le Duc which is now located in the Luxembourg Garden, Paris (see fig. 117). However, it was displayed to the right of the front entrance of the Palais des Beaux-Arts on the other side of the River Seine from the Palais du Trocadéro (see fig. 117, right inset).



Figure 116. Unknown, "Eiffel Tower seen from Palais Trocadéro, " 1889, photograph. "Rhinoceros" by Alfred Jacquemart (detail above left) and "Bull" by August Cain (detail above right) are seen in the lower left of the photograph around the reflecting pool. Positions are marked with an oval ("Rhinoceros") and a square ("Bull").





Figure 117. Arthur Jacques le Duc, "La Harde de cerfs," 1886, statue in bronze, 2.2 x 1.9 x 1.2 m, Jardin du Luxembourg, Paris. Inset right is a photograph of the Palais des Beaux-Arts at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. Circle enlarges "La Harde des cerfs" by Arthur le Duc seen at the right entrance.

It seems that to fully capture the essence of Hokusai's imagery, Rivière substituted le Duc's "Cerf" and placed it on the location occupied by Jacquemart's "Rhinoceros." He then eliminated the marble pedestal that supported the statues around the pool, and planted the base directly into water while giving it the appearance of an irregular boulder. Another fictitious but similarly sized boulder was added on the right. To add a last dash of Japanese flavor, or perhaps to

further weight the composition asymmetrically towards the bottom left in Japanese fashion, he placed a totally fabricated clump of Japanese iris in the immediate foreground. In spite of the inaccuracies, or perhaps because of them, this plate is one of the most vigorous and exciting in the series.



Plate 28: "Du Quai de Javel (baraque d'aiguilleur)" (see fig. 118).

This plate juxtaposes two symbols of modern technology, Eiffel's tower, and a railroad train that is about to pass a farm plot in the rural outskirts of Paris. An interesting series of vertical elements are produced by the signal tower, the Eiffel Tower, a tall smokestack, telegraph poles, and the chimney pipe of the rural cottage.



Figure 118. Henri Rivière, "Du Quai de Javel (baraque d'aiguilleur)," plate 28 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Plate 29: "Du Bas-Meudon. Vieux Lavoir" (see fig. 119).

Rivière here presents a strongly diagonal composition with a Parisian canal barge, repurposed as a laundry, that has its end partially cut off by the frame. The spire of the Eiffel Tower is seen against a cloud on the horizon amidships. A similarly angled boat with the back-end cut off is seen in Hokusai's "Ushibori in Hitachi Province" (see fig. 120). A little washing has also taken place on this boat, and a man empties a bucket of waste-water over the side. The boat is oriented obliquely with Mt. Fuji seen in the background above the mid-portion of the boat.



Figure 119. Henri Rivière, "Du Bas-Meudon. Vieux Lavoir," plate 29 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



