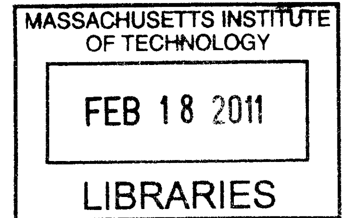
SPECULATING ON ARCHITECTURE: MORALITY, THE NEW REAL ESTATE, AND THE BOURGEOIS APARTMENT INDUSTRY IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

by

Deborah Grace Kully

M.Arch., Architecture
University of Michigan

B.A., Art History
Tufts University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Signature of Author..
Department of Architecture
October 18,2010

Certified by.......................................
Mark M. Jarzombek
Professor of History and Theory of Architecture
Thesis Supervisor

Certified by.......................................
Erika Naginski
Associate Professor of Architectural History
Graduate School of Design, Harvard University
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by.......................................
Takehiko Nagakura
Associate Professor of Design and Computation
Chair of the Department Committee on Graduate Studies

Thesis Supervisor:
Mark M. Jarzombek
Professor of History and Theory of Architecture
Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Thesis Supervisor:
Erika Naginski
Associate Professor of Architectural History
Graduate School of Design, Harvard University

Reader:
Arindam Dutta
Associate Professor of History and Theory of Architecture
Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Reader:
Alice Friedman
Professor of Architectural History
Department of Art History, Wellesley College

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ABSTRACT:

The topic of architecture as a commodity—something that can be possessed and traded—has been largely ignored within the discipline of architectural history, or even written off altogether as an inevitable consequence of modern capitalism. But the history of the commodification of architecture is by no means as simple as it may seem. It has its roots in Haussmann's Paris, and the speculative property market of the 1860s, where we see, for the first time, a complex intermingling of new mortgage structures and residential typologies, the use of standardization, and the proliferation of discourses concerning apartment decoration. The project also treats reactions expressed by architects, aesthetic theorists, and religious and political figures over the course of the Third Republic against speculation practices and their architectural effects. The changes brought by property's increased circulation—the very idea of apartments designed for unknown future occupants—were compounded by the perception of a real estate market held in the grips of commodity culture. The possibility that anyone could own property was unsettling for some political and religious authorities; perhaps even more so was the sense of an assault on the way in which property had traditionally stood as a representation of individuality. Speculative architecture brought about a separation of the subject (the particular owner of an apartment) from its object (the apartment unit now rendered ubiquitous). The powerful critique of modern capitalism and the ostensive ill effects on private life that emerged from all of this was bound up in liberal and Catholic ideologies, as I argue in my dissertation. I look at a set of figures from vastly different professions who, perforce, collectively developed and implemented rules governing finances, architecture, decoration, and, ultimately, human conduct. These include developers like the Saint-Simonien Émile Péreire, whose experimental Crédit Mobilier sponsored standard models for residential architecture, democratized credit, and underwrote the design and construction of thousands of new apartments. These also include taste-makers like Charles Blanc, director of the Académie des beaux-arts, whose works included decoration manuals. And finally, these include politicians such as Fréderic Le Play, the Catholic modernist and proto-sociologist who insisted on the connection between private property and morality, and Jules Simon, the conservative republican who linked the security of the family to that of the nation state. The reactionary moralization of design, to be detected in Catholic dogma, metaphysical philosophy, and the republican politics of the time, stands as one of the great unacknowledged precedents for the proselytizing ideology of architectural modernism at the dawn of the twentieth century.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark M. Jarzombek
Title: Professor of History and Architecture

Thesis Supervisor: Erika Naginski
Title: Associate Professor of Architectural History
Graduate School of Design, Harvard University

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INTRODUCTION:

In the 1870s, Gustave Caillebotte began work on a series of paintings depicting the new bourgeois interiors of Haussmannian Paris.[1] In *The Luncheon* from 1876, for example, a bourgeois family meal is illustrated (Fig. 1). Clues about the uneasiness of the situation are scattered throughout the painting. The dining room falls under a pervasive shadow that blends together the mother's clothing and the wood table, the servant and the shelving behind him, and the son and the chair he sits on. Plates, glasses, fruit, and wine, rendered with sharp and crisp edges, are the only clearly distinguishable aspects of the scene. Add to this the perspectival distortions that foreshorten the table, tipping it forward so that the serving pieces practically slide right off; and the mysterious light source that leaves most of the room in shadow, in stark contrast with the brightly lit floor, a situation that causes the most basic facts, including the carpet's cladding of a horizontal and flat surface to be thrown into question. Just as strange, the son has started eating before the mother is served. Moreover, the figures are obscured in shadows, gazing down at their plates instead of interacting with each other directly.

The interest in the display of objects here is in keeping with the rest of Caillebotte's work. Take for example *Fruit Displayed on a Stand* of 1881-2 (Fig. 2) and *Display of*

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[1] The subject of Caillebotte is relatively unexplored. Important exceptions include: Norma Broude's recent collection on essays, *Gustave Caillebotte and the Fashioning of Identity in Impressionist Paris* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003) with essays on the artist by Broude herself, as well as J. Kirk T. Varnedoe, Michael Marrinan, Michael Fried, Tamar Garb, and Douglas W. Druick, as well as Marie Berhaut's *Caillebotte: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1978) and *Gustave Caillebotte: Catalogue raisonné des peintures et pastels,* nouvelle édition (Paris: Wildenstein Institute, 1994), in addition to several exhibition catalogues.

Chickens and Gamebirds of 1882 (Fig. 3); in both, the objects are the focus, displayed as commodities for visual consumption. To be sure, the emphasis on the delineation of objects is to be expected in the context of the genre of the still life.[2] What is unusual in the case of Caillebotte, is the martialing of the techniques of still life for complex views of domestic life, and especially the emphasis on objects more than people in interior scenes like *The Luncheon*. If domestic life is arranged as carefully as a still life here, put on display for consumption by the canvas's audience, in this scene the objects are fragile, made of crystal and porcelain, and they are on the verge of falling right off the canvas. In other words, the modern interior Caillebotte describes is object-centered, fragile, and even unstable.

In the *Floorscrapers* of 1875 (Fig. 1), another modern interior is pictured—only in this case it is emptied of the kinds of objects that defined the *Luncheon.* Three workers are pictured scraping the veneer off a wood floor, in a space that can be identified as an apartment because of the balcony ironwork in the background, a detail that identifies our location on the upper story of a building. The sense that we are in an apartment house is further substantiated with the spacing of the French windows and the fireplace. Remnants of previous residents include garbage bags in the back corner of the room and the shards of veneer that are being scraped from the floor. Indirect light illuminates the scene—the curvilinear forms of the ironwork on the balcony, the contours of wall moldings, the bare floorboards, and the wood shavings. The floorscraping tools and the muscular definitition of the workers' backs and arms are also highlighted. This leaves the faces of the figures obscure, rendered in shadow here again. Like the *Luncheon*, the main concern here is not

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[2] See Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990).

Figure 0.1: Gustave Caillebotte, The Luncheon, 1876. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

Figure 0.2: Gustave Caillebotte, Fruit Displayed on a Stand, 1881-2. Oil on canvas. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 0.3: Gustave Caillebotte, Display of Chickens and Gamebirds, 1882. Oil on canvas.

Figure 0.4: Gustave Caillebotte, The Floorscrapers, 1875. Oil on canvas. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

with subjects. Nor, in this case, is it with objects. Instead the focus is on the sanding and sealing of surfaces, the refinishing of a room, creating the expectation that new tenants will take up residence here soon. The modern interior, in this rendition, is first and foremost about surfaces. Not just that, it is about surfaces in a state of transformation.

What Caillebotte is alluding to here is the transient nature of the apartment in the context of the modern Parisian real estate market. Apartments like the one illustrated here, and 240,000 others built during the same period, were rarely seen in this state. Quite the contrary, the bourgeois interior was always pictured already occupied, clad with veneers and patterns and cluttered with so many objects and memorabilia. Caillebotte turns all of this around here and unmasks the constructed nature of the thousands of like apartments that regularly changed hands and underwent renovation in the rent culture of nineteenth-century Paris. These places were no longer attached to families in perpetuity; they were identical and temporary dwellings often in flux, much as their décor and representations like the *Luncheon* made the situation appear otherwise. What Caillebotte is doing here then is demystifying the idea of the bourgeois home as an extension of self and family, cutting through the layers of decoration to reveal it in its most ubiquitous bare bones state as an object of exchange.

I point to Caillebotte's canvases as an introduction to some of the major interests of my dissertation. The scene of bourgeois private life, the preoccupying theme of most of the artist's work is, in the broadest sense, the object of my investigation here as well.[3] The reader

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[3] The literature on bourgeois private life in the context of nineteenth-century Paris is vast—the works I cite frequently include: Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, tr. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); T.J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Adeline Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIXe siècle, 1809-1890* (Paris: Cujas, 1965); Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée, maisons et mentalités XVIIe-XIXe siècles* (Brussels: Archives d'Architecture moderne, 1989);

may ask why Caillebotte over any number of contemporary painters who treated bourgeois culture—Seurat's paintings of Parisian parks, Renoir's of cafes, Degas's of the opera and perhaps the closest fit, Cassatt's and Morisot's of the bourgeois at home all come to mind as artists who were concerned with the representation of the Parisian bourgeoisie in some fashion or other. Answering this question provides me with the opportunity to distinguish the particular character of the lens with which Caillebotte views bourgeois culture and this has to do with his emphasis on the constructed nature of what we may think of as the bourgeois stage of domestic life. As we have seen, he accomplishes this, on the one hand, by drawing attention to the elaborately wrought surfaces and objects that structured nineteenth-century representations of private life like the *Luncheon*; and on the other, by pointing to the banal and ubiquitous nature of the modern apartment unit in scenes like the *Floorscrapers.*

The relationship between the two views was a major topic of debate in the political, economic, and social discourses of the period. These debates are the subject of my investigation here. Why, I will ask, were the surfaces and objects of the bourgeois apartment elaborated and emphasized while the essential architectural and economic conditions that

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Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, tr. (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1991); David Harvey, *Paris: Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Hélène Lipstadt, "Housing the Bourgeoisie: César Daly and the Ideal Home," *Oppositions 8* (spring 1997): 35-47; Michelle Perrot, ed. *A History of Private Life,* Arthur Goldhammer, tr. (Cambridge, 1991); Georges Teyssot, ed. *Interior Landscapes/Paesaggio D'Interni* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987).

served as their basic framework were so often ignored? Why in so much of the discourse that concerns the Haussmannian apartment were new realities absolutely critical to its development like the modern real estate market, the rampant circulation of private property, the industrialization of architecture, and the booming new design profession and its ubiquitous decorating schemes continuously eclipsed by a mythologized idea of a unique and distinct home and the associated notion of the family? What kinds of stakes were involved in the fretted over representation of the private life of the bourgeois class?

In order to explore these questions regarding the vast distance between the realities of the nineteenth-century apartment industry and the apartment's mythologization as a cultivating ground for unique bourgeois individuals, this project is divided roughly into two parts: in the first half of the dissertation, I describe the politics, economics, and architecture of the bourgeois apartment industry. This involves a study of political debates in the popular press and influential philosophical texts of the period concerning the circulation of private property and the modern real estate market; an investigation of the new kinds of economic credit and mortgage tools that propelled the nineteenth-century bourgeois apartment industry; and architectural drawings of the speculative designs themselves. In the second part of my thesis, I describe the reaction against the new real estate, the bourgeois apartment industry, and the architecture of speculation. I look at the highly polemical architectural discourse directed against new development architecture through a case study of the architect Charles Garnier, who wrote numerous articles and mounted an exhibition against what he decried as the new soulless architecture. Next, I study the design manuals assembled by interior designers, which sought to restore the order perceived to have been lost and a self thought to have gone missing in the inhumane modern apartment. Finally, I connect the focus on order

property and family in the work of the Catholic sociologist Frederic Le Play to concerns that extended beyond the real estate market as a concerted critique of liberal ideology and what he derided as "the false dogmas of the Revolution." I conclude by speculating about why the matter of the transformation of architecture into a commodity, and the transformation of the home in particular into a commodity, was such a charged matter at the end of the nineteenth-century.

*

In chapter 1, I examine the historical context of the flurry of development in nineteenth-century Paris. Responsible for the rapid design, construction, and turnover of the kinds of apartments pictured by Caillebotte in *The Floorscrapers*, large scale real estate investment companies spearheaded the industrialization of domestic architecture even in the midst of a growing reactionary interest in custom design.[4] I look in particular at the case study of the Compagnie Immobilière, a branch of the Crédit Mobilier, started by Emile and Isaac Péreire, industrial moguls and leading members of the Saint-Simonian movement.[5]

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[4] On the nineteenth-century real estate market, see Adeline Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiennes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cujas, 1965); Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); M. Lescure, *Les Sociétés immobilières en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1980); M. Lescure, *Les Banques, l'Etat, et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine, 1820-1940* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1982); Françoise Marnata, *Les loyers des bourgeois de Paris, 1860-1958* (Paris: Colin, 1961) and Christian Topalov, *Le Logement en France, Histoire d'une marchandise impossible* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1987). Archival sources include files at the Archives du monde du travail concerning the architectural drawings for the Boulevart Malesherbes 2001 026 1486-1488; the Crédit mobilier 87 25 AQ; and at the Archives nationals concerning the Compagnie Immobilière F12 6781.

[5] The literature on the history of the Crédit Mobilier includes: M. Aycard, *Histoire du Crédit Mobilier 1852-1867* (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1867); J. Autin, *Les Frères Pereire.* (Paris, 1984); Hippolyte Castille, *Les Frères Péreire* (E. Dentu Libraire-Editeur 1861); Guy Fargette, *Émile et Isaac Pereire: L'esprit d'entreprendre au XIXe siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001).

Hedging their property investments on credit enticements from the state and diversified stakes in the railroad, finance and steam industries, the real estate branch of the company was responsible for the design, development, and rapid turnover of hundreds of apartment buildings in the city's 8th arrondisement. Ultimately, the Péreires and other large-scale developers ushered in architecture's transformation into a commodity—something to be traded and no longer a marker of the status, identity, and representation of a particular family. In this section I also point to the debates in the political philosophy of the period regarding the access to and circulation of private property as a way to get at the broader political and economic stakes of the modern apartment industry.

In the second chapter of my thesis, I look at the architecture of the apartments underwritten by the Péreires' Compagnie Immobilière.[6] In particular, I explore the buildings the company financed on the Boulevard Malesherbes in the 8th arrondisement. The creation of an entirely new boulevard here was largely underwritten by the Co Immobilière as well with additional funding from the city. All of this was orchestrated by Haussmann himself, the Emperor's city planner, through a series of promises that helped the city to offset its lofty expansion goals and the Péreires to ensure the proximity of amenities that would guarantee their buildings luxury status and high rent yields.[7] In this

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[6] Archives du monde du travail concerning the architectural drawings for the Boulevart Malesherbes 2001 026 1486-1488.

[7] The literature on Haussmann's plan for Paris includes: Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); Georges Haussmann, *Mémoires du baron Haussmann,* 3 vols (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890-1893); Jean Castex, *Formes urbaines: de l'îlot à la barre* (Paris: Bordas, 1977); François Choay, *La règle et le modèle: sur la théorie de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Jean Des Cars, *Haussmann: la gloire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1978); Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, la ville, 1852-1870* (Paris: Champion, 1976); Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952); David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

section I look at the architectural drawings for several of the projects on the new boulevard, all of which were funded by the Co. Immobilière, and executed by the many different architects in the company's employ. The architectural drawings stand as evidence of a new and economically driven set of architectural values. What precisely was modern about these projects, I argue, can be seen not so much in any kind of overt use of industrial materials or modern structural gymnastics, but rather, in the introduction of a set of practices maximizing the efficient use of space, techniques involving modules and templates, and highly advanced calculations relating the cost and prospective value of various design strategies. I argue that the evolution of market consciousness and the recognition of specific architectural assets, like privacy and uniqueness as characteristics that would increase an apartment's revenue yield, which these drawings attest to, represents a modern attitude towards design. All of this can be conceived as part of the industrialization of architecture in which new values of marketability, efficiency, and profit overtook older concerns.

In chapter three, I look at the reactionary movement in architecture against the industrialization of production associated with the new development architecture. I take the written and built work of Charles Garnier as a case study of the pervasive conservative sentiment that was to be detected throughout nineteenth-century Parisian

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1986); Henri Malet, *Le baron Haussmann et la rénovation de Paris* (Paris: Editions Municipales, 1973); Françoise Loyer, *Paris: Nineteenth-Century Architecture and Urbanism*, tr. Charles Lynn Clark. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988); Bernard Marrey and Paul Chemetov, *Architectures, Paris, 1848-1914* (Paris: Dunod, 1972); Geneviève Massa-Gille, *Histoire des emprunts de la ville de Paris, 1814-1875* (Paris: Ville de Paris, 1973); David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Pierre Pinon, Jean des Cars, eds. *Paris. Haussmann* (Paris: Picard, 1991); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms in the Social Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); David Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

architectural culture, extending from the academy to the press and the polemical world's fair architecture of the period as well.[8] Best known for his lavish Paris Opera of 1874, Garnier also wrote numerous articles for publication in the popular and more specialized architectural press in which he consistently and sharply criticized the new Parisian apartment houses as "money generating machines" and "factories" "reigned by formulas"[9] The only saving grace for this fallen architecture, according to Garnier, was to be found in historic architecture, specifically dwellings, which he prized for what he called "individual cachet" and "character."[10] To invoke this sentiment and to take a strong stand against the controversial Eiffel Tower at the world's fair of 1889, Garnier built a street of full-scale replicas of historic habitations ranging from cave dwellings, to reed huts, an Etruscan villa, and a Persian mansion (Fig. 5).[11]

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[8] Literature on Charles Garnier is rather limited—it includes Louis Hautecoeur, "Le style de Charles Garnier," *L'Architecture*, vol. XXXIX, no. 1 (January, 1926):. 23-24; Françoise Loyer, *À travers les arts. Précédé des Ambiguités de Charles Garnier* (Paris: Picard 1985); Christopher Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera: architectural empathy and the Renaissance of French classicism* (Cambridge: MIT Press 1991); Jean- Michel Leniaud, *Charles Garnier* (Paris: Centres des monuments nationaux 2003). Garnier collected his various works into *À travers les arts: Causeries et mélanges* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1869).

[9] Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Contemporary accounts of the exhibit include: *12 Views of Buildings and Pavillions of the 1889 Paris Exposition*. (S.I.: s.n., 1889); Frantz Jourdain, *Exposition Universelle de 1889: Constructions Elevées au Champ de Mars par M. Charles Garnier* (New York: J.W. Bouton, 1892); Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et cie, 1890); *Le Moniteur des architectes*, Année 1889; L. Rousselet and A. Lahure, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Hachette et cie 1890); E. Monod, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Dento 1890); J. Deniker and L. Laloy, "Les races exotiques à l'exposition universelle de 1889" in *L'Anthrop* (1890); A. Picard, *Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris: rapport général* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1891). Critical literature is limited, but there are a few articles, including: Beatrice Bouvier, "Charles Garnier (1825-1898): Architecte historien de l'habitation humaine" in *L'architecte historien*, 1er semester, 2005); Nils Muller-Scheessel, "Fair Prehistory: archeological exhibits at the French Expositions Universelles," *Antiquity*, Vol 75 (2001): 391-401; C. Topalov, Laboratoires du nouveau siècle, *Civilisations et sociétés* Vol. 98 (1999); Brigitte

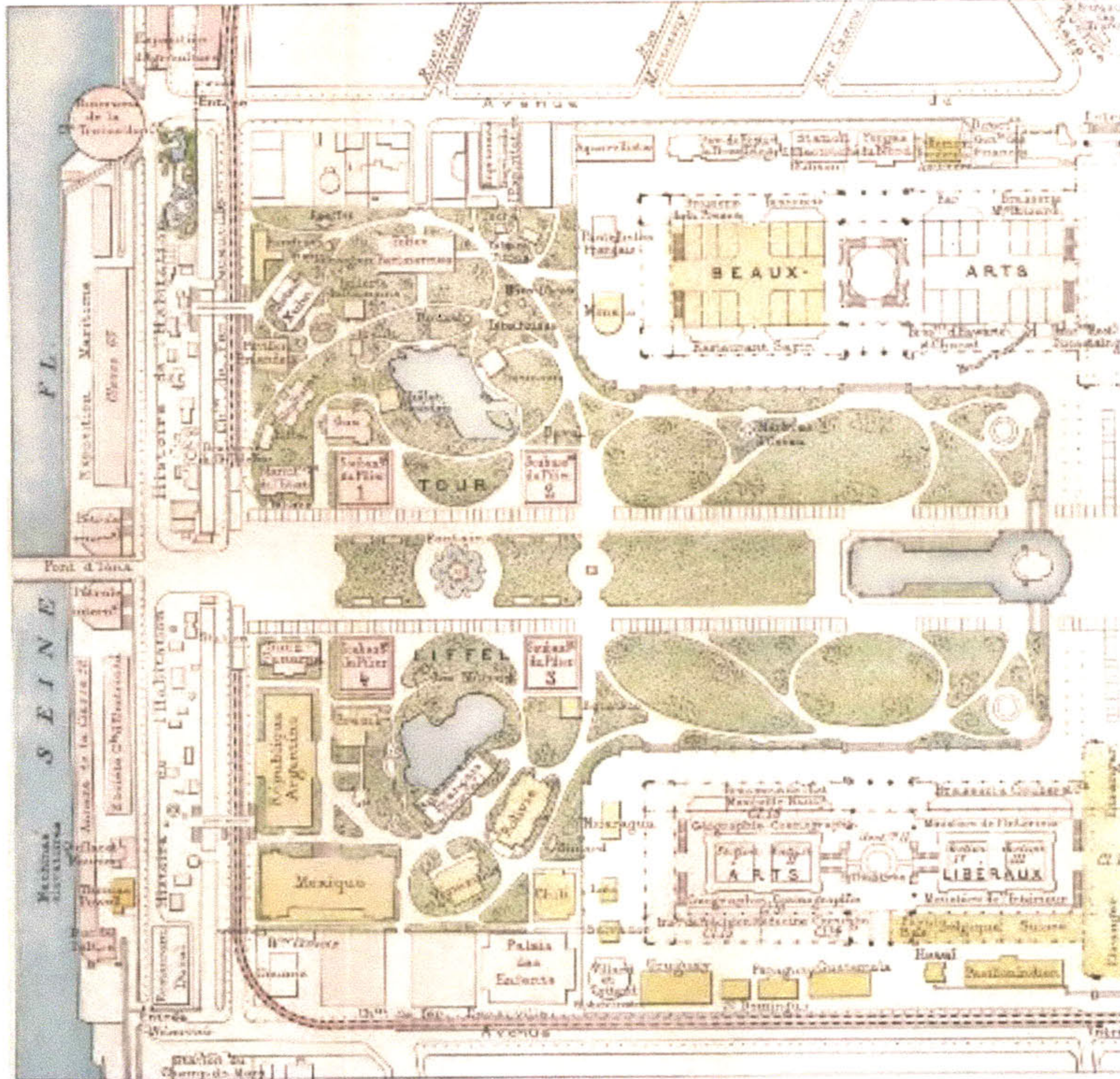

Figure 0.5: Plan of the Exposition universelle of 1889, Guide bleu du figaro University of Maryland Libraries.

What Garnier is actually so worried over in the end, I argue, is the complete and total transformation of architecture into a commodity. All of his complaints about modern architecture—"monotonous," "cold," "lacking in character and specificity," driven by an overwhelming interest in revenue—could just as readily be applied to any other

Shroeder-Godehus, "Les grandes puissances devant l'Exposition universelle de 1889" in *Le mouvement social* 149 (oct-dec 1989):15-24.

commodity, and, in point of fact, similar criticisms were issued against commercial goods. The apartment built for the market, architecture measured by its potential revenue yields, represented perhaps the most disturbing case of the disinterring of a subject—the owner of an apartment identical to that of his or her neighbors—from its object—the ubiquitous apartment unit—brought by the new state of affairs in which distinct subjects possessed indistinguishable objects. In other words, according to reactionaries like Garnier, the modern apartment industry severely damaged architectural character, but, even worse, it also wounded the apartment's inhabitant, the bourgeois self, in a fundamental and deep way.

In chapter 4, I investigate the extension of the reactionary sentiment in architecture into the new profession of interior design, which sought to transform what Garnier decried as "money generating machines" into homes. Creating an impression of solidity, permanence, and order became the central concerns for the rapidly growing profession dedicated to interior architecture and the decorative arts.[12] Aestheticians like Charles Blanc, director of the Beaux-arts at the time and a leading figure in the education of artists and architects contributed to this reactionary movement by writing a set of manuals, which established guidelines to be used in the creation of art and architecture

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[12] Leora Auslander. *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 195-6. See also Deborah Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de Siècle France;* Nancy J. Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Works by decorators of the period include: Anaïs Lebrun Bassanville *L'art de bien tenir une maison* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1892); Henri Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe, privé et public depuis l'antiquité jusq'à nos jours.* Vol. 4 (Paris: A. Lahure, 1881); Victor Champier, "La maison modèle: etudes et types d'ameublement," *Revue des arts décoratifs 3* (1882-83): 19-21, 41-58, 180-84, 364-74; Ernest Foussier, *L'appartement français à la find du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Thézard Fils, 1890); Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la decoration depuis l'XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours* 4 vols. (Paris: Quantin, 1887-90).

(Fig. 6). He called for a grammar or optical order in which colors, materials, ornaments and furnishings would imbue architecture (and its inhabitants, even) with an order solid enough to ground the architectural commodity and make it substantive again.

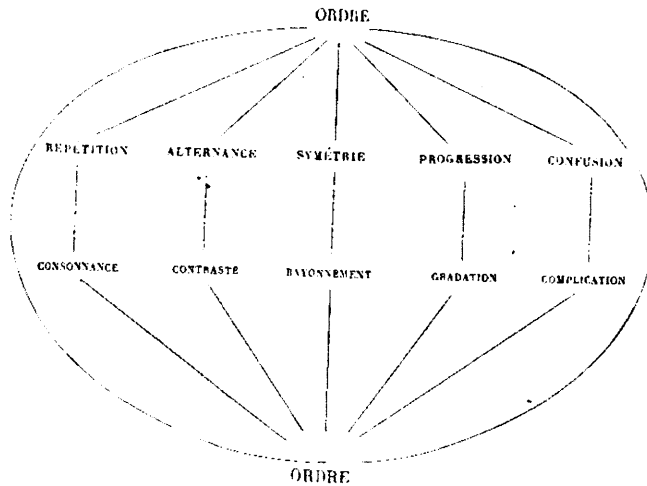

Figure 0.6: Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison* (Paris: Renouard, 1882)

If, according to all of its critics, the bourgeois apartment industry robbed architecture of its stable and essential aspects and left behind an ineffable commodity with no order of its own, or even worse yet, one that was the mere object of that most suspect of all systems—market and money, Blanc and his entourage hoped to suffuse the industrialized apartment with a longed for order vis a vis the decorated surface of things.[13] I probe the significance of the replacement of divine order with an order of the self and of architectural order with optical order in his scheme. Does this shift ultimately serve to put

[13] Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison* (Paris: Renouard, 1882) and *Grammaire des arts du Dessin.* 2nd ed. (Paris: , 1870). There is very little secondary literature on Blanc; Misook Song. *Art Theories of Charles Blanc 1813-1882.* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984).

architecture back on solid ground? Or, is it perhaps the subject, the moi, that is being cast into stone here instead?

In Chapter 5, I explore the Catholic sociologist Le Play's application of the principle of order to the problem of the nineteenth-century worker home.[14] His ideas bore a strong resemblance to those of Garnier and Blanc, especially the emphasis on the family, private property, and the importance of a unique home. However, Le Play ultimately reverses Blanc's scheme of a powerful self that willfully orders and manipulates his architectural environment. In this case, the home itself is figured as the agent that "possesses its inhabitants." This working class epilogue to the story enunciates in the clearest terms the interest in social order and the critique of liberal ideology that were the central motivations for all of the reactions against speculative architecture I study here.

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[14] Le Play's own works include: *Instruction sur la méthode d'observation dite des monographies de famille* (Paris: A.J. Gocillon, 1887); *Les ouvriers européens,* 9 vols (Tours: Mame, 1877-79); *L'organisation du travail, selon la coûtume des ateliers et la loi du Décalogue* (Tours: Mame, 1870); *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). The secondary literature on Le Play includes: Emile Cheysson, Frédéric Le Play, sa méthode, sa doctrine, son école" in *Compte rendus de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (Paris, 1905). Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frederic Le Play.* (Harlow UK: Longmans, 1970); Janet R. Horn, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Frédéric Le Play, *La Réforme sociale*, 3 vols. (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils; Paris: Dentu, 1887); Frédéric Le Play, *L'Organisation de la famille* (Paris: Téqui, Bibliothécaire de l'oeuvre Saint-Michel, 1871); Frédéric Le Play, *Frederic Le Play on Family, Work, and Social Change.* Catherine Bodard Silver, editor and translator, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June, 1988): 72-97; Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control," *French Historical Studies* Vol. 12,No. 4 (Autumrn, 1982) : 486-507.

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Since I began this project, Walter Benjamin's work on nineteenth-century Paris has been on my mind, especially the jewel of a fragment he wrote on the interior in "Paris Capital of the nineteenth-century in which he sets up his famous argument that the bourgeoisie's retreat to an elaborately decorated interior is a kind of phantasmagoria in which dream-like images sublimate the realities of the modern commodity economy—the means of production and class relations.[15] The distance Benjamin marks in his essay between the fetish object of the bourgeois apartment and the kinds of political and economic systems that it actively represses has been the subject of a number of very interesting projects by historians and scholars of comparative literature like Michelle Perrot, Sharon Marcus, and Leora Auslander, all of which attempt to grapple with the bourgeoisie's self mythologization in the private realm.[16] These three projects in particular use representations of bourgeois private life in photography and literature to get at the kinds of lines that were drawn during this period between the private and public realms as well as the nature of nineteenth-century domestic life itself.

The work of historians of architecture like Françoise Loyer and Monique Eleb-Vidal compliments this research with an important discussion of architectural style and

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[15] Literature on Benjamin includes: Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999) tr. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, Walter Benjamin, *Reflections*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1978) tr. Peter Demetz, Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

[16] Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century France and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Michelle Perrot, ed. *A History of Private Life,* Arthur Goldhammer, tr. (Cambridge, 1991).

ornament in the new apartment houses, especially its historicist quality, coupled with a critical analysis of the evolution of the apartment typology over time.[17] The research of French economic historians like Christian Topalov, Michel Lescure, and Adeline Daumard fills in another important part of the story by tracing the innovations in modern forms of mortgages, tracking the growth of the real estate market during these years, and collecting and analyzing data concening the overwhelming transformation of property owners into renters during the period.[18] I supplement the work of these historians with information about debates in the popular press of the time regarding the modernization of the real estate market and the political ramifications of these changes for definitions of private property and its ownership and circulation. I also introduce the historical context of these debates by connecting them to key texts of the political philosophy of the period, especially those written by the Péreires themselves.[19] This context, I argue, is critical to our understanding of the revolutionary nature of the new apartment houses, not just as aesthetic objects, but for all aspects of nineteenth-century political and economic life.

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[17]Monique Eleb-Vidal and Anne Debarre-Blanchard, *Architectures de la vie privée, maisons et mentalités XVIIe-XIXe siècles* (Brussels: Archives d'Architecture moderne, 1989); Françoise Loyer, *Paris: Nineteenth-Century Architecture and Urbanism*, tr. Charles Lynn Clark (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988).

[18] Adeline Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiens au XIXe siècle, 1809-1890* (Paris: Cujas, 1965); M. Lescure, *Les Sociétés immobilières en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1980); M. Lescure, *Les Banques, l'Etat, et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine, 1820-1940* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1982); Christian Topalov, *Le Logement en France, Histoire d'une marchandise impossible* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1987).

[19] The Péreires authored numerous articles and editorials on such topics as "Considérations sur la propriété," "Leçons lues à Athénée sur la valeur, l'échange et l'argent," "Du crédit public," and "le laissez fairer." A great number of these have been collected in Émile Péreire. *Oeuvres De Emile & Issac Pereire, 1832-1870.* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912-1920).

If these elements of my research begin to lay out the political and economic impact of the new real estate, the archive of the Péreires' Co. Immobilière gives us access to the philosophical underpinnings of the bourgeois apartment industry through the brothers' speeches and editorials on the topic as well as the architecture of the speculative projects themselves, represented here with drawing sets of hundreds of the buildings they financed.[20] What this means is that examples of speculative architecture can now be looked at side by side and compared, which gives us a broader view of the architectural strategies and priorities that ultimately constituted the project of speculative architecture. In fact, I argue, with a project of this vast of an economic and physical scale, individual buildings and architects cannot be looked at as isolated stylistic phenomena or singular great works. Conventional methods of architectural history like formal analysis have a place here, but the scope has to be expanded in this case from singular works to a study of the kinds of motifs that register across multiple architects and buildings and speak to a codification of new ideas of architectural value, and a more direct relationship between architecture and the market.

In order to get at the other side of the distinction Benjamin marked between the realities of the modern commodity economy and its repression with so-called dream images, I look at a set of works in architecture, aesthetic theory, and sociology, all of which focused in some way or another on the bourgeois interior and private life. These have been little talked about in today's scholarship and often dismissed full force for their reactionary stance against modernity. I argue that the outright dismissal of these works is a crucial oversight, especially because the historical record testifies to the critical role

[20]Archives du monde du travail concerning the architectural drawings for the Boulevart Malesherbes 2001 026 1486-1488.

reaction played in the forging of modernity in the nineteenth-century. The writings and exhibition design of Charles Garnier, an enormously important figure in the architectural culture of Second Empire and Third Republic Paris; the aesthetic theory of Charles Blanc, who was appointed Director of the Beaux-arts, the academic training ground for all French artists and architects during this period; and the sociology texts of Frédéric Le Play who was given the role of Commissioner of the Exposition universelle of 1867 by Napoleon III: in all three cases, the reaction against modernity is characterized by a familiar call for metaphysical order sought respectively in history, the fledgling bourgeois self, and the home. Each of these calls was bound up in its own way with the modern market, liberal ideology, and instrumental rationality, which, I suggest, ultimately bothers any kind of hard-line distinction to be drawn between what is reactionary and what is modern.[21]

In the face of historical research, Benjamin's hypothetical distinction between the reality of a world decimated by commodity culture and the escape from that world through phantasmagorias and dream-images loosens at the edges a bit, too. When we study all of the kinds of historical testaments of these momentous changes, we can see for example, that the apartment industry made lots of use of all kinds of dream images of the bourgeoisie, selling and marketing phantasmagorias of privacy and identity even. Along the same lines, these reactionary phantasmagorias often featured very modern aspects—the undeniably commercial aspects of Garnier's History of Human Habitation exhibtition and the mass production of the worker housing Le Play showcased at the Exposition universelle—at the very heart of their reactionary zeal. The collapse of these kinds of

[21] An excellent source on the reaction against modernity is Michael Lowy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*. Trans. Catherine Porter (Duke University Press, 2001).

theoretical distinctions between the real and the phantasmagorical and between the modern and the reactionary is one of the main objectives of the history I am writing here.

CHAPTER 1: THE RISE OF THE MORTGAGE INDUSTRY AND THE CRÉDIT MOBILIER

> Times were hard for speculators. Saccard had proved himself a worthy son of city hall. Like Paris itself, he had enjoyed a rapid transformation, a time of feverish pleasure and blind expenditure. And like the city he now found himself faced with a formidable deficit, which had to be paid off in secret, for he would not hear of sobriety, economy, and a calm, bourgeois existence. He preferred to hold on to the pointless luxury and actual misery of the new boulevards from which he drew each morning the colossal fortune that he consumed by night. As he moved from adventure to adventure, all that he had left was the gilded façade without the capital to back it up. In this time of acute madness, not even Paris itself was more rash in risking its future, or more prompt to plunge itself into financial foolishness and fraud of every kind.[1]
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> –E. Zola (1871)

This is one of the many indictments of Second Empire Paris brought by Émile Zola, the famous chronicler of modern life who wore the hats of novelist, journalist, and activist.[2]

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[1] Emile Zola, *The Kill*. Arthur Goldhammer, Tr. (New York: The Modern Library, 2005).

[2] Originally published in serial form in the newspaper *La Cloche, La Curée* is the second work in the author's Rougon-Macquart *saga.* Eventually the epic story would span twenty volumes, tied together as a "histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le Second Empire," "the social and natural history of a family under the Second Empire." All of the novels in the series are concerned with two branches of the same family and the ways in which the Rougons' characteristic interest in money and power and the Macquarts' particular psychological and medical frailties are reiterated across its various branches and generations. The stories of this family serve Zola as a platform from which

The passage is from *La Curée*, and in it, Zola regards with a disapproving eye the real estate speculation that was rampant in his city.[3] Let us set the scene for Zola's novel and the practice of speculation it describes and, ultimately, condemns as "feverish pleasure and blind expenditure." From 1853 onwards, Paris was in a process of rapid transformation. Napoleon III had enlisted his prefect of the Seine, Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann with cleaning up and reorganizing the city in order to provide better sanitary conditions and prevent the threat posed by barricades potentially erected by angry workers, the down-trodden populace, or worse yet, the revolutionary mob.[4] The plan orchestrated by Haussmann cut wide boulevards through the urban fabric allowing the army and police quick and easy access to any uprisings.[5] As the photographs of Charles

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to document and critique the politics and society of the Second Empire and the Third Republic.

One group of novels deals with the effects of corruption on the disenfranchised. *L'assomoir* (1877), *Nana* (1880), *Germinal* (1885), and *La Terre* (1887) document respectively the living conditions of the urban working class, prostitution, the working conditions in the coal mines, and inheritance customs preventing the peasant class from acquiring substantial amounts of land. Another group describes the corrupt nature of the powers that be: *L'argent* (1891) investigates bank fraud while *La Curée,* the novel that concerns us here, describes the real estate speculation that was rampant in Paris during the latter half of the nineteenth-century.

[3] On real estate speculation, see Adeline Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiennes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cujas, 1965); M. Lescure, *Les Sociétés immobilières en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1980); M. Lescure, *Les Banques, l'Etat, et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine, 1820-1940* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1982).

[4] For more on Paris and urban revolution, see François Choay, La règle et le modèle: sur la théorie de l'urbanisme (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Kristin Ross, *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune (Theory and History of Literature Series)* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Henri Lefebvre, The Critique of Everyday Life, John Moore, Tr. (New York: Verso, 1991).

[5] The literature on Haussmann's plan for Paris includes: Georges Haussmann, *Mémoires du baron Haussmann*, 3 vols (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890-1893); Jean Castex, *Formes urbaines: de l'îlot à la barre* (Paris: Bordas, 1977); François Choay, *La règle et le*

Marville remind us still, streets such as the now disappeared Rue des Moineaux were demolished to make way for the modern city (Fig. 1). The construction of the new Paris necessitated the demolition of large swathes of working class neighborhoods, the displacement of thousands to the periphery of the city, and the creation of expensive new neighborhoods demarcated by streets such as the Avenue de l'Opera, the Rue de Rennes, and the Boulevard Malesherbes.[6] It was along such streets that the story of speculative architecture unfolded.

That story was told by Zola in *La Curée* by means of his anti-hero speculator Aristide Saccard. Saccard is an officer in Haussmann's administration who has insider information about the demolition and redevelopment of Paris. This enables him to acquire properties at a price he knows will rise dramatically after sale. In Saccard's

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modèle: sur la théorie de l'urbanisme (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Jean Des Cars, *Haussmann: la gloire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1978); Jules Ferry, *Les Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann* (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1868); Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, la ville, 1852-1870* (Paris: Champion, 1976); Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952); David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Henri Malet, *Le baron Haussmann et la rénovation de Paris* (Paris: Editions Municipales, 1973); Françoise Loyer, *Paris: Nineteenth-Century Architecture and Urbanism*, tr. Charles Lynn Clark. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988); Bernard Marrey and Paul Chemetov, *Architectures, Paris, 1848-1914* (Paris: Dunod, 1972); Geneviève Massa-Gille, *Histoire des emprunts de la ville de Paris, 1814-1875* (Paris: Ville de Paris, 1973); David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Pierre Pinon, Jean des Cars, eds. *Paris. Haussmann* (Paris: Picard, 1991); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms in the Social Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); David Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[6] For more on Haussmann and the displacement of the urban poor, see L. Chevalier, *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes*. F. Jellinek, Tr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973); G. Duveau, *La Vie Ouvriere en France sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1946); R. Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago, 1995).

world, property is in constant, frenetic circulation. With apartments often sold or leased to new owners and tenants before construction had even begun, real estate values were bound to rise and fall in the space of days and weeks. To complicate matters further, buildings were sometimes constructed before the streets that would lead prospective occupants to their front doors. The height of speculative absurdity was exemplified by the Société Générale des Ports du Maroc, whose shareholders ultimately discovered that while drawings existed for the project in which they had invested, no buildings had ever been constructed nor would they be.

Figure 1.1: Charles Marville, rue des Moineaux (disparue) (n.d.)

