

In his work on 20th-century Berlin, Andreas Huyssen analyzes the city as palimpsest, one whose ruins mark “absences” just as the *visible* presence of past violence is preserved by bullet and shrapnel marks on buildings. Berlin is both “saturated with memory” and marked by “willful forgetting,” a dichotomy which seems just as pertinent to Paris a century before.¹ In the 1870s and 1880s, Paris was marked by the visible ruins of the Commune, most famously the gutted Tuileries palace, which remained at the center of the city for twelve years.” If the visual reminders of violence and trauma leave “absent presences” such as this in the heart of an urban space, how might the memories of the *sounds* of conflict be similarly understood as leaving traces (sonic scars) in individual and collective memories? In this paper, I detail sonic impacts on Parisians during the Franco-Prussian War, then analyze how this 19th-century sonic trauma was processed, remembered, and memorialized, ultimately arguing for a specifically urban theorization of the aural experiences of war. Time constraints necessitate only a capsule review of the sonic experience of this pivotal year, thus my focus today is on two moments: the Prussian bombardment of Paris in January 1871, and sounds of the Commune in May 1871.

Studying sound is indispensable for urban studies;² in her discussion of “aural flânerie” and nineteenth-century Paris, Aimée Boutin argues sounds are essential to understanding a city.³ By 1870, Paris had a particularly rich memory of revolution. In 1789, in 1830, in 1848 and so on, the city repeatedly resounded with revolutionary songs, bells calling the populace to arms, the *rappel*, the *générale*, the ringing of stone as Parisians built barricades. These sounds were both a language and a memory routinely revisited over more than a century, a sonic vocabulary of revolution written into the city’s aural history. In his writing on sonic warsapes, Martin Kaltenecker notes that war can (temporarily) create “sound displacements, where ordinary

sounds arise in places where they wouldn't in peacetime.”⁴ Indeed, the sonic effects of 1870-1871 rendered the familiar unfamiliar, unsettling Parisians as their city was shattered and remade by sound just as with bullets. Paris seemed divided by sound as much as ideology: the sonic discourse was both familiar—the recurrent sounds of revolution—but also riven by incommensurable new sounds of Krupp siege guns and the *mitrailleuse* and the displaced and uncanny sounds occurring in “seemingly impossible” places.⁵

From the declaration of war to the bloody final battles, Paris in 1870-1871 was rattled by what J. Martin Daughtry has broadly defined as “belliphonic” sounds (sounds produced by armed combat).⁶ Scholars have closely examined certain aspects of Parisian musical culture during this period, yet what remains understudied is the broader sonic experience of battle, bombardment, siege, and civil war within in a nineteenth-century urban soundscape, a focus on what Martin Kaltenecker calls the “phonosphères of war.”⁷ These sounds marked the streets of the French capital with “aural ruins”—sonic scars of the year’s events—and marked the minds and bodies of Parisians with traumatic memories. As Mark M. Smith, Jennifer Stoeber, and other scholars have analyzed, these impacts are uneven—the understanding and experience of sound is raced, gendered, and classed.⁸ Moreover, the urban fabric itself—and how weapons and violence impacted certain quarters of the city—creates its own kind of intersectionality, as residents of certain parts of Paris suffered greater sonic traumas than others.

What Victor Hugo deemed France’s “terrible year” began in July 1870 with the declaration of war with Prussia.⁹ The climactic loss at Sedan came in early September, followed swiftly by the fall of France’s Second Empire. In the course of a devastating four-month siege in fall and winter 1870, Paris’s entire soundscape changed. Théophile Gautier noted the “terrifying

solitude” of this “deathly silence,” likening newly quiet Paris to a medieval city at the curfew hour. During the unusually severe winter of 1870-1871, sounds likewise echoed in unusual ways off the hard angles of cold stone and the icy river. Edmond de Goncourt noted in his journal that “in spite of the deadening effect of the snow...you can hear everywhere a distant and continuous cannonade from the direction of Saint Denis and Vincennes.”¹⁰

At the beginning of 1871, the Prussians installed artillery in forts around Paris, and at 3am on January 5 they commenced shelling the city.¹¹ Between 300 and 600 shells hit central Paris each day, with more than 12,000 shells fired into the city over a 23-day bombardment.¹² As a National Guard sentry patrolling Paris’s fortifications, French composer Vincent d’Indy listened at length to the shelling.¹³ Using his musician’s ears—indeed he claimed the Prussian guns were pitched in Bb—d’Indy was horrified by the shell’s frightful *crescendo*. He devoted pages of his memoir to listening, detailing his somatic response to these sounds. Describing the whistling of shells as the most frightening element of war, words failed him; he could not describe the sensation caused by the noise, but the sound made him feel sick, as he was unable to grow accustomed to it.¹⁴

Broken by the bombardment, France’s interim government signed an armistice, agreeing to crippling war indemnities and the loss of Alsace and much of Lorraine. In elections following the armistice, unrest came to a head over cannons belonging to the Parisian National Guard.¹⁵ On March 18, the regular French army deployed at dawn to working class Parisian neighborhoods such as Montmartre, planning to seize these cannons. Accounts of this day’s events resonate with a web of Parisian revolutionary sounds: the drum beats of the *rappel* and *générale* calling for the

National Guard to assemble, bugle calls warning the citizenry to disperse, enumerated gunshots spelling additional warnings.¹⁶

Unexpectedly, the army failed to seize the cannons on March 18; both the army and government fled to Versailles, while leftists, workers, and the National Guard proclaimed a “Commune” in Paris. After the proclamation of the Commune in March 1871, the Versailles army besieged and bombarded Paris in an attempt to retake the city, rattling inhabitants already unnerved by the earlier siege and bombardment by the Prussians. In April, the US minister to France described both the atypical silences and the sounds of war audible from his ambassador’s residence in the 16th arrondissement.¹⁷ De Goncourt likewise tuned his ears to carefully listen to shelling from Versaillais forces, describing in his journal the special sort of “wail” which “comes when a concave shell fragment is projected a very long distance.”