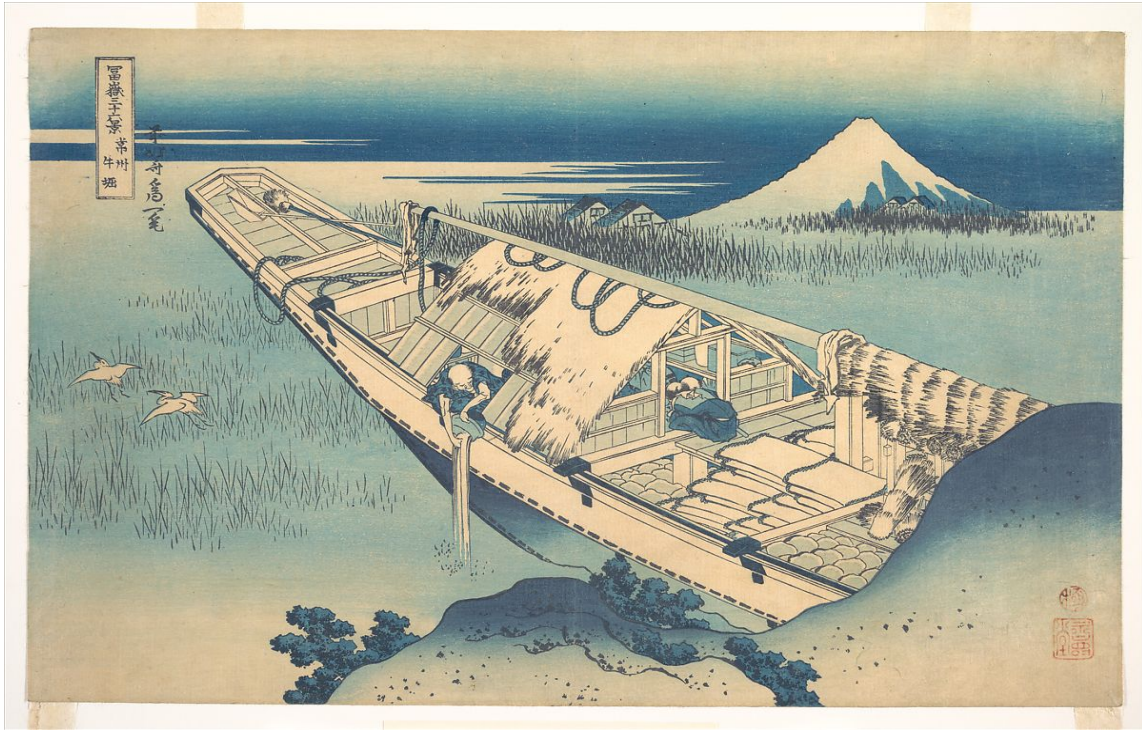


Figure 120. Katsushika Hokusai, "Ushibori in Hitachi Province," vol. 3, plate 19 in *Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji*, 1830-32, polychrome woodblock print on paper, 25.4 x 38.1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Plate 30: "Ouvrier plombier dans la Tour" (see fig. 121).

This plate was translated from a photograph by Rivière of workers constructing the Tower during an ascent he made with others from *Le Chat Noir*. In the photograph, a plumber is installing a drain pipe segment (see fig. 122).

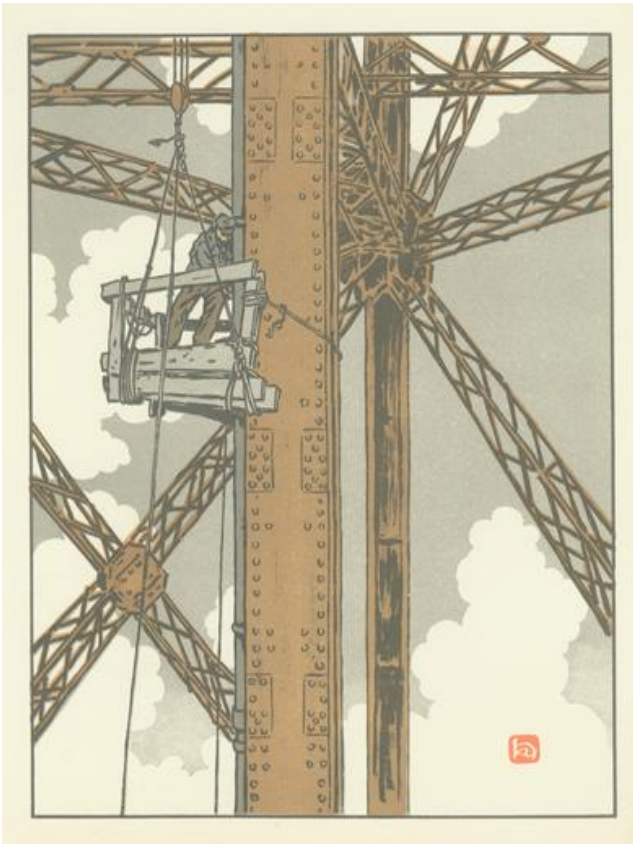


Figure 121. Henri Rivière, "Ouvrier plombier dans la Tour," plate 30 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 122. Henri Rivière, "Ouvrier sur un échafaudage travaillant sur une poutre verticale," 1889, photograph, 12 x 9 cm, Musée d'Orsay.