Zola condemns Saccard and through him, the practices of speculative development more generally. The condemnation emerges in a litany of derogatory adjectives, nouns, and adverbs fired at every opportunity in the passage with which I began: "feverish," "blind," "pointless," "madness," "foolishness and fraud," and even "terrifying." The "gilded façade without the capital to back it up" Zola describes along with the "rapid" acquisition, development, and resale of properties is set against the more desirable "sobriety" and "economy" of the world of solid good construction with which long-term investment and permanent ownership are associated. Indeed, if I turn to Zola it is because his outrage in the face of speculative development underscores the degree to which the phenomenon was strange and new. It was a radical departure from the deeply entrenched practices passed down from the *Ancien Régime*, which fixed families in geographical and social space through inheritance. Until Zola's historical moment, the terms "property" and "circulation" stood in stark contrast; the rigidity of inheritance laws and the strong association of property with a static notion of class meant that the former could not change hands quickly (if ever).[7] Beginning with the French revolution of 1789, and the Republican government's confiscation of church and emigré property to be used as the basis for paper money, the notion that property could and should move began to take hold. The revolutions of the nineteenth-century saw further revisions in property

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[7] For more on the circulation of property under the ancien régime, see Adeline Daumard and François Furet, *Structures et relations sociales à Paris au milieu du XVIIIe siècle* (Cahiers des Annales, xviii, Paris, 1961); L.K. Berkner and F.F. Mendels, *Inheritance Systems, Family Structure, and Demographic Patterns in Western Europe (1700-1900)* (1973); R. Gonnard, *La propiété dans la doctrine et dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1943); Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson, *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Engels, Frederick. *The origin of the family, private property and the state* (1884), tr. Ernest Untermann. (Chicago: C. H. Kerr, 1902); John Brewer and Susan Staves, eds. *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (London: Routledge, 1996).

law towards the realization of a very radical idea, that is, that everyone had the right to own property and that it must circulate beyond blood and class boundaries.[8]

That circulation came into being because, as Zola forcefully put it, Saccard and his kind were "moving capital by the shovelful."[9] In the frenzied speculative economy to which he bore witness, the financial responsibilities for property acquisition and construction fell to bankers and entrepreneurs like the Crédit Mobilier's Emile Péreire, the real world twin of Zola's Saccard. Péreire and his colleagues began to sponsor the construction of massive numbers of identical apartment buildings—some 240,000 between 1853 and 1870—for a rapidly expanding real estate market. These emerging development practices essentially turned *Ancien Régime* notions of property and patron-based architecture on their heads. The architecture that had once been designed for a specific client with a particular set of needs was transformed into a speculative procedure operating to estimate and shape the interests of an abstract future occupant. Underscoring the temporal shift from an existing client to a future abstraction was an emphasis on exchange value over and against use value. As France modernized and embraced unchecked capitalism, Zola looked with disdain on the managerial class's profit at the expense of the working class, on the alienation of the worker from what he or she produced, and on the exponential inflation of capital and goods fetishized not used. Marx

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[8] All of the classic surveys of the history treat this problem; among them, Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution* (2 volumes), John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti, Trs.(London: Routledge, 1964); D.M.G. Sutherland, *France 1789-1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1985); Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); François Furet, *Revolutionary France 1770-1880*, Antonia Nevill, Tr. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988); James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989).

himself expressed this in nostalgic terms: "all that is solid melts into air."[10] Marx's famous words, in which the mechanisms of commodification and alienation stand in relation to mass-produced goods apply directly to architecture. I will argue that many of the critical qualities of modern architecture, including its mass production and design, emerged out of just this sort of bourgeois apartment industry. Paper thin speculative architecture was necessarily a commodity-- and was met with distaste on many fronts (a reaction to be explored in later chapters). This prompts us to delve into the history of property and its circulation in order to grasp how radically unsettling the new apartment industry was for those who witnessed it.

This chapter, which has four sections, looks at the birth of the modern real estate market. In the first section, I provide an overview of the enormous changes the revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848 effected on the relationship between inheritance, property, and the housing market. The second section considers the social and political context out of which new development practices emerged. Here, I will explore the ways in which the demographic shifts that transformed a rural populace into an urban one intersected with new ideas of nation and citizen. Such ideas were sponsored by a young Republican administration and ultimately shaped Haussmann's plan for Paris and its financing, creating an environment conducive to speculation. In the third section, I discuss the ways in which the Crédit Foncier (a state-run institution that sponsored low interest construction loans) and the Crédit Mobilier (a private institution that financed real estate development as well as railroads and various industrial ventures) developed

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[9] Emile Zola, The Kill. Arthur Goldhammer, Tr. (New York: The Modern Library, 2005).107.

standards for the circulation of debt and credit. And finally, the fourth section focuses on one branch of the Crédit Mobilier, the so-called Compagnie Immobilière, and the ways in which it managed the design, construction, marketing, and sale of new properties. I conclude by briefly surveying the critical reactions in the press to newly burgeoning development practices in order to explore the ways in which the circulation of real estate and capital unsettled interrelated notions of property, class, citizen, and nation.

I.

> [Each man] makes his own that portion of nature's field which he cultivates—that portion on which he leaves, as it were, the impress of his individuality; and it cannot but be just that he should possess that portion as his very own, and have a right to hold it without any one being justified in violating that right [...] Hence it is clear that the main tenet of Socialism, community of goods, must be utterly rejected, since it is directly contrary to the natural rights of mankind.[11]

So declared Pope Leo XIII in his 1891 Encyclical *Rerum Novarum.*[12] At the moment when the Church officially sanctifed property rights, their ostensible naturalness, privateness, and fixity were undergoing a series of challenges, emerging as a central topic in political philosophy. Leo XIII's position is a deeply conservative one. This becomes

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[10] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Collected Works* Vol. 6.

[11] Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on Capital and Labor (May 15, 1891).

patently clear when we set it against the backdrop of the various utopian socialist proposals of the second half of the nineteenth-century, which sketched out schemes for the redistribution and communalization of private property. Papal conservatism is only further underscored in the context of the developing capitalist real estate market in which property changed hands so quickly that ownership could more properly be attributed to the market than to any single individual.

The papal assertion of property as an enduring place on which man "leaves, as it were, the impress of his individuality" finds source in Enlightenment philosophical debates regarding the genesis and nature of private property. Out of those debates emerged four distinct schools of thought on property: natural rights, conventionalism, utilitarianism, and communism.[13] So-called natural rights theory, itself a resurrection of seventeenth-century classical liberalism as formulated by Adam Smith, John Locke, and others, is echoed by Leo XIII's Encyclical.[14] The lingering specter, at the end of the nineteenth century, of natural rights theory prompts the following questions: How was it that the fixity of property in the *Ancien Régime* gave way to rapid turnover in nineteenth century real estate markets? More interestingly, how does the regressive papal stance signal the forging of a critical relationship between morality and the modern market?

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[12] Ibid.

[13] Richard Schlatter's *Private Property: The History of an Idea* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.) and Alan Ryan's *Property and Political Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) provide excellent surveys of these four schools of thought.

[14] The notion of property as a "natural right" was theorized by John Locke in his "Second Treatise"of the *Two Treatises of Government* (1690). See Mark Goldie, Ed. *The Reception of Locke's Politics. Volume 6: Wealth, Property, and Commerce 1696-1832* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1999) and James Tully, *A Discourse on Property: John Locke and his Adversaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) for further discussion.

Natural rights theory, which the Encyclical rehearses, was part of a widespread response in seventeenth and eighteenth-century political philosophy to the extraordinary inequities of the feudal order. Lefebvre has estimated that in France the upper echelons of society owned half the land.[15] In theory, noble stature was strictly hereditary, meaning that it was meant to be obtained exclusively through birth right, and hence was protected from contamination by other classes.[16] The relationship between noble landowners and peasant laborers was structured by a highly regulated and complex system of taxes and fees to be paid by the latter to the former. These included: serfdom; *banalités* to maintain a mill, oven, or wine-press; *corvées personelles* or the right to exact labor services; and, finally, eminent ownership of the soil, which justified the collection of dues from landholders (or those who actually worked the land).[17] Nobles were exempt from most taxes issued by Church and Crown, including the *gabelle* (salt tax) and the *taille personnelle* (or a tax levied on land calculated according to the status of the owner).[18] The arbitrary intricacies and variations in the codes that mediated the relationship between landowners and landholders is a topic in its own right. Important for our purposes is the following: that land did not circulate except through primogeniture; that it stayed in the same blood line; and that the greater part of the population had no possibility either of acquiring land or benefiting from the rights that came with it. How

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[15] D.M.G. Sutherland, *France 1789-1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1985) 51.

[16] Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution* (2 volumes), John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti, Trs. (London: Routledge, 1964) 39-40.

[17] Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964) 48-9.

to resolve these inequities was left to Enlightenment political philosophers to debate and for the revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to attempt to rectify.

Consider, for a start, the conflicted reception of John Locke's theory of property as a natural right—formulated in *The Second Treatise on Government* (1690)—by the Encyclopedists, who sought to transform society through reason and education, and whose emphasis on universal rights paved the way for the French Revolution. Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron d'Holbach, a philosopher whose salon served as meeting place for Adam Smith, Benjamin Franklin, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, among others, is perhaps best known for *La politique naturelle* (1773), in which he argued for natural rights over prescriptive rights. According to d'Holbach, "laws of nature give to each man a right which is called property, and which is nothing else than the power of exclusive enjoyment of those things which his talent, labour, and industry have procured."[19] Here, the connection between labor and property (construed as the fruit of one's labor) is articulated over and against aristocratic privilege. While the connection became a central tenet of liberal thought, it likewise reveals the less palatable notion that the ability and willingness to work is necessarily variable and so property will be unequally distributed.[20] D'Holbach's discussion of natural rights also outlines a social contract, an agreement between a government and its citizens, under which the former is held by the

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[18] D.M.G. Sutherland, *France 1789-1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1985) 20-1.

[19] Baron d'Holbach, *Oeuvres.* Gustav Schelle, Ed. (5 volumes). (Paris, 1913) v1 380-1, 439; v2 539-40, 596-7.

[20] The classic critique of Enlightenment liberalism is Theodore W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment.* John Cumming, Tr.(New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1976).

latter to a promise to protect property and other basic freedoms. For d'Holbach, as for Locke, failure to uphold that promise essentially means the right to revolt.[21]

It was Jean-Jacques Rousseau who emerged as the leading proponent of the Conventionalist school, which viewed private property not as natural right but as a convention managed by the State. In the insistence that property was, in fact, a social institution "distinct from the right deducible from the law of nature," the Conventionalist viewpoint went directly against the Lockean paradigm inherited by d'Holbach.[22] In his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755), Rousseau described a "golden age" in which property did not yet exist. In Rousseau's narrative, property, once merely "a convention of human institution," destroys that earlier paradise to make way for the State. The State thereby "irretrievably destroyed natural liberty, eternally fixed the law of property and inequality, converted clever usurpation into unalterable right, and for the advantage of a few ambitious individuals, subjected all mankind to perpetual labor, slavery, and wretchedness."[23] In this scheme of things, political authority is figured as a demonic force and the charter between government and property ownership is cemented. By 1762, however, Rousseau tempered his stance, concluding in the *Social Contract* that the State's authority over property rights could garner legitimacy so long as the citizenry consented. As he put it, "the state, in relation to its members, is master of all their goods

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[21] Richard Ashcraft, M.M. Goldsmith, "Locke, Revolution Principles, and the Formation of Whig Ideology," *Historical Journal* Vol. 26, No. 4 (December 1983): 773-800.

[22] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1754). (New York: Everyman's Library) 217.

[23] Ibid 227, 220-1.

by the social contract, which, within the state, is the basis of all rights."[24] Rousseau's social contract, then, involves the replacement of an Arcadian fantasy with a more practically guided hope for good governance that might justly mediate between different interests. Rousseau's social contract is one in which the community stands over the private individual whose claims, in turn, ultimately are subsumed by the State's authority to possess. If Rousseau's ideas open the door to a potentially totalitarian vision of the State, Locke's position paves the way for *laissez faire* economics and governmental abdication of welfare systems.[25]

Over and against the Rousseauist vision, Lockean classical liberalism came to stand at the core of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen.* Signed on August 26, 1789, it begins with the stipulation that "the aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inprescriptable rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.[26] French revolutionaries consequently overhauled *in toto* a feudal system that had, until then, secured property rights for the privileged few, replacing it with the principle of universal access to property through labor.

Such thinking immediately compelled the Republican government on November 2, 1789, to nationalize the patrimony and thereby to confiscate any property left behind by Church or aristocratic emigrés; property owned and yet abandoned stood in direct

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[24] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (1762). (New York: Everyman's Library) 19.

[25] For more on the totalitarian consequences of Rousseau's ideas and the capitalism of Locke's, see Robert A. Nisbet, "Rousseau and Totalitarianism," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May, 1943) 93-114) and Ellen Meiksins Woods, *A Trumpet of Sedition: Political Theory and the Rise of Capitalism, 1509-1688* (New York: NYU Press, 1997).

conflict with the concept of natural right. As the General Assembly decreed, "All the ecclesiastical estates [were] at the disposal of the nation, on condition of providing in a suitable manner for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the relief of the poor." On the one hand, the Republican government was safeguarding the relationship between labor and private property, thus protecting Lockean precepts and natural rights theory. On the other hand, it was positioning itself, much like Rousseau's State, as the final authority over such a precept—this in keeping with the spirit of the Conventionalist school of thought.[27] The oscillation of views on property exchange in the revolutionary context transformed previous understandings of the circulation of real estate by setting the stage for a state-controlled market.

To begin with, the nascent revolutionary government faced serious fiscal problems due as much to a bankrupt crown as to the complete halt in income generated from taxes. The financial crisis was attributable to many factors: a lingering feudal system of duties; the practical difficulties of tax collection just as *Ancien Régime* structures were being dismantled; and the challenge of creating a new economic structure. On December 19, 1789, the Assembly was forced to create the *Caisse de l'extraordinaire*, a special Treasury put in place to supply the administration with funds to pay its creditors. The solution proposed by the *Caisse de l'extraordinaire* involved the introduction of paper money or *assignats*. This measure was met with great suspicion, in large part because of the total fiasco that had ensued as a result of the collapse of John

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[26] *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* (August 26, 1789).

[27] Debate reported in *Archives Parlementaires?*

Law's paper money scheme in which the *livres* he issued in 1720 were backed by nonexistent gold mines.[28]

The paper money issued to address the evergrowing fiscal crisis of the 1790s was backed by lands expropriated from Church and Crown. Originally functioning as bonds on land, *assignats* eventually also became bills of exchange.[29] The relationship between land values and currency values could not be fixed in advance and so, as the paper proliferated, the *assignat* became doomed for worthlessness. As Jacques Necker, former *directeur général des finances,* explained: "so it was that the establishment of a fictitious currency, through its freeing of the administration from the imperious yoke of reality, enabled the legislators to abandon themselves with more confidence to their abstractions; and the need for money, so crude an embarrassmt, never again served to distract them from their lofty thoughts."[30] If Necker sets a "fictitious and abstract currency" against an "imperious reality," it is because the experiment that attempted to put property into market circulation was a dramatic failure. Indeed, imperious reality meant useless paper and vacant property (Fig. 2).

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[28] Antoin E. Murphy, ed. *John Law's 'Essay on a Land Bank'* (Dublin: Aeon Publishing, 1994).

[29] For more on this episode, see Florin Aftalion, *The French Revolution: An Economic Interpretation*, Martin Thom, Tr. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; S. E. Harris, *The Assignats* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930); Jean Lafaurie, *Les Assignats et les papiers-monnaies émis par l'état au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1981); Maurice Muszynski, *Les assignats de la Revolution Française* (Editions le landit, 1981); François Crouzet, *La Grande Inflation: La Monnaie en France de Louis XVI à Napoléon* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1993).

[30] Jacques Necker, *De la Révolution Française.* (Paris: J. Drisonnier, 1797).

Figure 1.2: Assignat de cinq livres, 1791. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

The *assignats* episode is a significant precedent for the nineteenth-century real estate market on at least three counts: first, property was for the first time made accessible to anyone who could purchase it; second, the conversion of land to currency ostensibly extended the latter's circulation from the private confines of a small patrimonial system to the entire class system; finally, control over the value and circulation of property fell under the auspices of the State, echoing Rousseau's vision in the *Social Contract.* The changing design of the *assignat* well illustrates the role being forged for the State as overseer of property (Figs. 2,3). Before his execution on January 21, 1793, Louis XVI's profile graced each bill, and the King figured as the guarantor of the *domaines nationaux*, the new national patrimony. By the Year II, republican allegories replaced the effigy.

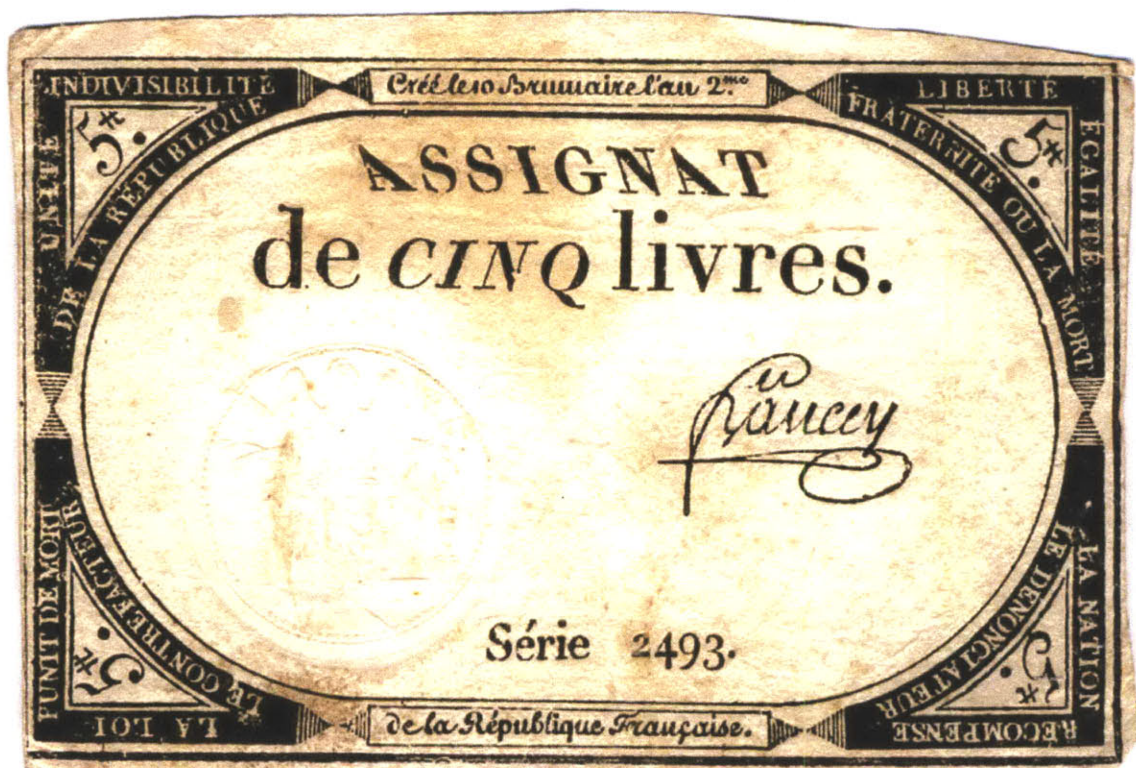

Figure 1.3: Assignat de cinq livres (de la République française), 1797. Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

Allegory, throughout the eighteenth-century, as Lynn Hunt and Antoine de Baecque describe it, was used towards both conservative and revolutionary ends:

> "Surrounding and reflecting the body of the King and later carrying the emblems of revolutionary power, indeed embodying this power through the incarnation of revolutionary values, allegory was recognized as critically important in contemporary political and aesthetic debates, both by artists working for the mondarchy and by republican engravers and painters. Nothing less seemed at stake than how to find a metaphorical language that could express, using

figurative images—for example the goddesses Truth, Liberty, Abundance, or Justice—the supreme values of a regime, a government, a State."[31]

The State, in both its absolutist and republican forms, was thus construed as the foundation of property rights, reaffirming yet again the Conventionalist scheme.

On several other occasions, the revolutionary government was forced to confront the differences between natural rights theory and conventionalism. The first of these was a discussion and a decree in 1791, which determined the ownership of mineral resources located on privately owned lands. The Assembly's resolution declared the mines of France to be the nation's, thereby abolishing claims by landowners to the mineral resources on their property. Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, the Physiocrat economist, opposed the resolution, asserting the supremacy of natural rights theory. Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, Comte de Mirabeau, the consitutional monarchist, made a counterclaim, stipulating that property rights were fundamentally civil and not natural, meaning State interests necessarily superceded private interests.[32]

During the Terror, Maximilien Robespierre and Louis Antoine Saint-Just took an even more radical stance towards private property rights by elaborating the foundation of so-called "agrarian law." Saint-Just's *Republican Institutions* (1793-4) describes Jacobin intentions to limit the number and size of great estates all the while increasing small fortunes through education, land redistribution, and charitable gifts. In this way, the radicalized regime sought to create a society of independent producers, peasants, and artisans. The first step was to set into place a legal apparatus. The Convention proceeded

[31] Antoine de Baecque, "The Allegorical Image of France, 1750-1800: A Political Crisis of Representation" *Representations* 47 (Summer 1994): 111.

to write into law strict rules for the bequeathing of gifts and testaments. These were made retroactive to 1789 so that anyone whose status rested on inheritance was now disenfranchised. In order to eradicate primogeniture once and for all, the laws passed on October 26, 1793, and January 6, 1794, mandated the division of estates, assured the equality of heirs, forbade time limits on will contestation, and allowed wills to include non-family members. At the same time, the subdivision of large lots of expropriated emigré property into smaller parcels—this practice had been instituted on June 3, 1793—was extended on November 22, 1793, to all national property.[33]

It was to this conflicted revolutionary debate that Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel reacted when he wrote *Principles of Political Right* (1793). Arguing against the total dismissal of individual property rights during the Terror, Hegel stressed the importance of the relationship between private ownership and personal liberty or will (*wollen*). According to Hegel, "a person has the right to direct his will upon any object as his real and positive end. The object thus becomes his. As it has no end in itself, it receives its meaning and soul from his will."[34] We should be careful not to confuse Hegel's will with Locke's labor. Hegel advocated neither natural rights theory nor the *laissez faire* economics with which it was associated. Hegel gives a certain amount of priority to the individual's relationship to the object (what Hegel calls *Wollen,* meaning will or liberty), but ultimately places the State (what he calls *Geist*, meaning General Will or Spirit) in the

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[32] Debate reported in *Archives Parlementaires,* Tome XXIV and summarixzed in Henri Hayem, *Essai sur Le Droit de Proprieté* (Paris, 1910) 198-9.

[33] Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution* (2 volumes), John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti, Trs. (London: Routledge, 1964) 111-112.

[34] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (1821). S.W. Dyde, Tr. (London, 1896) 51.

position of safeguarding that relationship. Hegel's is, in essence, a finetuned version of Rousseau's vision of the State, which still maintained absolute authority over property. In the case of Hegel, however, that absolute authority is kept in check by means of an obligation to protect individual rights; to betray that obligation is to dissolve the legitimacy of the State.[35]

British Utilitarians also sought to qualify what they viewed to be the inevitable revolutionary consequences of both natural rights theory and conventionalism. The philosopher Jeremy Bentham's works describe institutional and legal methods for maintaining control over the criminal element, the mentally ill, and political extremists. In *Principles of the Civil Code* (1802), he insisted that the institution of private property could only be evaluated on the basis of its contribution to the social order. According to him, "if laws do not oppose it—if they do not maintain monopolies—if they do not restrain trade and its exchanges—if they do not permit entails—large properties will be seen, without effort, without revolutionary solutions, without shock, to subdivide themselves little by little, and a much greater number of individuals will participate in the advantage of moderate fortunes."[36] Speaking against the violence of the French Revolution and the Jacobins' radical proposals for the redistribution of property, Bentham advocated for a more gradual transformation of social inequities. In the interest of maintaining civil order, reform could thus only be initiated from the confines of the institution of law, without which, rights (natural or otherwise) do not exist.

The Utilitarian fear of what was perceived as revolutionary excess was rooted to the Jacobin formulation of "agrarian law," which foresaw the complete elimination of

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[35] Ibid 65-8.

private property. This eradication announced a proto-Communist stance whose legacy can be traced in Romantic debates in the 1820s, 30s and 40s about the relationship between property and revolution. Taken in sequence, the relative conservatism of Saint-Simonian doctrines, Proudhon's mutualism, and then Marx's Communist revolution, all functioned as a relentless intellectual assault on natural rights theory. Thus if Jacobin agrarian law stands as an exceptional intervention, its legacy created an environment of consistent challenge to bourgeois capitalism in the first half of the nineteenth-century.

In short, if natural rights theory, conventionalism, and utilitarianism protected individual rights, socialism and communism in their early nineteenth-century guises looked to defend the rights of the laboring class. It is in this context that Saint-Simonianism, the most conservative of early nineteenth-century utopian socialist schemes, emerged as a movement in 1825 with the publication of the journal *Producteur, A Philosophical Journal of Industry, the Sciences, and the Fine Arts. Producteur* served as a platform for the followers of Comte de Saint-Simon, with Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin and Saint-Amand Bazard arguing on the one hand, for the duties of society towards the "poorest and most numerous class," and, on the other, for each member of society to be "classified according to his ability and remunerated according to his work."[37] Of course, the latter stipulation sounds at the outset like a reiteration of natural rights theory, and one wonders how it can be reconciled with the first. The mechanism for reconciliation, in fact, was the Saint-Simonian bank, a "total fund of production" charged with abolishing "unlimited competition" and acting as a "depository and

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[36] Jeremy Bentham, *Principles of the Civil Code* (1802) in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham,* Vol. I, John Bowring, Ed. (London, 1838-1843) 312.

distribution center for all the riches, in brief, of everything which today composes the entire mass of individual properties."[38] The Saint-Simonian scheme is in large part an economically driven view of society striving for maximum efficiency and productivity. Individuals in the upper echelons are here engineering that efficiency and productivity rather than optimizing their own interests. Saint-Simonians insisted that the seemingly contradictory tasks of caring for the poor and stimulating the economy could be accomplished simultaneously through the eradication of unemployment. Still considered a reward for those who contributed the most to the new economy, private property rights were by no means abolished. However, if property was notionally protected, it was no longer prioritized. The Bank, which gave institutionalized form to the utopia of communal property emerged as the driving force of social and economic prosperity.[39]

While he agreed with the Saint-Simonian principle that capital created by laborers should belong to those same laborers, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon took the argument further still. In *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété* (1840), he insisted that land, which preexists labor, should remain common property from the start, and that products yielded by land should

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[37] "The Constitution of Property and the Organization of Banks," (March 11, 1829) *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition.* Georg G. Iggers, Tr. (Boston: Beacon Series in the Sociology of Politics and Religion, 1958) 93.

[38] Ibid 107.

[39] *Doctrine de Saint-Simon.* C. Bouglé and Elie Halévy, Eds. (Paris, 1924), 'Septième Séance'and Huitième Séance.' Antoine Picon's *Les saint-simoniens: Raison, imaginaire et utopie* (Paris: Belin, 2002) offers a very complete survey of the movement. The short lived journal *Le Globe* was published between 1830 and 1832. See also Enfantin's writings, *Économie politique* (Paris: Bureau de Globe, 1831); *Lettres du Père à Charles Duveyrier sur la vie éternelle* (Paris: A. Johanneau, 1834); *Le Crédit intellectuel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1866).

be equally divided.[40] In the modern system of social production, according to Proudhon, labor itself is common property. Modernity, for Proudhon, is exemplified by the mechanized and fundamentally communal nature of industrial production; that is to say, no single individual can claim authorship, as it were, of the production of a given commodity, and therefore no single individual can claim ownership of the means of production. Land, machines, factories, and labor are the ingredients of Proudhon's mutualism. The individual-object relationship placed by Hegel under the purview of the State (*Geist*) is now completely overhauled by a theory of mutual ownership. Natural rights theory, along with its protection of individual claims to property through labor seems archaic and inapplicable.

Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels's *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 takes socialist and mutualist ideas of property even further. They begin with a critique of socialism's utopian nature: "the first socialists (Fourier, Saint-Simon, etc.), since social conditions were not sufficiently developed to allow the working class to constitute itself as a militant class, were necessarily obliged to limit themselves to dreams about the model society of the future."[41] Marx and Engels insist that the communist revolution must happen in the realm of practice, in actual class conflict, in contrast with what they label utopian socialism, here accused of being manifested in mere theory, and worse yet, in a language to which the proletariat had no access. The manifesto also takes issue with socialism's preservation of the institution of private property even if ownership is limited to small producers and artisans. As Marx and Engels put it in 1848, "All property relations in the

[40] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. V, C. Bouglé and H. Moysset, Eds. (Paris, 1926) 192, 212, 215, 218.

past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions. The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property. The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products—a system, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few. In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single phrase: Abolition of private property."[42] The communist eradication of property is thus figured as the next thesis in a dialectical progression.

II.

> Thus, those who have property dominate and civilize those who do not! I will therefore conclude by saying that without ownership of movable property there would be no society, and without ownership of real estate there would be no civilization.[43]

This is Adolphe Thiers, Prime Minister during the Second Empire and Provisional President of the Third Republic from 1871 until 1873. He wrote *De la Propriété* in 1848

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[41] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Collected Works* Vol. 6, 515-6.

[42] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, *Collected Works* Vol. 6, chapter 2.

[43] Ainsi il était donné à ceux qui connaîtraient la propriété, de dominer et de civiliser ceux qui l'ignoraient! Je conclus donc en disant: sans la propriété mobilière il n'y aurait pas même de société; sans la propriété immobilière il n'y aurait pas de civilisation. M. A. Thiers, *De La Propriété.* (Paris: Paulin, Lheureux et cie. 1848) 144.

and in it he attacks socialist and communist descriptions of private property as an historical and thereby transient phenomenon. For Thiers, property, natural rights theory, and the capitalist system he so staunchly defends are the foundations of both "society" and "civilization." In fact, he begins his book on property with a recapitulation of Locke's *Second Treatise on Government,* arguing for the continued importance of the theory of natural law, and in particular its provision that unequal talents inevitably lead to unequal fortunes. He takes no notice, however, of modern phenomena like rent and profits, wherein members of the bourgeoisie gain their unequal fortunes from the labor of others. Ignoring the inherent contradictions in natural law that capitalism brings to light, Thiers presses on. At one point, he even argues for inheritance by insisting that the son is bequeathed the so-called "delayed benefits" of his father's labor.

Thiers's viewpoint on property is part of the widespread bourgeois reaction on behalf of natural right and *laissez faire* capitalism, which set into place Louis-Philippe's constitutional monarchy in 1830 and defended capitalist interests against those of a rising working class once again during the 1848 Revolution. The first half of the nineteenth-century saw almost 600,000 new workers arrive in Paris from the provinces with the population rising to more than 1.8 million by 1872.[44] Those workers whose annunciation as a class during the Revolution of 1848 was so famously thematized by Marx in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* bore a distinct set of concerns which stood in direct conflict with those of the bourgoisie. While the bourgeois individual owned land and capital, the worker was him or herself a part of this capital. As a component of the means of production, the worker owned neither land nor capital and thus rendered the problem of natural rights obsolete, introducing the issue of class

prerogative in its place. The bourgeoisie, however, neglected to tend to the interests of the nonpropertied laboring classes; in fact, they feared that class's rising up and outlawed the meetings that would allow workers to organize. In response, urban insurrectionaries erected the barricades of February 1848, which led to the abdication of Louis-Philippe, and the creation of a provisional government, bringing with it universal suffrage, new taxes on the landed aristocracy, and social services for the urban unemployed.

The fear inspired by worker barricades and the chaos of the provisional government provoked a conservative bourgeois led reaction, the June Days, which restored order, putting Louis Napoleon in power, and ultimately making him Emperor. Both bourgeois fear and labor insurrection were further ignited by crop shortages and droughts across the whole of the continent, which were compounded by the suspension of payments by French banking houses like Béchet, Dethomas and Company and Cusin, Legendre and Company.[45]

If bourgeois sympathy for natural rights and *laissez faire* capitalism was provoked by fear of labor insurrection, the virtual halt in the economy due to hoarding following the droughts and foreclosures of 1848 led to a call for the State to step in to ensure the continued circulation of capital. The call bore Conventionalist overtones and it is out of this crisis that most of the modern state run financial institutions emerged, including the *comptoirs d'escompte*, which loaned capital to commercial organizations and acted as intermediaries with the Bank de France, and the Crédit Foncier, which made real estate loans. Alongside the private holding companies and credit societies that came out of this

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[44] Charles Sowerwine, *France Since 1870* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) 4.

crisis of a lack of circulating capital, all of these new establishments sought to provide credit to independent and commercial users in order to insure continued investment in the French economy.[46] In this way, the Second Empire oversaw a virtual revolution in finance, facilitating the creation of modern limited liability corporations (*sociétés anonymes*), which encouraged investment by the public at large by protecting them from becoming liable for debts.

When Haussmann was hired by the Emperor to finance, design, and build the new Paris, he was faced with a conflicting bourgeois agenda; on the one hand, the class insisted on maintaining natural rights and a *laissez faire* economy, while on the other hand they sought State intervention in order to repress the working class and maintain a fluid economy. Haussmann was thus tasked with walking a fine line between the conflicting theories of natural rights and conventionalism. Perhaps this conflict begins to explain Haussmann's complex maneuvers in the financing of the urban project. In fact, by 1870 his project had already cost the city 2.5 billion francs. More than half of this sum was gleaned from budget surpluses, state subidies, and the resale of lands. The other

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[45] For more on this episode see A. Chabert, *Aspects de la crise et la dépression de l'économie française au milieu du XIXe siècle* (volume XIX of the *Bibliothèque de la Révolution de 1848*, 1956).

[46] For more on French credit institutions and their origins see J.S.G. Wilson, *French Banking Structure and Credit Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); André Liesse, *Evolution of Credit and Banks in France: From the Founding of the Bank of France to the Present Time* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909); Pierre Dupont-Ferrier, *Le Marché Financier de Paris sous le Second Empire* (Paris: les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925); P. Dupont, *Le Contrôle des banques et la direction du crédit en France* (Paris: Dunod, 1952); Patrice Grivet, *La Mobilisation des Crédits Bancaires en France* (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1962); Bertrand Gille, *La Banque en France au XIXe Siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970); R. Bigo, *Les Banques françaises au cours du XIXe siècle*, 1947; G. Ramon, *Histoire de la Banque de France d'après les sources originales*, 1929.

half came from circulating bonds to the public—sixty million francs worth in 1855 and another 130 million in 1860. One fifth of this debt was then taken by the Crédit Mobilier in 1862. The same institution sponsored a loan of 270 million francs in 1865. Haussmann accessed more money by using 600 million francs earmarked for public works.

The construction costs of individual buildings were paid by their builders, who were then repaid with interest by the city after a project was completed. In 1863, builders encountered financial losses and demanded rapid repayment. In serious debt, the city needed to turn to the Crédit Foncier in order to make payment. In this way, Haussmann managed to borrow money from another state institution, only this time his actions were buffered through the intermediary of the builders. By 1868, Haussmann had raised nearly 500 million francs in this manner.[47] Two points need to be underscored here. First, the conflict between natural rights and conventionalist ideologies: we see here a very unique situation in which the State is called in as overseer of the *laissez faire* economy when, in fact, the very definition of the latter is premised on the noninterference of the former. And second, the speculative nature of offsetting the present in the future: Haussmann and the other developers of the modern city were more than willing to sacrifice present interests for those of a future in which they were becoming increasingly invested with each passing day.

For the Crédit foncier in particular AN 2001026 0252-0253, 2001026 0293-0519,2001026 0640-0657, 2001026 0658-0662.

III.

> "[...] The characteristics of this bank are that it is an extraordinary financial power fatally resulting in exacerbating speculation and corporate identity, substituting money with an ever-increasing supply of paper money, and exclusively dominating commerce and industry and annihilating all individual forces and competition with the substitute of an irresponsible and unmonitored single source of steering, and, finally it is a dangerous influence on the Government's financial transactions that said Government is unable to neutralize. To authorize it is to expose public fortune to a stormy and calamity-filled future.[48]

James de Rothschild, the renowned French banker, made this complaint and addressed it to Louis-Napoleon himself on November 15, 1852, the same year that witnessed the birth of the Second Empire and two institutions that would markedly transform the circulation of property and credit: the Crédit Mobilier (which is taken to task in the letter cited above) and the Crédit Foncier (its publicly endowed twin). In order to understand Rothschild's antagonism towards these young institutions and the threat they posed to the financial status quo, we need to lay out their underlying principles, structural organization

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[47] Jules Ferry, *Les Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann* (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1868); A. Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris* (London, 1970); Geneviève Massa-Gille, *Histoire des emprunts de la ville de Paris, 1814-1875* (Paris: Ville de Paris, 1973).

[48] [...]puissance financière exorbitante, fatalement conduite à surexciter la spéculation et l'esprit d'enterprise, à substituer à l'argent une masse toujours croissante de papier monnaie, domination exclusive du commerce et de l'industrie annihilant toutes les forces individuelles et toute concurrence pour y substituer une direction unique, irresponsable et sans contrôle; enfin influence dangereuse sur les opérations financières du Gouvernement sans possibilité pour celui-ci de la neutraliser; tels sont les caractères de cette banque. L'autoriser, ce serait préparer à la fortune publique un avenir chargé d'orages et de calamités." Letter of November 15, 1852. 18 AN 182 AQ 4

and history of operations in their early years, as well as the ways in which they transformed the workings of nineteenth-century finance for which Rothschild had been the preeminent spokesperson and functionary.[49]

The revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848 had all worked towards the dismantling of the feudal system and the increased circulation of property and capital. It was one thing to put property into circulation, giving at least in theory the formerly disenfranchised the possibility of ownership. It was yet another to think through the practical means by which this might be achieved. After having gained this theoretical right, the middle and peasant classes were left to wonder how they could actually finance the purchase of real estate. The most common way to acquire enough money to buy real estate was through money lenders; however, according to a survey from 1845, usury was practiced at nine percent on average and as much as twenty percent at the upper limit.[50] To make loans, and thus property, more accessible to those who were unable to pay for them outright, mortgage bank experiments were conducted throughout the nineteenth-century. Deleuze, Briot, and Company, founded in 1818, was one of the first of these major experiments. The joint-stock company made loans for twenty years at four percent plus amortization. However, the company collapsed in 1848 due to internal organizational problems as well as to structural flaws with mortgage law itself, ranging from a lack of mechanisms for the proper transfer of property rights to difficulties with the registration of water rights and rights of way. A governmental decree of February 28, 1852, modernized mortgage law by formulating certificates of liens, curtailing loans to

[49] Corti, *La Maison Rothschild* (1931); B. Gille AN 182 AQ 3 notes pour la realisation d'un guide sur les archives des enterprises; fondation pour l'histoire de l'haute banque AN 182 AQ 4.

first mortgages, and limiting these to half the value of a property, among other stipulations.[51]

The Crédit Foncier was founded on December 10, 1852 and on July 6, 1854 it was given a state monopoly for mortgage lending. A mortgage loan, it should be stressed, was long-term in nature with the Society receiving annual payments from its debtors, which were then used as the capital base for future loans and as payment dividends for investors. This was planned so that there was a constant rotation between capital being paid in by investors, lent out to mortgage-holders, and paid out to shareholders respectively. If capital moved through this system in a much slower fashion than it would through an ordinary bank, what had been the most eminently immovable property—land—became moveable property to be held as security, transferred, and sold. In order to ensure the timely and proper payment to shareholders, loan choices had to be made carefully in terms of both potential owners and potential properties. These valuations would be particularly difficult to assess in the case of the Crédit Foncier, because the clientele and properties in which it invested were spread across the whole of France, making land estimates and potential appreciations speculative at best.[52]

If the Crédit Foncier extended mortgage credit to the broader population, the Crédit Mobilier did the same for credit at large.[53] It is not insignificant that the founders

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[50] Guy P. Palmade, *French Capitalism in the Nineteenth Century*, Graeme M. Holmes, Tr. (Devon: David and Charles Publishers, 1972) 129.

[51] Missing source?

[52] AN 2001026 0252-0253, 2001026 0293-0519,2001026 0640-0657, 2001026 0658-0662

[53] Michel Lescure, *Les banques, l'état et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine 1820-1940* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études 1982); Christian

and directors of the Crédit Mobilier, Émile and Isaac Péreire, were members of the Saint-Simonians led by Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864) and Saint-Amand Bazard. These were men who sought to communalize property and stimulate economic expansion in both the public and private sectors—this in the interest of creating full employment and increased circulation of capital and resources. Enfantin and his disciples theorized that their utopia could be realized through investment in industry. In *Religion Saint-Simonienne* (1831) and *Life Eternal* (1861), they describe the Institution centrale du crédit, a holding company of sorts that would serve as a financial center simultaneously acting as a commercial bank, investment bank, and issuing bank. In this way, the Institution centrale would attend to the governmental credit needs, large scale industry, and the individual investor, pooling together their resources and creating credit and investment opportunities for different scales of users.

When the Péreires founded the Crédit Mobilier in 1852, this Saint-Simonian vision was very much on their minds. The society had four primary goals at its founding: first, to engage in *commandites* or loans to large industrial corporations whose formation it would then help shape; second, to serve as a clearing house for the debts of said industrial corporations by issuing bonds and trading them on the stock market; third, to act as an investment bank by issuing its own obligations for state funds, industrial bonds, etc. as investment opportunities for individual and commercial investors; and fourth, to issue bills of exchange. In this way, the Crédit Mobilier acted as a *banque d'affaires* (best translated into English as investment bank), supplying credit and debt services to

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Topalov, *Le Logement en France, Histoire d'une marchandise impossible* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1987); M. Aycard, *Histoire du Crédit Mobilier 1852-1867* (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1867); J. Autin, *Les Frères Pereire.* (Paris, 1984).

individuals, industry, and the state itself. As Péreire put it, this agglomeration of credit and debt was "powerful enough to bind together enterprises which in isolation would experience great difficulties in the process of formation."[54] By the same token, the Crédit Mobilier intended to cushion the riskier short-term investments with more stable long-term ones.

In 1853, during the first full year of operations, the investment bank carried out an astounding range of transactions: it cleared subscriptions for a state loan of 250,000,000 francs to finance the Crimean War, marketed railroad company bonds, as well as bonds of the Crédit Foncier itself, and invested in futures or *contangos* on the *bourse*, making their interest rate drop from twelve to three percent. In the following year, the range of operations was even more astounding. The bank handled a quarter of the state loan of 500,000,000 francs for the Crimean War, marketed more railroad bonds, and became a silent partner in a number of industrial companies. In the context of the city of Paris alone, the bank acted as chief patron in a real estate construction company—Compagnie Immobilière de Paris—founded to lengthen the rue de Rivoli and help realize Haussmann's vision for the rest of the new Paris, helped incorporate several Parisian omnibus companies into one, and helped incorporate several Parisian gas companies into one. During the same year, they also founded a maritime navigation company involved in overseas commerce, colonization, and armament, and supported a new Austrian railroad company. The year 1854 thus marks the initial movement of credit and capital by the bank outside of France. By 1855, the company reached its high point. It continued its relationship with French railroad companies, marketing their bonds, underwriting their

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loans, its presence in foreign markets advanced even further, extending into Spain and Austria.

In light of the diversity of its investors and borrowers, the Crédit Mobilier wanted to issue an agglomerate bond representing all of its securities on the *bourse*. This bond was to be either short-dated or long-dated; the first type would be tied to the society's short-term investments while the second would be pinned to those that had no set end dates (including state run issues and shares in industry). The directors of the Crédit Mobilier intended these bonds to act like paper currency, thus rendering business transactions quicker and easier. This vision was in fact represented in the company's choice of name: *mobilier*. With the transformation of securities and investments into bills of exchange, the Péreires hoped to increase the spread and speed of the movement of its shares. More people investing in the economy would ensure economic growth, they thought, and to further circulation, the Society also attempted to cross national borders by opening Crédit Mobilier offices in various countries like Austria and Spain. Their utopian vision was meant to extend across the whole of Europe thereby putting an end to unproductive capital and hoarding by small savers. These were to be replaced by one machine of circulation and economic growth.