The Versaillais army quietly slipped into western Paris early on May 21; Lissagaray recalled this moment as an ominous cessation of sound, “a silence unknown for three weeks.”¹⁸ Communard leaders acknowledged this breaching of their defenses by a resumption of noise: the sounds of the *rappel*, the *tocsin*, the *générale*.¹⁹ As Alain Corbin has analyzed, sounds are not neutral—for 19th-century listeners, the redoubled discontinuous strokes of the *tocsin* elicited physiological and psychological feelings of “fear, panic, and horror.”

During the infamous *semaine sanglante* (“bloody week”) of late May 1871, the Versaillais army suppressed the Commune in violent fighting, street by street. As Paris descended into chaos and bloodshed, innumerable memoirs, diaries, and journals recount the *sounds* of civil war. Edward Malet, a secretary at the British Embassy, knew the battle had shifted because now the sounds of small arms echoed in the streets.²⁰ Augustine-Melvine

Blanchecotte, hiding during an endless night on May 23, wrote of the horrible combination of machine guns, cannon fire, the screams of shells, the racket of paving stones, yells from combatants, falling of bodies, the certainty of an explosion. Like many, she drew particular attention to the horrifying sound of the newly invented *mitrailleuse* (an volley gun that could fire multiple rounds in rapid succession).²¹ Lilli Hegermann-Lindencrone, a singer and banker's wife, detailed the sounds of violent revolt *and* her state of profound nervous anxiety during the *semaine sanglante*, lamenting her inability to sleep or even change her clothes.²²

As fires swept Paris during the last days of the Commune, ash and smoke created a chaotic sensory atmosphere which privileged sound over the uncertainties of sight. Describing the horrendous combined affect of these shells, the cries of agony and moans from the dying, “all under an atmosphere of fire”—Communard author Benoît Malon noted such an experience “reduced even the strongest men to a stupor.”²³

The Commune's last holdouts were violently pursued eastward through the city, finally ending in bloodshed in Père Lachaise on May 28. While exact numbers are difficult to ascertain, somewhere between 10,000 to 30,000 Parisians were murdered by their countrymen during the savage repression of the Commune. Even after the conflict's official end, Parisians moved through an urban landscape filled with sounds of death. Firing squads and mass burials took place at the La Roquette prison, the École Militaire, the Parc Monceaux, Lebau Barracks, the Luxembourg Gardens, and the Jardin des Plantes.²⁴ Emile Zola recalled gunfire still resonated throughout the streets of Paris in June, as army firing squads meted out “justice” by shooting Communards. Carts, coaches, and wagons filled with corpses rattled across the city for weeks. Augustine-Melvine Blanchecotte drew specific attention to both the horrifying new sounds of the

June 1871, detailing the nightly clanging of carts carrying the dead, the exhumation of corpses, and the reports of firing squads which resounded between the Pantheon and the Luxembourg Gardens.²⁵

Trauma has emerged as a powerfully interdisciplinary subject of cultural, psychiatric, and medical study largely in the last forty years, marked by the official acknowledge of “posttraumatic stress disorder” in 1980²⁶ and foundational writings by Judith Herman, Dominick La Capra, Jeffrey C. Alexander, and others.²⁷ Indeed, the concept of trauma itself has been shaped by responses to catastrophic events of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, particularly the Holocaust. While the late nineteenth century presents a different set of historiographical problems, it is a particularly fruitful period for analysis. Allan Young, who argues trauma is not a timeless, universal condition but a temporally constructed phenomena, posits a new type of “painful” memory emerged at the end of the 19th century, a memory linked to previously unknown kinds of forgetting such as ‘repression’ and ‘dissociation.’²⁸ Mark Micale explicitly places the beginnings of the trauma concept in psychological medicine in the 1870s, noting political events in tandem with social problems and emerging medicalized discourses helped forge the “proto-science” of mental trauma.²⁹ While the events of 1870-1871 were not the sole causative agent, formative concepts about trauma emerged at *precisely* the moment Parisians processed the aftermath of war, siege, bombardment, civil war, and mass slaughter.