Plate 31: "Du Quai de Passy-Charbonniers" (see fig. 123).

Rivière portrays another view of the Quai de Passy in this lithograph. A coal-seller loads his cart as the Tower located across the Seine turns a golden color with the sunrise. The Île aux Cygnes is in the middle-ground.



Figure 123. Henri Rivière, "Du Quai de Passy-Charbonniers," plate 31 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

Plate 32: "De la Gare du Bas-Meudon" (see fig. 124).

On this plate, Rivière portrays the quiet village of Bas-Meudon near the southern outskirts of Paris. The Eiffel Tower is visible in the center horizon. Curiously, the train station (gare) and train-tracks are nowhere to be seen in the image.

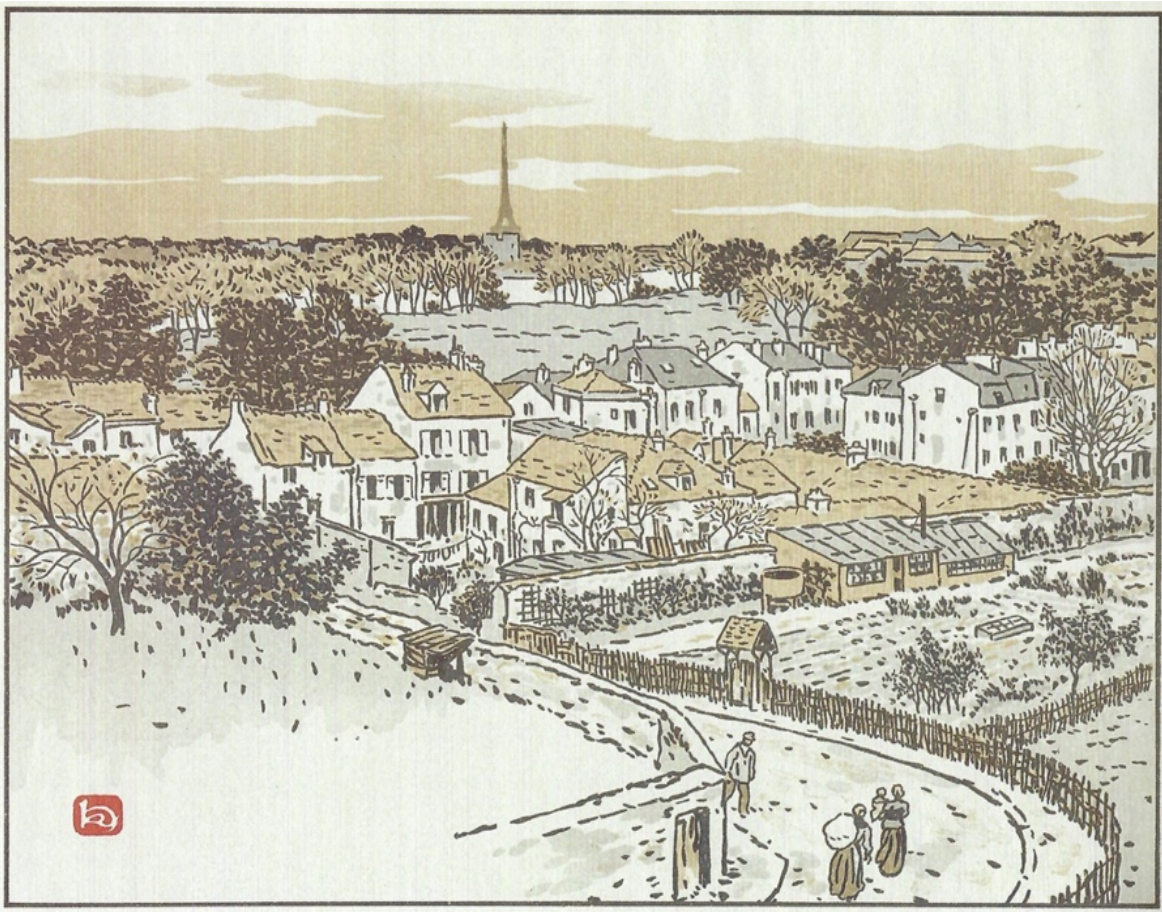


Figure 124. Henri Rivière, "De la Gare du Bas-Meudon," plate 32 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Plate 33: "De l'Estacade" (see fig. 125).