Yet after 1855 the Society began to decline. Its original goal was to maintain balanced and diversified portfolio of investments so that unexpected losses in one arena would always be offset by a wide variety of other assets. This portfolio was gradually lost, however, and as the decade wore on the majority of its funds came into the hands of the State as well as a few industrial monopolies (railroads, navigation, construction, and

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[54] Émile Péreire. *Oeuvres De Emile & Issac Pereire. Serie G. Documents Sur L'Origine Et Le Developpement Des Chemins De Fer, 1832-1870.* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912-1920).

urban transportation). All this put the Crédit Mobilier in a far more vulnerable position in which the foreclosing of one of its major investments could unravel the whole system.

This, it turns out, was what happened. In 1858, a subsidiary of the Crédit Mobilier, the Compagnie Immobilière de Paris, merged with both the Rue de Rivoli development corporation and two other real estate ventures in Marseille. By 1865, after the construction of many new apartment houses in Marseille and Paris (which will be examined in detail in the next chapter), the property company found itself indebted to the Crédit Mobilier for a sum of 79 million francs. And in 1867, after trying to offset the losses by selling shares to raise capital—this amidst a flurry of lawsuits accusing the Péreires of over-valuing shares and inventing assets outright, the founders were forced into retirement.[55]

"[...] Exacerbating speculation... substituting money with an ever-increasing supply of paper money, [...]": these were the concerns expressed by Rothschild about the Péreires back in 1852 and given what transpired between the faulty accounting and the over-borrowing of the Crédit Mobilier, his suspicions were ultimately proven to be well-founded . The doubts given voice by Rothschild represent nostalgia for a moment in French economic history when banks had significantly smaller clienteles, thus ensuring a certain amount of culpability of the institution towards its investors. As a result, such private institutions were unable to participate in riskier and perhaps higher yield investment opportunities. In addition, a restricted client base meant that banks had less money to lend and so were unable to be involved in many of the larger scale industrial and urban planning projects. By contrast, the joint stock company that the Péreires

introduced was freed of such restrictions and hence was able to participate in the economy on an entirely different scale. Alongside his complaints to the emperor, Rothschild denounced the Crédit Mobilier in court and on the bourse. Ultimately, the company had to fail for him to get his intended results and from 1867 on, a series of legislative acts mandated greater control over French credit lending and borrowing practices.[56]

IV.

> His Majesty agrees with me, and we can see, in chapter XIX of my second volume, how, thanks to the free transfer of vast lands at Mr. Émile Pereire's initiative, I was then responsible for creating the following Departmental Roads: 1 an extension of the second Section of Boulevard Malesherbes, towards the lower part of Boulevard de Courcelles, up to the Porte d'Asnières, through the Monceau plain; 2 an extension of the rue de Londres and the rue de Constantinople, up to the Porte de Champerret; 3 finally, the beautiful Place Malesherbes, created at their intersection, and every day we can appreciate the plants, the lawns, the

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[55] For more a detailed account of the notorious Affaire Mirès that ultimately brought down the whole of the Compagnie Immobilière and the Crédit Mobilier, see Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952): 267-9.

[56] For more on changes in French banking law, see J.S.G. Wilson, *French Banking Structure and Credit Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); André Liesse, *Evolution of Credit and Banks in France: From the Founding of the Bank of France to the Present Time* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909); Pierre Dupont-Ferrier, *Le Marché Financier de Paris sous le Second Empire* (Paris: les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925); P. Dupont, *Le Contrôle des banques et la direction du crédit en France* (Paris: Dunod, 1952); Patrice Grivet, *La Mobilisation des Crédits Bancaires en France* (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1962); Bertrand Gille, *La Banque en France au XIXe Siècle* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970); R.

bushes and flowers, despite the proximity of the transformed elegant Parc Monceau.[57]

For our interests perhaps the most important arm of the Crédit Mobilier was the Compagnie Immobilière de Paris, an organization dedicated to the financing and construction of properties opened up by Haussmann's network of new avenues and boulevards. As "the secular arm of the prefect,," this branch of the Crédit Mobilier grew out of a smaller company created in 1854 to lengthen the rue de Rivoli and develop the Grand Hôtel du Louvre in order to accomadate the Universal Exposition of 1855.[58] In 1862, a group of architects was commissioned to inventory and assess the value of the company's holdings, which extended from 158 rue de Rivoli to the Grand Hôtel du Louvre, 6 and 18 boulevard des Capucines, 4,6, and 8 place de l'Opéra, the Grand Hôtel on the boulevard des Capucines, 1,3,5, and 7 rue Mogador, 10, 43, 47, and 78 boulevard Malesherbes, 1,6,12,14,16, 17, 18, 19, 21, and 23 rue de Marignan, and 40 lots on the boulevard du Prince-Eugène. Altogether the architects valued the properties owned by

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Bigo, *Les Banques françaises au cours du XIXe siècle*, 1947; G. Ramon, *Histoire de la Banque de France d'après les sources originales*, 1929.

[57] "Sa Majesté se rendit à mes raisons, et l'on peut voir, au chapitre XIX de mon second volume, comment grâce à la cession gratuite de vastes terrains due à l'initiative de M. Émile Pereire, j'assurai l'ouverture, à titre de Routes Départementales: 1 d'un prolongement de la seconde Section du Boulevard Malesherbes, dirigée vers le point bas du Boulevard de Courcelles, jusqu'à la Porte d'Asnières, à travers la plaine de Monceau; 2 d'un prolongement des rues de Londres et de Constantinople, jusqu'à la Porte de Champerret; 3 enfin de la belle Place Malesherbes, ménagée a leur point de croisement, et dont on peut apprécier tous les jours les plantations, les pelouses et les massifs d'arbustes et de fleurs malgré le voisinage élégant du Parc Monceau transformé." Georges Haussmann, *Mémoires du baron Haussmann*, 3 vols (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890-1893) 836-7.

[58] J. Autin, *Les Frères Pereire.* (Paris, 1984) 186.

the Co. Immobilière at 97,844,344 francs.[59] Land and property values on the whole had more than doubled during the Second Empire. Furthermore, not only did the Péreires have close relationships with Haussmann and Louis Napoleon, but they had helped to finance and construct many of the new boulevards and public spaces, most notably the extension of the boulevard Malesherbes and the parc Monceau. In exchange, they were able to purchase adjacent plots of land along the new boulevards they had helped to construct before their prices escalated. In fact, because the majority of the properties itemized above were located in the vicinity of these developments, they were essentially guaranteed future profitability.[60]

The point here is that the Compagnie Immobilière de Paris sought to turn over property as rapidly as possible, taking advantage of drastic changes in value before and after Haussmann's interventions. As a result, by 1880, companies like the Co. Immobilière held less than six percent of the real estate in the city center. This statistic is in line with French economic historian Christian Topalov's relatively recent characterization of modern real estate in which the occupant is no longer the same person as the owner who is no longer the same person as the financer.[61] In this situation, property changed hands at unprecedented speed while the new real estate market grew to such a scale that smaller operations had neither the funds nor the connections to participate in property development in central and western portions of the city. 'Insider information' about the projected urban plan available to large-scale investors like the Péreires created a significant discrepancy between the current and potential future value

[59] AN F 12 6 781 A

[60] AN 2001026 1484-1487, 2001026 1488-1489

of a given property. This meant that smaller scale developers were shut out of the process for lack of funds and lack of information.[62] It created a high-risk situation for even the largest banks since insider information regarding city planning could predict, but not guarantee future settlement patterns. The.Péreires, for example, found it hard to dispose of all their properties on the boulevard Malesherbes in the 1860s—a foretaste of distress to come and of the down side of the high risk, high yield future oriented market they helped to invent.

There is perhaps no clearer example of this kind of investment strategy than the Péreires' financing of a department store that leased space in the Hôtel du Louvre, a building project developed by them as well (Fig. 4).[63] Using "creative accounting," they raised funds to finance the store component of the larger project, which were then rechanneled to pay off the debt incurred in the construction of the entire building. If this strategy of offsetting funds sounds familiar, it is because it is similar to the ways in which Haussmann diverted funds in order to raise money to finance the construction of his new city, famously detailed by Jules Ferry in his *Comptes fantastiques*.[64] The Péreires used precisely these tactics—offsetting and leveraging—to cushion the expense of a loss in one venture (in this case, the construction of the Hôtel du Louvre project) with investments in another (the financing of the department store itself), thereby postponing

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[61] Christian Topalov, *Le Logement en France, Histoire d'une marchandise impossible* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1987).

[62] The notion of 'insider information' in the real estate market of Haussmannian Paris is elaborated in Jules Ferry, *Les Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann* (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1868); A. Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris* (London, 1970); Geneviève Massa-Gille, *Histoire des emprunts de la ville de Paris, 1814-1875* (Paris: Ville de Paris, 1973).

[63] Tiphaine Zirmi, "Comment les Pereire firent la fortune de l'architecte Alfred Armand (1805-1888)" *Livraisons d'histoire de l'architecture"* (2003 vol 5 issue 5): 107-125.

the calling of debt into the distant future. In a similar fashion, they contracted construction work out to companies underwritten by the Crédit Mobilier and rented spaces to businesses in which they were investors. Ultimately, these kinds of practices led to collapse and a litany of criminal charges against the Péreires. How the modern financial practices of offsetting and leveraging, which brought the new real estate and the bourgeois apartment industry to life, ultimately shaped the architecture of the apartments, their reception, and architectural discourse itself are the main topics of the rest of the dissertation.

Figure 1.4: Les Grands Magasins du Louvre, La Compagnie Immobilère de Paris, 1855. Engraving 1877, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[64] Jules Ferry, *Les Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann* (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1868).

CHAPTER 2: "HOUSES OF REVENUE"

Constructed in 1862, in large part by the Péreires' Compagnie Immobilière de Paris, the boulevard Malesherbes was born from a red ink line on Haussmann's Plan for Paris. It was one of many modern boulevards planned for the city and one of several in the relatively new eighth arrondisement, a district that represented land incorporated from the suburban periphery.[1] Part of an effort to extend the city to the west and to create a worthy imperial capital, this expansion was also responsible for the massive expulsion of the area's former tenants who were predominantly working class and could not afford the kinds of rents charged for what had become prime city center real estate. The expulsion of the working class from the Parisian city center was a much debated topic and the focus of now famous descriptions by cartoonists and novelists like Daumier and Zola, among others (Fig. 1).[2]

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[1] The literature on Haussmann's plan for Paris includes: Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); Georges Haussmann, *Mémoires du baron Haussmann,* 3 vols (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890-1893); Jean Castex, *Formes urbaines: de l'îlot à la barre* (Paris: Bordas, 1977); François Choay, *La règle et le modèle: sur la théorie de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Jean Des Cars, *Haussmann: la gloire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1978); Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, la ville, 1852-1870* (Paris: Champion, 1976); Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952); David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Henri Malet, *Le baron Haussmann et la rénovation de Paris* (Paris: Editions Municipales, 1973); Françoise Loyer, *Paris: Nineteenth-Century Architecture and Urbanism*, tr. Charles Lynn Clark. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988); Bernard Marrey and Paul Chemetov, *Architectures, Paris, 1848-1914* (Paris: Dunod, 1972); Geneviève Massa-Gille, *Histoire des emprunts de la ville de Paris, 1814-1875* (Paris: Ville de Paris, 1973); David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Pierre Pinon, Jean des Cars, eds. *Paris. Haussmann* (Paris: Picard, 1991); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms in the Social Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); David Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

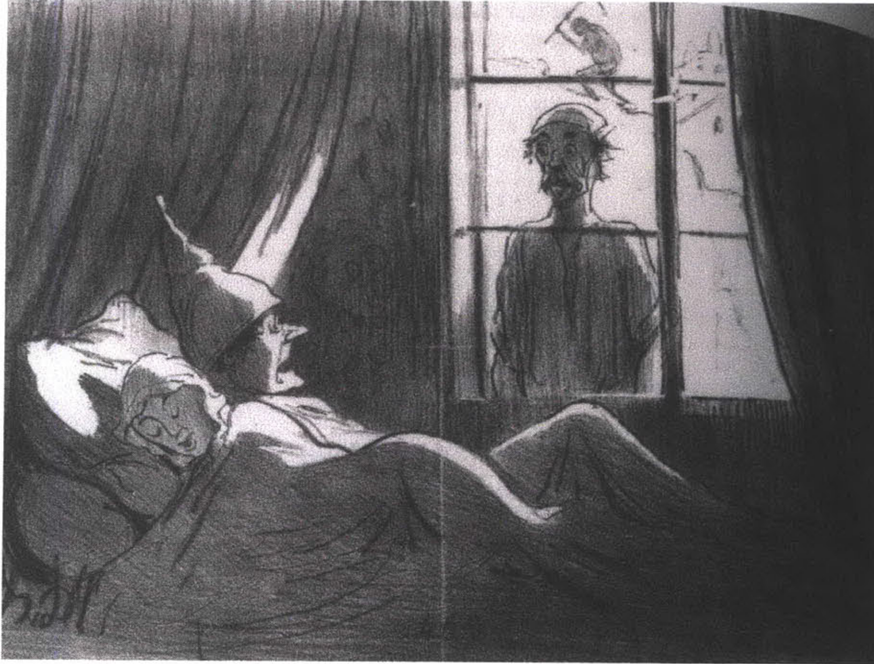

Figure 2.1: Honoré Daumier, "Demolitions and the bourgeoisie" (1852). Reproduced in David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 135.

[2]On the working class plight, see Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952); David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).

For our purposes, it is crucial to recognize that the new neighborhood and the boulevard Malesherbes itself, imagined by the Préfect of the Seine and his associates, materialized only due to significant financial, managerial, and architectural support from the Compagnie Immobilière (Fig. 2).[3] In order to bring Haussmann's (as well as

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[3] On real estate speculation, see Adeline Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiennes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cujas, 1965); M. Lescure, *Les Sociétés immobilières en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1980); M. Lescure, *Les Banques, l'Etat, et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine, 1820-1940* (Paris: Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 1982). The literature on Haussmann's plan for Paris includes: Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); Georges Haussmann, *Mémoires du baron Haussmann,* 3 vols (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1890-1893); Jean Castex, *Formes urbaines: de l'îlot à la barre* (Paris: Bordas, 1977); François Choay, *La règle et le modèle: sur la théorie de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1992); Jean Des Cars, *Haussmann: la gloire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1978); Jeanne Gaillard, *Paris, la ville, 1852-1870* (Paris: Champion, 1976); Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952); David Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban Experience: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Henri Malet, *Le baron Haussmann et la rénovation de Paris* (Paris: Editions Municipales, 1973); Françoise Loyer, *Paris: Nineteenth-Century Architecture and Urbanism,* tr. Charles Lynn Clark. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988); Bernard Marrey and Paul Chemetov, *Architectures, Paris, 1848-1914* (Paris: Dunod, 1972); Geneviève Massa-Gille, *Histoire des emprunts de la ville de Paris, 1814-1875* (Paris: Ville de Paris, 1973); David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Pierre Pinon, Jean des Cars, eds. *Paris. Haussmann* (Paris: Picard, 1991); Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms in the Social Environment* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989); Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); David Van Zanten, *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The literature on the Péreires and Compagnie Immobilière includes Guy Fargette, Émile et Isaac Péreire, *L'esprit d'enterprise au XIXe siècle* (L'Harmattan 2001); Hippolyte Castille, *Les Frères Péreire* (E. Dentu Libraire-Editeur 1861); Jean Autin, *Les Frères Péreire, le bonheur d'entreprendre* (Paris: Libraire Académique Perrin 1984); Antoine Picon, *Les saint-simoniens: Raison, Imaginaire et utopie* (Paris: Belin 2002). Archival sources include files at the Archives du monde du travail concerning the architectural drawings for the Boulevart Malesherbes 2001 026 1486-1488; the Crédit mobilier 87 25 AQ; and at the Archives nationals concerning the Compagnie Immobilière F12 6781.

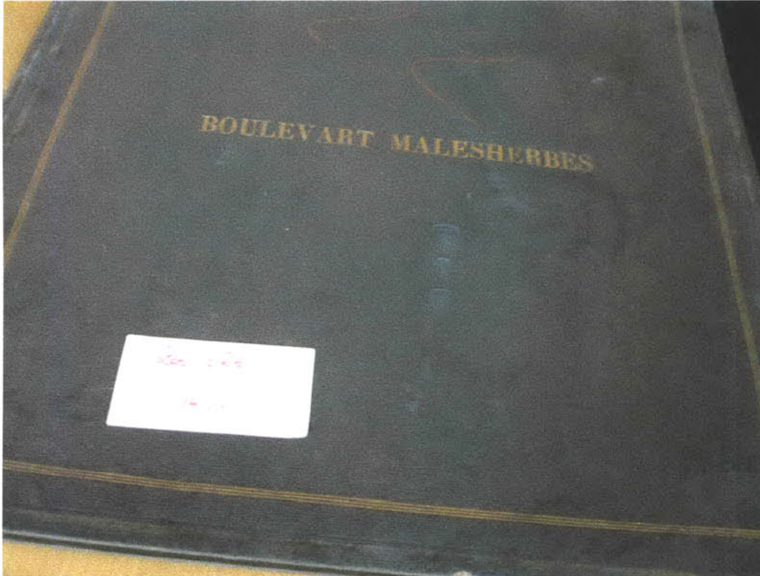

Figure 2.2: Album of the Compagnie Immobilière's buildings on the boulevard Malesherbes.
Archives nationales du mode de travail, Roubaix 2001 026 1488.

their own) vision into being, the brothers' company bought properties adjacent to the projected boulevard with the stipulation that the Préfect would ensure timely construction of the new street in addition to a new park and church nearby. All of this, it was hoped, would increase property values in the neighborhood and allow developers to begin collecting high rents as soon as possible. It was also assumed that it would ultimately compensate for the funds paid out during construction—and then some. High returns on the investment were expected precisely because of the government's promise to use earnings from the sale of the properties adjacent to the new boulevard to build streets and amenities—and by so doing, essentially guarantee the surrounding buildings a luxury status. In this way, the Compagnie Immobilière could bolster promises made to investors that the numbers would work out in their favor within a short period of time.[4] The story

[4] For more on Haussmann's notorious "caisee noire," see Léon Say, "Examen critique de la situation financière de M. le Préfet de la Seine," (Débats, 16 november 1864) and Jules Ferry, *Les Comptes fantastiques d'Haussmann* (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1868).

of the boulevard Malesherbes, in short, exemplifies how the apartment industry that emerged full force in the 1860s and 70s was financed by way of speculative and leveraged ventures concerned first and foremost with future profit.

The next section of this chapter explores the architecture of these engineered cost-effective speculative projects. I look in particular at numbers 10, 43, 47, and 78 on the boulevard Malesherbes and the architectural plans, elevations, and sections describing the numerous rental units housed behind the buildings' uniform exteriors.[5] After a close study of the kinds of architectural strategies to be detected in these buildings, I speculate about the reasons domestic architecture was the object of such heightened criticism during the period, a question that I will revisit in Chapters three and four, which explore the intensely reactionary decoration manuals and religious discourse on the architecture of private life in the nineteenth-century. For now, though, it is interesting to note that the kinds of binaries of modernity and history, universality and individuality, and beauty and revenue, which the architectural discourse of the period so staunchly upheld, are no longer so clear when we examine the buildings and drawings that were used to make their case. It is a more complicated story, in fact, in which an architecture that is overtly invested in historical ideals is inevitably touched by progress, while an architecture supposedly freed of these ideals is always tempted by at least their pretense, for the sake of a kind of social performance of propriety (or the value ascribed to it).

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[5]Archival sources include files at the Archives du monde du travail concerning the architectural drawing for the Boulevart Malesherbes 2001 026 1486-1488; the Crédit mobilier 87 25 AQ; and at the Archives nationals concerning the Compagnie Immobilière F12 6781.

I.

Its purpose "was to work towards cleaning up and beautifying the city of Paris, by providing public and private buildings with the development and perfection that is not possible with private entrepreneurship alone."

-Rapport de la Cie Immobilière (1859)[6]

This is the mission statement of the Compagnie Immobilière, founded in 1858 to augment the base of operations of the Compagnie des Immeubles de la rue de Rivoli (first opened in 1854). The new company expanded the scope of the real estate development and design branch of the Péreires' Crédit Mobilier from the specific site of the rue de Rivoli to encompass the whole of the new Parisian west end as it was imagined in Haussmann's "second réseau."[7] It is almost impossible to imagine the scale and the intensity of the storm with which this real estate company overtook a market until then comprised of intrepid small-scale entrepreneurs and investors. The subject of widespread outrage, the company's attempt to manage all aspects of French real estate by increasing its property holdings as well as its share in the modern construction industry, while

[6] Son objét "était de travailler à l'assainement et à l'embellisement de la ville de Paris, en donnant aux constructions publiques et privées, le développement et la perfection que ne peut atteindre l'enterprise individuelle." Pierre Dupont-Ferrier, *Le marché financier de Paris sous le Second Empire* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925): 138.

[7] For a detailed history of the transformation of the Compagnie des Immeubles de la rue de Rivoli into the Compagnie Immobilière, see M. Aycard, *Histoire du Crédit Mobilier 1852-1867* (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1867); J. Autin, *Les Frères Pereire.* (Paris, 1984); Guy Fargette, *Émile et Isaac Pereire: L'esprit d'entreprendre au XIXe siècle* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001); Michel Lescure, *Les banques, l'état et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine 1820-1940* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études 1982); Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); Françoise Marnata, *Les loyers des bourgeois de Paris, 1860-1958* (Paris: Colin, 1961).

augmenting its role as an intermediary credit lender/ mortgage broker for smaller scale investors was simply unprecedented.[8] However, whether or not the architecture of the 215,000 new apartments, erected in a short decade constituted something modern in and of itself—a kind of architectural progress in its own right—remains to be seen. That said, there can be no doubt that the development architecture was shaped by new economic structures and the industrialization of construction. With that in mind, we will need to carefully examine the similarities and differences between modern architecture per se and the effects of economic and engineering based innovations on the technology of architectural production. I suspect that we may find that for the vehement critics of the new real estate, the means of architectural production and architectural form were often conflated in an overwhelming fear and disdain for the new, but we are getting ahead of ourselves here.

The Compagnie Immobilière was by far the largest developer of the new real estate. As part of the broadly based and economically powerful Crédit Mobilier, its historical development should be looked at in the context of Saint-Simonianism, a political and religious faction that was a strong influence on its founders, Émile and Isaac Péreire.[9] Suspicious of the July Revolution and what they called the "abstract and

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[8] And with its radical proposals, it arose a strong reaction from other powerful figures in French banking like the Rothschilds, for example. See Corti, *La Maison Rothschild* (1931); B. Gille AN 182 AQ 3 notes pour la realisation d'un guide sur les archives des enterprises; fondation pour l'histoire de l'haute banque AN 182 AQ 4.

[9] On Saint-Simonism, see *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*. C. Bouglé and Elie Halévy, Eds. (Paris, 1924), 'Septième Séance'and Huitième Séance.' Antoine Picon's *Les saint-simoniens: Raison, imaginaire et utopie* (Paris: Belin, 2002) offers a very complete survey of the movement. The short lived journal *Le Globe* was published between 1830 and 1832. See also Enfantin's writings, *Économie politique* (Paris: Bureau de Globe, 1831); *Lettres du Père à Charles Duveyrier sur la vie éternelle* (Paris: A. Johanneau, 1834); *Le Crédit intellectuel* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1866). The Péreires authored numerous articles and editorials on such topics as "Considérations sur la

superficial" Rights of Man, the Péreires and their Saint-Simonian cohorts insisted that a man without money was a modern slave in desperate need of institutions and legislation that could provide him with capital, which was seen to be inimical to freedom. Towards these ends, they proposed first the establishment of a modern bank, independent of the State: the Crédit Mobilier. According to the entrepreneur brothers, the credit lending capacity of the new institution—open to all—would ensure the passing of property from the hands of idle inheritors to those of the workers.[10] In line with these interests, the Compagnie Immobilière specifically set out to broker low interest mortgages in order to make property ownership accessible to more of the population. They also claimed that these same mortgages would stimulate the real estate market, and consequently, the whole of the international market in which their interests were diversified. The fluidity of the international market was a primary concern both in the interests of increasing the value of their own investments and manifesting a larger social and political vision associated with their new bank and the rights of all men to money.[11]

The complexities of the banking and industrial branches of this international network are beyond the parameters of this project. We must limit our sights to the transformation of the interconnected institutions of finance and the construction industry forged by the Péreires' company without which the rapid territorial expansion of Paris

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propriété," "Leçons lues à Athénée sur la valeur, l'échange et l'argent," "Du crédit public," and "le laissez fairer." A great number of these have been collected in Émile Péreire. *Oeuvres De Emile & Issac Pereire, 1832-1870.* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912-1920).

[10] See especially Émile Pereire, "Considérations sur la propriété," *Oeuvres De Emile & Issac Pereire, 1832-1870.* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912-1920): 13-34.

[11] In this regard, see the remarks of Forcade la Roquette , the Minister of the Interior, in 1869: "capital used is not capital disappeared, but rather capital transformed." Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952).

would have been impossible (in particular the development of the new Opéra quarter and the arteries related to the passage of trains it encompassed).[12] The stipulated goals of the Compagnie Immobilière were grandiose to say the least: to acquire any and all land built and unbuilt; to undertake for itself and as an intermediary for the State, various municipal departments and cities, all kinds and scales of public and private projects; to establish and control the various enterprises related to the construction industry; to lease, rent, exchange, and sell properties and buildings; and, to issue bonds for an amount of three-quarters or more of that used to acquire properties and build housing.[13] Essentially, the real estate holding, lending, development, and construction company coalesced innovative ideas about mortgage structures and an expertise in the construction industry with the brute necessities required to carry out their vision, including a significant capital endowment underwritten by the State run Crédit Foncier (in large part), a geographically extensive base of properties, and a disproportionate share in the construction industry. This was no small feat, and the company's overall strategy continued to evolve based on exigencies of the current marketplace. For example, if in earlier years, the Péreires often turned to outside contractors to construct their buildings, during the financial crisis of 1863-4, the company undertook the majority of the construction themselves to assure the continuation of a high enough level of activity in the real estate market in the midst of the crisis.[14]

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[12] Of the enormous body of work on the topic of the transformation of Paris, two of the most useful books I have found are Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909); Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952).

[13] Michel Lescure, *Les banques, l'état et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine 1820-1940* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études 1982): 158.

One of the premises that guided the Co. Immobilière's efforts was the notion that the erection of a building on a given property, if properly realized, would enhance its value as well as the values of other surrounding properties. Often things transpired in this way and the company profited immensely from the land on which they built. A case in point is the plaine Monceau; purchased in 1861 for 50.14 francs per meter, by 1865, the same land was worth 145 francs per meter (almost triple the price in the space of four years).[15] According to Adeline Daumard, the author of the most extensive study to date of the nineteenth-century Parisian real estate market, and other French economic historians, it was precisely these kinds of numbers that demonstrated for investors the potential of real estate to yield high profits. This "buying in the interests of reselling," according to Daumard, is precisely what characterizes speculation as a practice. She is careful to distinguish the scale of speculation of the modern period from that of earlier periods like the Restoration, which was characterized, according to her, by the artisanal development of small-scale entrepreneurship.[16] In other words, one of the defining characteristics of modern speculation is the broad scale of its activity in economic, geographic and professional terms.[17]

If the Compagnie Immobilière was the agent of modern speculation par excellence, its massive presence in the real estate market and the construction industry gave justifiable concern to those who were suspicious of the kinds of undue influence

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[14] Ibid 166

[15] Ibid 164

[16] Adeline Daumard, Daumard, *Maisons de Paris et propriétaires parisiennes au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Cujas, 1965): 267.

[17] Ibid 261-268.

associated with a marketplace monopoly. As Maurice Halbwachs, the author of the most thorough history of the politics and economics of the nineteenth-century transformation of Paris, put it, the Péreires' company had quickly become "a regulating organ" of the various components of the real estate market, eventually exercising control over the whole of the construction industry.[18] That few individuals began to exercise an inordinate amount of influence over a purportedly common market is exemplified by the relatively small number of entrepreneurs involved in the rapid construction of the boulevard Malesherbes in a remarkably short period. The figures testify to it; two masons were responsible for ten of the eighteen buildings erected and four carpenters did the work in each and every one of the new apartments housed therein.[19] Exacerbating the company's already overwhelming market share of the construction industry were its close ties with the central political figures responsible for making decisions regarding loans for both the purchase and development of real estate. Rumors circulated concerning the company's access to insider information, which, according to the accusations, helped the Co. Immobilière to make timely decisions over what properties to purchase based on future state-sponsored large-scale urban projects, whose parameters were unknown to the public.[20]

All of this led to an undeniable monopoly, a concept that was seemingly at odds with the philosophical position the Péreires had outlined in their numerous editorials and

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[18] Maurice Halbwachs, *Les expropriations de le prix des terrains a Paris* (Paris: Publications de la société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition 1909): 380.

[19] Michel Lescure, *Les banques, l'état et le marché immobilier en France à l'époque contemporaine 1820-1940* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études 1982): 165.

[20] Girard recounts the history of the litany of accusations against the Péreires and Haussmann. Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952).

articles issued in the major newspapers and journals of the time. They insisted first and foremost on a free market accessible to all. The brothers made several attempts to reconcile what was a major conflict between their theory and practice. Their explanations remained oblique at best as they never admitted to this conflict in so many words; all in all, the many articles and letters to the editor that comprised the Péreires' defense amounted to a characterization of the Co. Immobilière's monopoly as a kind of market engine that ultimately sought to spread shares in the market across a much broader swathe of the population, increasing access to credit and property alike. In other words, according to the Péreires, the alleged monopoly that came under investigation here was only a temporary, but necessary step, which would eventually ensure a process of property redistribution.[21]

If it was all well in theory, many pointed to the numerous practical inequities this scheme instantiated. In light of the suspicion surrounding the company's financial activities and Haussmann's Préfecture, wide-spread accusations of criminal activity were issued in the late 1860s by fellow bankers like the Rothschilds, by journalists like Zola and by the daily press.[22] Negative depictions of a "caisse noir" overrun by "comptes fantastiques" or fraudulent accounting were the order of the day in the press coverage of the beleaguered company during these years. Whether it was these descriptions or the major financial problems that ignited the bad press, the result was the compete dismantling of the real estate branch of the Crédit Mobilier, and, eventually the disbanding of the larger framework of the company. Poyer-Quertier's apt characterization

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[21] One readily sees the contradictions between their essays on the new bank and the "Du crédit public," and "le laissez faire." These can be found in Émile Péreire. *Oeuvres De Emile & Issac Pereire, 1832-1870.* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1912-1920).

[22] Louis Girard, *La Politique des travaux publics du Second Empire* (Paris: Colin, 1952).: 337.

of the Crédit Mobilier circa 1868 as the "trunk of a tree whose branches produce only poisoned fruit" underscores the degree to which the whole of the enterprise fell apart during its later years.[23]

All of this is relevant to us here only in so much as it is an important part of the picture of the complete overhaul of the financing and production of architecture that transpired in Paris after 1850. Alongside questions concerning who had the right to own property and the various economic and industrial innovations proposed to bring a new scheme into being, these changes also brought substantive consequences for the field of architecture itself. These consequences were slowly brought to light, first in the forum of professional journals addressed to a very limited audience, and then later in legislative debates highlighting the urgency of architectural matters for the better good. Here is César Daly, voicing his concern over the emerging dominance of development architecture in the new speculative real estate market of modern Paris: "in the last twenty years, homes have rarely been designed by true architects. Their place has been taken by entrepreneurs, helped by student designs… Paris needs to be emancipated and the artists of our day have to find honor and profit in using their talents to give Parisians the elegant, functional and clean houses they rightfully deserve."[24] In 1858, Victor Petit echoed these sentiments in an editorial published in the *Moniteur des Architectes*, in which he saw a pressing need to reunite "the interests of art and economy" in contemporary domestic architecture.[25] Three important themes concerning the status of the architectural

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[23] Ibid 370.

[24] César Daly, *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics,* vol. 20 (Paris, 1862): 183.

[25] Victor Petit, "Maisons de campagne des environs de Paris. Choix de plus remarquables maisons bourgeoises, nouvellement construites," *Moniteur des architects* 2:9 (May 1858): 15.

profession in the modern world can be discerned in these citations; first, Daly and Petit are lamenting the loss of architectural commissions to development entrepreneurs; and and the concern that as a result, money was valued over and against art. What emerges is a desire, or a mandate if you will, that architects become more practical and thereby take back a formerly prominent position, perceived to have been swept out from under them by entrepreneurs. Critical to this endeavor, is the expansion of the scope of architectural practice to address financial concerns as well as the artistic interests that comprised architects' current domain of expertise.

In response to the need to protect architects and property owners alike from entrepreneurial infringements, professional discussions reinforcing the importance of the role of the architect in domestic architecture also made their way into the legislative realm. Achille Hermant, also the architect of one of the Péreires' apartment houses on the boulevard Malesherbes, began a project to rewrite the Civil Code in 1858 in order to make it a better tool for the protection of the rights of landlords, architects, and future tenants in the midst of new development practices. In his article entitled "Modern Architecture and the Civil Code," he characterized the situation as follows: "this entrepreneur, in opposition to the interests of the landowner for whom he builds, and those of the architect-artist he has left to the side, needs to be reigned in by a mercantile contract that will safeguard the interests of property-owner and architect alike."[26] The International Congress on Artistic Property, which met at the Exposition Universelle of 1878, made further headway towards ensuring the legislative protection of the rights of architects, by extending the rules governing intellectual property (first developed in 1793)

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[26] Achille Hermant, *L'architecte modern devant le code civil* (Paris: G. Delarue Libraire-Éditeur, 1858): 17.

to include architectural work.[27] In this way, the group ensured that entrepreneurs could no longer so readily copy elements from architectural designs into their new buildings, or at least not without consequences.

II.

The buildings financed and developed by the Compagnie Immobilière along the boulevard Malesherbes were undoubtedly affected by the changes in attitude towards the various professionals associated with its development. In a perfect archival world, I would want to begin this case study of the apartment houses erected by the Co. Immobilière with information concerning the important figures—architects, entrepreneurs, contractors, mortgage brokers, etc.—and the precise roles each played in the projects we will study here, in addition to the conversations that would have taken place between them regarding their various stakes in and vantage points on the projects at hand. While I have found quite a bit of information concerning this avenue's development—in particular, drawing sets for a dozen of these buildings, and information about the history of the Crédit Mobilier and its founders, including writings on private property, the marketplace, credit and banking, this constitutes but a small fraction of the context of the scale of architectural production that concerns us here. There is undoubtedly significant information that has been lost in regards to the precise actors, intentions, and circumstances, which connected the ideas of the Crédit Mobilier to these

[27] Achille Hermant, *Étude sur la propriété artisitique* (Paris: Librairie générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics Dulher et cie, 1879).

plans and thus the necessity, on our part, of a certain level of assumption regarding the precise ways in which architecture participated in the political, social, and economic program imagined by the Péreires.[28] In the remainder of this chapter, I attempt to build a bridge between two very distinct kinds of information—the slew of pamphlets and speeches written about the whole of the Péreires' architectural project and its broader implications, and the individual buildings, which constitute their architectural legacy.

Sitting in front of these two substantive archives, one made up of words and the other, of orthographic architectural drawings, we can make some general observations regarding the architectural attributes of this nascent form of the speculative apartment. These remarks will be followed by a closer study of two apartment houses for which we are in possession of a fuller set of architectural drawings. The first observation concerns the lack of any architectural authorship in the earliest of these buildings; the presentation drawings for numbers 10, 43, and 47 on the boulevard Malesherbes (Figs. 3, 4,5) are solely attributed to the Compagnie Immobilière, whose logo is emblazoned in a large scale font at the top of each of the drawings. Compare these earlier works with drawings for later projects like number 62, attributed to M. Monge, number 64 attributed to M. Feydeau, and number 66 attributed to M. Hermant in which the architect's name is listed underneath the still relatively large font in which the Co. Immobilière is spelled out and the somewhat smaller font that gives the building's address and the specifics of the scale and type of orthographic projection represented by the drawing at hand (Figs. 6, 7, 8). In addition to being awarded the Grand Medal for Private Architecture (1886), Achille Hermant can also be remembered for founding the Caisse de defense mutuelle des

[28] Archives du monde du travail concerning the architectural drawings for the Boulevart Malesherbes 2001 026 1486-1488.

architectes, editing the Société Centrale's *Manuel des Lois du Bâtiment,* and writing *L'Architecte Moderne devant le Code Civil.*[29] It is my interpretation that the later buildings of all three of these architects were also impacted by the legislation described above, the majority of which Hermant himself initiated, that set out to protect the intellectual property of architecture by instituting professional ascription and responsibility in all stages of the architectural project. And thus we can say for starters, that these drawings attest to the architectural endeavor to reassert a kind of professional territoriality in the new arena of speculative design.

A second observation is in regard to the materials used in the construction of these buildings, and they are, for all of their critics' concerns over the coldness of modern materials, masonry to their very cores—apart, of course, from the non load-bearing interior partition walls, iron ornaments, and windows. Noting the remarkably un-modern material facts of these new buildings, we also need to remember the speed at which they were erected, and thus the likelihood that new technologies in engineering and construction management were at work behind the scenes, so to speak. That said, it is impossible to reconcile the discrepancy between critics' depictions of these buildings as manifestations, among other things, of the coldness industrial materials brought to modern architecture, with their three-dimensional material realities, which appeared unbeholden to modern materials. Perhaps the criticism had more to do with the rationalization of the scale, scope, and method wrought by modernity on finance and construction than it did with the industrial material palette per se.

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[29] *The American Architect and Building News* Vol. LXXX (May 30, 1903): 65.