Attending to sound reveals how Paris’s inhabitants were tortured by constant noise or abject silence during *l’année terrible*. In May, De Goncourt wrote that people on the street “talk to themselves aloud like crazy people”...mouthing “syllables of despair” like “*desolation, misfortune, death, ruin*.”³⁰ When Émile Zola described the gunfire still echoing throughout the

streets in June 1871, he noted the millions of Parisians left with nightmares which could only begin to heal once the sounds quieted.³¹ Indeed, numerous Parisians were hospitalized due to the year's events. In an 1872 presentation to the Académie des sciences, a Dr. Laurent noted the explosion of more than 1,700 cases of "folie" in 1870-1871.³² His tantalizingly incomplete statistics combine mental illness and insanity in problematic ways, but do suggest many Parisians found the year's sights, sounds, and experiences unbearable.³³ French psychiatrists such as Bénédict-Augustin Morel and Legrand du Saulle pondered whether the psychological impacts of *l'année terrible* would be bequeathed to subsequent generations.³⁴

French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot gave his first lecture on hysteria at the Salpêtrière in June 1870, just before the outbreak of the war. While he rarely spoke about the year's events, Charcot himself was grazed by shelling as he traveled by carriage from his home in the 9th arrondissement to the Salpêtrière in the 13th.³⁵ Several years later, Charcot began to work on what he deemed "male hysteria"—diagnoses focused on nervous crises and physical symptoms prompted by a triggering traumatic event.³⁶ Mark Micale notes that the six years between the end of the war and Charcot's first publication on traumatic male hysteria (1878), is roughly the same amount of time between the end of American involvement in Vietnam and the formulation of the diagnostic category of PTSD.³⁷

One of the most provocative narratives on male hysteria in Charcot's 1889 *Leçons du mardi à la Salpêtrière* concerned "D...cy," a former soldier traumatized after being struck by lightning.³⁸ Charcot noted "D...cy" had fought at the Battle of Puebla in 1863, taken part in multiple campaigns of the Franco-Prussian War, served in the Versaillais army during *la semaine sanglante*, and been wounded during the final battle in Père-Lachaise. While detailing his

experiences, “D...cy” described the traumatic thunderclap as “**like a cannon shot.**”³⁹ Charcot noted that “D...cy” “had not cried or trembled at the Battle of Puebla when thunder and cannon had raged, nor did he cry at Père Lachaise, when a shell burst quite close to him.” The thunderclap and lightening, however, radically transformed him into a man who “shakes, stammers, and bursts into tears incessantly.” Charcot did not pursue the question of whether “D...cy’s” earlier experiences might have *precipitated* the traumatic reaction to the lightening strike, but what *is* notable is Charcot’s casual admission that the man had already been exposed to much *more* “dramatic” and “terrifying” episodes during wartime, and that some of these terrifying experiences were sonic, namely the sound of cannons and shelling.⁴⁰

Charcot was not the only French neurologist concerned with new understandings of male hysteria at this time: sixteen French medical dissertations on male hysteria appeared between 1875 and 1895. Numerous researchers—notably Emile Duponchel in the 1880s & 90s—searched for hysteria in the army; civilians were largely understudied as victims of trauma.⁴¹ Pierre Janet, who studied under Charcot at the Salpêtrière, provided a tantalizing example in his *Névroses et idées fixes* (1898) of the physical and psychological problems of a former soldier that were “a manifestation of a long-ago phenomenon” reawakened by a recent triggering event.⁴²

The impacts studied by these pathbreaking neurologists and psychiatrists were uneven, as Parisians experienced the horrors of the war quite differently depending not just on political affiliation, social class, and gender—but also, importantly, where they lived in the city.⁴³ The January bombardment singled out specific neighborhoods; shells fell primarily on the commune of Montrouge and the 5th and 14th *arrondissements*, affecting inhabitants living near the Barrière d’Enfer, the Faubourg Saint-Jacques, the Observatoire and the Panthéon.⁴⁴ During *la semaine*

sanglante, the Versaillais army swept through the city from west to east, dispensing different degrees of violence to different parts of the city. Just as we *must* study sound as a critical component of understanding the impacts of violence on humans in urban spaces, we must attend closely to the specifics of these geographies. In this case and in others, geography is an intersectional characteristic crucial to understanding the impacts of sonic violence in urban spaces. It is only through careful mapping that we can assess the impacts of aural trauma on the bodies and minds of those impacted by violence.

Parisians remembered *l'année terrible* in very different ways.⁴⁵ And as they remembered, they fought over these memories, through the very sounds and spaces where they could remember or reconnect with the traumatic past. As means of conclusion, I highlight two spaces in Paris's urban landscape, each of which not only resounded with remembered *sounds* from the period of the Commune but which used sound as a weapon of commemoration.⁴⁶

After the general amnesty of Communards in 1880, an annual commemorative ritual gradually emerged at the "Communard's wall" in Père Lachaise.⁴⁷⁴⁸⁴⁹ Continuous fears of another uprising, however, led authorities to aggressively police this space. By 1895 processions and wreaths were allowed but *speech* was forbidden: participants filed silently by the watchful eyes of the police. In 1900, participants wrested sonic control by *singing* "La Carmagnole" and "L'International."⁵⁰ Sonic policing expanded in turn to explicitly forbid revolutionary songs.⁵¹ At Père Lachaise's *mur des fédérés*, silence was *simultaneously* an act of mourning *and* a tool of state repression, whereas *sound* could serve as both sonic occupation and revolutionary refusal.⁵²

At the other extreme of sonic remembrance, the monarchist Catholic right began a campaign to erect a sanctuary to Sacré-Cœur in 1871. Appropriating the site high on the butte of

Montmartre via a vote of “public utility;” the National Assembly noted “it was necessary to efface [the Commune] by this work of expiation.”⁵³ Sacré-Cœur’s cornerstone was laid in 1875, but construction dragged on for more than thirty years. On November 24, 1918, composer Jean Roger-Ducasse attended the “Te Deum” in the newly completed basilica. Thrilled by the brilliant Magnificat and the tolling of the church’s giant “Savoyarde” bell, Roger-Ducasse imagined winds carrying these Catholic sounds from the butte of Montmartre to the tombs of France’s fallen soldiers.⁵⁴ It is difficult to contemplate a stronger sonic repudiation of Montmartre’s noisy Communard sounds. Crowned by an enormous white marble testament to “enduringly Catholic” France, by the late 1910s Montmartre resounded with ecclesiastical sounds mourning the great war.⁵⁵