Here Rivière takes delight in the complex combinations of parallel lines inherent in the structure of the mid-eighteenth-century wooden pedestrian bridge (demolished in 1932) that crossed the River Seine from the Right Bank to the eastern tip of the Île Saint-Louis (see figs. 126, 127). Almost unnoticed in Rivière's plate is the discrete spire of the Tower, visible on the left between the joists, and the figures of five fishermen with their poles on the bottom right.



Figure 125. Henri Rivière, "De l'Estacade," plate 3 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

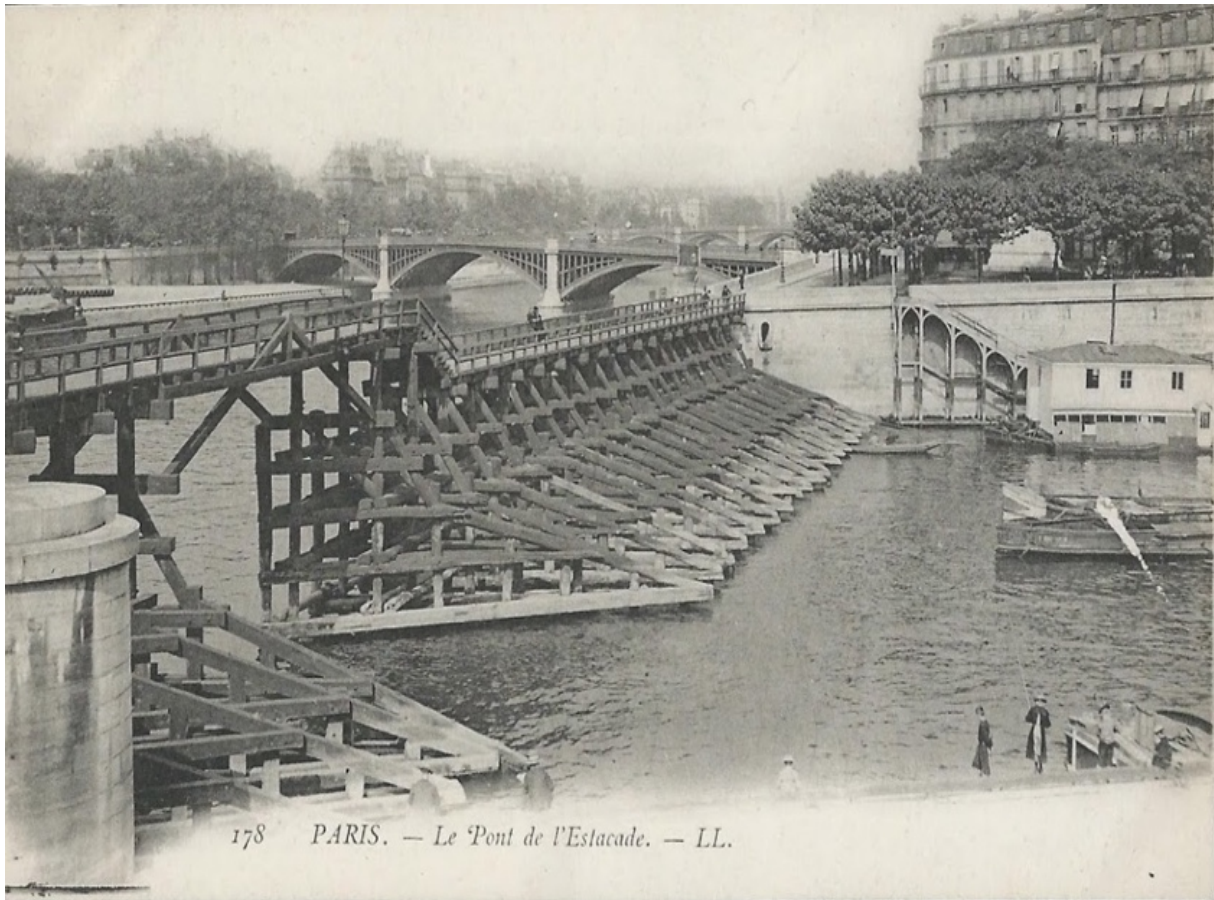


Figure 126. Vintage postcard of the Passerelle de l'Estacade before 1887.