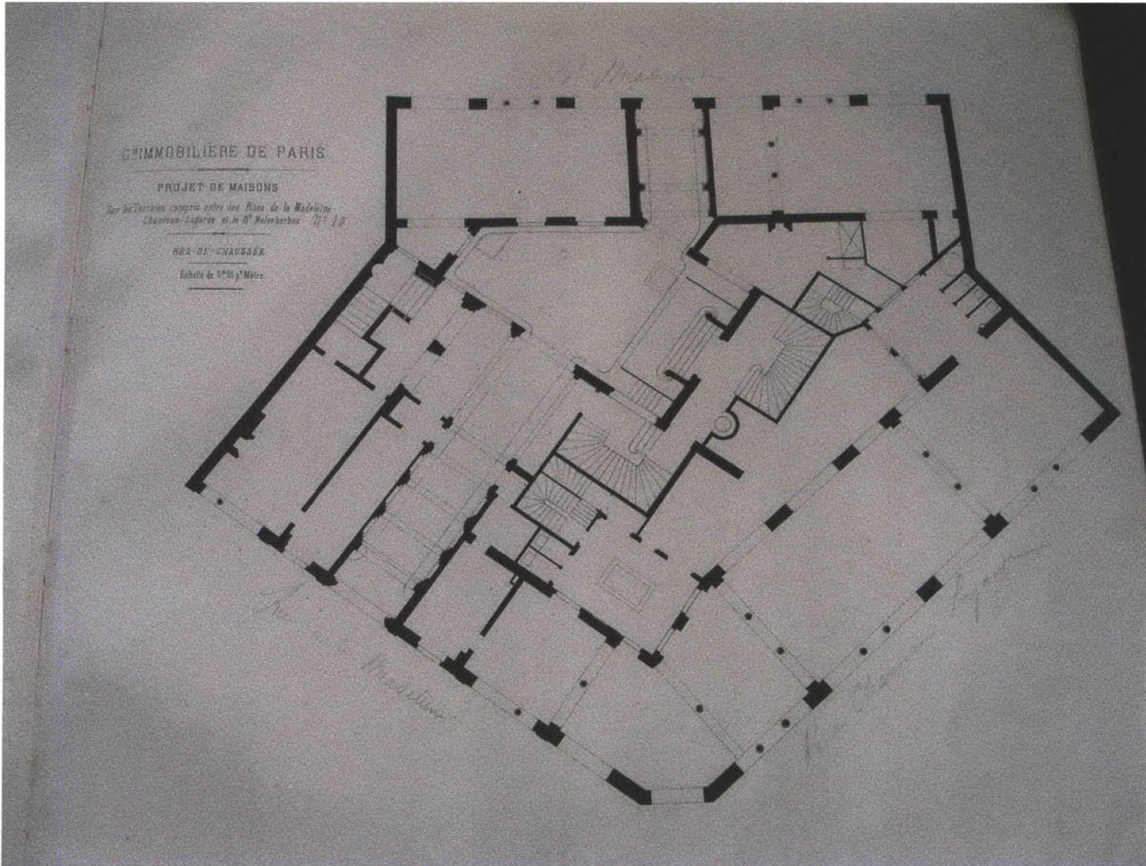

Figure 2.3: 10 boulevard Malesherbes, Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

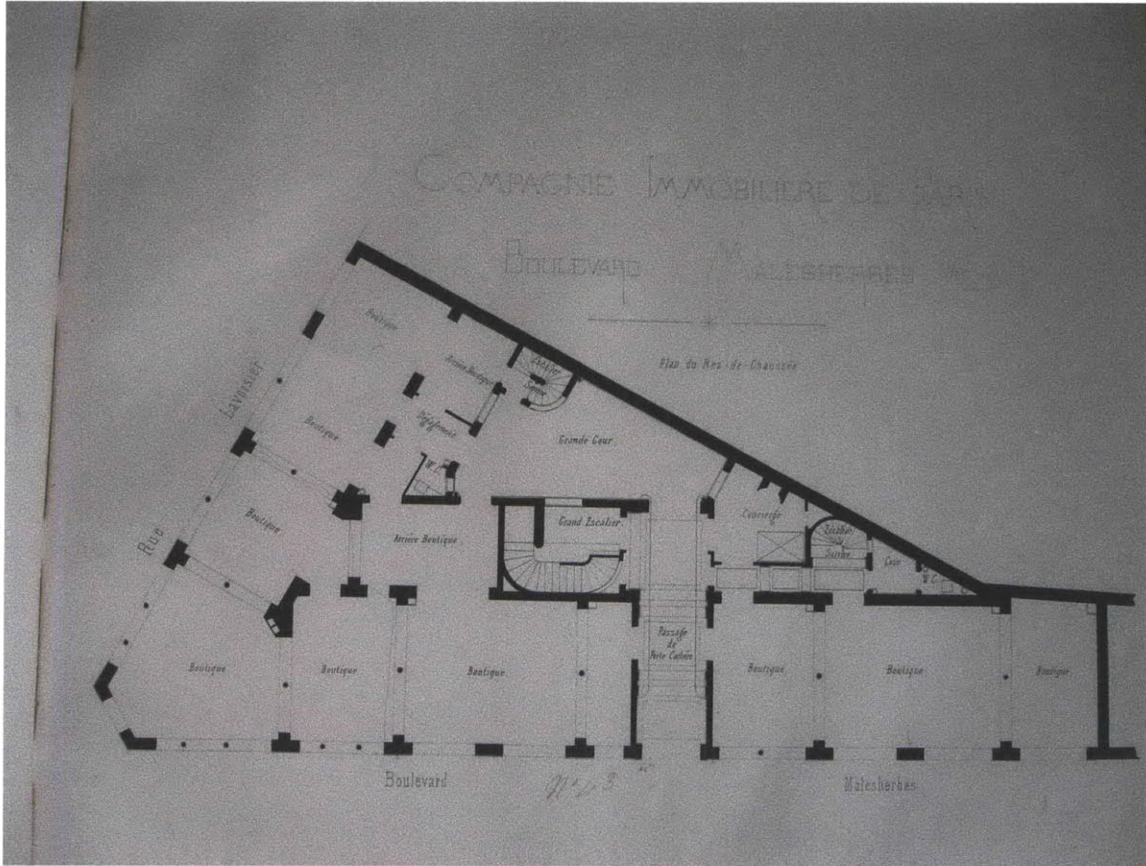

Figure 2.4: 43 boulevard Malesherbes, Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

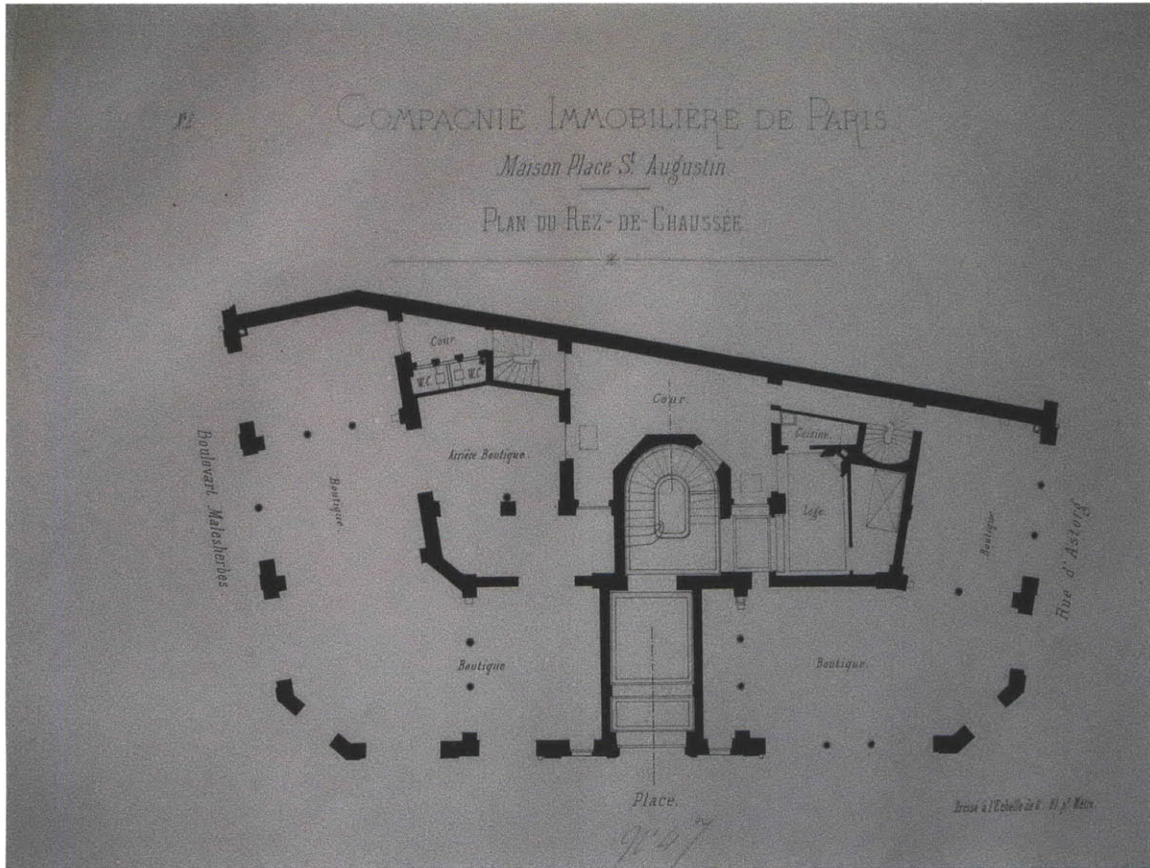

Figure 2.5: 47 boulevard Malesherbes, Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

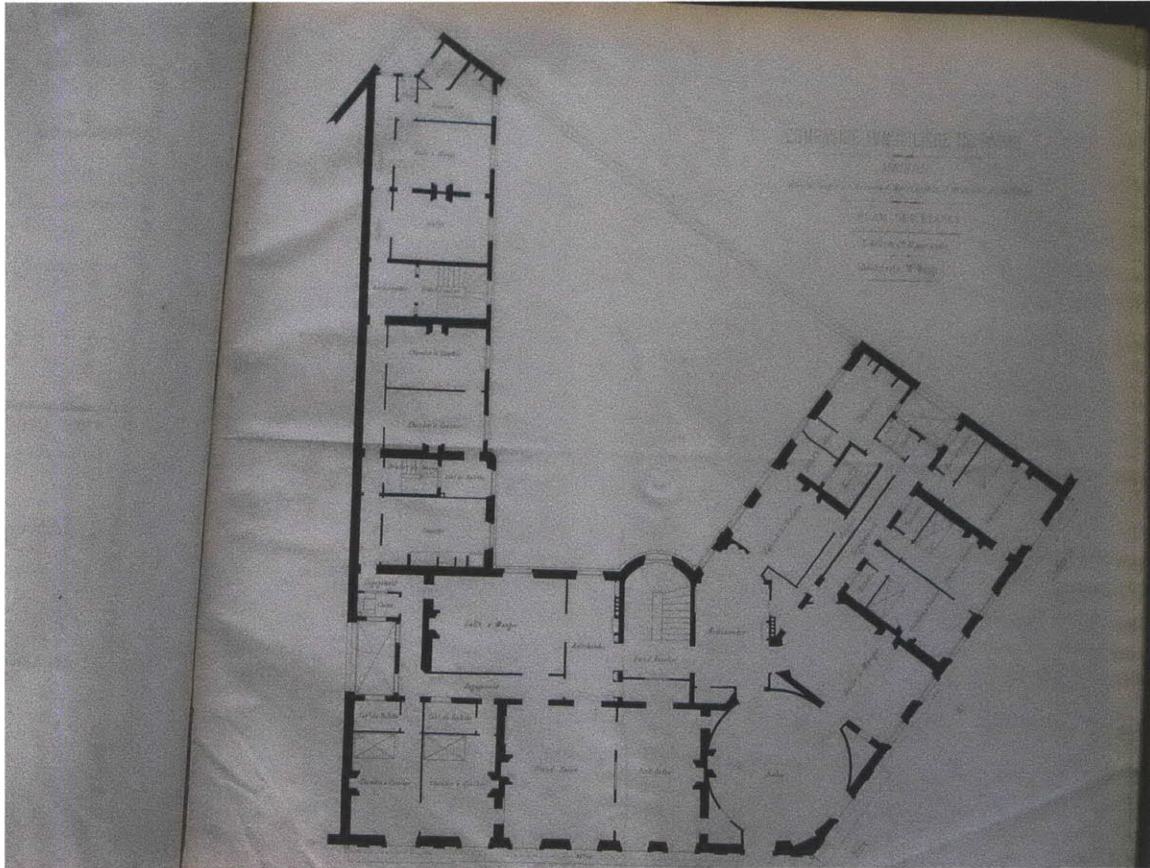
Figure 2.6: 62 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Monge, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

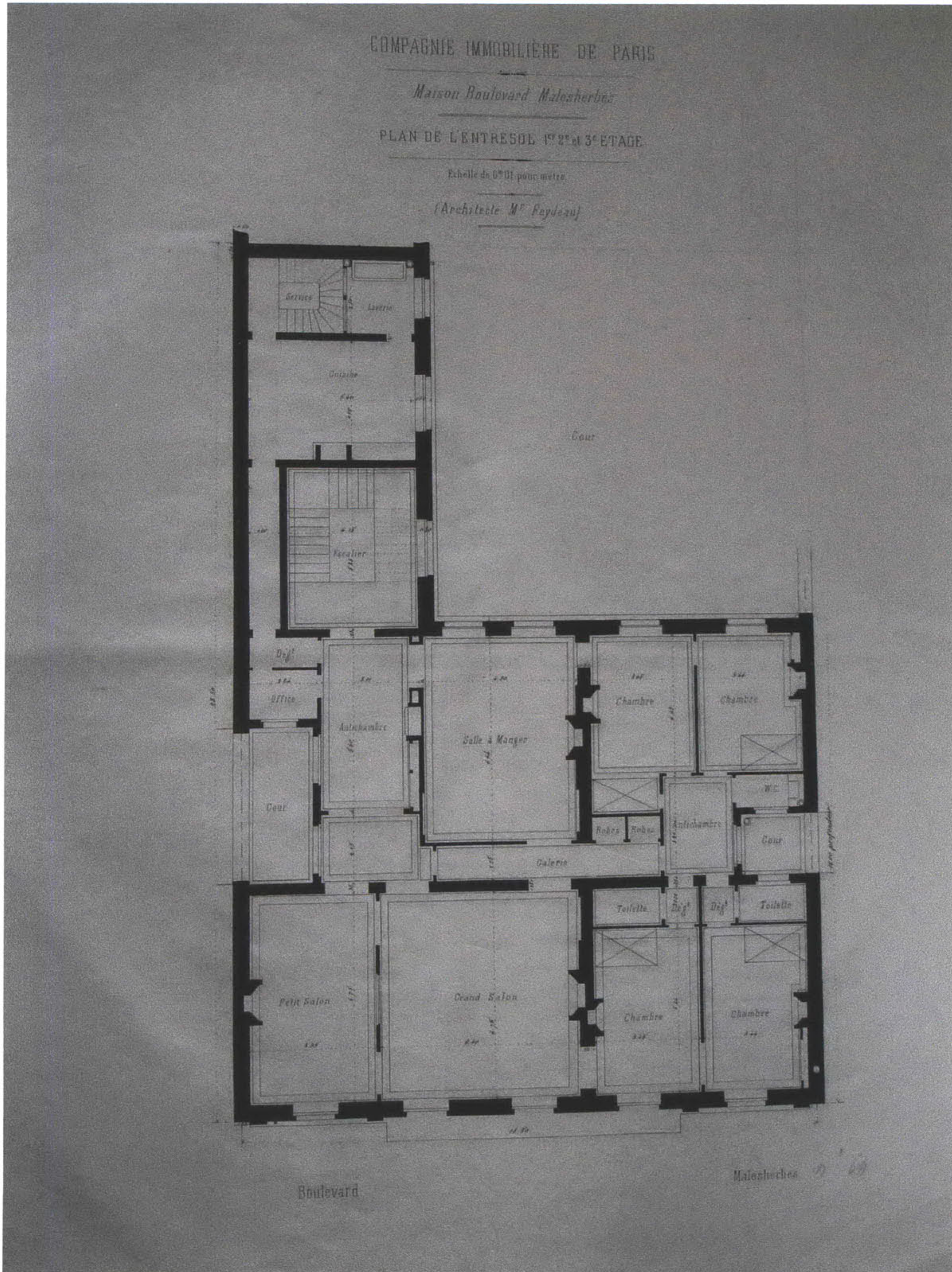

Figure 2.7: 64 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Feydeau, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

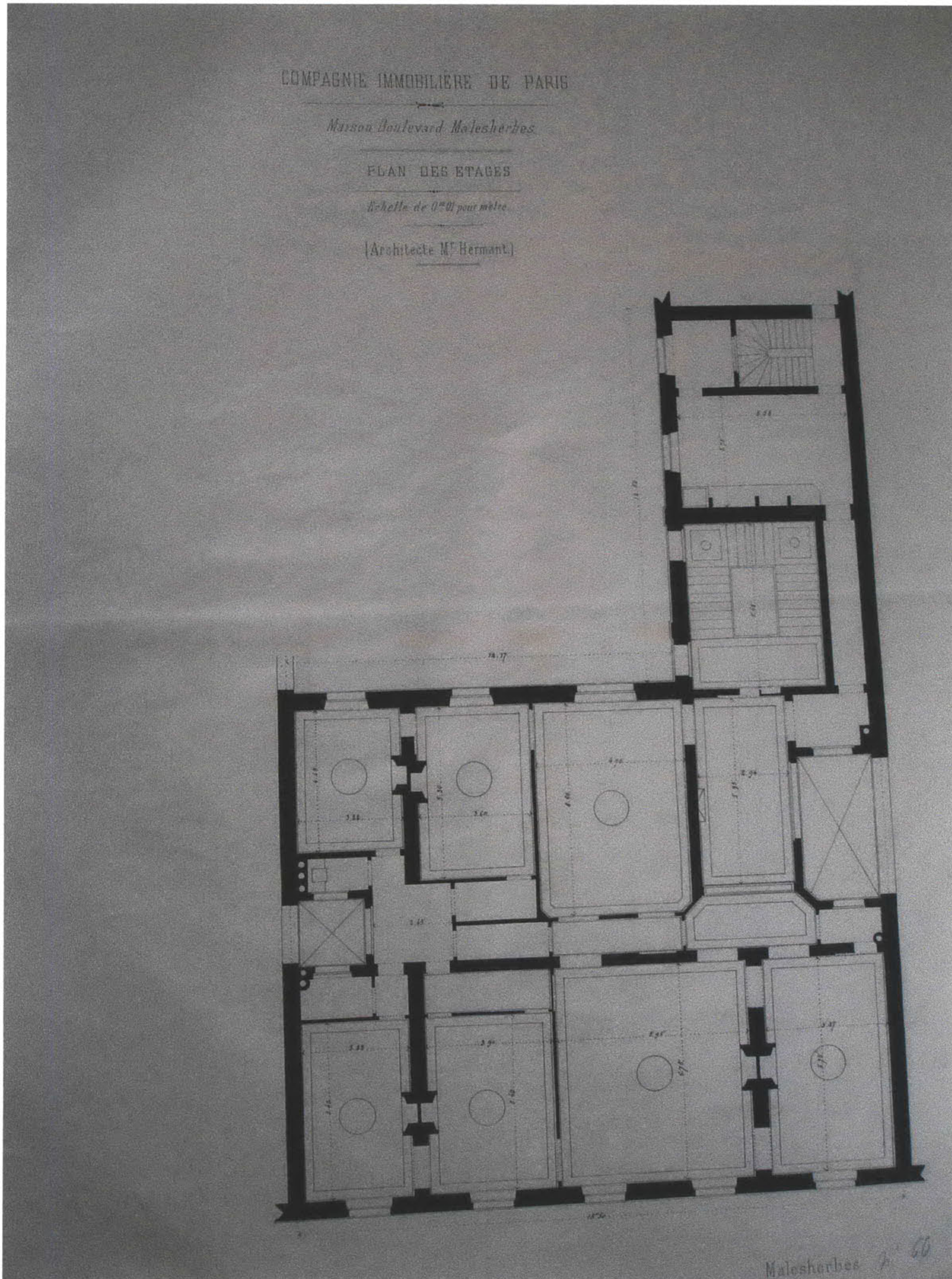

Figure 2.8: 66 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Hermant, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

Laying the plans for the dozen or so buildings, each designed by a different architect, alongside each other, the repetitive nature of the Co. Immobilière's design enterprise becomes remarkably clear. If rooms in a given apartment were similar to each other, as we see in all of the plans, so too, apartments in a given building were practically identical to each other and to those in adjacent buildings as well (even though each apartment house was designed by a different architect). Alphonse Nicolas Crépinet's (who was also a finalist in the competition for the Opera that Garnier won) apartment house at 68 boulevard Malesherbes is a case in point of the repetitive nature of the design enterprise; the floor plan shows a series of rooms of approximately equal size, with the exception of the bedrooms, which are each about half the size of the public rooms (Fig. 9). The public rooms—dining room and salon are similar, distinguished from each other only by views and location relative to other program elements. The salon, for example, has two street front windows while the dining room has one courtyard window and is positioned in close proximity to the kitchen. Even more striking though is the fact that all of the apartments in this building are absolutely identical to each other.

The marked use of the technique of bilateral symmetry, an operation that divides a floor plate with an imaginary centerline and places an image and its reflection on each side so that like parts of the image and its mirror touch each other at the center line, became a hallmark of design by the wide variety of architects who worked in this quarter over the years. As a design principle, bilateral symmetry had certain advantages, including the economy of labor and design provided by repeating a template; we are far afield here from the custom designs critics longed for. Additionally, this configuration had the added benefit of assuring that the interface of adjoining apartments along their

party wall was comprised of public rooms only, thus minimizing the adjacency of the private rooms of neighboring apartments. Perhaps this was in the program stipulations, which we can imagine were distributed by the Co. Immobilière to its architects upon the award of a commission, but this remains conjecture only. One thing is clear—when the building footprint was large enough, more than one of the identical apartment units was placed on each floor as in the cases of numbers 10, 43, 62, and 68. When the square meters constrained each floor-plate to one living space only, architects stacked each of the precise replicas, one on top of the other, as is exemplified by numbers 64 and 66.

The next point is related and concerns the remarkable similarities in the space planning of these new apartments, again regardless of architect and location. Compare, for example, Monge's project for 62 boulevard Malesherbes and Rigle's project for 70 boulevard Maleherbes (Figs. 10, 11). While the angles created between the boulevard and the side streets, the rues de Lisbonne and Miromenil, respectively, create a subtly different site configuration in each case, the apartment layouts are, for all practical purposes, identical.

Both buildings have floor plates broken into two apartments per floor. The two luxury apartments were laid out along the respective lines of each of the building's street faces, which were approximately equal in length. For the most part, the Salon and the main bedrooms are on the street sides of the buildings while the dining rooms face the courtyard. Service areas like the kitchen and the office are positioned on the party walls of the buildings. The sizes of all of the rooms—Salon, bedrooms, dining room and kitchen—are consistent throughout the two projects. Subtle variations in room size and shape are determined by differences in the angles stipulated by the site. The circularly

shaped Salon of number 62 and the hemispherically shaped Salon of number 70, for example, represent geometrical negotiations on the architects' parts of complex intersections of the building sites—the hemispherical Grand Salon resolves a less severe angle than the circular Salon. The sites' unique qualities, which are marked by the Salons, reverberate very minimally throughout the other areas of the apartments—a well-contained interruption in the prototypical plan. The zoning of the apartments, for example, is, for all practical purposes, unaffected by these unique site conditions. The typical situation involved a clear demarcation between the service zone, the private rooms that run along the interior courtyard wall, and the public spaces that flank the street. That said, when we examine the circulation more closely here, the Beaux-arts mandated logic of the enfilade falls apart. Take the strange adjacency between the dining room and the third bedroom, which conflates public and private realms, in contradiction with the Beaux-arts principle of clear distinctions between private, public, and service zones of the apartment. Notice also the awkwardly planned corner conditions, comprised in this case of several rooms. In Beaux-arts design, this kind formal registration of the packaging together of a set of rooms would have served a clear function, setting aside a master bedroom suite of rooms, for example, and protecting it from the view of visitors. In this case, the corner condition pulls together a bedroom, kitchen and office. And so we have the reference here to Beaux-arts planning techniques, which would have been highly esteemed in the bourgeois real estate market—only now they are empty formal signifiers, without any kind of functional basis.

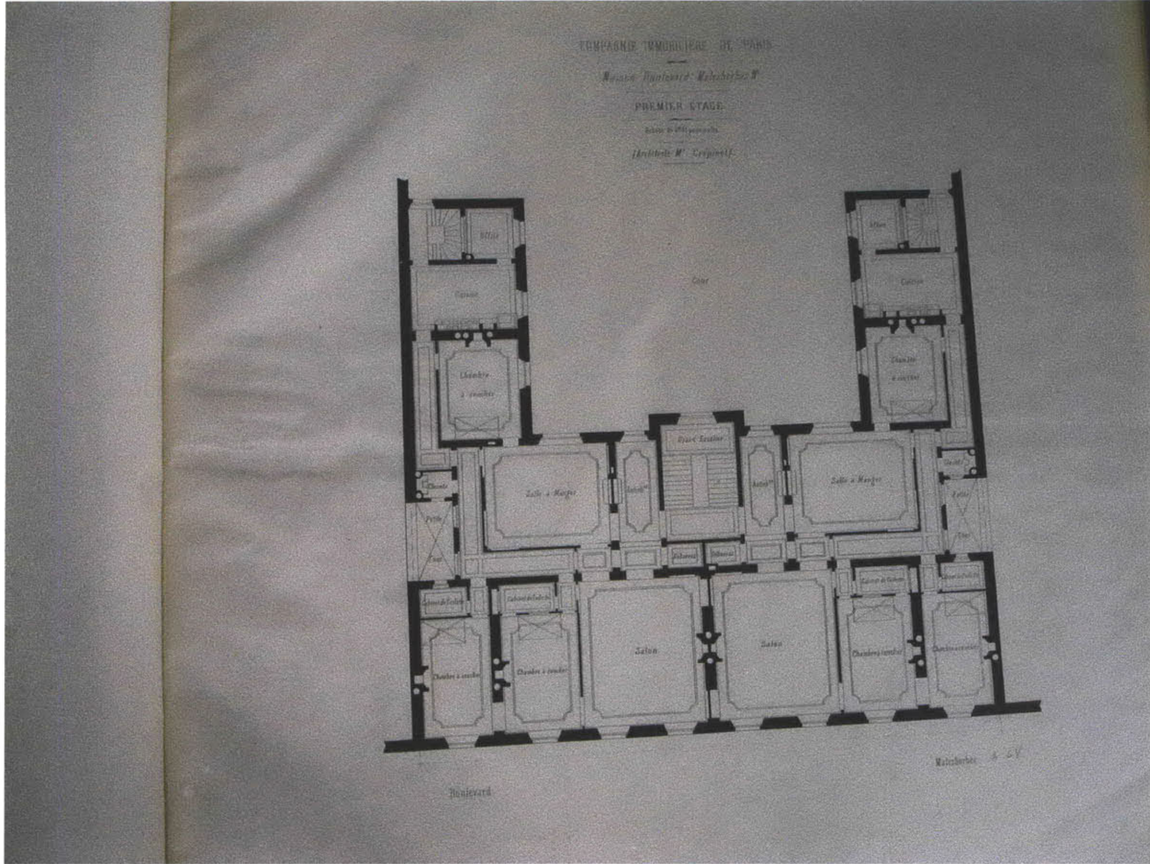

Figure 2.9: 68 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Crepinet, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

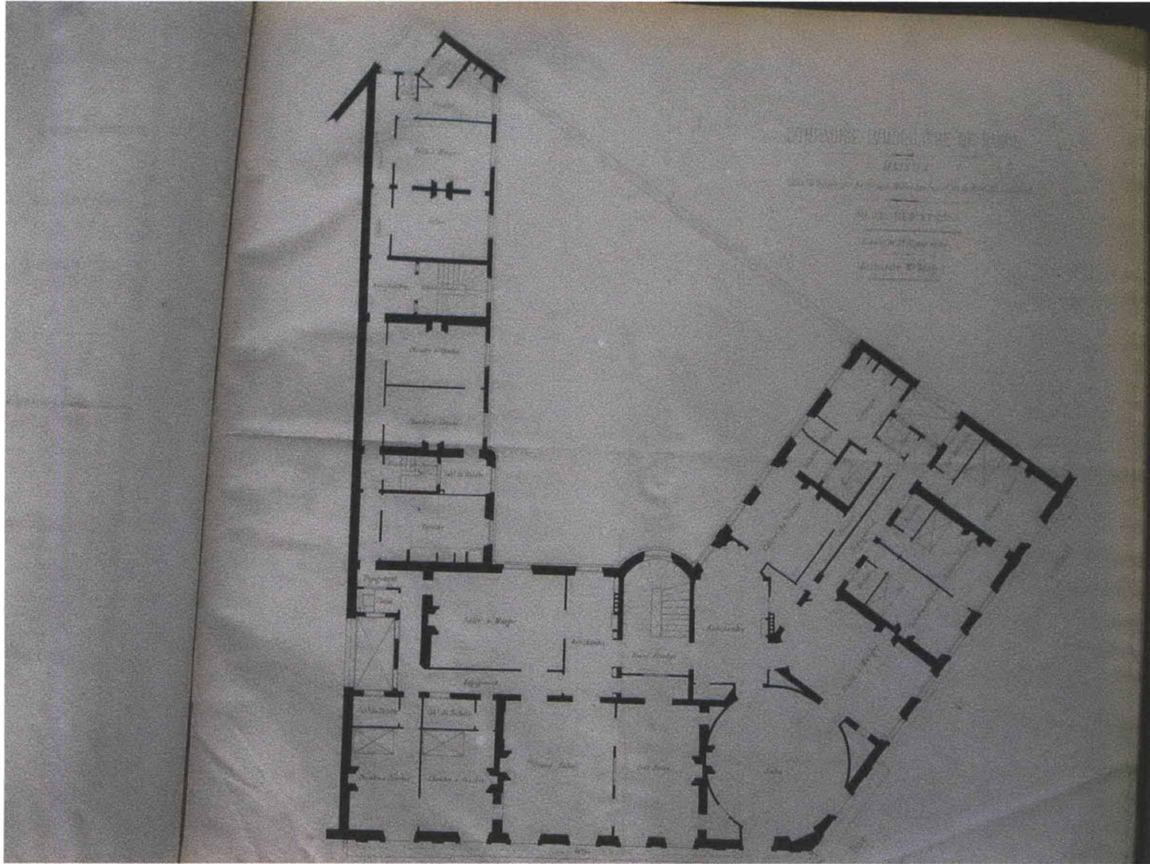

Figure 2.10: 62 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Monge, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

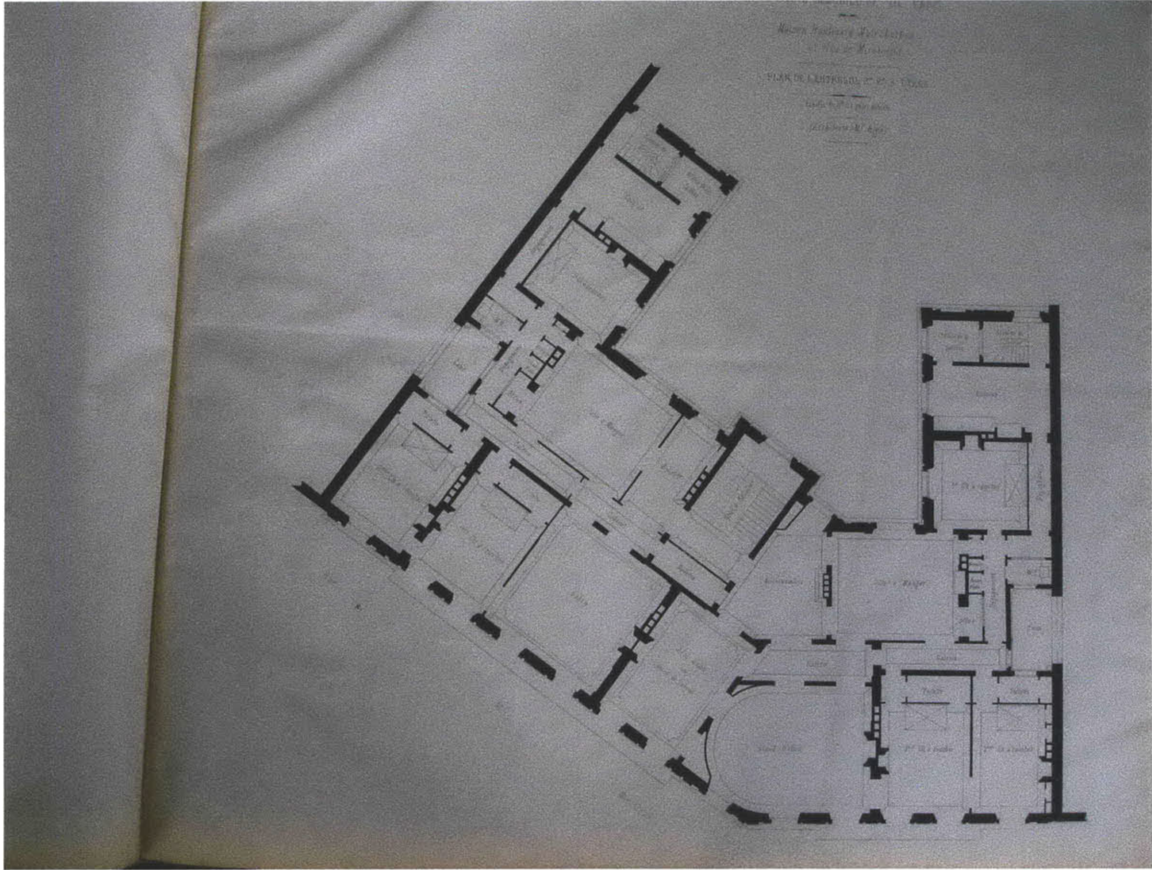

Figure 2.11: 70 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Rigle, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

With this in mind, we can also take notice of the Compagnie Immobilière's careful and deliberate real estate choices. Nearly all of the properties the Immobilière invested in were located at corner intersections, thus giving the buildings street frontage on two sides—as we see in most of the examples we have looked at so far with the exception of numbers 66 and 68. Regardless of the site conditions, each apartment is given its own unique street view. For the Péreires, as the plans make strikingly clear, this meant that there were two possibilities to create prime real estate on each floor of these apartment houses. Perhaps this allocation of a street front to each apartment was related to the decision to place apartments back to back in plan so that the private space allotted to each particular apartment was located as far from that of his neighbors as possible. Ultimately, the connection of each apartment to a different street face further delineated perceived private space from neighbors who were, in reality, only steps away. All of this testifies to the kinds of premiums accorded to the mere sense or aura of privacy in the bourgeois marketplace in which the Co. Immobilière operated.

I move now to the apartment house located at 92 boulevard Malesherbes and designed by M. Ponthieu, for which we are in possession of a significantly larger set of drawings including plans, sections, and elevations, and perhaps most importantly, a series of schematic design development drawings that vary substantively from the final construction documents and thus give us access to the design process (Figs. 12, 13).[30]

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[30] Ponthieu was also the architect of hospitals in Paris, including the Institution Sainte Périne. See Adolphe Laurent Joanne, *Paris-diamant: nouveau guide* (Paris: Imp. Simon Raçon et Comp, 1867).

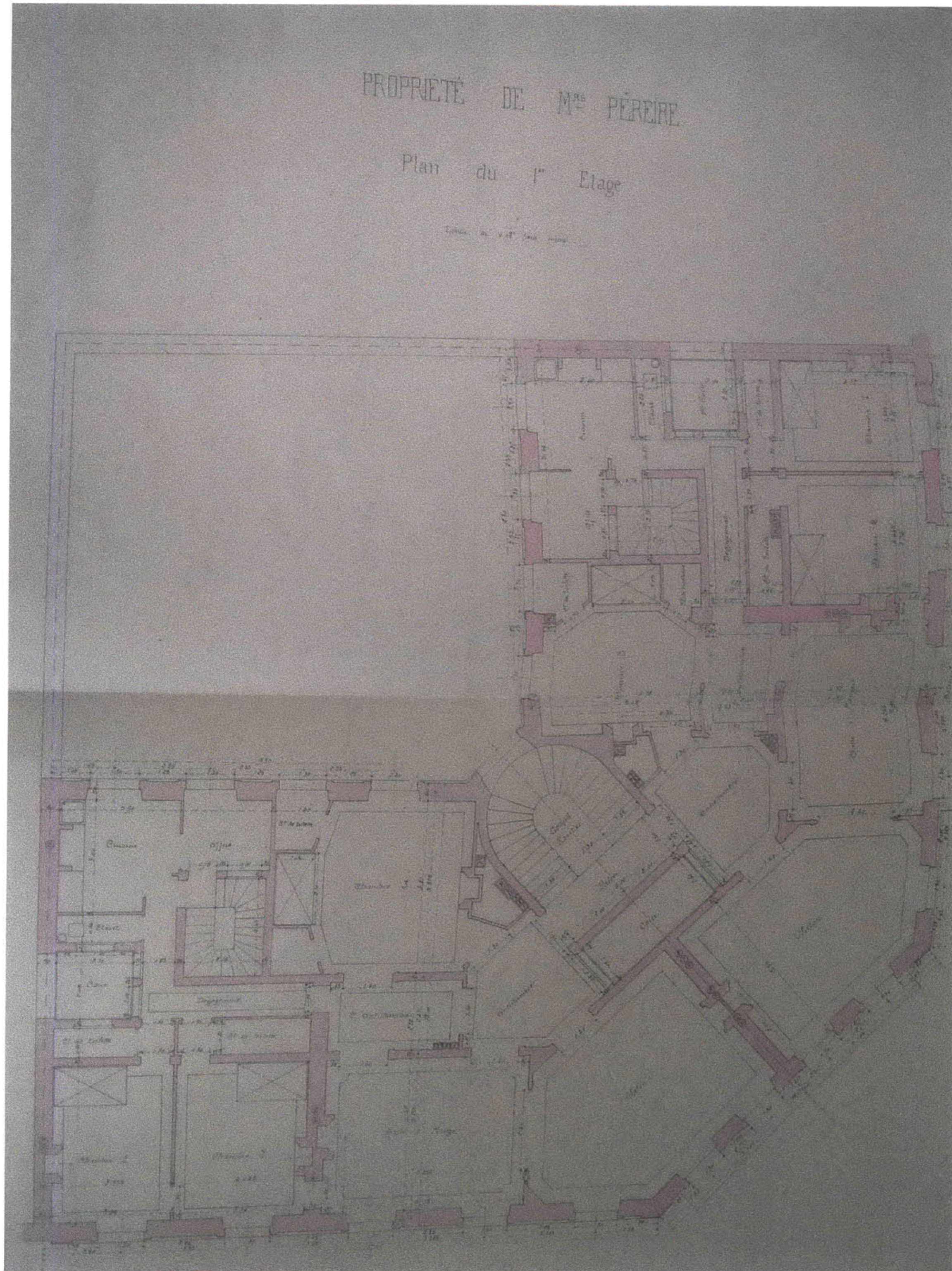

Figure 2.12: Schematic plan for 92 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Ponthieu, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

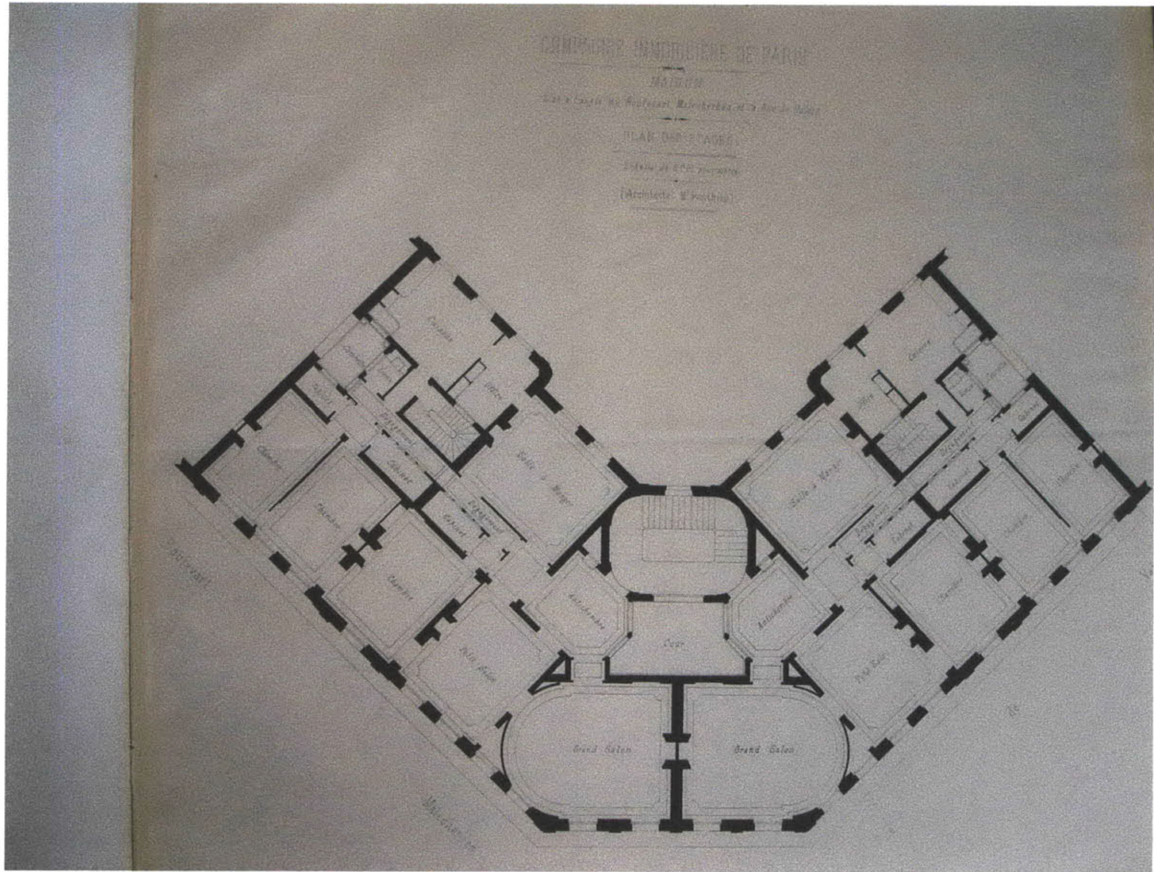

Figure 2.13: 92 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Ponthieu, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

If schematic drawings typically highlight the initial design priorities of a project architect, in this case, the concern was first and foremost with space planning. In the study, there are only a few basic architectural elements in place: exterior walls are coded in red, structural elements in pink, and partition walls in yellow. In addition, circulation elements like the stair and entry vestibule are present, if only in basic diagrammatic form; this sketchiness is in sharp contrast with the highly resolved placement of programmatic elements and the rendering of wall surfaces in the final plan. The dining rooms in the later version, for example, featured chamfered corners while the walls of the offices were left bare. Another case in point is the shape of the Grand Salon, transformed from a rectangular block in the schematic design into an elaborate curvilinear form in the construction documents. The introduction of complex wall treatments comprised of elaborate silhouettes and clearly distinguished layers of different thicknesses and materials, absent in the earlier version, amounted to the reshaping of the interior spaces in many of the rooms, which were limited in the previous study to simple and uniform orthogonal lines.

Interestingly, alongside the preliminary studies of the space plan, the other design element explored early in the design process was the building's facades (Fig. 14). A comparison between several versions of the façades reveals experiments in the proportions of the windows, subtle variations in the window spacing, and even the testing of different window shapes—in one case, an arched window is tried out. This is further evidence of the high value accorded to the embellishment of the faces of these buildings. Perhaps these two views into the design process—the space plan and the building facade that became so ubiquitous here, stand not only as testaments of design priorities, offering

a perspective on what was valued most in the new architecture, but also as additional articles in the kind of contract we imagined earlier between the Co. Immobilière and its architects, set in place to ensure a consistency that became the hallmark of all of the Co. Immobilière's architectural ventures.

A final observation emerges from the drawing set for the building at the corner between the boulevard Malesherbes and the boulevard Péreire, designed by M. Langlais and erected in 1860 (Figs. 15, 16).[31] This later work makes a strong formal case for many of the tendencies we have traced out thus far. In this example, the building is literally spliced in two in order to make way for a double-height entry space that extends from the street to the courtyard, and is perhaps intended for use as a carriage entry.

This splice through the center of the building is also reminiscent of the virtual plan cut we have made note of in other Co. Immobilière projects—that invisible line along which bilateral symmetry separated identical mirror images of the same plan from each other; only this time, the virtual line is comprised of real walls—a built gap, so to speak. To be sure, this built gap had a functional purpose as well, which was to enunciate a grandiose entry. To my eye, the echoing of this ground floor / mezzanine splice on the floors above as a virtual line creates an even stronger boundary between two identical apartments that share the same floor space than that of the earlier schemes. All of this attests once again to the high architectural value accorded to privacy and distinction in these developments.

[31] Felix Langlais, a well-known architect in the latter half of the nineteenth-century came to fame as a public architect working on railway and Exhibition Hall projects (1855). After retiring from his public responsibilities, he worked for several of the leading banking families, including the Pereires and the Rothschilds on projects for private homes. For more, see *The American Architect and Building News* vol. 25 (Jan.-June 1889): 181.