In 1870-1871, Parisians agonized, shuddered, hid from the bombs, and watched in horror as their *Ville-Lumière* descended into a nightmare of blood and fire. They not only watched, they listened. Through this listening, they garnered crucial information, but also failed to shut out the belliphonic sounds which rendered them sleepless, sick, and, in some cases, unable to function. An emerging generation of neurologists and psychiatrists attempted to assess the ways in which these wartime injuries affected French minds and bodies. As Parisians struggled to banish the sounds from their minds, they also engaged in a decades-long battle over *how* to remember the terrible events of 1870-1871. From the 1870s through the 1910s, thousands of narratives political wrangled over the “truth,” but likewise demonstrate a desire to testify, to remember, to account for those horrible days and weeks. As Parisians conversed with their pasts, the wounded city⁵⁶ itself reminded them, bearing not just visual reminders of the events, but sonic scars of the past, memories of the gunfire, screams, and shelling of this terrible year.

¹ Grounding this analysis in a discussion of the memory park in Buenos Aires, Huyssen notes of urban memorials to national trauma, “cities remain the main battleground on which societies articulate their sense of time past and time present...once embodied in memorial sites within an urban fabric...remembrance of traumatic events seems less susceptible to the vagaries of memory.” Huyssen sees this as a shift from the persistent (and earlier) discourses of “reading the city as text,” from Hugo to Barthes and Baudrillard and many postmodern geographers in the 1970s and 1980s. See *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford University Press, 2003): 50, 101.

Note that Karen Till’s work on Berlin is on some of the same topics, but comes in 2005. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, and Place*

² Throughout most of the Second Empire, Paris was in the midst of massive renovation projects (Haussmannization) which forever changed the city’s soundscape. Haussman overhauled much of medieval Paris in favor of new broad, expansive boulevards; Boutin notes these wide new boulevards echoed and resonated quite differently than the narrow older streets. See Boutin.

³ There has long been interest in analyzing the soundmarks—especially the changing or disappearing sounds—of urban spaces. Boutin draws on early nineteenth sources on *flânerie* such as Balzac and Victor Fournel.

⁴ Kaltenecker also notes defines a “pathological kind of hearing” in wartime, a constant listening where a subject strains to hear and interpret sounds.

Kaltenecker gives two interesting examples; one, the lack of bells ringing around Saint-Denis and silence in the streets, and second, bugles and other types of music in places where you would not normally hear them. “What Scenes! What Sounds!” 9.

⁵ Such as the bullets and cannons which ultimately silenced the last Communards in Père Lachaise. In his study of the U.S. Civil War, Mark Smith notes that the “introduction of new noises and the muting of old sounds,” or noises “that threaten the customary soundmarks of a particular local” can actually fatigue listeners to the point of hastening capitulation and increasing trauma during a conflict. Moreover, there was no distinction between home-front and battlefield during this conflict; whether soldier, civilian, revolutionary, or citizen—categories which were distinctly muddled—all residents of Paris contended with the sounds of 1870-1871. This lack of distinction is not unusual for certain kinds of conflicts; Smith notes how this distinction was an untidy one during the U.S. Civil War as well, for civilians certainly suffered aural impacts during events such as the siege of Vicksburg. See Smith, *The Smell of Battle, The Taste of Siege: A Sensory History of the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 95-97. There are many other examples of the sonic and traumatic effects of bombings on “civilian” populations during wartime; just to name one example, we might consider the bombardment of Paris in spring 1918.

⁶ War was declared on July 19, 1870, when Parisians flooded the streets singing, and the final battles were marked by detonations, shots, and screams resounding street by street.

⁷ What scholars have tended to focus on is popular song and concert life.

⁸ This is part of the “sensual turn” in the humanities more broadly, as well as the “sonic turn” in music studies. Studying sounds of the past—particularly in the era before sound recordings—is fraught with difficulties, as we struggle to find traces of “vanished” sounds in the remaining historical evidence.

⁹ Most accounts of the period mention some of these assemblies and the sonic character of Parisian revolutions. Communard author Prosper Lissagaray includes a number of such examples in his *History of the Commune of 1871*, trans. by Eleanor Marx Aveling (London: Reeves and Turner, 1886, f.p. 1876).

¹⁰ De Goncourt, *Paris under Siege*, 177, 178.

¹¹ This included the new Krupp steel guns.

¹² Robert Tombs, *War Against Paris, 1871* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 21.

¹³ Vincent d'Indy, « On distinguait le coup qui allait siffler au dessus de nous; puis, à peine avait-on entendu la détonation, que le sifflement fatal se développait dans un effrayant crescendo; enfin, un coup sourd annonçait que le projectile avait éclaté... Je ne connais rien de plus affreusement fatal que ce sifflement des obus: on ne peut donner la description de la sensation plus que désagréable que ce bruit fait éprouver: on ressent comme un malaise, et, quand le projectile approche, on a tout juste le temps de se poser ce raisonnement: "Est-ce pour moi ou non?"... Mais il est difficile de s'habituer à ce sifflement fatal, inflexible, inexorable des obus....pour nous, bien que nous l'ayons entendu des milliers de fois, au dernier comme au premier jour du bombardement, nous ne pouvions nous empêcher de frissonner, et nous sentions une sueur froide nous parcourir tout le corps, à l'audition de ce terrible crescendo », *Histoire du 105e Bataillon de la Garde Nationale de Paris en l'année 1870-1871 par un engagé volontaire dudit bataillon, âgé de 19 ans* (Paris: Charles Douniol et Cie, 1872) 95, 100.