Figure 127. Location of l'Estacade circled in blue on detail of *Nouveau Paris Monumental* by Garnier frères, 1878.



Plate 34: "Des Jardins du Trocadéro, l'automne." (see fig. 128).

Rivière's powerful portrayal of loneliness has no parallel in Japanese prints. The well-manicured grounds of the Trocadéro Gardens and the bustle of people and carriages in the background contrasts poignantly with the isolation of the solitary man seated on a park bench, slumped over and staring at the ground between his feet. The autumn leaves gently fall around him and add to a sense of overwhelming melancholy while the grey silhouette of the Tower looms coldly in the distance.



Figure 128. Henri Rivière, "Des Jardins du Trocadéro, l'automne," plate 34 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Plate 35: "Les péniches" (see fig. 129).

This plate depicts a quiet scene of barges being towed upstream by a tugboat whose smoke obscures the feet of the Tower in the morning sunrise. Boats on the water are prominent motifs for both Rivière and Japanese woodblock artists (see fig. 130).



Figure 129. Henri Rivière, "Les péniches," plate 35 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.



Figure 130. Utagawa Hiroshige, "Tsukiji umibe no zu," ca. 1800, polychrome woodblock print on paper, British Museum.



Plate 36: "Le peintre dans la Tour" (see fig. 131).

This is the fourth lithograph based on photographs taken by Rivière during an ascent to the top of the Tower before its completion (see fig. 132). It is a fitting finish to the series as it shows a painter suspended by ropes and silhouetted against a sky that is darkening into the sunset as he works to finish the Eiffel Tower. The grey, misty River Seine reflects the last rays of the sun and is exaggerated in shape from the original photograph looking south.

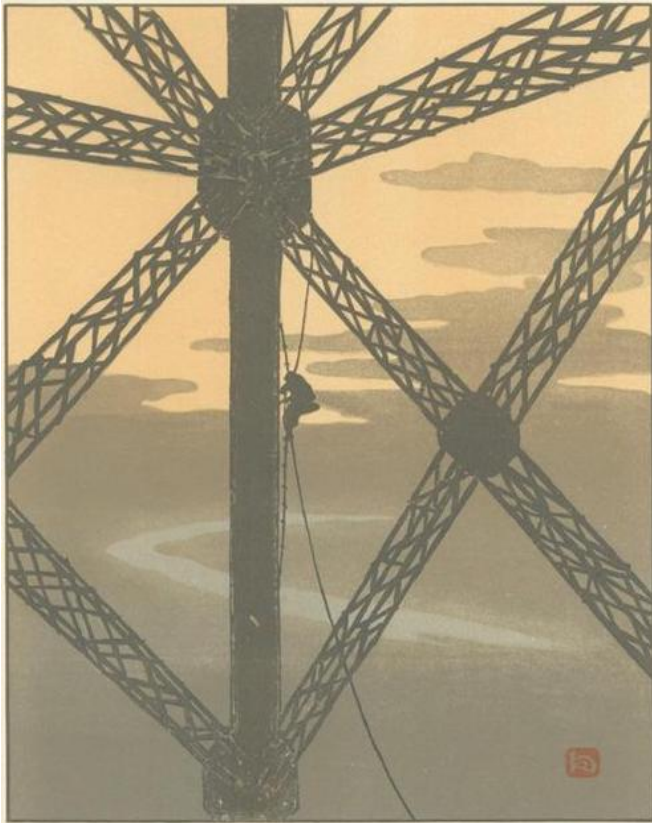


Figure 131. Henri Rivière, "Le peintre dans la Tour," plate 36 from *Les Trente-Six Vues de la Tour Eiffel*, 1902, lithograph on paper, 17 x 21 cm.