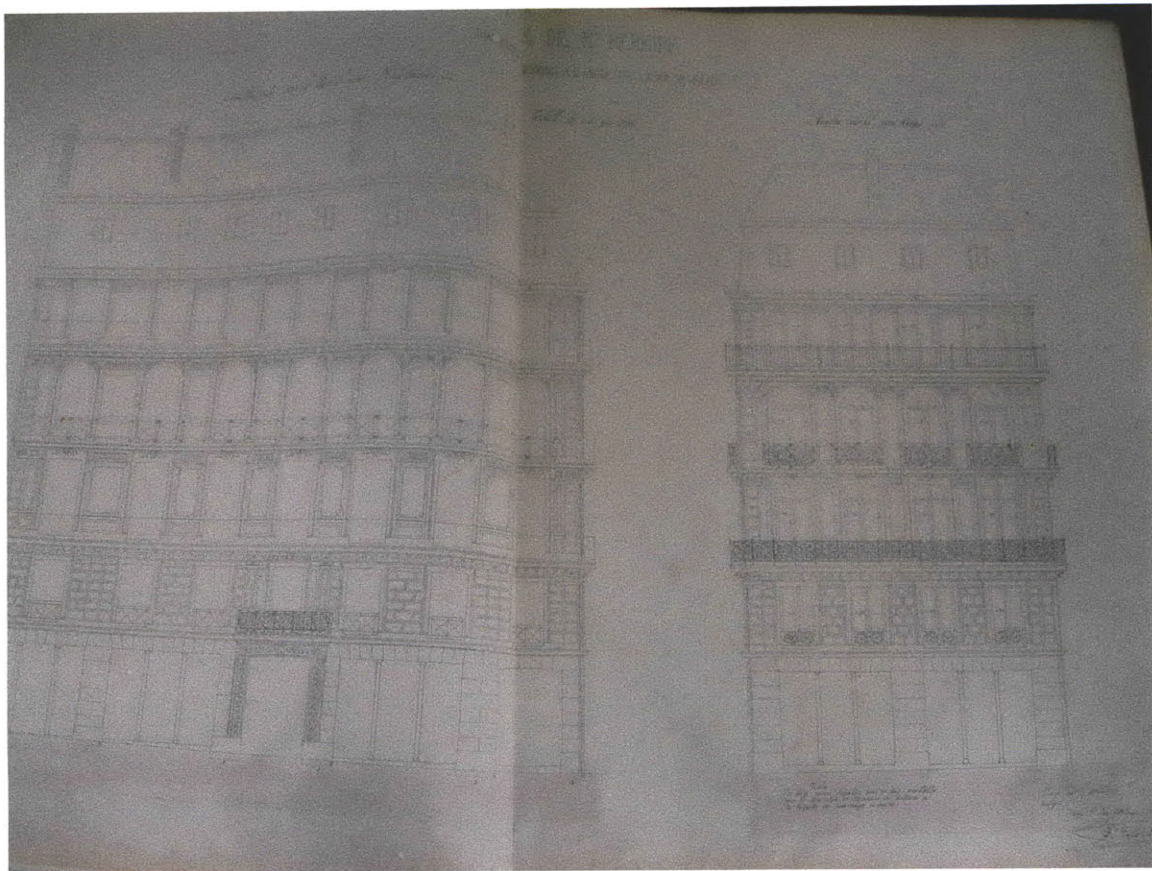

Figure 2.14: Façade studies for 92 boulevard Malesherbes, M. Ponthieu, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

Figure 2.15: Schematic plan for a building at the corner of boulevard Malesherbes and boulevard Péreire, M. Langlais, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

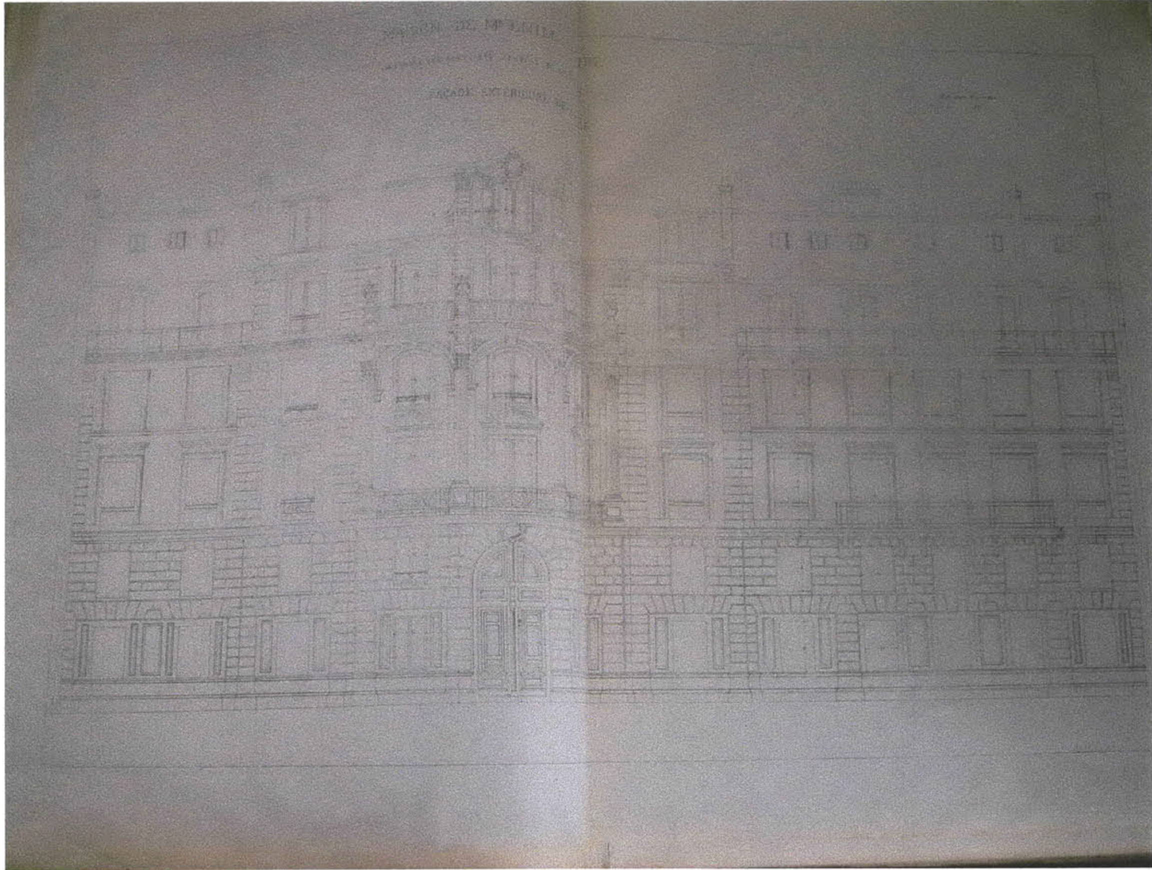

Figure 2.16: **Façade studies** for a building at the corner of boulevard Malesherbes and boulevard Péreire, M. Langlais, Architect. Archives nationale du monde du travail 2001 026 1486-1488.

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In order to contextualize this work, I want to set it against a bourgeois urban home of the period, custom designed by Charles Garnier for the Hachette family.[32] This may well be considered the opposite case of the kind of prototypical apartment unit we have been examining here. It is an especially interesting example because Garnier, as we will see in the next chapter, was also one of the speculative apartment house's biggest critics. In fact, he makes a case for the free-standing country house as the preeminent form of modern housing. Garnier admires houses like his own villa at Bordighera that are not bogged down by the restrictive external constraints and regulations of the urban context, giving the architect greater freedom to design on behalf of the particular needs and character of the family who will inhabit it as a home (Fig. 17).[33] And in fact the illustration of the Villa shows a picturesque and irregular façade and massing. Towers, dormers and entry gates interrupt regulating lines in plan and section in response to specific program needs dictated by the patron family and the ways in which they wanted to inhabit this site on the sea. The tailoring of a home to its inhabitants, in other words, is the object of residential design according to Garnier.

He continues this line of thinking in a discussion of the urban bourgeois apartment. The main focus is efficient space planning and the related concept of organization based on prospective uses—an urban (and slightly curtailed) version of the

[32] For Garnier's project for Hachette, see Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Fonds Garnier, specifically those concerning contemporary articles on him and his work, Pièces 145-146 and 372 ABC; manuscripts for articles including Pièce 41 "Foule et Individualité," Pièce 43 " de l'Inutilité d'utilité et de l'utilité d'inutilité; Pièce 44 "La question artistique," Pièce 50, "Art et progress," and Pièces 176-8, correspondence concerning the library and home for Georges Hachette.

[33] Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892):. See especially Chapter XVIII, "habitations rurales" (828-37).

tailored country home he held in such high esteem. According to Garnier, as the functions of rooms in the home become more and more specialized, one of the effects is the "analogous division in the life of the family," which includes the eradication of the grand public room and the closure of the master bedroom to visitors. The term he uses to define the divisions is evocative: "dismemberment."[34] The plans for the Hachette residence at 195 Saint-Germain exemplify the kind of compartmentalization and divisions he describes in the *Histoire de l'habitation humaine*, a text we will study in much greater detail in the next chapter (Fig. 18).

In addition to its division into increasingly distinct rooms based on use, in the section of his book devoted to the modern apartment, Garnier also describes its demarcation into "three grand divisions" or "distinct compartments": namely, public rooms (receiving areas, dining areas, etc.), private rooms (bedrooms and bathrooms) and service rooms (kitchens, disposal areas, etc.).[35] The tripartite division he presents is evident in the drawings as well; and again, the treatments of the walls throughout the apartment carry information about the distinct function ascribed to each zone. For example, the rooms on the garden side of the ground floor are encased in multiple layers of elaborate wall treatments, described in plan with many lines of different silhouettes and thicknesses, suggesting that this was the more formal public zone of the home. By contrast, the walls of the rooms on the first floor are much thinner and less elaborate in profile and depth, leading us to believe that these were used as bedrooms and service rooms. Looked at abstractly, the plans of the ground and first floors read as three zones:

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[34] Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892): 794.

[35] Ibid 818-20.

one group is elaborately treated, another less so, and another even less so. The corner conditions here carefully and insistently package together related programmatic elements, which are connected to corridors with a series of antechambers. This is in keeping with Beaux-arts planning techniques and is in marked contrast with empty formal signifiers of these techniques to be seen in the Co. Immobilière's apartment houses.

The only view of the adjoining maison à rapport, also designed by Garnier, and the subject of much discussion in his text, is an elevation, which lends itself to a similarly abstract apprehension (Fig. 19). The face of the building is divided into equal parts measured by evenly sized and placed windows. Such rhythmic placement suggests that the plan behind is made up of small and equally sized rooms, each centered on a window. Out of the kind of sharp criticism and constructive advice that constitutes Garnier's discussion of modern architecture, two guiding principles emerge: the first stipulates the simultaneous articulation of individual rooms based on prospective use and the careful design of the circulation spaces that connect them, while the second mandates the clear articulation of a particular family in social space, which is to be accomplished primarily through the treatment of a building's perimeter walls. The challenge here, it seems, is to keep these apparently contradictory impulses in a perfect balance. In Garnier's evaluation, the best works of modern apartment architecture, including his own, manage to finesse the first of these, but fall short on the second. This is, in great part, because of the economic and planning constraints endemic to the contemporary urban condition, which ultimately force each family into a cell identical, for all intents and purposes, to that of his neighbors.

Villa Charles Garnier à Bordighera (Vue prise du bord de la mer).

Figure 2.17: Charles Garnier, Villa Garnier, Bordighera. Illustrated in Charles Garnier and A. Ammann, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).

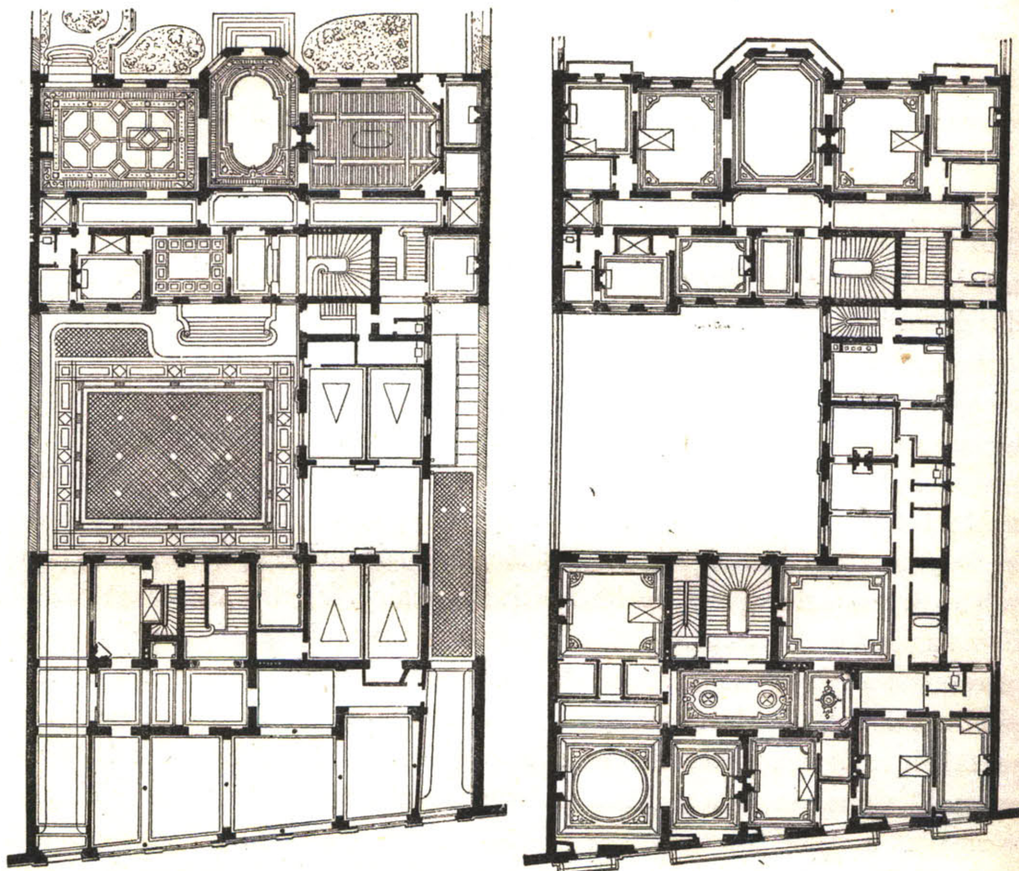
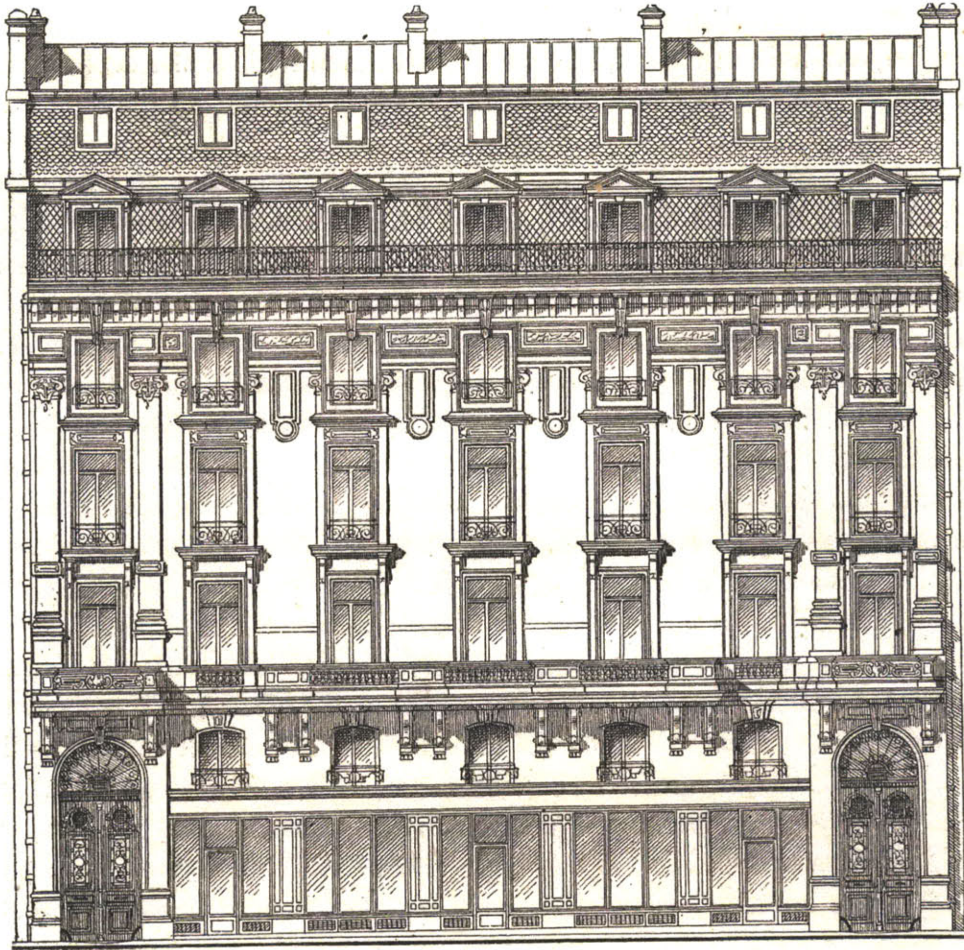


Figure 2.18: Charles Garnier, Maison à.Paris, 195 boulevard Saint-Germain. Illustrated in Charles Garnier and A. Ammann, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).



Façade de la maison à Paris, boulevard Saint-Germain, n° 195.

Figure 2.18: Charles Garnier, Maison à.Paris, 195 boulevard Saint-Germain. Illustrated in Charles Garnier and A. Ammann, *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).

As we will see in the next chapter, Garnier strongly condemns the speculative apartment houses (in his terms, "houses of revenue") for precisely this fatal flaw—failing to tailor the apartment to its user or patron, the family, and forcing that user to mold himself to the ubiquitous apartment unit instead. These are the objects of his disdain then not for any kind of overt use of modern materials, but as a result of practices maximizing the efficient use of space, techniques involving modules and templates, and highly advanced calculations relating the cost and prospective value of various design strategies,

all of which is highly rationalized and impersonal, the opposite of the kind of careful tailoring he admires.

But we can be bolder still. What was actually so worrisome about speculative architecture for critics like Garnier, I would argue, is the complete and total transformation of architecture into a commodity. All of Garnier's complaints about modern architecture we will hear in the next section—"monotonous," "cold," "lacking in character and specificity," driven by an overwhelming interest in revenue—could just as readily be applied to any other commodity, and, in point of fact, similar criticisms were issued against commercial goods, a point we have already addressed in chapter one. The apartment built for the market, architecture measured by its potential revenue yields, represented perhaps the most disturbing case of the disinterring of a subject—the owner of an apartment identical to that of his or her neighbors—from its object—the ubiquitous apartment unit—brought by the new state of affairs in which distinct subjects possessed indistinguishable objects. Indeed, the ubiquitous modern apartment unit was transformed here into the purest case of exchange value, and one in which design was rationalized as a precise exercise tuned to earn maximum profit in trade. How to make the architectural commodity worth more on the market—for sale or rent—for the minimum effort and cost became the calculation that constituted design.

George Simmel, in his now famous description of the alienation and abstraction that he saw to be the defining symptoms of modern life under capitalism explained the commodity like this: in it the "relation between the real and final value of the object and its representation by a bond has lost all stability.... Here, where speculation itself may determine the fate of the object of speculation, the permeability and flexibility of the

money form of values has found its most triumphant expression through subjectivity in the strictest sense."[36] And so it was with these apartment houses in which design, once associated with art, humanity, and history, grandiose landmarks of solidity, was now reduced to a mere object of speculation. How and why, architecture, as the object of speculation, ignited the reactions that it did remains to be seen in the last chapters.

[36] Georg Simmel, *The Philosphy of Money*, tr. David Frisby and Tom Bottomore (London: Routledge 1978): 326.

CHAPTER 3: GARNIER'S FOLLIES AND THE MYTH OF HUMAN HABITATION

> One must admit that it is difficult to find a way to break the monotony inherent in such a large expanse of walls in a way that is surprising and satisfying to the eye. In fact, such esthetic efforts are unfortunately pretty rare with respect to contemporary houses, whether in America or in Europe; profitability is much more important to owners than beauty.
>
> -Charles Garnier, 1892[1]

This passage is taken from the architect Charles Garnier and the historian Auguste Ammann's treatise on the history of domestic architecture, *L'habitation humaine* (1892), which was written as an epilogue to the popular exhibit of the same title to be seen at the Exposition universelle of 1889.[2] History, human(e), and habitation: these three words

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[1] "il faut avouer qu'il serait difficile de mieux rompre la monotonie inhérente à des murailles d'une telle étendue; cependant, devant ces constructions, l'oeil est étonné pus encore que satisfait. D'ailleurs, ces efforts esthétiques sont malheureusement assez rares dans les maisons contemporaines, qu'elles soient en Amérique ou en Europe: la question de rapport intéresse beaucoup plus les propriétaires que la question de beauté." Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine.* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).

[2] Contemporary accounts of the exhibit include: *12 Views of Buildings and Pavillions of the 1889 Paris Exposition*. (S.I.: s.n., 1889); Frantz Jourdain, *Exposition Universelle de 1889: Constructions Elevées au Champ de Mars par M. Charles Garnier* (New York: J.W. Bouton, 1892); Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et cie, 1890); *Le Moniteur des architectes*, Année 1889; L. Rousselet and A. Lahure, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Hachette et cie 1890); E. Monod, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Dento 1890); J. Deniker and L. Laloy, "Les races exotiques à l'exposition universelle de 1889" in *L'Anthrop* (1890); A. Picard, *Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris: rapport général* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1891). Critical literature is limited, but there are a few articles, including: Beatrice Bouvier, "Charles Garnier (1825-1898): Architecte historien de l'habitation humaine" in *L'architecte historien*, 1er semester, 2005); Nils Muller-Scheessel, "Fair Prehistory: archeological exhibits at the French Expositions Universelles," *Antiquity*, Vol 75 (2001): 391-401; C. Topalov, Laboratoires du nouveau siècle, *Civilisations et sociétés* Vol. 98 (1999); Brigitte

were linked together in significant ways by the architect-writers who played important roles in late nineteenth-century French architectural culture.[3] The ambitious project began at the World's Fair with the exhibit set on the Champ de Mars, against the backdrop of the Eiffel Tower (Figs. 1-4). Here, Garnier and his collaborators constructed full-scale replicas of historic habitations ranging from cave dwellings and reed huts to an Etruscan villa and a Persian mansion. Encompassing some forty-three buildings in all, the exhibit was, as its official chronicler put it in the brochure, "a living book, both picturesque and instructive, of the dwellings of the entire human race."[4] The "living book" was animated with so-called "natives" who sold "authentic" souvenirs to tourists. In retrospect, this reads as a carnivalesque profit-driven enterprise, a troubling example of colonial kitsch. But, it was received by contemporary visitors as a serious and scholarly documentation of the history of habitation.[5]

Shroeder-Godehus, "Les grandes puissances devant l'Exposition universelle de 1889" in *Le mouvement social* 149 (oct-dec 1989):15-24.

[3] Other architectural examples of the genre are Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc,. *Habitations modernes* (1875). *(*Brussels: Mardaga, 1979) and *Histoire d'une maison. (*Paris: Hetzel, 1873). Examples in political theory and the new field of anthropology include Émile Durkheim, *Émile Durkheim: His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study,* ed. Steven Lukes, (Stanford: Standford University Press, 19750; Alfred Victor Espinas,. *Des sociétés animales; étude de psychologie comparée* (Paris: G. Baillière et cie, 1877); A. Giraud-Teulon, *Les origines du mariage et de la famille. (*Genève: A. Cherbuliez, 1884); Frederick Engels, *The origin of the family, private property and the state* (1884), tr. ErnestUntermann (Chicago: C. H. Kerr, 1902).

[4] C.L. Huard, *Livre d'Or de l'Exposition* (Paris, 1889): 3.

[5] Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et cie, 1890); L. Rousselet and A. Lahure, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Hachette et cie 1890); E. Monod, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Dento 1890); A. Picard, *Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris: rapport général* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1891).

Figure 3.1: Exposition universelle de 1889. Photographic print. Library of Congress, Tissandier Collection No. 761.

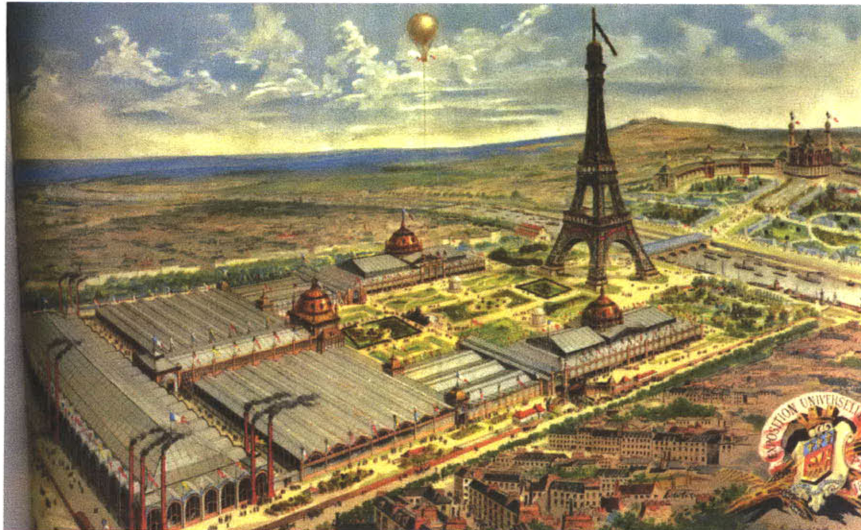

Figure 3.2: General View of the Exposition universelle de 1889. Engraving. Musée Carnâvalet, Paris.

Figure 3.3: La tour Eiffel. Illustrated in Maurice Brincourt, *L'exposiition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1890): 167.

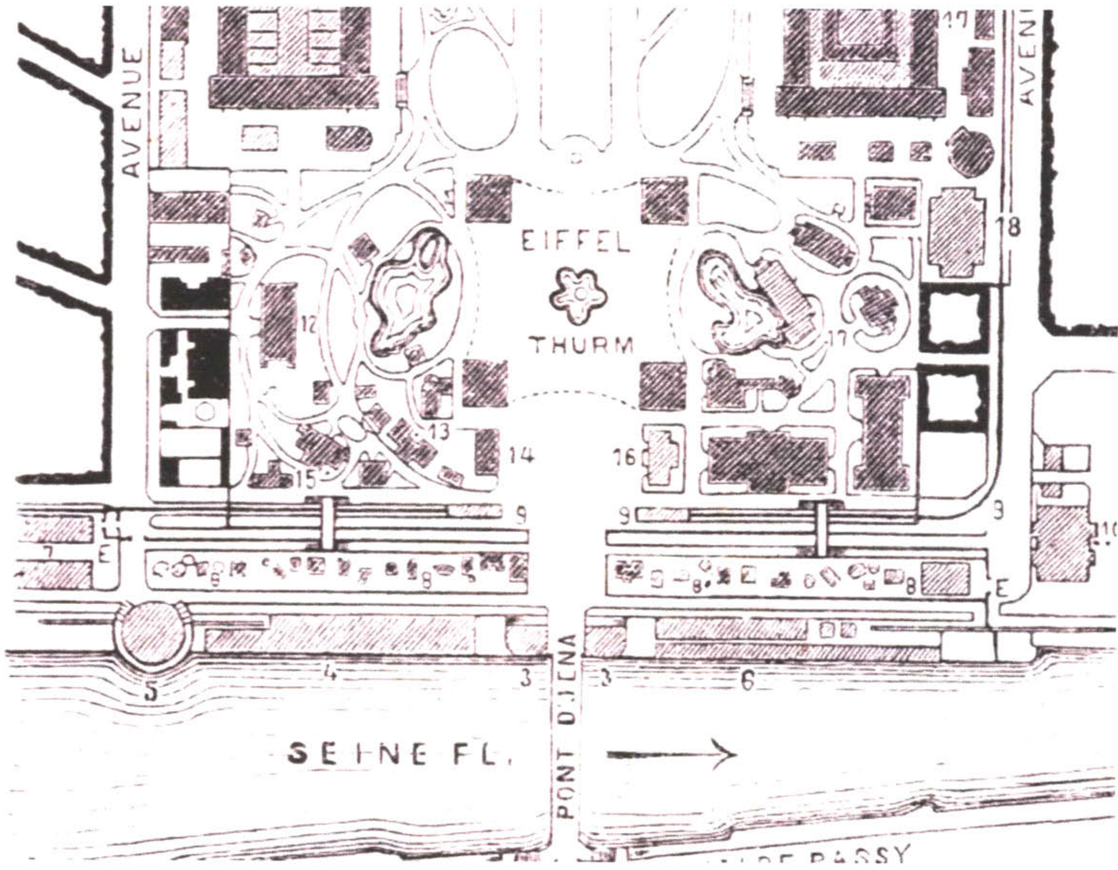

Figure 3.4: Plan of the Exposition universelle of 1889, Guide bleu du figaro University of Maryland Libraries.

To begin with, the street's preoccupation with history was odd, especially considering its setting, directly at the foot of the Eiffel Tower, in an the exhibition devoted to showcasing France's industrial innovations. The close proximity of such opposing facets of the exhibition is striking: on the one hand, Garnier's street moving horizontally through space and backwards through time; and on the other, the Eiffel tower's vertical projection hundreds of feet above the Parisian five storey urban fabric in celebration of the future of human progress.

Compounding the polemical nature of setting an exhibit on history in the midst of a World's Fair dedicated to showcasing progress was the choice of an architect like Garnier who, best known for the meticulously detailed and lavish Paris Opera house completed in 1874, was also renowned for his staunch criticism of contemporary architecture in the press. Garnier was the author of numerous editorials and articles addressed to a general audience in newspapers such as *Le Gaulois, Le Temps,* and *Le Moniteur universel,* as well as in field journals such as *Le Bâtiment* and *La Construction Moderne.*[6] Regardless of the editorial context in which he wrote, the architect consistently criticized modern Parisian domestic architecture as "monotonous rental cages" which "have lost individual cachet," and in which "the question of profit is more compelling for owners than the matter of beauty."[7]

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[6] Critical work on Garnier is surprisingly limited and includes, Louis Hautecoeur, "Le style de Charles Garnier," *L'Architecture*, vol. XXXIX, no. 1 (January, 1926):. 23-24; Françoise Loyer, *À travers les arts. Précédé des Ambiguités de Charles Garnier* (Paris: Picard 1985); Christopher Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opera: architectural empathy and the Renaissance of French classicism* (Cambridge: MIT Press 1991); Jean- Michel Leniaud, *Charles Garnier* (Paris: Centres des monuments nationaux 2003); Christopher Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). Garnier collected his various works into *À travers les arts: Causeries et mélanges* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1869).

[7] Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892).

An aggressive architectural modernity, characterized by seemingly cold industrial materials, a universalizing nature, relentless functionalism, and a prioritization of cost saving: Garnier's criticism of modernity echoes throughout the exposition as well as in his collected essays *Á travers les arts. Causeries et mélanges* (1869).[8] This criticism of modern architecture as profit-driven is especially intriguing, considering the architect's own relationship to Second Empire spectacle, given form in the Paris Opera, and perhaps even more overtly in the design for a new Casino in Monte Carlo (1878).[9] In this light, I argue that Garnier's work at the History of Human Habitation was anything but disinterested.

Whether Garnier's work at the Exposition represented a serious scholarly endeavor, as many of his contemporaries believed, or an attempt to distinguish Beaux-arts trained professional architect-historians from the architect-developers perceived as a threat to the Academy and the discipline is a question I return to throughout the chapter. When read today, Garnier's historicism is all too often dismissed full-force as conservative and reactionary. But this risks missing its relevance in the context of the investigations of architectural modernity that belong to his time. The historical longing palpable in the work of Garnier and others should be understood as a critical component of the architectural profession's struggle with modernity—and, more directly, with developers like the Compagnie Immobilière, who posed such a substantial contest to the survival of the discipline during these years.

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[8] See his *À travers les arts: Causeries et mélanges* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1869). Also earlier versions of the works collected into this publication at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Fonds Garnier, specifically those concerning contemporary articles on him and his work Pièces 145-146 and 372 ABC; manuscripts for articles, including Pièce 41 "Foule et Individualité," Pièce 43 " de l'Inutilité d'utilité et de l'utilité d'inutilité; Pièce 44 "La question artistique," Pièce 50, "Art et progress," and Pièces 176-8, correspondence concerning the library and home for Georges Hachette.

In this chapter, which has three sections, I describe the conflicting ideas about the relevance of historical form for contemporary architecture, especially Garnier's invocation of the Renaissance as an example of "style actuel," which made a broader range of historical styles available to architects to fit the expressive and compositional needs of specific projects. Next I explore Garnier's animation of historical style in the context of the Exposition universelle, and his representation of the Renaissance house as the preeminent example of dwelling. The last section of the chapter investigates the motivations underlying the invention of this new character—the architect as master historian—in the context of the World's Fair and the new real estate.

I.

> The Academy has nothing in common with the gods of the past it loves so much, except being wrapped in the clouds.
>
> -Viollet-le-Duc (1846)

> What we demand is a logical art instead and a beautiful art and one grown 'sur notre sol.'
>
> -Viollet-le-Duc (1846)[10]

Garnier's historicism stands out, especially in the context of his own teachers' critiques of the Beaux-arts emphasis on the role of historical form in the context of modern architecture. The passage above recounts the opposition of Viollet-le-Duc, one of

[10] Viollet-le-Duc, *Annales* III (1846): 333, 349.

Garnier's first employers (1848), to the perceived Beaux-arts stronghold over the built and theoretical aspects of French eighteenth and nineteenth-century architecture.[11]

Among the most fundamental aspects of Beaux-arts training (cast by Viollet cast in a decidedly negative light), were the parti method and strict Neoclassicism—the former impracticable (and inarticulate) without the language of the latter. One of the most important theoreticians of the parti was A.-C. Quatremère de Quincy, an antiquarian and theorist who held court at the École as perpetual secretary for twenty-three years beginning in 1816.[12] Perhaps the most critical component of the design method that was institutionalized at the Beaux-arts was the necessity of historical form for the communication of a building's central idea. In the nineteenth-century, numerous challenges (chief among which was Viollet's) were launched against the presumably seamless relationship between order and language (classical language in particular).

One of the effects of this debate was the formation of ateliers, alternatives to what was perceived as the entrenched Beaux-arts tradition, and Quatremère's ideas about the

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[11] For more on the Beaux-arts in all of its aspects, see essays by Robin Middleton, Hélène Lipstadt, Anthony Vidler, Alan Colquhoun, and David Van Zanten in Robin Middleton, ed., "The Beaux Arts," *AD Profiles* 17 (1976); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory* (Cambridge University Press 2005); Arthur Drexler, ed. *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977); Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Neo-Classical and Nineteenth-Century Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980); Anthony Vidler, ed. "Paris Under the Academy: City and Ideology," *Oppositions* 8 (1977).

[12] For more on de Quincy, see Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992); Thomas F. Rowlands, "Quatremère de Quincy: The Formative Years, 1785-1795 (Pd.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1987); Samir Younés, *The True, the Fictive, and the Real: The Historical Dictionary of Architecture of Quatremère de Quincy* (London: Papadakis, 1999); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory* (Cambridge University Press 2005); René Schneider, *L'esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy (1805-1823)*. (París: Hachette, 1910); René Schneider, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts (1788-1850)*. (París: Hachette et Cie, 1910); Erika Naginski, "Un parcours initiatique pour le citoyen: Le 'chemin de croix' de Quatremère de Quincy au Panthéon," in Daniel Rabreau, ed., *Le progrès des arts réunis (1763-1815)* (Bordeaux: CERCAM, 1992), 329-336; Erika Naginski, "Drawing at the Crossroads," *Representations* 72 (Fall 2000): 64-81.

role of historical language in contemporary architecture. Among the most significant of these ateliers were founded by Henri Labrouste and Viollet-le-Duc. The teachings of Léonce Reynaud, institutionalized by the École Polytechnique, and those of César Daly, disseminated to the public by way of his enormously popular annual journal *Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des travaux publics* beginning in 1840, represented yet other alternatives to the Beaux-arts. In their writings, there was a demand for a new architectural language, which would be more closely tied to modern materials and building practices. The project to free architecture from its enslavement to one particular historical ideal—that of classicism—involved architects and non-architects alike. Interested parties ranged from the Saint-Simonians to Catholic reformers, and even biologists like Georges Cuvier and Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, who compared the systems they had invented to classify plants and animals with the architectural orders.[13] Architecture fell short here, according to critics, because it confused a given style, classicism, with a science of architecture and so failed to yield a set of so-called generic principles.

Among the greatest challenges against the notion of a single eternal columnar vocabulary (and its universal validity regardless of historical, cultural and programmatic circumstances) was issued by Viollet-le-Duc, first as a proponent of the Gothic revivial and then as a leading theoretician of the so-called organic wing of nineteenth-century rationalism. Viollet's education as an architect began unconventionally. He never attended the École and instead completed a series of apprenticeships. He came to fame as a preservationist, and was, in this role, ultimately responsible for the "restoration" of major Gothic edifices such as Vézelay and Notre-Dame de Paris. At the beginning of his

[13] See Paula Young Lee, "The meaning of molluscs: Leonce Reynaud and the Cuvier-Geoffroy Debate of 1830, Paris," *The Journal of Architecture*, (Volume 3, Issue 3, September 1998): 211 – 240.

career, he made a strong case for the preeminence of one specific historical style, the Gothic, asserting that it was both Christian and French, and so still applicable in the context of modern France. He wrote a ten volume Encyclopedia of Medieval Architecture to foster and embellish the claim.[14] His attitude towards style shifted significantly in the 1850s, however, and the degree to which his early and later theories coincide and conflict has been the subject of much debate by architectural historians like Nikolaus Pevsner and Harry Francis Mallgrave.[15] For our purposes, it is important to note that by the time he became a professor and completed the *Entretiens*, based on a series of lectures for current and prospective students, his definition of style had been freed from any kind of overt historical bias. Articulated as "the manifestation of an ideal based on a principle," from his sixth lecture onwards, style was understood as a "consequence of a principle pursued methodically."[16] As he wrote and further developed his 'organicist' ideas that architectural forms should emerge from the application of correct principles and not from the manipulation of a catalogue of historical forms, his notion of style became less and less confined by the precepts of historical language and more connected to the intrinsic properties of modern materials and modes of production. After 1859, when he wrote his sixth lecture, he became preoccupied with locomotives and the industrial age as the

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[14] On Viollet's early preservationist work, see Kevin D. Murphy, *Memory and Modernity: Viollet-le-Duc at Vézelay* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Jean-Paul Midant, *Au Moyen Âge avec Viollet-le Duc* (Paris: Parangon, 2001).

[15] Both believe that Viollet-le-Duc's position on the use of historical form changes dramatically in his later work in which he all but renounces the use of historical form. For more, see Nikolas Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth-Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory* (Cambridge University Press 2005)..

[16] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture* 8 (Paris: Bance, 1854-68): 167.

sources for a modern architecture that was truly in tune with the circumstances of the day.[17]

During these same years, Reynaud was a highly influential figure at the École Polytechnique, the institution dedicated to training engineers,. In 1834, he wrote the article on "Architecture" for a new Saint-Simonian Encylopedia, in which he outlined an organicist theory of continuous architectural progress. According to his scheme, architectural progress was connected to innovations in the realms of construction and technology, and was always in the process of evolving towards greater feats of structural articulation and efficiency. As he put it, "none of the systems of the past can be considered as having an absolute value," and none "is able to serve as a definite model or formally impose its laws on us."[18] To illustrate this principle, he described the transition from post and lintel construction, the achievement of the Greeks, to the invention of the arch, attributed to the Etruscans, and its ultimate manifestation in the Gothic pointed arch. In his scheme, architects and engineers of the present day were under a kind of mandate to create a modern architecture expressive of what he called the new "grand moral idea."[19]

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[17] On Viollet's later theoretical position, see Robin Middleton, "The Rationalist Interpretations of Classicism of Léonce Reynaud and Violet-le-Duc," *AA Files* 11 (Spring 1986): 29-48; M.F. Hearn, *The Architectural Theory of Viollet-le-Duc: Readings and Commentary* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990); Martin Bressani, "Notes on Viollet-le-Duc's Philosophy of History: Dialectics and Technology," *The Journal of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Dec, 1989): 327-350); Nikolas Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth-Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory* (Cambridge University Press 2005).

[18] Léonce Reynaud, "Architecture," *Encyclopédie nouvelle 1,* ed. P. Leroux and J. Reynaud (Paris: Libraire de Charles Gosselin, 1836):772.

[19] On Reynaud, see Robin Middleton, "The Rationalist Interpretations of Classicism of Léonce Reynaud and Violet-le-Duc," *AA Files* 11 (Spring 1986): 29-48; Nikolas Pevsner, *Some*

César Daly used his position as the editor of numerous journals like the *Revue du Monde Catholique,* the *Revue générale,* and the *Démocratie pacifique* in order to make organicist claims similar to Reynaud's. However, in his case, the arguments were deeply rooted in neo-Catholic philosophy. As Hélène Lipstadt points out, the writer was associated with both Fourierists and Lamennaisan Catholic reformers[20] He assigned a moral and religious imperative to architects as members of what he called "the Catholic priesthood of artists." To fulfill this moral imperative, the architect-artist needed to be freed from the tyranny of historic style—in this case, the Gothic, a style that Daly in a polemical essay entitled "On Liberty in Art" decried as an "exclusive cult" and a "fetish."[21] In place of these historical impositions the theoretician called for a new architecture that "believes in progress, respects the past, wants liberty,"[22] demanding a modern architecture based on a uniquely modern set of tools—its own religious, social and technological beliefs and aspirations. In Daly's case, the exercise of artistic liberty, already mystified and idealized by the other organicists, was directly linked to the institutional apparatus of neo-Catholicism.[23]

Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth-Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory* (Cambridge University Press 2005).

[20] Hélène Lipstadt, "César Daly: a revolutionary architect?: The Beaux-arts, ed. Robin Middleton, *AA Profiles* 17 (London, 1975): 18-30. For more on Daly in relationship to neo-Catholicism, see Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment: César Daly's Formula For Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor, 1984); Ann Lorenz Van Zanten, "Form and Society: César Daly and the Revue générale de l'architecture, *Oppositions* 8 (Spring 1977): 137-145; Hélène Lipstadt, "César Daly: a revolutionary architect?": "The Beaux-arts," ed. Robin Middleton, *AA Profiles* 17 (London, 1975): 18-30; Anthony Vidler, "News From the Realm of Nowhere," *Oppositions* 1 (1973): 89.

[21] César Daly, "De la liberté dans l'art," *Revue Générale de l'Architecture* 7 (Paris, 1847): 393.

[22] Ibid. See also Hélène Lipstadt, "César Daly: a revolutionary architect?: The Beaux-arts, ed. Robin Middleton, *AA Profiles* 17 (London, 1975): 18-30; Anthony Vidler, "News From the Realm of Nowhere," *Opposition*s 1 (1973): 89.

One thing is clear: the relevance of history for design was a significant and compelling question for nineteenth-century architects. If architects who fell in line with Beaux-arts principles thought that certain historical forms were by their very nature ordered and comprehensible and thus a critical component of contemporary architecture stood on one side of the debate, on the other side stood those who sought an emergent modern order, tightly interlinked with the material, social and economic context out of which it arose. Perhaps at the furthest end of the divide between history and modernity were those who believed that current economic conditions and advances in material science bespoke an order, and that if architecture was created with modern means and materials (and the technological advances, construction practices and financial constraints inimical to modern means and materials were taken into account), a truly modern order would undoubtedly be made manifest. If, however, the structural properties of new materials like iron, the behavior of the market, and the organization and regulation of construction labor constituted a modern order of sorts, its ideological underpinnings—technological determinism and capitalism—gave rise to serious questions by Garnier for one that eventually corresponded to an assault on modernity: How could an architecture made with machines still foster human touch and compassion? How could the day to day interests of a building's occupants not be compromised in the face of the financial interests of its builders and owners?