¹⁴ d'Indy, *Histoire du 105e Bataillon de la Garde Nationale de Paris* (Paris: Charles Douniol et Cie, 1872), 95, 133-134. Not everyone found the bombardment terrifying; Nathan Sheppard wrote that on January 18 he "spent the day in watching and dodging shells," noted his fascination, and that we are "alternately hilarious and terrified....the moment the peculiar whiz and whir of a coming shell is heard, everybody falls faceforemost upon the pavement." *Shut up in Paris*, 220-221.

¹⁵ There are a number of different, extremely specific accounts of this morning in Montmartre. Gay Gullickson analyzes many of these accounts and the ways memories of the sounds of March 18 differed for each author; see *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996). Two examples of detailed accounts include Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871*, 78-81 and Nathan Sheppard, *Shut Up in Paris*, 238.

¹⁶ There were many sonically significant uprisings throughout the year. In February 1871, for example, Parisians angry with the armistice terms gathered in the Place de la Bastille. Under normal order, the *rappel* (a drum signal which summoned the assembly of National Guard members from a particular arrondissement) was only beaten at the urging of the government— part of the problem in the 1848 revolutions was beating of the *rappel* spontaneously. In February, the *rappel* was beaten illegally in the working class and leftist areas of Belleville, the Faubourg du Temple, and the Latin Quarter. See Tombs, *War against Paris*, 27 and Jonathan M. House, *Controlling Paris: Armed Forces and Counter-Revolution, 1789-1848* (New York: NYU Press, 2014).

¹⁷ Washburne, *Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877* (London: Sampson Low, 1887), II, 100. Washburne was writing from 75 Avenue Ulrich, at the edge of the Bois de Boulogne. The street was renamed several times, including during WWI, when it became Avenue Foch.

¹⁸ Lissagaray, *History of the Paris Commune*, 311.

¹⁹ Tombs, *War Against Paris*, 149.

²⁰ Malet, *Shifting Scenes* (London: Murray, 1901), 318-319. I don't know for a fact that he was HOUSED in the British Embassy at 75 Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré. I can look into this more later.

²¹ Blanchecotte, « La position était intolérable; le râclément de la mitrailleuse, la canonnade du Panthéon ébranlant la maison et la criblant d'obus, la fusillade furieuse qui semblait devoir enfoncer la porte et la trouait de balles, le tapages des pavés les clameurs des combattants, la chute des corps, la certitude de l'explosion prochaine, tout cela parut durer une éternité, tout cela dura sept heures! » *Tablettes d'une femme pendant la Commune*, 277.

²² Lindencrone, *In the Courts of Memory*, 326, 334.

²³ Malin, *La troisième défaite du prolétariat français* (Paris: Guillaume, 1871), 466. Cited in Brown, *Mass Violence and Commune*, 192.

²⁴ According to Communard author Prosper Lissagaray, *History of the Paris Commune*, 383-385.

²⁵ Blanchecotte, « Cette nuit, entre minuit et une heure, singuliers roulements d'omnibus sourds, lugubres, étranges, auxquels on ne peut se méprendre quand on les a une fois entendus; ce sont, à travers Paris, des déterrements de morts. Ce bruit lourd du charroi des morts ne ressemble en rien au bruit alerte des voitures vivantes; un poids inconnu semble enfoncer en terre les chargements funèbres.....Quelle succession de bruits depuis près d'une année! Le moins épouvantable était encore celui du bombardement prussien qui trouait nos demeures. Ce bruit d'obus, que je croyais incomparable, n'était qu'une musique innocente à côté de ces derniers bruits. Le plus navrant, le plus inoubliable a été — entre Panthéon et Luxembourg — le bruit nocturne, tout une semaine, des feux incessants de peloton, ces rapides décisions de la justice humaine.....Oui, l'on déterre cette nuit les morts tout de suite et n'importe où enterrés. La population est supposée endormie. Bienheureux, oh! oui, bienheureux ceux qui dorment! L'affreuse besogne s'imagine être silencieuse, comme elle s'imagine être sans témoins. La pioche découvre sourdement les pavés, enlève sourdement les cadavres et recouvre sourdement les grands trous. Une lanterne fumeuse éclaire vivants et morts. Les travailleurs disent peu de mots : « Y en a-t-il encore? Est-ce bien tout. Dépêchons-nous », *Tablettes d'une femme*, 348-349.

²⁶ The 1980 terminology came in the DSM-III issued by the American Psychiatric Association.

²⁷ Herman, *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Jeffrey Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, Piotr Sztopka, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Cizmic, *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Pilzer, *Hearts of Pine: Songs in the Lives of Three Korean Survivors of the Japanese Comfort Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Włodarski, *Musical Witness and Holocaust Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Daughtry, *Listening to War: Sound, Music, Trauma, and Survival in Wartime Iraq* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). For recent discussions of music and sound in relation to trauma, see also the panel on “Musicology and Trauma Studies: Perspectives for Research and Pedagogy,” organized at the American Musicological Society meeting in Rochester, NY (2017); the session on music and trauma at the conference “Trauma Studies in the Medical Humanities” in Durham, England (2018), the panel on “Music, War and Trauma in the Long Nineteenth Century” at the American Musicological Society panel at San Antonio, TX (2018), and the forthcoming volume by Jillian C. Roger, *Resonant Recoveries: French Music and Trauma between the Wars* (Oxford).