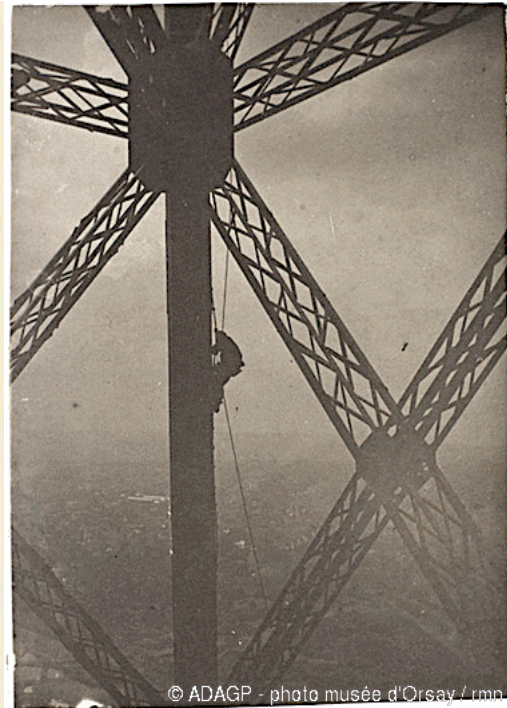


Figure 132. Henri Rivière, "La tour Eiffel-peintre sur une corde à noeuds le long d'une poutre verticale, au-dessous d'un assemblage de poutres," 1889, photograph, 9 x 12 cm, Musée d'Orsay.



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## VITA

Paul J Christenson was born on January 16, 1953, in North Hollywood, California. He was educated in public schools and graduated from Provo High School in 1970. He attended Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah from which he graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Zoology, Phi Kapa Phi, and magna cum laude, in 1972.

He attended medical school at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah on a United States Navy scholarship and graduated with a Doctor of Medicine degree in 1976. He was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the United States Navy and in 1977 completed medical internship training at the Navy Medical Center, Portsmouth, Virginia. He served one year as Battalion Surgeon with the 1<sup>st</sup> Division, 9<sup>th</sup> Marine Regiment in Okinawa, Japan before continuing medical training at the National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland. He completed residency training in Urology in 1980 and received Board Certification in Adult and Pediatric Urology in 1982.

He transferred to the United States Air Force in 1982 and served as Chief of Urology and Chairman of Surgical Services at the 13<sup>th</sup> Air Force Regional Medical Center, Clark Air Base, Republic of the Philippines from 1984 to 1988. He subsequently transferred to the United States Navy and served as Assistant Chairman, later Chairman, of Urology at the National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland from 1988 to 2000. In addition, he deployed to the Persian

Gulf for seven months as Urologic Surgeon aboard the USNS Comfort during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm; was promoted to the rank of Associate Professor of Surgery at the Uniformed Services University of Health Sciences, Bethesda, Maryland, and was elected President of the Society of Government Services Urologists. He served as a Consulting Urologist to the United States Congress and the United States Supreme Court from 1989 to 2000 and was the Consulting Urologist to the President of the United States from 1996 to 2000. He was awarded two Meritorious Service Medals and three Navy Commendation Medals. He retired after twenty-eight years of service from the United States Navy, Medical Corps, at the permanent rank of Captain in 2000.

He worked as a private practice Urologist from 2000 to 2009 in Columbus, Ohio before accepting a faculty position at the University of Kansas, Department of Urology, Kansas City, Missouri, as an Associate Professor, non-tenure Clinical Scholar track. He retired in 2018 from surgical practice and is now an Associate Professor Emeritus in the Department of Urology. He is the primary author or co-author of fourteen published articles and five films in the areas of uro-oncology and genito-urinary trauma.

He is currently completing a Master of Arts degree in Art History at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. He plans to continue working toward a Ph.D. in Art History with the ultimate goal of teaching Art History at the university level and conducting research in his areas of major interest, the graphic arts of the Art Nouveau and Symbolism periods.