In this context, Garnier towed the Beaux-arts line, at least in part, mandating a return to historical form. However, if strict Neoclassicists invoked the sui generis of the

[23] For more on Daly in relationship to neo-Catholicism, see Richard Becherer, *Science Plus Sentiment: César Daly's Formula For Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor, 1984); Ann Lorenz Van Zanten, "Form and Society: César Daly and the Revue générale de l'architecture, *Oppositions* 8 (Spring 1977): 137-145; Hélène Lipstadt, "César Daly: a revolutionary architect?": "The Beaux-arts," ed. Robin Middleton, *AA Profiles* 17 (London, 1975): 18-30; Anthony Vidler, "News From the Realm of Nowhere," *Oppositions* 1 (1973): 89.

orders of Classical architecture, Garnier pointed instead to the Renaissance's more flexible use of the orders. He called this a "style actuel," which meant the tailoring of the Classical orders to suit the expression of a particular building's use and form. According to Christopher Mead, "Garnier called for an atypological revival of the Renaissance practice of art because of the failure of the classical orders to define a modern architectural style… his rejection of the Neoclassical premise of an ideal order is combined with the elevation of the Renaissance over antiquity as history's model for the present."[24] Where the Classical orders had failed in the nineteenth-century context, according to Garnier, because the system was too "formulaic," the model of the Renaissance offered an example that "put ancient language into the service of the specific needs of a building."[25] In other words, the Classical repertoire, no longer constrained by proportional or typological models, could now be harnessed to best serve Beaux-arts ideals, especially the parti, and to highlight the massing and sequencing of a specific building.

This meant that the architect was given greater freedom to manipulate historical forms to best serve the interests of a project. In order to properly orchestrate the animation of historical forms, however, the architect had to be armed with a thorough understanding of these forms so that they continued to resonate for their users—if the forms didn't resonate, they were without design value. Critical to the success of an architect like Garnier then, who prided himself on magisterial and spectacular animations of historical form, was a masterful knowledge of historical form—precisely the kind of knowledge his Beaux-arts training had given him. Looked at in this light, Garnier's work

[24] Christopher Mead, *Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra: Architectural Empathy and the Renaissance of French Classicism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991): 237.

[25] Op Cit. Paul Sédille, "Charles Garnier," *Gazette des Beaux-arts,* (xx, 1898): 222.

on the street of historical habitation represents just one aspect of Garnier's research, and of his fashioning of himself as an architect and master historian. The motivations underlying this new architectural role need to be examined in the remainder of the chapter.

II.

> Uniformly built, uniformly pierced, uniformly distributed, with very few exceptions, the houses of the nineteenth-century are increasingly devoid of personality; they are only distinguished from one another, if one can say that, by their numbers and their street names… uniformity seems to have become the universal law.[26]

If Garnier had a problem with the universalization of the orders as a sui generis, he aired similar concerns regarding the lack of specificity that characterized the modern dwelling. Most notable in an oeuvre replete with written and drawn representations of nostalgia was the street of full-scale historic dwellings he built for the 1889 Exposition universelle (Figs. 2, 4).[27] Set along the Seine in roughly chronological order, the replicas of dwellings became more elaborate as the spectator advanced along the historic timeline. The book published a year after the exhibition set out to answer questions that arose

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[26] "Uniformément bâties, uniformément percées, uniformément distribuées, à de rares exceptions près, les maisons du XIXe siècle tendent de plus en plus à perdre toute physionomie personnelle; elles ne se distinguent plus, pour ainsi dire, que par des numéros d'ordre et le nom des rues;… l'uniformité semble devenir la loi universelle." Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine.* (Paris: Hachette, 1892): 811.

[27] Here I am thinking of his articles, including Pièce 41 "Foule et Individualité," Pièce 43 " de l'Inutilité d'utilité et de l'utilité d'inutilité; Pièce 44 "La question artistique," Pièce 50, "Art et progress." The manuscripts are at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Fonds Garnier. See also his collected writings, *À travers les arts: Causeries et mélanges* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1869).

about the quality of the research that supported this massive undertaking. In it, Garnier and his co-author the historian Ammann provided elaborate explanations of their sources, insisting that each dwelling represented a "vraisemblable," or something that was plausible.[28] At the very least, the historical and geographic breadth of the exhibit made a case for Garnier's definition of the architect as master-historian.

The exhibit began with the cave-dwellings of the Troglodytes and outdoor shelters formed by screens of stones and sheaths of leaves and branches (Fig. 5). Garnier cited numerous sources for the replica of a Troglodyte cave dwelling on the Champ de Mars, including the discovery of a cave in 1842 in the village of Haut-Garonne, the cave of Eyzies in the Périgord, Salutré in Sâone-et-Loire and more recently, the archeologist Conrad Merk's excavation of Kessler-Loch in Switzerland in 1866. In addition, he pointed to literary descriptions from classical antiquity including those of Ptolemy, Strabon, and Pliny.[29] As he described it, the representation of the cave-dwelling at the Exposition was a bit smaller than the originals but still "an exacting replication of the genre;" this was an "ideal habitation" in which, "having no worries, [the inhabitant] could sleep in peace." "Neither too cold nor too warm," the "solidity of the walls gave [primitive man] a sense of security."[30]

Garnier's description of the archaeological sources of the cave dwellings was thorough and extensive; however, his scholarly tone was punctuated frequently by expressions of anthropological positivism, which situated the European Renaissance as the preeminent example of "civilized" dwelling and all earlier and later experiments as

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[28] Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892): iv.

[29] Ibid, 40-2.

[30] Ibid 49-50.

"primitive" by contrast. As Garnier put it, "caves haven't been totally abandoned today though. On the Southern coast of Arabia people live in this way with stalactites on their roofs."[31] In this way, he extended the historical category of "undeveloped" architecture to encompass the nineteenth-century colonial periphery. In fact, the foundation of historical categories of the primitive and the exotic and their subsequent application to contemporary non-Western regions was a recurring theme throughout the project. Reinforcing their perception as "primitive" was the fact that these were visible as objects only while the kinds of spaces they enclosed were physically off limits and left to the imagination of the visitor.

Further down the street, the more modern homes, including Assyrian, Phoenician, Hebrew, and Etruscan dwellings and a Germanic log house could actually be entered and explored (Fig. 6). Characterized by the use of two systems of construction—one defined by large boulders and the other by wood frames, the Etruscan home was recreated, according to Garnier and Ammann, based on nineteenth-century discoveries of tombs, especially the 1835 excavation of the Tomb of the Vulci by Noel des Vergers (Fig. 7). These were excellent sources, the exhibition designers explained, because Etruscan tombs were often modeled on actual houses, meant to be inhabited in the family's afterlife. The model of the Urn at Chiusi and the Model of an Urn in the Form of a House, both on view at the Florence Museum, were the chief exemplars for the house on the Champ de Mars. We can surmise that Garnier would have visited these during his five-year stay in Italy.[32]

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid 278.

Figure 3.5: Dwellings of Tribal Peoples of Africa, North America, and Arctic Regions, History of Human Habitation Exhibit. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZ62-102669.

Figure 3.6: History of Human Habitation Exhibition showing from left to right: Assyrian, Phoenician, Hebrew, Etruscan, Hindu, and a Germanic loghouse, Paris Exposition universelle 1889. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZ62-106641.

Examples like the Etruscan home were figured by Garnier as proto-modern due to their "invention" of a "true architectural ornament for the decoration of both the interior and the exterior."[33] In this way, Garnier made a critical link between progress and the development of architectural language, substantiating the role he was forging for the architect as master historian. The section of the exhibit dedicated to proto-modern Western homes was further distinguished by the design and display of habitable interior space. As he described it, "nothing is easier than representing an aspect of the Etruscan interior. We must animate the house we've described and introduce movement and life." This animation, based on Etruscan paintings on view at the Florence Museum, meant the exhibition of actual people—"natives" dressed in clothing with flowers, embroidery, a profusion of extraordinary colors, bracelets, and jewels; children playing; and animals including geese, pigeons, dogs and cats wandering around all areas of the house. The so-called "fete domestique" celebrated what Garnier venerated as the birth of "true architectural ornament" and of inhabitable private space in all of the proto-modern replicas on the Champ de Mars.

This all coalesced in the premature ending of the exhibit with a sixteenth-century house (as opposed to continuing through to the present, or at least the previous century), which posited a strong and clear break between history and modernity, construed in this case as the post-Renaissance world (Fig. 8). In the example of the sixteenth-century house, the decisions regarding which historical discoveries to highlight and which to ignore are particularly striking. Garnier emphasized the articulation of the façade and its role in denoting character and uniqueness—"on the facade, cartouches, medallions, bas-reliefs, and statuettes break up the monotony of right angles and give the ensemble a

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[33] Ibid 253-4.

unique style of its own."[34] His description of the house also emphasized the role of exterior walls, which were used, according to Garnier to separate the house from the life of the street.[35] According to the designers, the replica seen here was an exact copy of the ground and first floors of the house of Orléans (rue des Hôtelleries) with a few critical differences, including the suppression of the second floor and the addition of a tower at an angle to "make for the most expressive silhouette."[36] So, the research gathered was selectively culled to highlight the qualities Garnier attributed to a given period, in the case of the Renaissance, the articulation of "the most expressive silhouette." If cave dwellings at the Exposition represented the "primitive" architectural object and the Etruscan home marked the evolution of ornamental language and inhabitable space, the Renaissance house exemplified the development of an expressive façade for the private interior.

After the Renaissance begins what Garnier characterized as the fall of domestic architecture—the "decoration of exteriors becomes more and more simplified and interiors lose their individual character as they are subdivided more every day into multiple apartments;" "construction becomes uniform, walls become shared party walls;" "windows devolve into rectangular units."[37] This depiction of architecture's downward turn after the sixteenth-century amounted to a relatively simplistic narrative of linear development, which charted an increase in privacy and distinction as domestic space evolved. In this way, a critical relationship was drawn between progress and the

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[34] Ibid 768.

[35] Ibid 769.

[36] Ibid 770.

[37] Ibid 779-80.

elaboration of a home's walls—as a function of enclosure and expression. Throughout his written and built work, Garnier consistently championed the Renaissance as the preeminent expression of civilization. If the Renaissance, the Beaux-arts and the architect as master-historian were the objects of praise here, modernity, profit, and the architect-developer were looked at with disdain. In the next section I examine Garnier's use of the objects of his disdain, especially the commodity, to stage and even sell to the public audience of the Exposition the Renaissance, the Beaux-arts and the role of the architect as master historian. Were the motivations for the staging of the history of human habitation scholarly in nature or did Garnier have a professional agenda here?

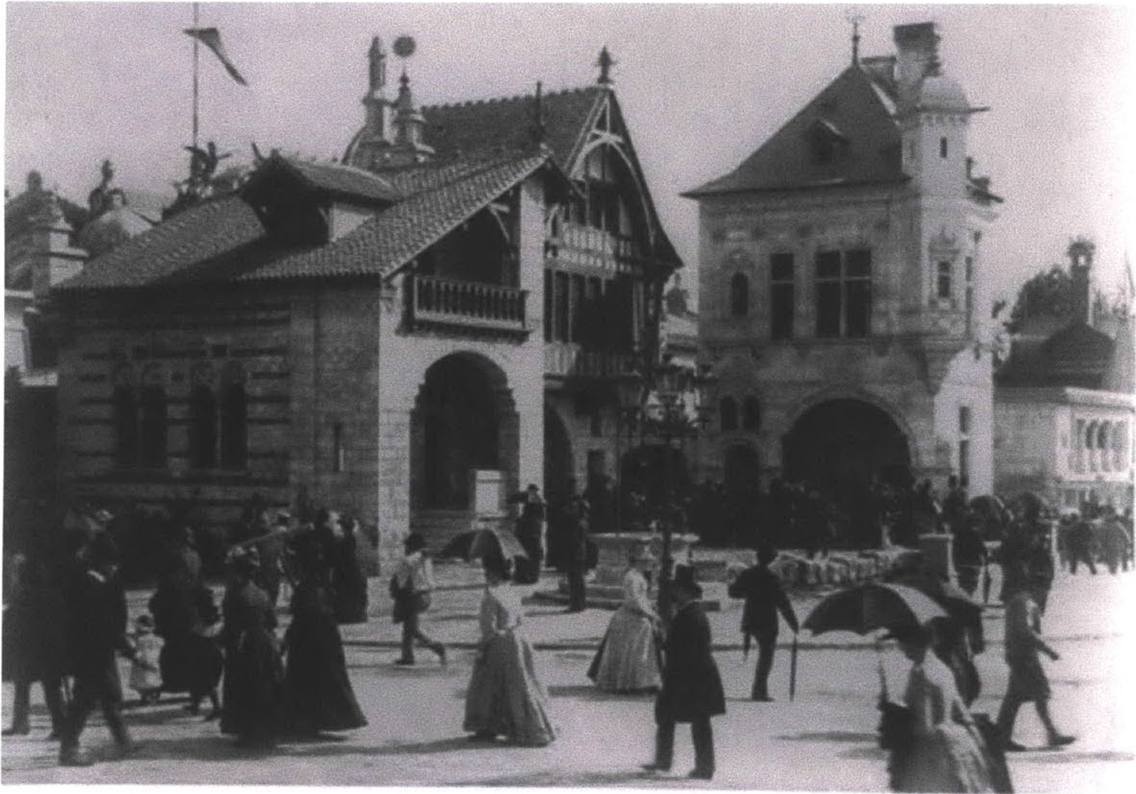

Figure 3.7: Houses of the Romanesque, Medieval, and Renaissance periods in the History of Human Habitation Exhibit, Paris Exposition universelle 1889. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZ62-890999.

III.

"This is not a history of habitation, but a series of anecdotes."

-Hector Pessard (1889)[38]

To answer these questions, I turn now to the reception of the exhibit by the press, most of whom were interested in precisely this question—as Maurice Brincourt put it, "is this a serious or fantastical archeological work? Is this an in-depth study of the various styles of one era or another, or simply an architectural puzzle for grownups? Opinions differ... as always."[39] Visitors who praised the show in political, religious, and scientific journals noted an "impression of intensity," and "of realism."[40] However, many of the complimentary reviews were coupled with concerns. If Hector Pessard, a journalist who wrote frequently for the *National* for example, praised the exhibit's "impression of intensity," he also criticized the narrative of positivist progress and the primitivist discourse that "looked with disdain at the animals we come from."[41]

[38] Hector Pessard, "Notes and Impressions," *Revue bleue: politique et litterale* (vol. 17 Jan.-July 1889): 542.

[39] " sommes-nous en face d'une oeuvre archéologique sérieuse ou fantaisiste? Est-ce une etude approfondie des différents styles de telle ou telle époque, ou simplement un jeu d'architecture pour les grandes personnes? Les avis sont partagés... comme toujours." Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et cie, 1890): 173.

[40] This is described in all of the contemporary accounts. See Maurice Brincourt, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et cie, 1890); L. Rousselet and A. Lahure, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Hachette et cie 1890); E. Monod, *L'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Dento 1890); A. Picard, *Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris: rapport général* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1891); L'Abbé Ansault, "Le culte de la croix avant Jésus-Christ," *Le Correspondent* (v. 157 1889): 264-312; Hector Pessard, "Notes and Impressions," *Revue bleue: politique et litterale* (vol. 17 Jan.-July 1889): 542; M.H. de Varigny, "Exposition universelle L'histoire de l'habitation humaine," *Revue scientifique (Revue rose)* (vol. xvii, jan-july 1889): 688-691; "Ascension de la Tour Eiffel et visite de l'exposition universelle de 1889" *Congrès internationale des architectes* (nov. 1887- may 1889): 355-70.

[41] Hector Pessard, "Notes and Impressions," *Revue bleue: politique et litterale* (vol. 17 Jan.-July 1889): 542.

The "disdain" that likened humans to animals was perhaps most pronounced in the staging of contemporary non-Western dwellings at the Exhibit. Under the subheading of "savage peoples," the Javanese bamboo habitations and their verandas, for example, were, on the one hand, full of the kind of historical veracity and "realism" critics admired (Fig. 9). In the case of the Javanese dwelling this involved the elevation one or two meters above the ground with pilotis, made of bamboo, which were clad with woven walls. On the other hand, Garnier himself applied the category of the "primitive" to this example of a contemporary home; as he put it, "with their foundations on pilotis these poorly recall the first prehistoric homes. With the elegance of their decoration, they are much more civilized."[42] The level of realism achieved by the representation of the Javanese home was to be viewed with suspicion then, according to critics, for its implication with primitivist and even colonialist discourses. Add to this the fact that a single Javanese home the date of which was unspecified bore the responsibility of representing the whole of the history of Javanese domestic architecture here. This was in marked contrast with the careful delineation of distinct moments in the history of Western dwelling. The presence of so-called "locals" dressed in "traditional" costume who sold food and beverages to exhibit visitors only further substantiated the concerns of Pessard and others regarding the kind of narrative that was being staged here and its relationship with colonial kitsch.[43] Looked at in retrospect, there can be no doubt that food and beverages were not the only products for sale here. What was ultimately for sale was a narrative of positive progress culminating in the European Renaissance.

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[42] Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892): 883-4.

[43] All of the guidebooks attest to this, especially J. Deniker and L. Laloy, "Les races exotiques à l'exposition universelle de 1889" in *L'Anthrop* (1890).

For others like the psychologist M.H. Varigny, the encyclopedic nature of the exhibit and what he called its "overarching generalizations" "represented not a history of habitation but a series of anecdotes." In a very critical editorial addressed to scientists in the *Revue Rose*, Varigny attacked an "investigation too broad" for attempting, for example, to "synthesize the whole of African history into two or three cabanes." In other words, the desire to depict the history of habitation as a "seamless succession" culminating in the Western Renaissance meant generalizing about, eclipsing, and even diminishing many complex examples of dwelling, particularly those of other cultures. Varigny suggested that Garnier should have mounted an exhibition dedicated to the history of French habitation instead. According to the critic, this would have offered an opportunity for greater specificity and a cultural framework that better suited what he perceived as the architect's central interest.[44]

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[44] M.H. de Varigny, "Exposition universelle L'histoire de l'habitation humaine," *Revue scientifique (Revue rose)* (vol. xvii, jan-july 1889): 688-691.

Figure 3.8: Six Javanese Women, two in native dress, four in costume, full-length portrait, seated in front of the Javanese dwelling, Paris Exposition universelle 1889. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division LC-USZ62-109528.

If the Exhibit was criticized for a lack of specificity and for colonialist undertones in non-architectural journals, it was subsequently indicted by architects as well, especially for the emphasis on certain aspects of the homes and the overlooking of others—remember the kind of editing involved in the rendition of the Renaissance house, for example. According to those who reviewed the exhibit for the Congrès internationale des architectes, the choices regarding which elements of a design to highlight and which to leave aside were made carefully in order to substantiate the narrative Garnier was trying to construct.[45] Working in concert, an idea of positivist progress, which positioned the Renaissance as the preeminent example of civilized dwelling, and that of colonial primitivism, which likened non-Western contemporary dwellings to prehistoric architecture, resulted in the dismissal of anything that threatened the hegemonic perception of the Western Renaissance. Emphasizing facades and ground floors throughout the exhibition and in the Renaissance home in particular meant the foregrounding of precisely the characteristic Garnier admired most—the "expressive silhouette," and consequently, the reinforcement of the architectural values (and the value of architecture) he meant to sell here. The notion of a grand Western narrative of architectural history culminating in the Renaissance was propped up, especially against the threat of the architect-developer whose houses of revenue Garnier takes on in the section of the project dedicated to modern architecture.

It is hard to say what Garnier detests more—the contemporary architecture of the non-West, which he dismissed as primitive, or the modern European apartment houses,

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[45] "Ascension de la Tour Eiffel et visite de l'exposition universelle de 1889" *Congrès internationale des architectes* (nov. 1887- may 1889): 364.

condemned in the Exhibit as well. The critique of the apartment house, referred to as a "house of revenue" here, was signaled first and foremost by the absence of any examples of housing dated later than the sixteenth-century in the History of Human Habitation. Many aspects of the exhibition contributed to the foregrounding of the Renaissance dwelling over the contemporary situation—seen to be lacking in specificity, expression, and history by contrast. The continuous festival of premodern life, imagined in the exhibition, essentially cast it in a better light, especially when compared to the humdrum of modern life outside the Exhibit's walls. In addition, the promotion and sale of historic goods and services increased the perceived value of the setting in which they were sold, which led, inevitably, to a kind of devaluation of modern daily life, deemed unworthy of exhibition in comparison.

The message being sent here is clear: progress—in the most positive sense—was connoted by the solid articulation of a home's walls, which meant that the nineteenth-century urban fabric, made up of large attached buildings, by contrast, was cast as a kind of regression from the unique and defined Renaissance spaces. The exhibit ended with a sixteenth-century home, but we can imagine that the actual nineteenth-century Parisian apartment houses, which stood as the exhibit's bookends in space—acted as a kind of coda to the main body of the exhibit and would have served as prime examples in the case Garnier made against the havoc modernity was wrecking on architecture. What remains mere speculation in the context of the exhibit was confirmed in the book, the final section of which is dedicated to a discussion of the development of the contemporary house and maison à rapport, and all of the problems the modern forms of housing represent for private life.

In this section of the text, Garnier worries about the effects of a larger urban population and what he calls its "inevitable consequences." Substantive increases in land

values, for example, meant that buildings formerly in the possession of one family were now divided and shared. This created a situation in which later generations of a family would no longer be born and laid to rest on the same property as their great grandparents. Garnier was also concerned about the intrusion of various outside parties, ranging from landlords and financiers to Haussmann's prefecture, into the previously sacrosanct and private familial domain. His other chief complaints addressed the differentiation brought to the new apartment by which the common room that formerly collapsed together so many different activities has been eradicated and all of its functions split into so many disparate rooms; likewise, family members who formerly shared quarters were now vanquished to their own bedrooms as well. Garnier expressed the current state of affairs like this: "the most characteristic trait of the interior modifications made to bourgeois housing in modern times is the increasing number of bedrooms, which is the result of a sort of dismemberment of primitive living situations." Division, morcelization, parcelization, and dismemberment run hand in hand with accusations of homogenization and cost cutting throughout the chapters Garnier devotes to modern housing in his text.[46]

Given some reflection, this concern of Garnier's over the subdivision of a building into apartments and that of an apartment into rooms is odd, to say the least. One would expect that the Garnier who so wholeheartedly disapproved of the fragmentation of buildings and apartments alike would also feel dismay, on another scale, in regards to the fracturing of the urban and social fabric into individual property lots for unique free-standing family homes. However, this is not the case for, as we have seen, it is actually these individuated and distinct homes that Garnier celebrates as the pinnacles of

[46] "Le trait le plus caractéristique des modifications intérieures qui subit l'habitation bourgeoise pendant les temps modernes, c'est la multiplication progressive des chambres, résultant d'une sorte de démembrement des installations primitives." Charles Garnier and A. Ammann. *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris: Hachette, 1892): 792.

achievement on his street of historic habitation. This apparent contradiction involves a concern over the divisive nature of rationalization within a given building or apartment unit, all the while prizing the capacity of individual buildings to powerfully inscribe and distinguish unique families in the larger urban fabric. If the act of dividing and distinguishing was maligned in one situation and prized in another, it is perhaps, at least in part, because the distinction of rooms and occupants, for Garnier and other like-minded reactionaries, potentially fractured traditional social forms like the family, while the enunciation of the home in situ was thought to safeguard and conserve its wholeness across space and time. As we will see in the next two chapters, Catholic and republican leaders looked first and foremost to the family and social order as two of the most crucial defenses against the threats of disease and revolution associated with modernity.[47]

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Profit-driven, lacking in expression, monotonous, and divisive: these invective adjectives comprised the refrain of Garnier's indictment of modern architecture. As a remedy, he proposed a return to the Renaissance dwelling, and especially its "expressive silhouette." Garnier had admired Renaissance architecture from the very beginning of his career for its flexible use of the otherwise restrictive Classical orders. Garnier's frequent praise of the "style actuel," he found in Michaelangelo's and Bernini's work, highlighted masterful adaptations of the orders based on a building's prospective use and expressive intent.

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[47] The related topics of the family and private property were substantial topics of inquiry during the period. A few examples of a much broader tendency include: Émile Durkheim, *Émile Durkheim: His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study,* ed. Steven Lukes, (Stanford: Standford University Press, 19750; Alfred Victor Espinas,. *Des sociétés animales; étude de psychologie comparée* (Paris: G. Baillière et cie, 1877); A. Giraud-Teulon, *Les origines du mariage et de la famille. (*Genève: A. Cherbuliez, 1884); Frederick Engels, *The origin of the family, private property and the state* (1884), tr. ErnestUntermann (Chicago: C. H. Kerr, 1902).

The few buildings Garnier himself designed represent further explorations on the architect's part of the expressive possibilities of the "style actuel."

In the context of the Exposition universelle though, the incantation of the Renaissance extended way beyond the theoretical confines of an architectural treatise, and of a singular building, involving massive financial investment and resources to erect forty-three temporary replicas of historic homes on the Champ de Mars. To make his case for the Renaissance home and the "style actuel" as the pinnacle of domestic architecture, then, Garnier constructed—literally—a "seamless" narrative of progress, figuring the antecedents of the Renaissance, all non-Western architecture, and the examples that followed the Renaissance as primitive, undeveloped, and savage even.

I want to pause for a moment to think about the aspects of the less developed domestic architecture that unsettled Garnier most. He criticized pre-Renaissance architecture for its lack of a cohesive and expressive ornamental language. Non-western architecture was condemned for rudimentary construction techniques while contemporary apartment houses were indicted for putting too much emphasis on revenue at the expense of everything else. In all of these cases, what was missing is a designer who was well-versed in historical architectural language and capable of keeping economic interests in proper check. In the hands of less masterful architects, in other words, according to Garnier, design was utterly debased and the profession was on the verge of extinction.

Historically illiterate, and consumed by an interest in profit over all else—this description bears a strong resemblance to the architect-developers who, as we saw in the last chapter, were taking the Parisian architectural scene by storm at precisely the same time that Garnier mounted his exhibition and his laudatory defense of the architect as master historian. If building entrepreneurs are the objects of Garnier's critique here and his aim was to reassert a professional territoriality for the Beaux-arts architect, his own

engagement with precisely the commodity culture he derides is puzzling to say the least. Not only does the architect celebrate the commercial aspects of the fair by selling food and souvenirs throughout the History of Human Habitation Exhibit, but he makes a Second-Empire style spectacle of historical architecture and of other cultures. This is funny at times and also deeply disturbing, tinged with racism and colonialism.

More than anything, Garnier's relationship with commodity culture is confusing and begs the question of exactly what he was selling at the Exposition universelle. The architecture of the Western Renaissance and "style actuel" are being pitched to consumers here. More than this even, what is being branded here is the role of the Beaux-arts trained architect as master historian, who is well enough versed in historical style to create a domestic architecture that is properly expressive. When Garnier, in his book-length epilogue to the exhibition, turns to his own design for an apartment house as an example of the "best of the worst" of the apartment house genre, we can conclude that the exposition has also been staged to sell the architect's own designs and if not his designs per se, then his design affinities and values at the very least.

CHAPTER 4: BLANC, INTERIOR DESIGN, AND BOURGEOIS SUBJECTIVITY

According to its many detractors, the modern bourgeois apartment industry led to a loss of architectural character, specificity, and even humanity in the new building. The negative perception of so-called architectural progress was directly tied to the concern that older, and ostensibly loftier, ideals were being replaced with what amounted to calculations of cost effectiveness and maximum profit. The strong reaction against speculative architecture was more than anything directed against what was seen to be the transformation- and denigration- of architecture by the market. One of the most significant new professions to emerge alongside what Garnier had characterized as "money generating machines" was interior design, which interestingly addressed not only issues like taste, but also qualities like solidity, permanence, and order.[1] Fabricating the appearance of order in the new apartment was the overriding goal of designers. Towards these ends, one of the profession's most illustrious spokesmen who was also the director of the Beaux-arts, Auguste-Alexandre-Philippe-Charles Blanc (1813-82), introduced

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[1] Before the Revolution of 1789, interior decorators worked primarily for the King and the aristocracy. The development of what Leora Auslander calls "expert commentators on questions of taste" was directed towards the bourgeoisie and the working class home—"from the 1830s to the end of the nineteenth-century, an extraordinary and extraordinarily large number of people set out to write, speak, and act on matters of taste and style." Leora Auslander. *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press): 195-6. See also Deborah Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de Siècle France;* Nancy J. Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Works by decorators of the period include: Anaïs Lebrun Bassanville *L'art de bien tenir une maison* (Paris: Victor-Havard, 1892); Henri Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe, privé et public depuis l'antiquité jusq'à nos jours.* Vol. 4 (Paris: A. Lahure, 1881); Victor Champier, "La maison modèle: etudes et types d'ameublement," *Revue des arts décoratifs 3* (1882-83): 19-21, 41-58, 180-84, 364-74; Ernest Foussier, *L'appartement français à la find du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Thézard Fils, 1890); Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la decoration depuis l'XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours* 4 vols. (Paris: Quantin, 1887-90).

what he called a universal grammar of decoration, built of motifs like repetition, alternation, and symmetry.[2]

The connection Blanc makes at the outset of his project between grammar and "order" is illustrated with a diagram in the introduction to the text (Fig. 1). The link between order and the decorative arts in this diagram is especially interesting. Order here is not related to architectural structure, the articulation of loads, and the transfer of weight from building to ground. Nor is this a concept that organizes space into private and public zones, manages the adjacency of programmatic elements, and matters of circulation. Instead, Blanc champions an optical order in which colors, materials, ornaments and furnishings articulate a surface to be apprehended through the senses and admired for its underlying logic. It is arguable that Blanc deployed the concept of order in the context of the decorated surfaces of the new apartment over and against what was emerging as an ineffable architectural commodity with no order of its own.

Blanc's grammar of the decorative arts was part of a larger project that ultimately aimed to encompass architecture, sculpture, and painting in a uniquely French system of aesthetic philosophy. In his introduction to the first volume of the *Grammaire*, Blanc points directly to the great French philosopher of his time, Victor Cousin (1792-1867), whose Eclectic theory served as a philosophical—and culturally specific—template for his treatise. In this chapter, I consider the structure of Blanc's *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison* (1882) as well as the ways in which Blanc

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[2] Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison* (Paris: Renouard, 1882) and *Grammaire des arts du Dessin.* 2nd ed. (Paris: , 1870). There is very little secondary literature on Blanc; Misook Song. *Art Theories of Charles Blanc 1813-1882.* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984).

draws on Victor Cousin's aesthetic philosophy.[3] Eclectic ideas about the subjective experience of objects offer a means to explore Blanc's instructions for the design of the new interior. The significance Blanc places on color, light, and impression testifies to a new and important emphasis on the surface during this period and a related shift in focus from objective reality to subjective experience. Blanc even goes so far as to figure the whole of the interior realm as a kind of protective womb for fostering burgeoning subjectivity, one that is also dependent on modern notions of property, privacy, and family. Precisely what kind of subject, I will ask, is figured in what Blanc himself calls the grammar of interior design? Does Blanc's optical order read as an attempt to underscore the permanence of architecture? Or, is it perhaps the modern subject, the moi, that is being presented here instead?

I.

> "In England the books that treat the arts and beauty are well known by all who are well-educated. People have read Burke, Hume, Reid, Price, Alison… in Germany more abstract ideas are familiar to the public… this science of beauty or if you like the philosophy of sentiment that Baumgarten calls aesthetics was given great importance throughout German universities before there was even a chair in

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[3] On philosophical eclecticism, see Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2005); Jules Simon, *Victor Cousin* (Paris: Hachette, 1887); John I. Brooks, *The Eclectic Legacy: Academic Philosophy and the Human Sciences in Nineteenth-century France* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998); Patrice Vermeren, *Victor Cousin: Le jeu de la philosophie et de l'état* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1995); James W. Manns, *Reid and his French Disciples: Aesthetics and Metaphysics* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994). Also, Victor Cousin, *Lectures on the True, Beautiful, and Good,* O.W. Wight, Tr. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1872): Théodore Simon Jouffroy, *Introduction to Ethics, including a Critical Survey of Moral Systems,* William H. Channing, Tr., 2 vols (Boston: William H. Dennet, 1873); Charles Lévêque, *La sciencie du beau, étudiée dans ses principes, dans ses applications, et dans son histoire.* 2 vols. (Paris: A. Durand and Pedone-Lauriel, 1872).

aesthetics created for the College of France just three years ago. The speculations of Kant on the sublime, of Schiller on the ideal, the ideas of Mendelssohn, the argument between Lessing and Winckelmann, the profound discourse of Schelling, the great lessons of Hegel.... All of these are better known than are the luminous and eloquent pages of Lamennais and Cousin, who represent the French philosophical legacy for Aesthetics... We must make this lacuna in public knowledge disappear or we cannot be at the head of nations" (2-3).

In the Introduction to the three volume work of Aesthetics, Blanc sets out a nationalist imperative for his project—to make the "lacuna in public knowledge of the arts disappear" so that France can be "at the head of nations." If English work on the topic was indebted to the country's great philosophical legacy, which included Burke, Hume, Reid, Price, and Alison, and German advances were the legacy of the more "abstract speculations" of Kant, Schiller, Mendelssohn, Schelling and Hegel, France needed to mine the potential of the "luminous and eloquent pages" of Lamennais and Cousin as its own unique philosophical template for aesthetics.

The crucial role Blanc assigns to Eclectic philosophy in the project of a new French Aesthetics is to be expected, especially considering the movement's pervasiveness during these years. In her study devoted to its political and cultural effects, Jan Goldstein asks "How can we account for the cultural situation [...] in which Cousinianism and its iconic moi had moved beyond the lecture halls of the Ecole normale supérieure and the Paris Faculty of Letters and entered the mainstream?"[4] In other words,

[4] Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2005): 183.

Cousinianism emerged from behind the walls of the great centers of higher learning in Paris, to be institutionalized—and nationalized—as part of France's lycée system, thus becoming a critical component of cultural consciousness at large. In fact, the course of philosophy designed by Cousin, remained in place from 1832 to 1874. Education was universalized throughout the country during the period and so every student who studied in the lycée system in France would have completed Cousin's philosophy course.

Blanc and Cousin were members of many of the same intellectual institutions in Paris as well. During the same years that Blanc rose to power in the Ecole des Beaux-arts and the Academie française, Cousin was a member of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, the Chamber of Peers, the Institut de France, the Academie française, and the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. As the chair of Philosophy at the Sorbonne and together with so-called disciples like Amédée Jacques, Emile Saisset, and Jules Simon, who was a member of the Academie française with Blanc himself, Cousin produced the six-volume summary of the teachings of the Eclectic movement, *Dictionnaire des sciences philosophiques* (1844-52).

The influence of Cousinianism during the period is confirmed by Blanc's reiteration of much of Cousin's terminology, especially the emphasis on the subjective experience of objects and surfaces and the analysis of perception. In the first few pages of his text, Blanc draws a distinction between object-centered aesthetic theory according to which "the marble trembles in front of me," and his own point of view, which emphasizes the subjective apprehension of objects—"I tremble in front of the marble" (4). The shift in focus from the "the marble"—the object— to the "I"—the subject— marks the legacy of Eclecticism, and in particular, its attention to the subjective

apprehension of objects. I turn now to Cousin, briefly describing the nature of subjectivity in his philosophy, especially regarding the subject's relationship with objects.

Cousin attributes three faculties to man:

> [...] "sensation [...] is variable, limited, incapable of producing and authorizing any thing universal and necessary. [...] As sensibility puts me in relation with the physical world, so another faculty puts me in communication with truths that depend on neither the world nor me, and that faculty is reason."[5]

The faculty of reason conceives principles and connects with truths that are independent of the self and the physical world. "The faculty of sensation is "variable and limited," but still our first connection to the world. In this scheme, the "particular (sense) precedes the general (idea), the concrete precedes the abstract;" in other words, sensation is the first form of knowledge of the world that we have, but its capacity is limited and it relies on reason to become a general truth; not only that, but sense perceives the qualities and phenomena of objects instantaneously and it is only through the exercise of reason that an object can be grasped and unified as an idea.[6] Cousin adds to these faculties a third faculty seen to be at the helm of the other two. Dedicated to "voluntary and free activity," this faculty is called voluntary will. According to Cousin,

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[5] Victor Cousin, *Lectures on the True, Beautiful, and Good,* O.W. Wight, Tr. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1872): 47.

[6] Ibid 54.

"it must, then, be avowed that there is in us a supreme power that presides over all our faculties, over intelligence as well as sensibility, which is distinguished from them, and is mingled with them, governs them, or leaves them to their natural development, making appear, even in its absence, the character that belongs to it, since the man that is deprived of it avows that he is no longer the master of himself, that he is not himself, so true is it that human personality resides particularly in that prominent power that is called the will."[7]

Associated with ideas of liberty and self-governance, this particular faculty has the capacity to prioritize and organize the litany of sensations and objective truths encountered by man. At the helm of the subject, volitional will incites decisions and choices as to when and how to act, and, in Cousin's rendition, it is the impetus for good and bad actions alike. The faculty of volitional will is also the singularly new part of the Eclectic triad, or at least the one Cousin does not trace to particular historical philosophical sources.

In her study entitled *The Post-Revolutionary Self,* Jan Goldstein links the birth of what she calls the moi, the modern bourgeois subject, to this conscious directing element of Cousin's triad. The connection she forges between volitional will and modern bourgeois subjectivity is something we will want to hold on to, especially in the next section of this chapter in which we will investigate the status of subjectivity in the context of Blanc's optical order.

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[7] Ibid 236.

But first, we need to point to the entity that transcends, and, according to Cousin, completes the whole of his triad. As Cousin put it,

> "we come thus to something absolute, which is no longer suspended in the vagueness of abstraction, but is a being substantially existing. This being, absolute and necessary, since it is the subject of necessary and absolute truths, this being which is at the foundation of truth as its very essence, in a single word is called God."[8]

"Absolute," "necessary," "substantial" "truth": Cousin's invocation of God puts us back in the familiar terrain of metaphysics, which takes us far afield from the nineteenth-century's particular construction of relationships between sense and reason and order and perception, which we mean to explore here. However, there is a contradiction to be detected in Cousin's philosophy between, on the one hand, what amounts to his relatively radical idea of an a priori and independent volitional will and, on the other, his return, ultimately, to the conservative metaphysical idea of God. In fact, in the first sections of Cousin's book devoted to the triad of human faculties, we find volitional will at the helm, so to speak; in the meantime, practically no mention is made of God. The two facets of Cousin's project—one an open ended study of free will, and the other, a return to divine order—are difficult to relate, and Cousin himself makes little effort to resolve the apparent impasse. In fact, he does not even acknowledge the problem, and instead, preemptively closes down what had been a very interesting investigation of human consciousness and will—a modern study of subjectivity. He does this by shifting his

[8] Ibid 78.

focus from the will of man to that of God, once again figured as the ultimate cause, effect and reason for all. Nonetheless, even after this somewhat heavy-handed rendition of metaphysics, Cousin's powerful description of the new faculty of volitional will continues to resonate.

The description of the apprehension of objects by the triad of faculties in the second section of the book, which we move to now, is the element of Cousin's philosophy that was most directly related to Blanc's project, especially given the latter's focus on decorative objects and art. Take Cousin's description of the role of the faculties in the apprehension of an object:

> "each of our faculties attaches itself to this object, and rests upon it with unalloyed satisfaction. Our senses easily perceive its details; our reason seizes the happy harmony of all of its parts. Should this object disappear, we can distinctly represent it to ourselves, so precise and fixed are its forms. The soul feels a sweet and tranquil joy.[9]"

In other words, the senses "perceive," reason "seizes," and the will "represents and remembers" the objects at hand. "Setting out from man to arrive at things... and studying the state of the soul in the presence of the beautiful," this is ultimately a theory of the ways man apprehends things. Remember Cousin's stated intent in the introduction to transform aesthetic theory from a study of "the marble trembl[ing] in front of me" to an analysis of the subject who "tremble[s] in front of the marble." In this context, he

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[9] Ibid 133.

discerns two distinct kinds of subjective experiences of an object: the first, the sensation of unity, the perception of what he calls an object's "living geometry," the "order of the feast" exhibited by qualities like proportion and harmony.[10] The second type of encounter with an object involves the sensation of vastness in the face of an "object with vague and indefinite forms." In this situation, the "senses do not perceive the whole of it, and imagination does not distinctly represent it to itself" and so it "at once elevates and confounds our intelligence."[11] The viewer of such a spectacle is made to construct a cohesive, effective representation for himself. The two kinds of subjective experiences that Cousin highlights seem very similar Kant's categories of the beautiful and the sublime in his *Third Critique*.[12] However, unlike Kant who maintained the distinction between the two categories, Cousin collapses them together, concluding that "we neither retract the distinction between the beautiful and the sublime, nor the other distinctions just now indicated; but it is necessary to re-unite after having distinguished them. These distinctions and these re-unions are not contradictory: the great law of beauty, like that of truth, is unity as well as variety."[13] The collapsing together of distinct, and even opposing, faculties and aesthetic experiences with a new term is the most fundamental characteristic of Eclectic thought and perhaps the motivating force behind the various triads Cousin invokes. In this light, the conflict between sense and reason is resolved in or overtaken by volitional will; and the tension between the beautiful and the sublime in

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[10] Ibid 142, 132.

[11] Ibid 133.

[12] Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the feeling of the beautiful and sublime.* John T. Goldthwait, Tr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

[13] Ibid 145.

their collapse into a new aesthetic unity. Ultimately, according to Cousin, the force that reconciles all of the apparent oppositions between the faculties in a given individual and among various individuals is God-- "the orderer, the geometer, the supreme artist."[14] In Blanc's scheme, by contrast, the figure of God is completely absent. Why are the crucial foundations of metaphysics absent in Blanc's iteration of Eclecticism? What are the implications of this absence for his ideas about optical order and perception? What kind of moi is called in to anchor the system?

II.

> But the home is not just lived in; it is visited, and certain rooms are specifically designated for friends and strangers. These, at least, must reflect the effort one has made to decorate as best one can and with the means one has. The total absence of ornament would be rude. One must therefore first look to see if the entry is suitable and at the arrangement of the vestibule. Indeed, our first impression of those we are visiting is created at the very doorstep of their home."[15]

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[14] Ibid 150.

[15] "Mais le maison n'est pas seulement habitée: elle est visitée, et certaines pièces en sont même destinées spécialement aux amis et aux étrangers. Celles-là, du moins, doivent témoigner de l'application qu'on a mise à les décorer de son mieux et en raison de sa fortune. L'absence de tout ornament y serait une impolitesse. Il faut donc regarder, tout d'abord, aux convenances de l'entrée et à l'arrangement du vestibule. Aussi bien, la première idée que l'on prend de ceux que l'on va voir se forme sur le seuil même de leur maison." Ibid, 1-2.