²⁸ Young describes it as “glued together by the practices, technologies, and narratives with which it is diagnosed, studied, treated, and represented.” Young, *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5.

A number of works address this issue; Maria Cizmic provides a capsule summary of the debate in the introduction to her book *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Mark Micale notes two main methodological camps, namely: “1) typically medical or psychological technicians, which argue from today’s diagnostic categories as a timeless, quasi-universal disorder; and 2) a rejection of this approach as presentist and positivistic and adopts an emphatically historicist stance.” See Micale, ed., *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-30.

In his work, Young focuses not precisely on fear, or suffering, or loss—all emotions with an ancient history in testimonies—but on the ways these experiences impacted memory. Young, *Harmony of Illusions*, 1. In his analysis of memory, Young notes that PTSD is “a disease of time. The disorder’s distinctive pathology is that it permits the past (memory) to relive itself in the present, in the form of intrusive images and thoughts and in the patient’s compulsions to replay old events.” Young discusses the early development of trauma in Chapter 1, including sources on railway spine such as John Erichsen (1866) and Herbert Page (1885).

²⁹ Micale, ed, *Traumatic Pasts*. See also Micale’s contribution to *Traumatic Pasts*, “Jean-Martin Charcot and les névroses traumatiques,” 138. By the 1880s, there was general consensus by experts in England, France, and Germany that fear could produce physiological symptoms.

³⁰ De Goncourt, *Paris under Siege*, 256, 292.

³¹ Blanchecotte similarly noted that despite the end of the conflict, “vibrations of cannon still lingered in the ears, the shaking of the spirits did not ebb away, and the despondency of the dead city persisted.” Blanchecotte, « Ces notes ne s'arrêtent point à la chute de l'insurrection, je les ai continuées un mois après la défaite de Paris. C'est que tout n'était pas fini après la semaine de mai. La vibration du canon durait encore dans les oreilles, l'ébranlement des esprits ne s'apaisait point, l'accablement de la ville morte persistait malgré le réveil des consciences arrachées aux torpeurs récentes », *Tablettes d'une femme pendant la Commune*, vii. Hegermann-Lindenchrone, who fled Paris as soon as *la semaine sanglante* was over, likewise noted she could still hear screams and bursting shells of the Faubourg St. Honoré in her mind by mid-June. *In the Courts of Memory*, 335. Years later, as Colette Wilson has analyzed, the noisy fireworks of the 1878 Exposition Universelle—which sounded like bombshells—may have been triggering for listeners who had experienced the sound of gunfire in those precise Parisian locales. Wilson, *Paris and the Commune, 1871-1878: The Politics of Forgetting* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007): 82.

³² Laurent also notes that 13% of those hospitalized between July 1870 and July 1871 were interned due to “diseases” related to the events of the year.

³³ During the Commune in particular, Laurent reported that French asylums took in hundreds of patients who had become mad due to the year's events.

Laurent's report appeared in the *Revue médicale* of 28 September 1872, and was then quoted in Claude-Joseph Tissot's *La folie considérée surtout dans ses rapports avec la psychologique normale* (Paris: A. Marescq Ainé, 1877). Both of these works are cited in Catherine Glazer, “De la Commune comme maladie mentale,” *Romantisme*, no. 48 (1985): 63-70.

One of the contested elements was that (allegedly) there was a paradoxical decrease in the total number of patients housed in French asylums; as Glazer analyzes, commentators such as Tissot attributed this (in an obviously biased reading) to the fact that most Communards must have been “mad” and thus deportations and executions lessened the total number of asylum inmates.

³⁴ A number of writers throughout the nineteenth century questioned whether individuals exposed to intense fear and terror might transmit these states to their descendants. Esquirol, in his influential 1838 definition of lypémanie (a specific subset of monomania, namely an extreme melancholy or sadness), not only noted that political events could greatly increase the number of monomanias and suicides, but that children conceived or born during the horrors of 1793 were much more likely to exhibit mental health problems. “Revolutions can create terror,” Legrand du Saulle noted, “and terror can not only change the intellectual state of present generations, but also weigh heavily (by means of heredity) on the mental dispositions of future generations.”

See Esquirol, *Des maladies mentales*. Esquirol's ideas are explicitly cited in Bénédict-Augustin Morel's June 1871 report on “panophobia” and the events of 1870-1871; see *Du délire panophobique des aliénés gémissants: Influence des événements de la guerre sur la manifestation de cette forme de folie* (Paris: E. Donnaud, 1871).

Legrand du Saulle was writing within the framework of “predisposition” and degeneracy theories (he compared the effect of terror to that of a child born to a parent addicted to alcohol). Even so, his musings might evoke (to us) hints of current epigenetic theories which suggest trauma's effects can be passed down through multiple generations.