This is Blanc in his *Grammaire des arts décoratifs* (1882), part of a seminal group of books devoted to systematizing all of the branches of the fine and decorative arts, especially the ways in which the objects studied could affect inhabitants and viewers. Appointed Director of the Beaux-arts by Ledru-Rollin on April 5, 1848, Blanc devoted himself, throughout his career, to public instruction and the arts in his various roles as author, lecturer, and eventually administrator and politician. He was ultimately elected to a seat in the Académie Française in 1878 in the company of such important politicians as Jules Simon who was Prime Minister of France from 1867-8, as well as professor of philosophy and the author of numerous books including one on Descartes (1842) and another on Civil Liberty (1859). During this same period, Blanc was awarded the first Chair of Aesthetics at the College of France. In his role as arts educator, Blanc imagined a so-called Museum of Copies to be located in France, which would house replicas of great works of art from all cultures, thus fulfilling his mission to make education in the fine arts a universal requirement for all French citizens. This, according to Blanc, would finally propel matters of aesthetics to the forefront of French cultural consciousness, a position he thought it to have already attained in countries like England and Germany. To Blanc's mind, philosophers like Cousin and Jouffroy paved the way by introducing aesthetic theory in France, but only to a certain segment of the population and only towards the ends of furthering what was first and foremost a finely-tuned philosophical argument. And so, according to him, philosophers like Kant and Hegel on the one hand, and Cousin and Jouffroy on the other, incorporated aesthetic theory into the broader philosophical projects of German Idealism and French Eclecticism respectively.[16] By

[16] For more on Blanc's critique of earlier examples of aesthetic theory, see especially his acceptance speech at the Académie Française: Charles Blanc, *Discours prononcé dans la Séance*

contrast, Blanc was interested in building a great work of French Aesthetic theory that was not a mere tangent of philosophy, but a comprehensive treatment of all aspects of fine and decorative art in their own right.

After years spent researching and writing important monographs on painters, including Watteau, Boucher, and Rembrandt, among others, Blanc was able to begin work on the larger project he had envisioned, which aimed to delineate what he called "the motifs" or the "twenty five letters of the alphabet" for all of the fine and decorative arts, the culmination of which was his *Grammaire des arts du Dessin* (1860-6), followed shortly thereafter by the *Grammaire des arts décoratifs*. Blanc's work on color and optics in the painting section of the first *Grammaire* is frequently praised, especially for its influence on Post-Impressionist artists of the period; however, the grammar that constituted his aesthetic theory is often seen as derivative of the Encyclopedists like Diderot, Quatremère de Quincy, and Durand.[17] The assumption in this chapter is that this is neither a minor work; nor is it derivative. In fact, Blanc's project represents an important departure from these earlier works. By contrast with his predecessors, for whom the order of a work of art was directly related to historical precedent (specifically the Classical orders) and typology, for Blanc, order lay in the effects and sensations to be experienced by the viewer of the work at hand. If order previously resided wholly in the object, in Blanc's rendition, order has moved to the interface between that object and the

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publique par l' Académie française pour la reception de M. Charles Blanc,le 30 Novembre, 1876 (Paris, 1876).

[17] Concerning Blanc's influence on the Post-Impressionists, see Norma Broude, ed. *Seurat in Perspective* (New York, 1978); André Fontaine, *Les Doctrines d'art en France, de Poussin à Diderot* (Paris, 1909); Charles Henry, *Cercle Chromatique* (Paris, 1889); William Inness Home, *Seurat and the Science of Painting* (Cambridge, 1964); and Barbara Maria Stafford, *Symbol and Myth* (London, 1979)

perceiving subject. This marks a critical shift in aesthetic theory and in the discipline of art history as well.

While Blanc's first *Grammaire* is often dismissed, his work on decorative arts is rarely mentioned at all. This is surprising, especially considering the increase in popularity of decorative arts manuals throughout the latter half of the nineteenth-century, in large part because of the explosion of the new real estate and the plethora of new—and empty—apartments, which needed an interior decoration program that corresponded to bourgeois aspirations. Earlier renditions of this type of guide had focused on exceptional homes and palaces to be used as models for those of the bourgeoisie and lesser nobility, and as objects of pure admiration and fantasy. In the decorative arts manuals of Blanc's period, there was already a new and marked emphasis on homes of lesser significance and stature. However, in manuals like those written by César Daly, an architect and the editor of the widely-read *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* (1839-1888) and Henry Havard, an art-historian and the author of a history of decoration that spanned in time from the thirteenth-century to the present (1887), a representative series of homes was described in drawings and words, but there was no attempt yet to draw generalizations about the variety of homes on display or to implement classification systems of any type. Instead, home after home was illustrated and each of its features was pointed out admiringly.[18] Seen in this context, Blanc's attempt to construct a language, what he called "an alphabet of decorative arts," underscores a shift from a more haphazard appreciation and connossieurship to the kind of analytical rigor that was

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[18] César Daly, *Architecture privée de Paris et des environs sous Napoléon III: hôtels privés,* maisons à loyer, villas. 3 vols. (Paris: Libraire A. Morel, 1864) and Henry Havard, Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la decoration depuis l'XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours 4 vols. (Paris: Quantin, 1887-90)

characteristic of other post-Enlightenment disciplines. The emphasis on sense and perception—and on the viewing subject—in Blanc's scheme further distinguished his from other contemporary guides, and marked the new activation of what was formerly a passive connosseurial audience of the decorative arts. In this way, Blanc gave his readers a set of tools with which to perceive and admire order in the new domestic interiors, as we have already pointed out. In addition, the language of decorative arts was placed directly in the hands of each of Blanc's consumers, thus giving them what amounted to the promise of personal expression in the new interior.[19] What was first and foremost a language to be used for interpreting and understanding the interior realm, in this sense, also left Blanc's new apartment dwellers with the capacity to project unique and individual styles in their homes.

This language of the decorative arts, what Blanc calls the "ordre optique" in the first pages of the book, is the primary object of investigation in the *Grammaire des arts décoratifs*. In the introductory pages of the text, Blanc inserts a diagram of his grammar (Fig. 1). The diagram positions the term "order" as the single organizational principle of the ten motifs he ascribes to the decorative arts—order is designated here by an oval in which all of the other motifs are encapsulated. In this way, order becomes synonymous with the notions of grammar or syntax invoked by the book's title. This is an interesting formulation, especially considering the meaning generally ascribed to the Orders in the context of architecture and design. Blanc is not referring to the linguistic aspects of the Greek and Roman orders though—nor is he pointing to the Gothic or any of the other historical styles that were under investigation during the nineteenth-century. Instead, he

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[19] Debora Silverman makes this connection for the Art Nouveau; Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siecle France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

constructs a syntactical structure, applicable to small and large scales of design alike, which organizes the relationships between all of the aspects of the interior realm, regardless of the kinds of historical references that carried so much meaning for a figure like Garnier. The link Blanc forges between the order of objects and surfaces and the order of ideas amounts to the design equivalent of the philologist Henri Weil's "order of words" in which the "order of words must reproduce the order of ideas," introduced during the same period (1879).[20] Blanc and Weil's proposals for ahistorical and universal systems of meaning represent a continuation of the work of the philosophical language movement that experimented with the idea of a universal character a century earlier. Because of this affinity, the ideas of order and grammar developed by Blanc and Weil stand in marked contrast to the historicism of their contemporaries.

Found in large and small works, according to Blanc, the decorative order "pleases with symmetry and offers a unified and harmonious sense."[21] He emphasizes the mysterious quality of order with adjectives like "mystérieuse" a "pondération voulue," a "rhythme inexorable"; in other words, we can't know how order is constructed or precisely what makes it perceptible as order per se, but somehow, we should know and feel it when we see it.[22] If this sort of a loosely constructed description of order sounds somewhat general and abstract, it did to Blanc as well and he sets himself the ambitious task of discerning the precise mechanisms of works that elicit in us the mysterious and

[20] Henri Weil, *L'Ordre des mots dans les langues anciennes comparées aux langues modernes; Question de grammaire générale* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1844, 1879).

[21] "se plaît à la symétrie, elle offre des unités saissables, des harmonies sensibles." Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison* (Paris: Renouard, 1882): 11.

[22] Ibid II.

familiar sensations of order, reason and harmony. As he puts it, he will "unravel that which seems complicated beyond measure, abridge that which seems infinite, and reduce to its illuminating points that which is caught in an obscure labyrinth."[23]

He is seeking to discover the decorative arts equivalent of the "the twenty-five letters of the alphabet, which have been enough and will be enough to form the words necessary to express all human thought… a few elements that can be combined in any way are enough and will be enough to create an infinite variety of ornamentation."[24] Blanc's decorative arts alphabet is made up of five primary motifs and five secondary ones (Fig. 1). Additionally, each of the primary motifs is echoed or complimented by a specific secondary motif. The primary motifs include repetition, alternation, symmetry, progression and confusion; and the secondary ones, consonance, contrast, radiation, gradation, and complication. In Blanc's scheme, "repetition is connected to consonance; alternation to contrast; symmetry to radiation; progression to gradation; and confusion to complexity."[25]

Blanc carefully derives and explicates each of the ten motifs of the optical order. In the case of each motif, Blanc begins by observing the natural world and the organizational and optical principles that, according to him, are critical to our perception of order in nature. He then applies the principles he discovers in nature to the decorative

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[23] "pouvoir débrouiller ce qui est compliqué outre mesure, abréger ce qui paraissait innomerable, et réduire à quelques points lumineux ce qui était engagé dans un labyrinthe obscur." Ibid III.

[24] "vingt-cinq lettres de l'alphabet ont suffi et suffiront à former les mots nécessaries pour exprimer toutes les pensées humaines, de même il a suffi et il suffira de quelques elements susceptibles de se combiner entre eux pour créer des ornaments don't la variété peut se multiplier à l'infini." Ibid III.

[25] Ibid XXVIII.

arts. After deriving each of the ten motifs, Blanc points to the arsenal of effects the proper use of these principles can produce in viewers or inhabitants. Take the motif of symmetry, for example:

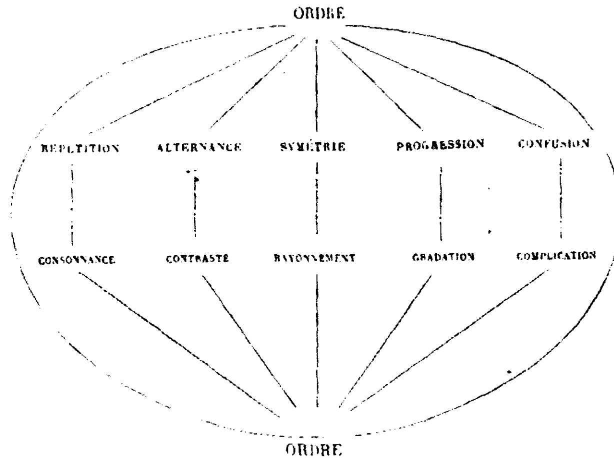
> "symmetry exists in one's spirit as well as in one's body since the organ responsible for judgment, which is reason, obeys a sort of moral balance, which is logic. A decoration that is not symmetrical, or at least secretly offset, seems off or not whole, and is thus offensive to the eye, and does not comply with what we know to be right."[26]

The description of the motif of symmetry begins with an observation about the natural world, in this case, the human body, which is comprised of equal and opposite parts—left and right hands, arms, legs, and so on. From this observation, Blanc identifies and defines the principle of symmetry or the equality of two parts of a whole. In the example of the human body, he makes particular note of bilateral symmetry.

[26] "la symétrie existe dans son esprit comme dans son corps, puisque l'organe de ses jugements, qui est la raison obéit à une sorte d'équilibre moral qui est la logique. Une décoration, si elle n'était pas symétrique, ou tout au moins sècretement pondérée, nous paraîtrait borgne ou boiteuse, et par cela même elle offenserait nos regards, comme n'étant pas conforme à notre intelligence." Ibid XXIV.

XI. GRAMMAIRE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS.

des vérités développées dans cette introduction, et les rendra visibles.



De tout ce qui précède, il résulte, en résumé, qu'il n'est pas de décoration, dans les ouvrages de la nature, comme dans les inventions de l'homme, qui ne doive sa naissance à l'un des principes générateurs que nous avons énoncés, savoir : la répétition, l'alternance, la symétrie, la progression, la confusion équilibrée, ou bien à l'une de ces causes secondes : la consonnance, le contraste, le rayonnement, la gradation, la complication, ou bien, enfin, à une combinaison de ces divers éléments, qui *tous* vont se confondre dans une cause primordiale, génératrice des mouvements de l'univers, l'ORDRE.

Blanc, Charles. *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison.* (Paris: Renouard, 1882).

Figure 4.1: Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts décoratifs: Décoration intérieure de la maison* (Paris: Renouard, 1882): xii.

A motif like symmetry also, according to Blanc, makes legible the relationship between one part and a larger whole so that ""when seeing the symmetry in the tiles of a vestibule, for example, a visitor can understand that the symmetry in the tiles is identical or parallel to the axis of the building," thus allowing the visitor to grasp the order that governs the entire building. Or as he put it "As evidenced by the symmetry, the unity of one part of the building leads one to understand the unity of the building as a whole."[27]

This is an example of a motif which, according to Blanc, will elicit certain desired perceptions and sensations in the viewer; as he put it, "when it is noticed, symmetry, like repetition, denotes something serious and imposing... it is what affirms the feeling of order and family, and, in a private home, the calmness and honesty of those who live there."[28] In fact, the perception of symmetry, according to Blanc, leads the viewer to sense not only architectural order and the connection between the various parts of a building, but also the spirit of order, the spirit of the family, and even the calmness and honesty of a building's inhabitants. The principle of symmetry, he suggests, ultimately resonates with us at the level of our judgment and sense of morality, and, as a result, when something in the world, manmade or otherwise, does not abide by this principle, we find it offensive; "elle offenserait nos regards." Whether the transition in Blanc's argument from symmetry to optical order and from optical order to the spiritual essence of a home's makers and occupants, constitutes a small step or a breathtaking leap of faith

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[27] "en découvrant la symétrie dans le dallage d'un vestibule, par exemple, le visiteur devine que l'axe du pavement est identique ou parallèle à l'axe de l'édifice"... "Mise en évidence par la symétrie, l'unité d'une partie du bâtiment le conduit à comprendre l'unité du bâtiment tout entire." Ibid XVIII.

[28] "là où elle frappe les yeux, la symétrie, comme la répétition, a quelque chose grave et d'imposant... c'est elle qui affirmant l'esprit d'ordre et l'esprit de famille, fait pressentir dans une demeure privée le calme et l'honnêteté de ceux qui l'habitent.." Ibid XVIII.

is something we will want to consider further. If the prominent role given to bilateral symmetry in Blanc's scheme sounds familiar, it is because it was also the primary organizational device in all of the apartment houses designed by the Compagnie Immobilière.

After introducing each of the other nine motifs, Blanc proceeds to show how they order the experience of every scale and surface of the decorated interior. Applied to the various contexts and scales of paving, wall coverings, carpets, large pieces of furniture, vases and album books, according to Blanc, the motifs are to be "found throughout" in a given home and, for that matter, in a "a modest home as well as a magnificent palace."[29] Blanc's decorative alphabet in this way becomes pervasive, dominating all scales of design and transgressing hierarchies of status and wealth. His grammar is, as he puts it, "the fragile notion of the relationship between man and objects"—regardless of what type of human and what type of thing.[30]

The *Grammaire* is divided into chapters, which are organized by scale. The treatise begins with chapters that focus on surfaces with sections devoted to paving, wall-paper, tapestries, and carpets. The next chapters are dedicated to larger objects including large furniture, small furniture, and mirrors and frames, and the final chapters to smaller decorative objects like sculptures, glass and crystal pieces, ceramics, and albums. An additional chapter on color, a topic on which Blanc had already achieved a certain level of expertise, was inserted in between the section of the book dedicated to large objects and the final section concerned with smaller objects. In each chapter, with the scale and

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[29] "se trouver partout"... "habitation modeste aussi bien que les plus magnifiques palais." Ibid 123.

[30] "la notion délicate des rapports entre les hommes et les choses." Ibid 135.

materials of the object or surface under investigation in mind, Blanc diligently points to all ten motifs and their roles in the creation of an impression of order in the given context. The matter of ensuring consistency between the distinct surfaces and objects under investigation is never addressed per se, but it can be assumed that for Blanc, the proper orchestration of the motifs in each of these situations will ensure the registration of a sense of order across the whole of the interior.

The discussion of large furniture serves as a case in point. The use of all of the motifs is pointed out—for example, objects that exhibit the characteristic of symmetry, particularly in the public spaces, he suggests, are more pleasing to the eye, especially after retreating from the chaos of the Parisian boulevards. Proportion accomplishes a similarly appeasing effect, and Blanc stipulates, for example, the proper relationship between the various parts of an armoire, which make the object appear solid but not squat and give it a sense of firmness without compromising its elegance.[31] Contrast is also thematized in this context especially in the orchestration of the materials of an armchair in which the soft color and pattern of the cushions contrasts with the angles and solidity of the wood frame. No effort is made to think about the relationship between all of the unique components described here.

It is important to note that if Blanc's detection of the ten motifs throughout all aspects of the home is detail-oriented and often sacrifices attention to the apartment as a whole, it is not an undirected or frivolous exercise of formal analysis. Far from that, Blanc carefully marshals his examples to describe two different kinds of itineraries through the home. The first of these, dedicated to guests, is motivated by the family's

[31] Ibid 201.

interest in creating an impression on visitors. Here is Blanc in the section of the book dedicated to "furniture":

> "when one goes for the first time to a stranger's home and is made to wait in his sitting room or, even better, his office, one forms an opinion of the person based on the impression one gets from his interior decoration, just as one judges his situation and wealth based on the significance of his furniture, and one also considers that some of his character is revealed in the simple arrangement of the furniture and the organization of the objects that one sees."[32]

This bears restating: the "first time" one visits someone's home, the "idea of the person," his very "character" is "revealed," and consequently "judged" based on "just the layout of his furniture" and the "economy of all of his objects." One of the major stakes of Blanc's grammar is laid out here and it is nothing short of the "impression" of a person, based largely on the "orderly appearance" of his home. What is so unusual about Blanc's scheme for the facade of private life is to be found in this very term—"orderly appearance"—and the kind of distinct relationship it suggests between order or grammar and appearance. It is a connection Blanc makes throughout his study, deliberately

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[32] lorsqu'on se présente pour la première fois chez une personne que l'on ne connais point et qui vous fait attendre dans son salon ou, mieux encore, dans son cabinet, on se forme le plus souvent une idée de cette personne d'après l'impression que l'on éprouve à la vue de son intérieur, et de même que nous jugeons de sa condition et de sa fortune par l'importance de son mobilier, de même il nous semble que quelque chose de son caractère se révèle dans la seule disposition de ses meubles et dans l'économie de tous les objets que nous voyons." Ibid 136.

emphasizing the design of surface and ornament over examples of more architectural logics like structure and circulation.

How does one go about designing a "sensible order"—the sensation of order, especially given its tenuous existence in some kind of interchange between subjects and objects?[33] According to Blanc, for this project, the designer has available the set of motifs, and if he uses these, in the fabrication and layout of all of the various pieces and surfaces of his design, the home as an entity will be imbued with a sense of order. In this scheme, symmetry, proportion, contrast, harmony and all of the other devices Blanc introduces remain completely unrelated to the functional use, layout, and structure of the various elements of the domestic interior. In a similar fashion, the motifs are also divested of the potential to articulate anything real or particular about the apartment's inhabitants. Instead, the motifs Blanc identifies are to be manipulated to create the sensation of order. It is hoped that by an act of magical persuasion the visitor will transfer the sense of order allegedly carried by each of these motifs, through a chain of effects, which links it to a kind of general sense of an orderly interior to the last leap of faith that the inhabitant must be a person of character. I want to underscore three things here. First, the manipulative aspect of a project so invested in the careful design and orchestration of impressions and effects rather than objects and spaces in their own rights. Second, the dependence of this kind of a project of impression and effects on new scientific discoveries in the field of optics. Finally, the fact that what is being designed is the desired effect of objects on subjects or, to put it another way, the subjective experience of objects. Either way, the emphasis is more on the subject than the object.

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[33] Ibid 136.

This wholesale transfer of attention from object to subject signals Blanc's commitment to aesthetic philosophy, and, in particular, the theories of Victor Cousin. Remember Cousin's formulation of aesthetic theory based on man's apprehension of the external world—in his words, "I tremble in front of the marble." Blanc follows directly on Cousin's heels in the system he describes, which was meant to script the viewer's affect—whether that be trembling, awe or whatever else. There is one critical distinction between the two projects though—Cousin's open-ended investigation of the ways man apprehends things becomes in Blanc's hands an investigation of how objects can be used to affect man. He does this by putting a special emphasis on terms like "impress" and perceive, especially in relationship to the effects objects can have on subjects. Perhaps this seems like a subtle difference. Ultimately, it amounts to a redirection of Cousin's ideas, used I believe towards very different ends than Cousin ever intended.

Up until now we have been talking about the scripting of the experience of the visitor or guest in the new apartment. What about the inhabitants themselves? The stakes increase immeasurably when we shift from one point of view to the other. Take the lady of the house in her boudoir or the man in his study. For starters, the motifs Blanc suggests for the design of private spaces to be inhabited exclusively by the family are diametrically opposed to those he stipulates for the home's public areas. This is Blanc's description of the boudoir:

> "a pretty woman in her boudoir has no need for symmetry either. For her, a pleasant disorder also has the effect of art and grace. There is no need here for the chairs to be identical or for the loveseat to be covered with the same fabric as the

chairs... On the contrary, an appearance of freedom reigns perfectly in such small sitting rooms where one hears only light chatter, elegantly stated fluff, gallant compliments... whimsy, the unusual, the unexpected..."[34]

The private spaces of the house then, in stark contrast to the public spaces we described earlier, are in "no need of symmetry," "no need of similar—i.e. repetitious—chairs," and in "no need of coordinated fabrics." Instead, Blanc calls for "amiable disorder," "irregularity," "fantasy," "the unforeseen." This is clearly the domain of Blanc's last two motifs—confusion and the related complexity. At first glance, the relationship of these specific motifs in regards to the framework of order seems ambiguous or even contradictory. However, Blanc overrides the apparent schism between order and confusion. As he put it,

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[34] une jolie femme dans son boudoir n'a que faire non plus de la symétrie. Chez elle, un aimable désordre est aussi un effet de l'art et de la grâce. Là il n'est pas besoin que les sièges sont pareils, que la causeuse soit vêtue de la même soi qui recouvre les fauteuils... Au contraire, une apparence de liberté sied à merveille dans ces petits salons intimes où l'on n'entend que menus propos, riens élégamment dits, galanteries de madrigals... la fantaisie, l'irrégulier, l'imprévu." Ibid 139.
Like Garnier, Blanc codes the distinction between the public realm (characterized by order) and the private realm (associated with confusion and complexity) in terms of gender. The diminishment of the feminine as fantastical and disordered comes as no surprise, especially in a reactionary text that sought to suppress all aspects of social upheaval in nineteenth-century France. The rights granted by the Republic to women, including the highly controversial right to divorce (1884), were met with fervent resistance by those, like Blanc, who sought to conserve and protect the family and the transfer of private property. For more on this topic, see Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Claudia Moscovici, *Gender and Citizenship: the Dialectics of Subject-Citizenship in Nineteenth-century French Literature and Culture* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000); James F. Macmillan, *France and Women, 1789-1914, Gender, Society and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000); Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough, *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historcal Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

> "in the midst of such beautiful disorder, the spirit, which is vaguely pulled in various directions, is only freer. Just as it is easier to be completely isolated when lost in a big crowd, the imagination is quick to act when it is enclosed in space full of things that are more or less interesting, awakening a jumble of ideas and stirring the different feelings or sensations brought forth by shapes and colors."[35]

In fact, according to Blanc, it is precisely in the midst of the "disorder" of the private realm of the interior, "lost in a grand folly" that evokes so many "sentiments and sensations," that our "spirit" and "imagination" are most "free" and "liberated." In other words, these over stuffed and chaotic private chambers overstimulate the inhabitant, who, pulsing with sensations, willfully orders the chaos that surrounds him and "finds his route." In the act of ordering this torrent of sensations a self is propelled into existence.

If, for Blanc, the surfaces of the public realm of the home are manipulated to make a certain impression on visitors, in the private domain, the surfaces are manipulated, too—only now as mirrors in which the perceiving subject looks to see himself reflected. In both cases, the motifs (symmetry and repetition in the public realm and confusion and complexity in the private realm) are used to create a surface that affects the senses—in the first case to manipulate the visitor's impression, and in the second to enable the reflection, and ultimately, reification of the self. In both realms, the careful use of motifs is towards ends that are entirely non-architectural; in neither case do

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[35] "au milieu de ce beau désordre, l'esprit, vaguement solicité en divers sens, n'en est que plus libre. De même qu'il est facile de s'isoler complètement lorsqu'on se trouve perdu dans une grande foule, de même l'imagination est prompte à se mettre en route quand elle est enfermée dans un intérieur plein des choses plus ou moins intéressantes, qui éveillent des idées confuses en multipliant les sentiments ou les sensations qui s'attachent aux formes et aux couleurs.." Ibid 138.

we see through a surface and glean information about the world of objects or any kind of architectural order for that matter. These are surfaces, at once infinitely expansive and paper thin, dedicated respectively to the arts of the projection and reflection of the self.

The self's capacity to willfully organize objects and sensations invoked here undoubtedly finds its source in Cousin's notion of volitional will. This was the third of the triad of faculties he described and the one that played a decisive role over the other two, sense and reason. As Cousin put it,

> "one may also, by surrounding himself with certain objects, in some sort manage himself, and produce in himself sensations and desires... by yielding to these, we lend them a new force and we moderate them by skillful resistance... all of this proves that there is in us a power different from the senses and desire."[36]

A self that "manages" and "moderates" objects is figured by Cousin as a "powerful agent," the determining factor of impression and perception. Remember though that with Cousin, the self was kept in check by the force of God, the fundamental principle that stands over the whole of his philosophy, even the triad of human faculties. Blanc, however, markedly removes any trace of a metaphysical God from his scheme, and so in his work we find the ideal opportunity to fully engage the conscious and volitional self that Cousin initially set into place. To my mind, the self that is projected and reflected off of the surfaces of Blanc's interior, and decorated with adjectives like morality, propriety, and spirit (even), is ultimately set into place to fill precisely that metaphysical void left

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[36] Victor Cousin, *Lectures on the True, Beautiful, and Good,* O.W. Wight, Tr. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1872): 236.

behind by the disappearance of the central tenet and motivating force of eclectic philosophy. I suspect that the careful cultivation of appearances and impressions of the new and fragile self, which also distinguishes Blanc from other Eclectics, is yet another part of the mechanics of elevating the self to its critical role in this modern order.

It is interesting to notice that Blanc concludes his lengthy study by describing a set of albums that circulate throughout both the private and public realms of the home. Three distinct types of albums are described by Blanc, including: children's books full of colorfully told adventures, which, according to Blanc, were emblazoned in the child's memory forever; albums of family portraits, dismissed as repositories of only "absolutely instantaneous glances, lacking in general truth" in which "life is inert, resemblance is parodied, movement is suspended, and beauty is rare;" and, the scrapbooks of souvenirs collected from important social events, including autographs, scores, and poems that were mementos of various celebrations, and increased the status of hosts and hostesses.[37]

Blanc is overwhelmingly critical of these examples, because, according to him, they present fleeting and unordered images—even frivolous, leaving the visitor with an unsubstantive and disorderly impression—a "parody" as he put it—of the inhabitants of the house. The Japanese albums that were also on display in these homes, by contrast, according to Blanc, abide by the general order of the home, not "interfering in," but rather "supplementing" the kinds of public exchanges going on in its salons. At the same time though—and this is what makes them so unique—the albums also create opportunities for the individual to "dream silently" and "take pleasure" in "the voyage of

[37] Ibid 465.

the imagination."[38] Blanc attributes the Japanese albums' artistry to the use of vibrant color and the free interpretation rather than blind imitation of nature. He also points out that even though we cannot understand Japanese and, as a consequence, the narratives of these albums remain opaque for us, we can still, in just a glimpse, discern essential elements and lines, dominant dimensions and indicative touches of color. In this way, we are able to apprehend the sense of underlying order that was so essential to Blanc even if the narrative itself remains somewhat obscure. The sense of underlying order of the albums then participates in the creation of the sought after impression amidst all of the other aspects of the decoration of the home.

In a new twist though, in great part because of the incomprehensibility of its narrative (most of the French owners did not speak Japanese), this object, which conveys order, also allows for the kinds of flights of fancy and imagination the motifs of conflict and confusion stimulated, according to Blanc, in the boudoir and the study. The same object—and a tiny one at that—thus attains a dual function; on the one hand, it is valued for its orderly appearance, ready to be projected as an impression for visitors, and on the other, for what amounts to a very reflective surface in which the inhabitant peers to form an image of a self. This may sound confusing—how can one object be affected by two such opposing motifs as order and confusion? It is a contradiction we noticed earlier in

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[38] Ibid 486.
The high esteem in which Blanc places Japanese print albums is not surprising, especially considering the popularity of Japanese art in French culture at the time. So—called Japonisme, a term coined after the Exposition Universelle of 1867, which showcased a Japanese Pavillion. The art was valued for its use of color, techniques of flattening, and new ideas about narrative it suggested, but also for its "exotic" aspects. For more on Japonisme, see Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West* (London: Phaidon Press, 2005); and Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art, 1854-1910* (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975).

the context of Blanc's discussion of the private realms of the home in which the motifs of confusion and complexity figured so prominently, ultimately provoking the inhabitant to impose his own order over the apparent chaos and thus reifying him in the process. In the case of the Japanese album though, a very well designed object characterized by motifs like symmetry and contrast that were associated with optical order somehow also attains the kind of narrative obscurity that incites flights of fancy and imagination. The unique collusion of impressions of order with reflections of the self to be found here is thus entirely dependent on the foreign language of the object at hand. Situations like this have been well theorized by post-colonial scholars, especially in regards to the reification process that objects from other cultures incited in their metropolitan viewers.[39] It is an interesting place to leave off the design of the bourgeois interior with all of the impressions and projections of self that were found there. The shift from God to self as the central force of order that Blanc effects here is significant, to say the least, and its reception by religious figures was equally strong, as we shall see when we explore the vehement reaction against Eclecticism by so-called Catholic modernists of the period in the next chapter. The object world—private property—so important in the bourgeois realm, was also to come under fire by those who criticized its implicit pantheism and overtly "immoral economics" and brought the return of some of the financial and

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[39] For the discussion in art history of exoticism and primitivism in the context of nineteenth-century France, see Stephen Eisenman, *Gauguin's Skirt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999); Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremeties: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cezanne and Provence: the Painter in his Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Linda Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989); Marianna Torvgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

architectural templates the Péreires had introduced—only now they were designed for working class families and aspects of similarity rather than distinction were emphasized.

CHAPTER 5: LE PLAY AND "THE HOME THAT POSSESSES"

"Catholic doesn't rhyme with eclectic."[1]

In this chapter, I look at reactions by French Catholic reformers against philosophical eclecticism and the moi, and against the apartment industry and interior design, which gave form to bourgeois private life. If Catholic critics derided these representations of bourgeois values, by contrast, they applauded examples of working class communal structures, including mutual aid societies, worker cooperatives, and profit-sharing schemes. Ultimately, the object of the group's highest esteem was a form of worker housing characterized by financial collaboration between managers and workers, and the architectural templates that gave each worker family its equal (and often identical) share of private space. What kinds of ideas about individual liberty and private property motivated the shift in architectural values from idiosyncrasy and luxury in the bourgeois interior to similarity and even austerity in the working class development? What were the stakes of these shifts for leading Catholic thinkers of the period?[2]

In order to answer these questions, in the first section of the chapter, I highlight some of the key terms (like liberty, reason, pantheism, the free market, charity, and, the

[1] Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2005): 233.

[2] Literature on Catholic liberalism in nineteenth-century France includes: Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Adrienne Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961); Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1989); W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, *French Catholics in the Nineteenth-Century* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918).

common sense) used in the speeches and writings of the Catholic philosophers of the period. The political and economic changes brought by three revolutions in fifty years and new ideas like philosophical eclecticism and romantic individualism conflicted with traditional Catholic beliefs. Modernization of the Church meant the reworking of central tenets of religious faith like monotheism, charity and self-abnegation in order to reconcile the religion with nineteenth-century realities.[3] Under the banner of "God and Liberty," the group of religious leaders associated with the Catholic journal *L'Avenir*, including Hugues Felicité Robert de Lammenais (1782-1854), Charles-Forbes-René, Comte de Montalembert (1810-70), and Jean-Baptiste Henri-Dominique Lacordaire (1802-61) embraced certain facets of modernity and delineated the kinds of changes this entailed for religious tradition.[4] At the same time, the group dismissed other aspects that were, according them, ultimately irreconcilable with the Catholic faith.

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[3] Literature on nineteenth-century Catholic attempts to negotiate with modern ideas of democracy an liberalism, and new scientific discoveries includes: Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Adrienne Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961); Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1989); W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, *French Catholics in the Nineteenth-Century* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918). On Lamennais, see Michael James Dempsey, *Separation of Church and State in the Works of Félicité Lamennais and Orestes Brownson* (Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press, 2008); W.G. Roe, *Lamennais and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966); Félicité Lamennais, *Oeuvres completes,* 12 vols (Paris: 1836-7). On Renan, Ernest Renan, *Studies in Religious History* (London: William Heinemann, 1893); Ernest Renan, *The Future of Science* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1893); Ernest Renan, *Recollections of my youth* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1883); Richard M. Chadbourne, *Ernest Renan as an Essayist* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957); Frederic W. Farrar, *An Essay on the Origin of Language* (London: John Murray, 1860); Lewis Freeman Mott, *Ernest Renan* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1921); H.W. Wardman, *Ernest Renan: A Critical Biography* (London: The Athlone Press, 1964).

[4] On Lamennais, see Michael James Dempsey, *Separation of Church and State in the Works of Félicité Lamennais and Orestes Brownson* (Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press, 2008); W.G. Roe, *Lamennais and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966); Félicité Lamennais, *Oeuvres completes,* 12 vols (Paris: 1836-7). On Montalembert, see Comte de Montalembert,

In the second part of the chapter, I focus on the work of the Catholic sociologist Frédéric Pierre Guillaume Le Play (1806-82) who shifted the focus of these debates from broader discussions of political theory and ethics to precisely the topic that concerns us here—the nineteenth-century home.[5] With this shift came a conservative turn in thought and the more radical proposals of earlier Catholic modernists for communalist societies and profit sharing schemes were eclipsed by ideas which bore a strong resemblance to those of Garnier and Blanc, especially the emphasis on the family, private property, and the importance of a unique home. As we will see though, there is one very important way in which Le Play departs from his architectural predecessors and bears the impact of Catholic modernism's focus on the common sense and moral economics—these unique homes are no longer the special habitude of the bourgeoisie; the highly reactionary concept is now called upon to serve the working class family as well.

Œuvres, comprenant Œuvres polémiques et diverses, 3 vols. (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre et Cie, 1860-1868); Emmanuel Mounier, ed., *Montalembert* (Paris, 1945). On Lacordaire, *Oeuvres du Lacordaire* (Paris, 1873); Montalembert, *Le Père Lacordaire* (Paris, 1862; tr. London, 1863); Foisset, *Vie de Lacordaire* (Paris, 1870).

[5] Le Play's own works include: *Instruction sur la méthode d'observation dite des monographies de famille* (Paris: A.J. Gocillon, 1887); *Les ouvriers européens,* 9 vols (Tours: Mame, 1877-79); *L'organisation du travail, selon la coûtume des ateliers et la loi du Décalogue* (Tours: Mame, 1870); *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). The secondary literature on Le Play includes: Emile Cheysson, Frédéric Le Play, sa méthode, sa doctrine, son école" in *Compte rendus de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (Paris, 1905). Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frederic Le Play.* (Harlow UK: Longmans, 1970); Janet R. Horn, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Frédéric Le Play, *La Réforme sociale*, 3 vols. (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils; Paris: Dentu, 1887); Frédéric Le Play, *L'Organisation de la famille* (Paris: Téqui, Bibliothécaire de l'oeuvre Saint-Michel, 1871); Frédéric Le Play, *Frederic Le Play on Family, Work, and Social Change.* Catherine Bodard Silver, editor and translator, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June, 1988): 72-97; Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control," *French Historical Studies* Vol. 12,No. 4 (Autumn, 1982) : 486-507.

I.

> Society as a whole is aware that a new order must take the place of the old and that the world is moving forward to a new destiny. To suppose that the movement which impels it can be arrested is to wish to bring time to a stop. Every attempt of the kind has produced only violence.
>
> - Hugues Felicité Robert de Lammenais, *L'Avenir* (July 1831)[6]

The founding of the Catholic journal *L'Avenir* in the 1830s is a good place to begin our study of the notion of liberty in the context of modern French Catholic thought. The first major voice of so-called Catholic liberalism was established in the 1830s in the interests of "God and Liberty," a phrase that was featured prominently on its cover. What this meant, according to Lammenais, one of the journal's founders and a frequent contributor, was complete support for the French Revolution's idea of religious liberty. In this spirit, there was a demand that the government stop intervening in and disbanding religious organizations, a common practice during the Terror for example. The paper's headline reinforced Catholic agreement with the Revolution's mandate that each citizen have the right to choose and practice his own religion. According to proponents of "God and liberty," making Catholicism compatible with modern notions of liberty would also allow God and religion to resume their proper position at the heart of things.[7]

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[6] Hugues Felicité Robert de Lammenais, *Oeuvres complètes,* 12 vols (Paris, 1836-7). Cited in Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975): 93.

[7] The key texts on debates about religious liberty in nineteenth-century France include Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France*

If the Journal for the most part defended Enlightenment ideas concerning religious freedom, Lamennais and Montalembert criticized other aspects of liberty, particularly in relationship to the concepts of individuality and reason, which were viewed in a negative light, in part, because of the threat they posed to fundamental Catholic principles such as tradition, divine revelation, and the common sense. As the Catholic modernists saw it, the new emphasis on individual thought as a form of knowledge was directly at odds with the religion's ingrained forms of knowledge based on faith.

Religious leaders worried that the privileging of the faculty of individual reason would have immense consequences not only for Catholicism, but also for social and political stability. As Le Play later put it, "wherever individualism becomes the dominant form of social relations, men descend rapidly towards barbarism," thus condemning the "false dogmas of the French Revolution: systematic liberty, providential equality, and the right to revolt."[8] On the heels of the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, the challenge was to support Enlightenment ideals while keeping the exercise of individual liberties in check, preventing further attempts to overthrow institutions and the ruling class. Social order and structures like organized religion, education, and the family were perceived to protect against the risks to the greater good posed by the Romantic overvaluation of individuality—to be detected in Eclectic and Sensationalist thought of the period. In other

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Adrienne Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961); Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism 1789-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1989); W.J. Sparrow-Simpson, *French Catholics in the Nineteenth-Century* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918).

[8] Frédéric Le Play, *La Reforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens*, 2 vols (Paris: Henri Plon, 1864) translated in Christopher Olaf Blum, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 226.

words, Catholic modernists were interested in uniting rather than distinguishing men; in this light, a case was made for faith and common sense to precede individual reason and sensation. From this point forwards, the Catholic moderns' definition of a moral life stipulated a transcendence of egoism and self-interest in all aspects of life.

Another common theme of Catholic modernist thought was an absolute intolerance for pantheism—the glorification of mere individuals and things in the place of God, and the rationalization or reduction of religious mystery to reason or psychology. Abbé Maret (1805-84) wrote perhaps the most unwavering critique of Cousin's philosophy in a work entitled *Essai sur le panthéisme dans les sociétés modernes* (1839). In it, he describes the problems with pantheism in modern France: as he put it, by worshipping themselves and things and displacing the divine into the base material world, people "fall back on themselves" and "finding there neither power nor consolation, cravenly descend again into enslavement by the senses," which is characterized by "egoism, thirst for gold, love of material comfort, and weak character."[9] In this way, according to the detractors of Eclecticism and Sensationalism, the divine was dissipated in the material world and ultimately the fundamental Catholic distinction between God and man was completely debased. Pantheism represented the most extreme case of individual liberty gone unchecked.

August-Joseph-Alphonse Gratry (1805-1872), chaplain at the Ecole normale supérieure in Paris and author of *La connaissance de Dieu* (1853), *Logique* (1855), and *La connaissance de l'Âme* (1858), and *Les sources de la régeneration sociale* (1871) shared Lammenais's concerns about reason and Maret's disdain for pantheism. As he put

[9] H. Maret, *Essai sur le panthéisme dans les sociétés modernes* (Paris: Sapia, 1839): v-vii. Cited in Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975): 187.

it in *La connaissance de l'Âme,* "I count on grace alone to conduct reason to the limits of reason"... "the form of common reason is in the first place given to each of us from without. A sort of ready-made rationality is imposed upon the individual reason struggling to its birth."[10] In this way, Gratry positioned himself within the mainstream of Catholic liberalism, stipulating that reason be dethroned so to speak. In its place, he promoted the common sense, shared by all men, to be sought through the study of Christian traditions and the worship of divine grace. According to Gratry, the unseating of reason would also eradicate the problems of pantheism and self-worship that plagued modern religious life. The transition from self-worship to common sense involved a "desire[s] to transcend self in order to reach God... to transcend self or to remain in it—therein is the whole question, the whole history, the whole drama of the moral life."[11]

Gratry's later work marked a move to the left from Catholic liberalism to what can more properly be called Catholic socialism. Spurred by the injustice he witnessed in the terrible working conditions that led to the 1848 revolution, he wrote *Les sources de la régéneration sociale* (1848) in which he insisted that factory environments and low wages were pressing issues for Catholics to solve. Ultimately, he proposed setting up workers' associations in the interests of "bringing men to love one another."[12] In this spirit, Gratry joined other Catholic democrats and socialists who rallied around what they called "Christian economics," which would "moralize" the unjust and uneven distribution of wealth by enacting profit sharing schemes between managers and workers.

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[10] Auguste-Joseph-Alphonse Gratry, *De la connaissance de l'ame* (2 vols., Paris, 1858): 359, 120. Cited in Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975): 159.

[11] Ibid 227.

[12] Gratry 1848 citation??

The very idea of a "Christian economics" represented a pointed critique of economic liberty and the faulty premise of a so-called free market. Émile Keller (1828-1909), a disciple of Le Play's characterized the problems with the concept of market justice in the following manner; "as one more step down the road of free exchange, free speculation, and free commerce, [...] you forget that outside and around you, behind the gold panels and plush hangings by which you limit your horizons, there is another people lacking patrimony, gnawing at bones, and asking whether this is the fruit of seventy-five years of revolution, sacrifice, and suffering."[13] In other words, if all was well in theory with a free market that promised to yield to each his fair share, in practice, this led to "a struggle for existence, unchecked by the traditions of former years... outstanding individuals advance to the front ranks: they rise higher and reject the troublesome obligations which the old regime imposed on them with regard to the weak... social inequality develops... selfishness, suffering, hatred and envy."[14]

The newspaper called the *Ère Nouvelle* (first issued on 15 April 1848) responded precisely to the consequences of economic liberty, becoming the voice of Christian socialism for those who "struggled for existence" and "suffered" in the free market. It was edited by Père Lacordaire, Henri Maret, and Ozanam and launched in 1848 with the following mission statement: "There are only two forces that still count—Jesus Christ and the people. An alliance between them will be the salvation of France, and it is,

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[13] Émile Keller, *L'Encyclique du 8 décembre et les principes de 1789, ou, l'Église, l'État,et la liberté* (Paris: Veuve Poussielgue et Cie., 1866). Translated in Christopher Olaf Blu, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 278.

[14] Frédéric Le Play, *Programme de gouvernement et d'organisation sociale d'après l'observation comparée de divers peoples* (Paris: Maurice Tardieu, 1881): vi. Cited in Catherine Bodard Silver, ed. *Frédéric Le Play: On Family, Work, and Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 31.

therefore, the duty of Catholics to accept the Republic that comes from the people."[15] Dedicated to "Christian economy" and "Christian socialism," editorials argued for legislation to protect against child labor and to provide for care of the elderly. More controversial articles made a case for mutual aid organizations meant to give workers a voice in managerial decisions and to institute profit sharing between workers and owners. The publication also voiced strong support for patronage, "a set of economic and social arrangements which flourished in France during the uncertain period between 1820 and 1850, when a full-fledged market economy was emerging."[16] In this context employers provided housing, health care, and schools for families in exchange for the guarantee of a stable workforce. In addition, factory owners often helped workers purchase property through a system of subsidized low-interest loans. Le Play himself was such a strong supporter of patronage that he awarded the most successful iteration a prize at the Universal Exhibition of 1855.

If Catholic socialists sought to correct the "selfishness" and "social inequality" that arose in the context of new economic liberties," more conservative figures like Louis Veuillot (1813-33), editor of the Catholic daily *L'Univers*, argued for the strict maintenance of the existing social order at all costs. Speaking in opposition to the revolution of 1848 and the *Ère Nouvelle*, he made astonishing statements like "there must be some men who work hard and live poorly. Poverty is a law that governs part of

[15] For more on the journal, see Ozanam, *Oeuvres complètes,* vol vii.(Paris, 1873): 263-5. See also Parker Thomas Moon, *Social Catholic Movement in France* (New York: Macmillan, 1921); Adrien Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961).

[16] Catherine Bodard Silver, ed. *Frédéric Le Play: On Family, Work, and Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 94. Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: norms and forms of the social environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) provides an excellent overview of the genealogy of paternalism in modern France.

society. It is a law of God, which we must accept. Society needs slaves."[17] He was not alone in this sentiment and the Comte de Montalembert (1810-70) who moved further to the right when he divested himself of his interest in *L'Avenir* and took up an editorial post at *L'Univers,* echoed Veuillot's desire to maintain the social order that had long been in place—at all costs. As he put it to his readers, "you must not listen to these corrupting voices, repeatedly reawakening temptations of covetousness and envy. Resign yourself to your poverty and you will be eternally rewarded and compensated... there is no middle course. The choice today is between Catholicism and socialism."[18] Directly on the heels of the 1848 revolution, Catholics like Veuillot and Montalembert joined forces with monarchists, forming the party of the Rue de Poitiers.[19] The guiding principle of the group was "order family and property;" in other words "order" would be maintained—and the dangers associated with revolution avoided—by appeasing each worker with the stabilizing forces of "family" and "property." Such a minimal allotment for each worker represented yet another Catholic correction of the ideals of economic liberalism—what they were proposing was, in essence, a free market with a certain amount of protection for the weak. If this was much tamer than the proposals of Catholic socialists,

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[17] Louis Veuillot, *Oeuvres de L. Veuillot* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1914). Translated in Adrien Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961): 259.

[18] Comte de Montalembert, *Œuvres, comprenant Œuvres polémiques et diverses,* 3 vols. (Paris: Jacques Lecoffre et Cie, 1860-1868). Translated in Adrien Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961): 260. See also Emmanuel Mounier, ed., *Montalembert* (Paris, 1945).

[19] On the history of the party of the Rue de Poitiers, see Adrien Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961) and G. Cholvy and Y.-M. *Hilaire, Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine,1800-1880* (Toulouse: Privat, 1985-86).

nonetheless, it represented another important attempt to fit Catholic ideals—care for the weak and less fortunate—with economic liberalism.[20]

What the more conservative and radical wings of Catholic modernism shared in common was a powerful critique of the kind of individual figured in the Eclectic thought we looked at in the previous chapter. For Catholic socialists, the impulses of "selfishness," "hatred," and "envy" associated with bourgeois private life were to be suppressed at all costs. Pantheism, the free market, and even individual reason were to be kept in check by worship of the divine, cooperative sharing, and the common sense. Likewise, even for the most conservative Catholics of the period, communities—especially the family, and property were looked to as a means of suppressing the potential conflicts amongst overly zealous individuals while maintaining a base standard of living for all. To point to a shared anathema for the glorification of individuality is not to collapse socialist and conservative Catholic thought of the period as one and the same. To be sure, the socialist ideal of cooperative sharing differs considerably from the conservative emphasis on the family and property. Still, for our purpose here, the interests in social welfare and social order were united in the common impetus to temper liberal ideas of the individual and the free market—especially as they were exemplified in the architecture and design of the bourgeois apartment industry.

[20] See Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

II.

"Once everyone owns property, the social question will be resolved… and architects will rub their hands together in satisfaction, like the box office cashiers the day of a sellout crowd."[21]

-M. Petru, *L'architecture du sud-ouest* (1894)

"The improvement of working class housing holds within it all reforms in a single one."[22]

–Jules Simon, *L'ouvrière* (1861)

The direct connection made by architects and politicians of the period between "property ownership" and the "resolution" of the "social question" finds its source in the work of Frédéric Le Play (1806-82), who some consider the first French sociologist. If more conservative Catholic theorists of the period like Veuillot and Montalembert had already expounded upon the positive effects of the family and property ownership on the working class and social stability, Le Play further elaborated these ideas in the context of extensive sociological research, which ultimately took the form of detailed profiles of workers and the specifics of their private lives. The kinds of information Le Play analyzed ranged from family photographs and receipts of expenditures to diaries and written correspondence. The monographic method he used was new, and involved field research on individual families, supplemented with information regarding the local

[21] Cited in Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboaratory for Modern France: the Musée social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002): 224.

[22] Jules Simon, *L'ouvrière* (Paris: Hachette, 1861): 334-5.

economy, associations, historical traditions, relations between workers and employers, and even ecology.[23]

Le Play substantiated the concerns he shared with many of his contemporaries over the problem of social stability with this method of data collection, a practice that became known as empirical sociology.[24] To his monographs, Le Play added many other investigations, including one on the coal industry (1858), one on dangerous and unhealthy dwellings (1858), one on employment exchanges, one on the public lottery (1856), one on paternity, one on technological education (1863), one on Sunday leisure activities, one on absentee landlords (1866), one on public works projects (1858), one on local government (1858), one on the bakery industry in Paris (1857-9), and one on industrial relations in the provinces, as well as a report on the quality of relationships between employers and the employed, and the ramifications of illness for the industrial

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[23] Le Play's own works include: *Instruction sur la méthode d'observation dite des monographies de famille* (Paris: A.J. Gocillon, 1887); *Les ouvriers européens,* 9 vols (Tours: Mame, 1877-79); *L'organisation du travail, selon la coûtume des ateliers et la loi du Décalogue* (Tours: Mame, 1870); *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). The secondary literature on Le Play includes: Emile Cheysson, Frédéric Le Play, sa méthode, sa doctrine, son école" in *Compte rendus de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (Paris, 1905). Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frederic Le Play.* (Harlow UK: Longmans, 1970); Janet R. Horn, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Frédéric Le Play, *La Réforme sociale*, 3 vols. (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils; Paris: Dentu, 1887); Frédéric Le Play, *L'Organisation de la famille* (Paris: Téqui, Bibliothécaire de l'oeuvre Saint-Michel, 1871); Frédéric Le Play, *Frederic Le Play on Family, Work, and Social Change.* Catherine Bodard Silver, editor and translator, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June, 1988): 72-97; Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control," *French Historical Studies* Vol. 12,No. 4 (Autumrn, 1982) : 486-507.

[24] For more on the characteristics of Le Play's method, see Emile Durkheim, *Rules of Sociological Method.* Sarah A. Soloway and John H. Muller, tr. George E. Catlin, ed. (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1966).

worker and manufacturer (1880).[25] Book-length projects set Le Play's research in the context of several broad themes, including Social Reform (1864), The Organization of Work (1870), and The Organization of the Family (1871). He also served as Commissioner-General for the Universal Exhibitions of 1855 and 67.

Le Play's work was the object of criticism for later sociologists like Emile Durkheim who pointed to a lack of "general principle" guiding the accumulation of so many facts and dismissed it for "resting upon religious principles."[26] Regardless, Le Play's work was taken seriously by Napoleon III, who made him his private advisor, and commissioned book-length studies to educate the upper class about the problems of the working class. These were undertaken in order to increase upper class consciousness, to inspire an interest in social welfare (or so-called Christian morality), and to ameliorate concerns about revolution and labor uprising. As he put it in the subtitle to his book on Social Reform (1864), the work was "intended for the ruling classes, who, in accordance with the tradition of the great races, desire to prepare themselves by systematic journeys to fulfill in worthy fashion the obligations imposed by the supervision of domestic households, rural and manufacturing workshops, neighborhoods, local government, and the great national interests."

The Commune of 1871 only further confirmed the fears Le Play had already voiced in the book on Social Reform regarding the lack of foresight, temperance and industry in the working class. His foremost concern was with revolution; as he put it, "France has had three revolutions since 1789. Each has been ushered in and subsequently

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[25] Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frederic Le Play*. (Harlow UK: Longmans, 1970): 71.

[26] Emile Durkeim, "La sociologie en Franch pendant le 19e siècle," *Revue politique et parlementaire 19* (May 1900): 651.

overthrown by violence. When I saw the blood spilled by the July Revolution (of 1830), I dedicated my life to the restoration of social harmony in my country."[27] His harshest indictment was of the elites, who he accused of selfish indifference. Towards the ends of reforming society, Le Play founded the Unions of Social Peace, a grass roots organization meant to educate the upper classes about their role in reform. If the critique of upper class negligence of the welfare of the working class, and the emphasis on the interests of the group over those of any single individual sounds familiar, it is because Le Play frequently cites conservative Catholics like Montalembert in his work. Like his more religious predecessors, Le Play considered the family the "moral cell" of society, and the source of salvation for modern social ills.[28]

In his book on the topic of Work, Le Play documented the injustices of the industrial workplace (1870), and condemned it as the primary cause of social unrest. Le Play suggested that one remedy was to be found in the institution of patronage, specifically the level of responsibility the employer took for the economic and social welfare of workers.[29] As a forum to pursue this research, he also founded the Société internationale des études pratiques d'économie sociale in 1856, along with Villermé, the organization's first president, and other important industrialists like Émile Cheysson,

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[27] Cited in Rabinow??

[28] Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). Translated in Frédéric Le Play, *Frederic Le Play on Family, Work, and Social Change.* Catherine Bodard Silver, editor and translator, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982): 259.

[29] Donald Reid defines paternalism: "paternalist firms establish a system of benefits and institutions which act to insulate their workforces from the labor market; they use a variety of means to control freedom of expression and organization and to substitute managerial authority for that of the family, the shopfloor and the community." See "Schools and the Paternalist Project at Le Creusot, 1850-1914," *Journal of Social History* vol. 27, no. 1 (Autumn, 1993): 129-43.

director of the Creusot steel works.[30] Le Play used the platform of the Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867 to demonstrate the ways in which the elites could take better care of the working class. In particular, he highlighted examples of so-called "enlightened industrialists" whose employer-owned daycare centers and pension plans were displayed in the Social Economy section of the Exhibit of 1855.

The Exhibit, which was set on the Champ de Mars, was divided into two parts—a full-scale workers village and a gallery that focused on the best examples of privately financed social welfare (Fig. 1).[31] These included a "soup kitchen" that offered meals for ten centimes, a temperance café, two private insurance companies—the New York and the Urbaine, and displays of 131 French companies, such as the Bon marché and the Familistère de guise, that offered employees the benefits of profit-sharing. Companies often took advantage of the opportunity to showcase their goods and services. The image below describes the Bon marché's use of their booth at the Exposition as a platform to sell items from their home furnishings department.

Perhaps the most interesting examples of patronage for Le Play were the model housing schemes of the Menier Chocolate Company and the Anzin Mining Corporation, in which industrialists granted workers long-term loans for the construction of their own homes. In fact, the 1855 exhibition's top prize was awarded to the worker housing projects in Alsace created by Mulhouse industrialists André Koechlin and Jean Dollfus, which joined together innovations in patronage with new ideas about worker housing.

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[30] rabinow??

[31] For more on the exhibition, see Peter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001) and Erik Mattie, *World's Fairs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998).

Figure 5.1: Industrially made objects for the working class at the Exposition universelle 1867. Archives nationales AE V I P 1-131. Reproduced in Peter van Wesemael, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight: A Socio-Historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001):272.

The Société industrielle de mulhouse, created in 1825, included provisions for workers like free education, baths, health services, mutual aid societies, savings banks, pensions, asylums for the elderly and insurance against work accidents.[32] The construction of a so-called cite-ouvrière in the company town was also endowed by the industrialists. Workers were encouraged to purchase newly built single-family dwellings for themselves. These purchases were aided by long-term low-interest loans and various other kinds of financial support, all financed by the same private building societies that underwrote construction. The application of the idea of patronage to the problem of worker housing on display here exercised an enormous influence on industrial consciousness, especially through the mechanism of the Société des habitations à bon marché, which was founded immediately after the exhibition by Jules Siegfried.

Following his acclaimed work at the 1855 Exposition, in 1863, Le Play was named head of 1867 Exhibition by Louis Napoleon. In this position, he arranged for free travel to the Exposition for provincial workers, housing them in barracks-like constructions and even paid the special visitors a salary for attending. In exchange, workers were obliged to submit evaluations of the exhibit and French of labor relations more generally. The award for the most successful industrial patron at this exposition went to von Diergardt owner of a silk and velvet mill at Viersen in Prussia for worker

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[32] On the Société industrielle de Mulhouse, see Arthur Dunham, "Industrial Life and Labor in France, 1815-1848," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Nov., 1943): 117-151; Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social* Environment (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); L Simonin, *Les cites ouvrières de mineurs* (Paris: Hachette, 1867); Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control,' *French Historical Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1982): 486-507; Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June 1988): 72-97; Carol D. Wright, *The Housing of the Working People* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895); Michael Honhart, "Company Housing as Urban Planning in Germany," *Central European History* Vol. 23, No. 1 (Mar., 1990): 3-21.

provisions including schools, a pension system, free education, security of employment, and home loans.[33]

Le Play also issued awards for the best examples of mutual aid societies showcased at the Exhibition. These included producer-cooperatives in which workers pooled together their labor and shared a piece of property, industrial equipment, or a market, and voluntary associations, which protected workers from personal catastrophe resulting from an inability to work and generate income based on illness or unemployment.[34] These kinds of alternative social relationships, according to Le Play, emphasized the welfare of the many over and above personal economic gain and exemplified the qualities of cooperation and mutualism, which were seen to be lacking in the modern workplace. Models illustrating these concepts were also on display at the Exposition. For example, a pyramid was built to monumentalize English advances in cooperation and a temple was dedicated to Maison Leclaire, the first French company to institutionalize profit-sharing, beginning as a Mutual Aid Society of Housepainters in 1838. Also highlighted were various clubs for workers—book groups, evening courses, and healthy leisure activities.[35]

Le Play recognized that the examples at the World's Fair set the bar for the modern workplace very high. With this in mind, in his book on work, he outlined six minimal—and more readily achievable—criteria for a peaceful work situation, including:

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[33] The winning projects are described by Rabinow, Op cit.

[34] Rabinow distinguishes paternalist programs from mutual aid societies, which opened the door to "prevoyance," which increased the value placed on the workers' roles in shaping the security of their futures. Op cit., 177.

[35] Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002): 72.

the existence of a labor agreement between the employer and the worker; a complete agreement on fixing salary levels; the alliance between workshop and home manufacturing; the existence of savings in order to insure the well-being and dignity of the family; the indissoluble union between the family and its dwelling; and the respect for and protection of women.[36] The first three criteria were meant to safeguard the worker against the selfish, and, according to Le Play, volatile interests of his employer. Here is one of Le Play's disciples, - - Keller, in what became a common refrain indicting the modern employer:

> "Of you [property owners, capitalists, speculators] it is now said all that you once said of the Old Regime, which you put on trial and then replaced [...] But you cry this is to misunderstand the most evident progress and to reject unlimited liberty, which today gives everyone an equal chance to become wealthy. [...] Free? Yes, on one condition: that he is already rich."[37]

Keller's accusations are familiar because he echoes Marx's concerns over alienated workers, and the unfair privileges granted to wealthy capitalists in the context of unlimited "economic liberty"—a situation, according to critics, that rewarded only those who were "already rich." Like their Marxist predecessors, Le Play and Keller also described alternatives to unchecked economic liberty including communal ownership.

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[36] Op cit., 44.

[37] Émile Keller, *L'Encyclique du 8 décembre et les principes de 1789, ou, l'Église, l'État,et la liberté* (Paris: Veuve Poussielgue et Cie., 1866). Translated in Christopher Olaf Blu, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 280.

If they shared an interest in economic models of cooperation with Marxists, Le Play and Keller ultimately diverged from and even opposed the former's overriding interest in revolution. Instead, Le Play and Keller focused precisely on preventing revolution and ensuring social stability. Le Play emphasized the difference between reform and revolution: "the role of the reformer, to work on material that was already there, was contrasted with that of the revolutionary; a mining engineer did not create minerals, he mined them. The strongest material, as it were, had to be set correctly so that the whole social edifice would stand harmoniously… the role of the reformer was to articulate the means of identifying and sustaining a new elite for modern society."[38] In light of this critical distinction, the Marxist aspects of Le Play's and Keller's project on work should be considered as a reflection of generalized, and not specifically Marxist concern with the plight of the worker, especially after 1848.

Le Play's third book, which focused on the family and private life, further underscored the conservative nature of his project. The role of the family in the establishment of continuity was already highlighted in the work of Le Play's predecessor Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald (1754-1840), the counter-revolutionary who described the family as a "partnership of the dead, the living and the unborn." Specifically, the philosopher sought to recreate the so-called patriarchal family of feudalism in which "the old, the young, and the infirm were the care of the whole family." In this system, families were rigidly bound together because the inheritance was passed from the father to the eldest male who was subsequently responsible for the

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[38] Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). Translated in Christopher Olaf Blu, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 198.

care of all of his relatives.[39] The smooth and seamless transfer of property between generations was seen as a crucial aspect of maintaining order, ensuring the welfare of all family members whose basic needs were guaranteed by inheritance. This assurance, according to supporters of the patriarchal family, in turn created an underlying sense of social stability, which ultimately prevented civil unrest.

However, the freedom of testament introduced during the French Revolution opened the door to the division and distribution of inheritance as the head of the family saw fit. The family's stability was further broken down by industrialization, which fragmented families, detached them from their property, and made a steady income stream insecure. Le Play's sponsorship of the so-called stem family takes these legal changes, especially the freedom of testament, into account while approximating at least a certain level of the "built-in social security" he admired in the patriarchal family.[40] In Le Play's rendition, possessions of the family were not automatically passed to the eldest son, but to the one considered most capable of handling the responsibility. The head of the family lived in his father's house and often had several unmarried relations living with him. As Le Play described it,

> [...] with reference to the law of inheritance, [the stem family] unites the advances and avoids the inconveniences of [earlier models]. It develops

[39] Louis de Bonald, *Pensées sur divers sujets, et discours politiques*, 2 vols (Paris: Adrien Le Clerc, 1817). Translated in Christopher Olaf Blu, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 43-129. On the patriarchal and stem families, see Raymond Deniel, *Une Image de la famille et de la société sous la Restauration* (Paris: Les Editions Ouvrières, 1965): 95-128.

[40] Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frederic Le Play*. (Harlow UK: Longmans, 1970): 85.

spontaneously wherever there is liberty of testament balanced by a strong custom of handing on the inheritance whole and entire [...] If the designated heir dies prematurely, the younger children are always ready to renounce a brilliant future and return to the family home and fill the void. This regime can be established under the traditional influence of patriarchal life, but it does not acquire all its fecundity except when joined to individual property.[41]

According to Le Play, private property served a critical function in the "regime" of the stem family. He stipulated five elements for its "fecundity"- a home and the roles of the wife, father, children and unmarried relations. The minimal requirements of a stable family included a home of its own and security from eviction. In this sense, he believed that the partition of property posed the most significant threat to the "moral cell" of the family and that rented rooms were the most "deplorable custom" of the modern city.[42] It is in the context of the stem family that the motivations underlying Le Play's interest in housing schemes of all sorts are most clearly articulated.

III.

"The possession of his home creates in him a complete transformation... with his own small home and garden, the worker becomes the head of his family, worthy of this name. He is moral and provident, aware of his roots, and exercises

[41] Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). Translated in Christopher Olaf Blu, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 229.

[42] Ibid 230.

authority over his family… it is therefore of immense social importance for the worker to possess his own home. Soon it is his home which possesses him; it gives him morals, it establishes him, it transforms him."[43]

-Edmond Demolins (1882)

"[Resist] the spirit of speculation, the caprices of style, and architectural fads."[44]

In all three of his books, and at the Universal Expositions, Le Play substantiated theoretical claims regarding the role of welfare in the modern workplace with examples of paternalistic and cooperative worker aid. In a similar fashion, he concretized ideas about social order with a series of case studies—in his terminology, monographs—documenting the role of private property in the perpetuation of the stem family. According to his research, inheritance ensured the protection of the family line and the security of future generations. Le Play looked at these family lines in series—his book on the family, for example, included 32 monographs—and concluded that if the care provided for each member of the stem family was extended across the whole social fabric, the civil unrest created by unfulfilled basic needs would be abated. However, not just any private property was seen to be adequate to the task of representing and perpetuating the stem family and Le Play was extremely critical of "the spirit of

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[43] Edmond Demolins, "Les habitations ouvrières,' *La réforme sociale*, I (1882): 301. Cited in Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control,' *French Historical Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1982): 491.

[44] Le Play, *La Réforme sociale en France, déduite de l'observation comparée des peuples européens* (2 vols)(Tours: Mame, 1864). Translated in Christopher Olaf Blu, ed. *Critics of the Enlightenment: Reading in the French Counter-Revolutionary Tradition* (Wilmington: ISI Books, 2004): 238.

speculation, the caprices of style, and architectural fads" that he saw in most contemporary architecture. "Speculation" was condemned for its concern with profit, "style" for its transient nature, and "architectural fads" for their lack of substance.

Le Play indicted the speculative architecture of the Péreires and their ilk for a "relaxation of morals." In these cases,

> "the landowner finds it in his interests to subdivide [his property] in order to rent it to several tenants. Yet this investment of capital in a collective residence requiring extensive oversight soon leads to another deviation from true principles. The costs of such an enterprise are lowered by multiplying the number of renters in each location and thence come those immense apartment houses that are being built before our very eyes and which seem to have been built for the sake of violating all of the conveniences respected by other peoples." [45]

The speculators of Second Empire Paris, according to Le Play, were interested foremost in personal profit and so created houses with multiple units, "basing their rents on the going rate and changing tenants as frequently as they would their holdings on the stock exchange." The situation resulted in the severing of "men's secure tie to the land" and the "disorganization of social relations."[46] Le Play criticized the speculative apartment house on two counts: first, for the speculator's interest in his own profit over and above the welfare of his tenants; but also, for its pooling together of multiple tenants in a

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[45] Ibid 237.

[46] Ibid 233.

common living situation and the quality of impermanence that was the result of frequent changes in tenants and rents.

Both the "collective" nature and the constant turnover of the units of the modern apartment house directly contradicted the ideal of "actual ownership," which Le Play espoused.[47] As he described it, this was a situation in which "each family, even ones of modest means, lives alone, and ideally owns in its own house."[48] The premise here was that individual home ownership would have a positive moral affect on workers, solidifying the family, fixing it in social space, and ensuring its future with investment in property to be passed to offspring. Le Play's ideals were expressed most architecturally in the context of the cité sociale at the Exposition universelle. On display was a workers' housing street, which included full-scale models of low-cost subsidized housing. These were fully furnished and decorated and in one case, occupied with workers, dressed in uniforms of blue overalls, who were accompanied by their families.[49]

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[47] Michael Z. Brooke, *Le Play, Engineer and Social Scientist: The Life and Work of Frederic Le Play*. (Harlow UK: Longmans, 1970): 107.

[48] Jules Siegfried, "Proposition de loi," *Bulletin SFHBM* (1892): 51. Cited in Janet R. Horne, *A Social Laboratory for Modern France: The Musée Social and the Rise of the Welfare State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002): 237.

[49] For a detailed account of the workers' housing exhibited at the 1867 Exposition, see L. Simonin, *Les cites ouvrières de mineurs* (Hachette: Paris, 1867). The 1889 Exhibition, run by Le Play's follower Cheysson brought these discussions to legislative fruition by creating a meeting ground for the société philanthropique de construction, which was founded in 1880. It was created by André Koechlin and Jean Dollfus, renowned for their work at Mulhouse; Jules Siegfried, who fought for working class property ownership, and wrote a book on the topic, *Quelques mots sur la misère: son histoire, ses causes, ses remèdes*; Emile Cheysson, the engineer who would become one of the founders of the institute dedicated to realizing Le Play's vision, the Musée sociale; Georges Picot, a Director at le Creusot; the economist Léon Say; writer Jules Simon famous for his leading role in universalizing the French educational system, who also wrote a book on the working class, *l'Ouvrière*; and the engineer Émile Muller who designed the prototype for the Mulhouse home. The group succeeded in passing the first legislation defining a code for workers' housing, referred to as the Habitations à bon marché law, in 1894.

The Exhibit was inspired by the Société mulhousienne des cités ourvrières, funded by the same Mulhouse industrialists whose paternalist efforts had been honored in the Social Economy section of the exposition. The Société mulhousienne had financed the construction of single-family dwellings, each replete with its own garden. According to Le Play, the act of "caring for his own small harvest [taught] workers to value that feeling of ownership which providence has instilled in us all… strengthening the sacred bonds of the family."[50] The prototype unit, a 1,300 square foot two bedroom house with a garden was designed by the architect Émile Muller. The so-called "Mulhouse type" consisted of "four houses grouped together in the center of a plot of ground the houses being separated from one another by interior walls running at right angles. Each family possesses an angle of the structure, thus giving two exposures, permitting openings on two sides, and rendering the houses healthful and pleasant. The plot of ground is divided into four equal parts, each adjoining the dwelling to which it pertains… the houses of this type are two-stories high, the exterior walls having a covering of rough mortar. The window and door sills are of stone. Each house has a frontage of 20 feet 4 inches and a depth of 17 feet 1 inch. The houses are 31 feet high to the ridge of the roof. Each house contains four rooms and an attic and cellar."[51] The marks of distinction and ownership

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[50]Edmond Demolins, "Les habitations ouvrières,' *La réforme sociale*, I (1882): 301. Cited in Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control,' *French Historical Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1982): 491.

[51] Carol D. Wright, *The Housing of the Working People* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895): 382. See also Arthur Dunham, "Industrial Life and Labor in France, 1815-1848." *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Nov., 1943): 117-151; Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social* Environment (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); L Simonin, *Les cites ouvrières de mineurs* (Paris: Hachette, 1867); Ann-Louise Shapiro, "Housing Reform in Paris: Social Space and Social Control,' *French Historical Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1982): 486-507; Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June 1988): 72-97; Michael Honhart, "Company Housing as Urban Planning in Germany,"

were emphasized in this contemporary account—"each family possesses an angle"—underscoring the role that the home was assigned in the establishment of a family in social space.

By 1867, more than one thousand of the units had been built. Looked at from the kind of bird's eye perspective described in the architect's rendering, the row houses placed at regular intervals extended past the frame of the image to the right and left. The only clear boundary for the infinite expanse was the mountain range in the background (Fig. 2). Laid out on a grid, the rhythm established by the identical row houses was reinforced by evenly spaced entry canopies and trees. Perhaps most striking about this image is the complete obliteration of distinction in the midst of the field of replicas seemingly without end. It is practically impossible to connect this view to the "feeling of ownership" or the "sense of authority" Le Play had invoked. Add to this the kinds of promises the worker had to make—to tend to his plot of land, enroll his children in the school created by the factory, pay his debts, and deposit to his savings account and the communal health fund monthly. In reality, the situation was more in keeping with Demolins' qualification "his home [...] possesses him; it gives him morals, it establishes him, it transforms him."

Central European History Vol. 23, No. 1 (Mar., 1990): 3-21; Émile Muller and Émile Cacheux, *Les habitations ouvrières en tous pays* (Paris: J. Dejet et Cie, 1879).

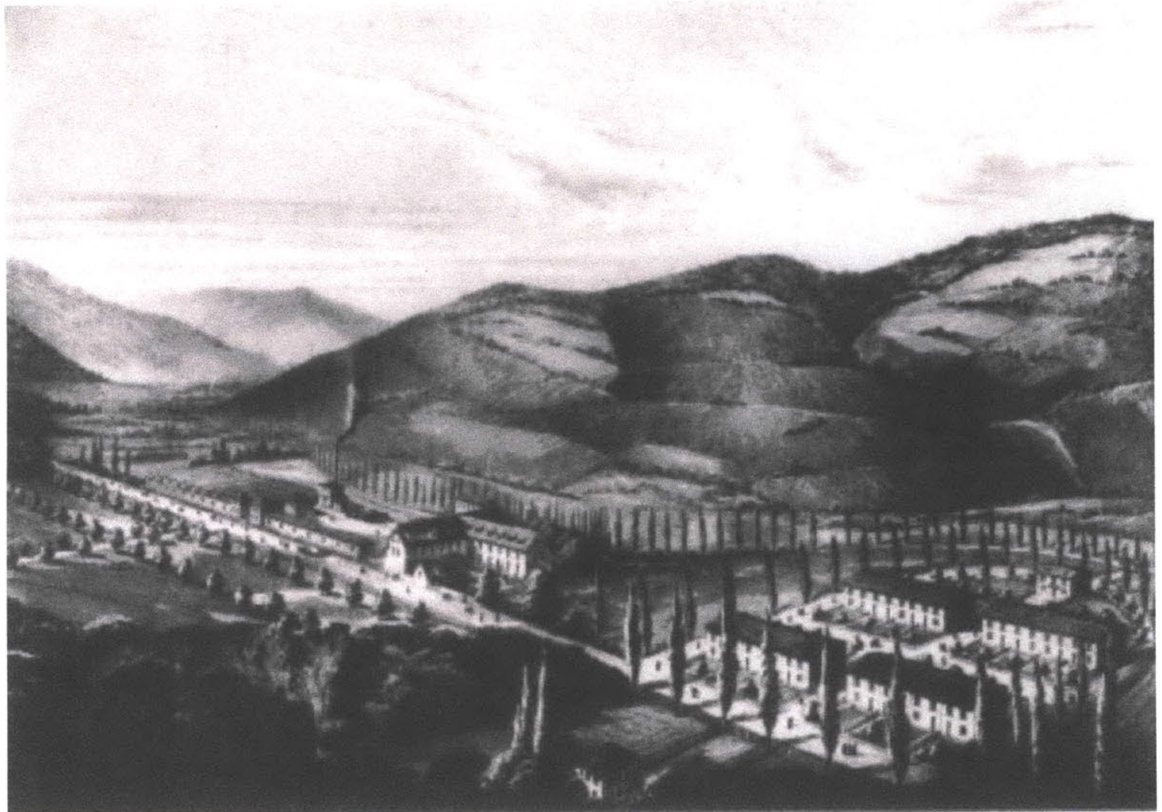

Figure 5.2: Workers' City from Émile Muller and Émile Cacheux, *Les habitations ouvrières en tous pays* (Paris: J. Dejet et Cie, 1879). Reproduced in Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June 1988): 75.

Figure 5.1: Charles Lallement, la cite de la Villedieu (1865). Album Photos 1881 Collection, Écomusée Creusot-Montceau.

If the Mulhouse scheme received Le Play's highest praise at the Social Economy section of the World's Fair, the Schneiders' experiment with worker housing, la cité de la Villedieu at the steel plant of le Creusot in the Burgundy region of France, was actually modeled in full-scale at the Exposition of 1867. In an industrial city that was substantially larger than Mulhouse and had grown rapidly, from 1,300 in 1826 to 13,000 in 1855, the Schneiders had built various worker amenities including a school and post office before adding permanent worker housing. This amounted to 105 single-family houses, built by the company beginning in 1865, and they were exact replicas in every respect (Fig. 3). Each house stood on a plot of land identical to all of the others. The homes were even positioned in precisely the same places on all the lots. Here also, there was a concerted effort to help workers to participate in the process of ownership in all respects, especially with credits for construction.[52] The photograph of Le Creusot shown here looks at the city from a different vantage point from the bird's eye view of Mulhouse we just saw. It is still a scene of identical single family row houses, evenly spaced, organized on a grid, and appearing to extend past the horizon line, a perception which is reinforced in this case by the classic perspectival view. The figures that populate the scene appear locked into the grid, each aligning with the strong corner line of a house. All of the inhabitants face the camera, the symbol of a disciplinary eye, and another trace of the kinds of planning order that structured the city. The relationship between figure and house is made absolutely clear in this image—the home is anchored to points on an overdetermined grid and the figures are connected to the homes with virtual lines, simple appendages or

[52] See especially Donald Reid "Schools and the Paternalist Project at Le Creusot, 1850-1914," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Autumn, 1993): 129-43.

extensions to their houses. This is Demolins' prediction fully realized—the worker is "possessed by his house."

By 1889, in fact, schemes like this one had become the objects of widespread criticism for what was perceived as a heavy-handed approach that "sought to force individuals to be virtuous to gain entry to liberal society."[53] According to Le Play's followers who spearheaded the Social Economy section of the 1889 exhibit, the most insidious aspect of the paternalism was the fact that it kept workers in debt and paying off loans for their homes for fifteen to twenty years. To make the disciplinary nature of this enterprise clearer still, at Le Creusot, committees inspected the homes, awarding prizes for order and cleanliness.[54] In light of this, by 1889, too much "assistance" was deemed "dangerous" because, according to detractors, "it actually increased misery by weakening moral resolve." Instead, "prevoyance" was supported by Le Playists from this point forwards. According to proponents, this system, "strengthened rather than weakened moral verve; it uplifts rather than depresses; it respects the independence of the one who practices it while joining forces with the efforts that assure the security of his future."[55] As Rabinow describes the transition from what he calls "moralism" to "welfare," its practitioners sought "health not dependency, hygiene not disciplinary measures."[56] In this scheme of employer-worker relations, the worker was given a much larger role and the proliferation of cooperatives, mutual aid, and savings funds initiated by workers themselves were the most highly esteemed.

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[53] Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social* Environment (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995): 97.
[54] Georges Teyssot, "The Disease of the Domicile," *Assemblage* No. 6 (June 1988): 80.

[55] Emile Cheysson. Cited in Rabinow 177.

[56] Ibid 177.

What is most striking about the work of Le Play and his associates is the relationships between subjects and objects they scripted, particularly the notion of the "individual possessed by his house." This is a very different situation from the one Blanc described. Remember his and Cousin's evocation of the individual who "trembles in front of the marble." If Blanc's scenario described a subject who manipulated the object world in order to create a self, Le Play annihilates that subject bolstered at least in part by the Catholic criticism of pantheism and individual reason, foundational principles of his world view. In light of the critique of pantheism and Le Play's respect for these principles, how is it that we wind up with extraordinarily powerful—active possessors instead of the passively possessed—objects here too? How could these objects accord with Catholic doctrine?

To my mind, the answer to this question lies in Le Play's concerted belief, along with his Catholic modernist colleagues, in fundamental social order over and above the emphasis on individual freedoms in the context of liberal ideology. What was foremost in this scheme of things was the prohibition of pantheism in Catholic terms and the check on the false ideals of the revolution in Le Play's translation of religious faith to social doctrine. This meant that the objects' active and possessive capacities were fictive—mere extensions and phantasmagorical expressions of the grids and planning schemes that plotted them in social space. In the end then neither the object nor the subject is substantiated in Le Play's vision—social order relentlessly obliterates both.

CONCLUSION:

In the first half of my thesis, I look at the modern bourgeois apartment industry in late nineteenth-century Paris as one of the foremost examples of Max Weber's definition of modernity indicated, according to him, by "a calculating spirit, the disenchantment of the world, instrumental rationality, and bureaucratic domination"—qualities that he theorized were inseparable from the advent of the "spirit of capitalism."[1] In the second half of the dissertation, I explore reactions against the new market-driven architecture and by association, the "spirit of capitalism" on the part of architects, designers, and so-called Catholic modernists. The case studies of the written and built work of Garnier, Blanc, and Le Play testify to an undeniable-- albeit complex and multifaceted-- reaction against what was perceived as an architecture of reification—the dehumanization of human life and the transformation of human relations into relations among things. In *History and Class Consciousness* Lukacs connects dehumanization precisely to the kind of generalization of exchange value to be seen in the speculative apartment house—something Garnier forcefully renamed a "house of revenue."

Michael Lowy and Robert Sayre theorize that the capitalist spirit and the reaction against it are interconnected phenomena that cannot be distinguished. In particular, they cite the enunciation under capitalism of "independent individuals who carry out socioeconomic functions" – amalgams of a calculating spirit, instrumental rationality, and bureaucratic efficiency. The same figures "give rise to the development of the related capacity for the exploration and expression of inner worlds and personal feelings."[2] The

[1] Michael Lowy and Robert Sayre, *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*. Trans. Catherine Porter. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001): 18.

individual is thus figured as a two-sided and contradictory byproduct of capitalism. As they put it, subjective individuality inevitably means a "contradiction with a universe based on standardization and reification. And when [subjective individuals] demand that their imagination be given free play, they collide with the extreme mercantile platitude of the world produced by capitalist relations." In other words, the independent individual that comes into being as a functionary of capitalism eventually gives way to "unique and incomparable characters or personalities."[3] These dual aspects of the modern individual—one inimical with the spirit of capitalism and the other implicated with romanticism and a conservative turn—travel together and so wherever one or the other is invoked, the other makes an appearance as well.

If the modernity of speculative architecture and the commodity economy is often pushed to the one side of a theoretical divide, the reaction against it characterized by romantic nostalgia for a precapitalist past, "subjective individualism," and religious fervor, is pushed to the other. In line with the ideas of Lowy and Sayre, my research suggests that this kind of a polarization is problematic in a number of ways. As we have seen, speculative architecture, the emblem in so many respects of "a calculating spirit, the disenchantment of the world, instrumental rationality, and bureaucratic domination," is also implicated in nostalgia for a precapitalist past and subjective individualism. Analysis of the apartments constructed by the Pereires' Co. Immobiliere makes this abundantly clear—there was a concerted effort on the parts of the various architects in the Pereires' employ to give each of these units, similar in so many ways, at least the sense of the

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[2] Ibid 25.

[3] Ibid.

possession of a unique street front and of privacy, distance, and distinction from neighboring apartments. To be sure, a design agenda highlighting the individuation and uniqueness of each of these very similar apartments was very likely profit-driven. Nonetheless, it bothers any kind of easy distinction between so-called modernity and the reaction against it. The theories of the Saint-Simonians, which shaped the Pereires' political and social ideals, serve as another example of the conflation of the modern market economy with ideals of mutualism and socialism even.

Precisely these kinds of conflicting impulses can be found in the work of Garnier, perhaps the most staunchly reactionary theorist I study here. The greatest naysayer of the architectural portents of the commodity economy-- developer-entrepreneurs and their "houses of revenue."-- is not above employing the techniques of the objects of his greatest disdain towards his own ends. In the context of the Exposition universelle exhibit and in his writings, commercialism is given free rein to sell historical architecture or even the role of the architect as master-historian that he forges in order to protect the profession —and himself-- from extinction at the hands of architect-developers. In this way, even Garnier's most conservative demands for marks of distinction and individuality as the salvation for what he derides as impersonal and cold modern architecture bear the impact of the spirit of capitalism.

Blanc's reaction, more systematized than Garnier's, used decoration manuals to disseminate what he called an optical order to be manipulated to articulate a graceful architectural impression. More than this even, Blanc's grammar of interior design promised to foster and project a self. Seen as the impetus and the effect of the grammar, the self was charged with the tasks of ordering and reenchanting modern architecture.

This is precisely the two-sided character Sayrre and Lowy described. The self that systematized and manipulated an architectural impression of order harnessed modern techniques of rationalization. But the moi that was inculcated here infused the same space with metaphysical and spiritual life.

Le Play's reaction against the spirit of capitalism is perhaps the most unwavering of all. He mandates total reform—of "selfish individuals," "the false doctrines of the revolution," and "immoral economics." The agent of this was to be built form—as opposed to the more abstract reactionary formulations we have investigated, which sought to institute order through history and the self, respectively. The architecture tasked with reining in modernity in this case is the home, which "possesses," "gives morals," "establishes," and "transforms." As we have seen though, even the manifestly conservative intentions of these homes, when viewed in series, betray the unmistakable impact of modern technologies of rationalization and discipline. This working class epilogue to the story of the bourgeois apartment industry testifies to a related ideological shift from liberal ideals equating individual rights to property and expression with social order to conventionalism with its emphasis on the general will as the foremost guarantor of social order in the context of the working class.

The episodes I look at here share a common site, the home. If other building types, including the factory, the institutional building, and the city itself served as platforms for debating the effects of Max Weber's definition of modernity indicated, according to him, by "a calculating spirit, the disenchantment of the world, instrumental rationality, and bureaucratic domination," the home offered a theoretical platform uniquely scaled to address questions about the role of the individual—Garnier's human in

"human habitation", Blanc's moi, and Le Play's "possessed" individual—in the modern social order. The relationship of the individual to social order was a theoretical interest that emerged in the context of Enlightenment debates between ideas of natural right and general will, the stakes of which were increased in the nineteenth century in the midst of industrialization and the history of revolutions. If the conceits of bourgeois and working class private life represent opposing visions of modernity-- through the emphasis on the free market and liberalism's individual rights for one class and the manifestation of regimes of social control for the other—they share in common a fundamental interest in conserving social order.

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