Legrand du Saulle, « Le seul point dont il faille un peu tenir compte, à l'occasion de l'influence que les événements politiques peuvent exercer sur le développement de la folie, est celui-ci : les révolutions sont capables (ramener la terreur, et la terreur peut non-seulement modifier l'état intellectuel des générations présentes, mais s'appesantir encore lourdement, par la voie de l'hérédité, sur les dispositions mentales des générations futures. Ne sait-on pas, en effet, que tel enfant conçu alors que l'un de ses auteurs se trouvait dans telles conditions déterminées, est exposé beaucoup plus que tout autre à l'irritabilité, à la mobilité, à la mélancolie, à l'imbécillité, à l'épilepsie? L'alcoolisé ne procréé-t-il pas un fils dégénéré? », *Le délire des persecutions*, 512. There are a number of epigenetic studies, but for work on nineteenth-century war's potential effects on subsequent generations, see Dora L. Costa, Noelle Yetter, and Heather DeSomer, “Intergenerational transmission of paternal trauma among US Civil War ex-POWs.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 115, 44 (October 30, 2018): 11215-11220.

³⁵ Charcot's teachings on [female] hysteria were interrupted for nearly two years because of the war. According to a later account by his son Jean-Baptiste Charcot, during the January 1871 siege Dr. Charcot traveled by carriage from his home in the 9th arrondissement to the Salpêtrière in the 13th. Passing by the Jardin des Plantes in the 5th arrondissement one morning, Jean-Baptiste Charcot recalled that his father "was disturbed in his reading by a shell that passed through both windows of his carriage." Jean-Baptiste Charcot, "Charcot in the Franco-Prussian War," *Mil Surg* 37 (1926): 153-154. Cited in Olivier Walusinski, "Neurology and Neurologists during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)," In *War Neurology*, ed. L. Tatu and J. Bogousslavsky (Basel: Karger, 2016), 88. This entire account may be apocryphal—Jean-Baptiste Charcot quotes his father's coachman as a source and notes that his father "muttered humbug" during this story.

Charcot supposedly only referred to the cataclysms as "the events about which you know." See Charcot, *Léçons du mardi à la Salpêtrière* (Paris: Publications du « Progrès médical », 1889). For more on Charcot's tantalizing lack of discussion of the Commune and Siege, see Glazer, « De la Commune » and Christopher Goetz, Michel Bonduelle, Toby Gelfand, *Charcot: Constructing Neurology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 179.

³⁶ Charcot variously characterized this as "névrose traumatique, hystérie traumatique, hystéro-traumatique, or hystéro-neurasthénie traumatique." —Charcot believed that "intense fright, mediated through a kind of quasi-hypnotic unconscious mental process, could precipitate physical symptoms in individuals with premorbid constitutions."

See Micale, *Traumatic Pasts*, 15. Charcot's work on male hysteria was preceded by Pierre Briquet's 1859 *Traité clinique et thérapeutique de l'hystérie* and August Klein's *De hystérie chez l'homme* (1880).

For a basic account of Charcot's work, see Christopher Goetz and Michel Bonduelle and Toby Gelfand, *Charcot: Constructing Neurology*. For a specific discussion of Charcot and male hysteria, see Mark S. Micale, "Jean-Martin Charcot and les névroses traumatiques: From Medicine to Culture in French Trauma Theory of the Late Nineteenth Century." In *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870-1930*, ed. Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner, 115-139. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). For more on the history of hysteria on France, see Micale, *Hysterical Men: The Hidden History of Male Nervous Illness* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2008). Charcot diagnosed around ninety cases of male hysteria, almost exclusively working class men who suffered paralyzes, contractures, sensitivity or lack thereof to touch, melancholia, and alterations in vision after an accident. Micale tallies sixty case reports of male hysteria between 1878 and 1893 (28 in *Leçons du mardi* from 1887 to 1889, then several more cases in early 1890s and then some cases not published but in archival records). See *Hysterical Men*, 123. Micale notes that socioeconomic identity was important: "of 61 men and boys described in his writings, all but 5 had urban or rural working-class backgrounds. They were either laborers in mechanized industries or members of traditional artisanal crafts or petit métiers of Paris or peasants from countryside. Nearly all sent to Salpêtrière from working class hospitals like Hôpital Saint-Louis near Belleville...[Charcot] does not discuss the white male bourgeois body and psyche (although he could have). He is not like Viennese doctors who think these male hysterics are effeminate men." *Hysterical Men*, 130.

Charcot did mostly believe there was a hereditary component to hysteria; see, for example, his note regarding the "influence fatale de l'hérédité" in his *Leçons du mardi*, 126, when talking to a young man with a tic from Normandy.

³⁷ (Charcot's publications on the subject would continue through the 1880s and early 1890s). Micale, "Jean-Martin Charcot and les névroses traumatiques," 122.

³⁸ While Charcot claims D...cy's symptoms are neurasthénie cérébro-spinale, what he describes very much sounds like depression prompted by grief (the man's mother had died the year before). Charcot, "Mais bientôt devaient survenir des chagrins, puis des fatigues physiques exceptionnelles qui changèrent du tout au tout la situation. La mort de ses parents, celle de sa mère en particulier qui fut inopinée et à laquelle il ne put assister, l'avaient déjà profondément ébranlé lorsque, au mois de décembre dernier, l'exercice de sa profession qui paraît-il, est assez pénible déjà en temps ordinaire, l'obligea, à cause des recouvrements de fin d'année à subir des fatigues excessives. Il se "surmena" dans l'acception la plus générale du mot. Peu à peu ses forces allèrent en déclinant; il perdit du même coup son entrain et sa vigueur d'autrefois, il était déprimé, triste, mélancolique, et, en même temps, il se sentait vite fatigué: il éprouvait quelque peine à monter les escaliers, les jambes lui semblaient faibles, comme paralysées, les pieds souvent "butaient" en marchant. Il se plaignait d'une sensation de poids et de constriction sur le crâne; ses digestions étaient pénibles, son estomac se gonflait après le repas et il était pris alors d'invincibles envies de dormir. En un mot, les symptômes de la neurasthénie cérébro-spinale s'étaient nettement accusés chez lui; et, cependant, il continuait, malgré tout, à se livrer tant bien que mal, à ses occupations, très fatigué toutefois et surtout très préoccupé de son état. *Leçons de mardi*, vol. 2, 437-438.

Regarding "D...cy's" military service: « Bientôt il prit part à l'expédition du Mexique, et, dans cette campagne, assista au siège de San Lorenzo, à la bataille de Puebla, "où la foudre, dit-il tonnait autant que le canon," et la prise de Mexico. Libéré du service militaire à 25 ans, il s'engagea deux ans après, dans les équipages de la flotte. Sur ces entrefaites, la guerre franco-allemande éclatait. D...cy fit campagne dans l'armée de la Loire: il assista aux combats de Patay, de Coulmiers, de Marchenoire. Enfin, lors de la répression de l'insurrection de la Commune de Paris, par l'armée de Versailles, il prit part à la prise du cimetière du Père-Lachaise où les "obus pleuvaient dru." Il u fut blessé à la jambe gauche, peu grièvement d'ailleurs par un éclat d'un de ces projectiles », *Leçons du mardi*, 137.

"D...cy's description of the thunderclap: « j'ai vue l'éclair et j'ai entendu le coup en même temps, du moins je le crois, car il y a été à cet égard un peu de vague dans mon esprit; mais ce que je me rappelle bien c'est que le bruit ressemblait à un coup de canon accompagné du fracas que feraient en tombant sur le sol des milliers d'assiettes....une fois assis, je regardai de tous côtés autour de moi et je mis à trembler et à pleurer, comme un enfant. Il y a longtemps que cela ne m'était arrivé. M. Charcot: Il n'avait ni tremblé, ni pleuré à Puebla alors que tonnerre et canon à l'envi faisaient rage, il n'avait pas pleuré non plus au Père Lachaise, lorsqu'un obus est venu éclater près de lui. Mais depuis qu'il a été "touché" par la foudre, une transformation radicale s'est produite en lui: le voilà devenu émotif à l'excès, pleurard; désormais sous l'influence de la moindre émotion on le voit fondre en larmes », *Leçons du mardi*, 438, 440.

³⁹ The quote continues: "accompanied by the clatter of a thousand plates falling to the ground."

⁴⁰ Charcot was primarily interested in considering how the lightening's electricity might have prompted the neurological symptom.

Charcot's lacunae in his questions are frustrating to the historian, but through his work on male hysteria, he did establish several important observations on trauma, namely that an event or injury may create a loss of sensation seemingly unrelated to any physical wound and that patients often suffered a delay between the injury and the onset of symptoms. Micale, *Hysterical Men*, 140.

⁴¹ See, for example, Léopold Jannet, *De l'hystérie chez l'homme* (Paris: Medical Dissertation, 1880); Quinquetton, *De l'hystérie chez l'homme* (Paris: Medical Dissertation, 1885); Emile Duponchel, "L'Hystérie dans l'armée," *Revue de médecine*, 6 June 1886 and Duponchel, *Traité de Médecine Légale militaire* (Paris: Octave Doin, 1890).

⁴² Janet combined his interests in philosophy, medicine, and psychology in an influential series of publications in the 1890s on “automatic” (involuntary) actions and obsessions or fixations (*idées fixes*). Janet published a number of works on this topic in the 1890s, but see especially *L'automatisme psychologique* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1889) and *Névroses et idées fixes* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1898).

Janet spent the last years of the nineteenth century pondering the nature of “painful memories subconsciously fixed in the psyche,” inaccessible due to dissociation.

See *L'Automatisme psychologique* (1889), *L'État mental des hystériques* (1894). Micale describes Janet’s “dissociation” as a ‘splitting of the personality, as the primary psychopathological result of these memories.

Traumatic Pasts, 14.

Janet, « Revenons à l'histoire notre homme qui a froid au mollet. Pas de antécédents héréditaires intéressants. Il était soldat au moment de la guerre de 1870 et il eut à souffrir bien des misères. Une nuit, par un froid glacial, les Prussiens l'ont fait coucher par terre; il a dormi toute la nuit sur un tas de fumier qui était gelé. Il reposait sur le côté gauche et il se souvient qu'il se releva tout endolori, le pied gauche était presque entièrement gelé. La situation était trop pénible pour qu'il attachât grande importance à ses souffrances; la circulation se rétablit tant bien que mal et il put continuer à marcher, mais il a gardé de cette nuit un souvenir plein d'horreur. Les troubles ne commencèrent pas aussitôt. Quelques années plus tard, il eut une violente émotion dans des circonstances bizarres qu'il serait assez difficile d'expliquer. Il était garde-malade d'un typhique en' plein délire et pour l'empêcher de se sauver il le maintenait de force dans son lit. Il s'endormit ainsi près de lui et il fut réveillé par des cris horribles du malade. Ce réveil en sursaut, l'impression d'horreur qu'il eut en voyant qu'il avait dormi près de ce malade, l'idée de la contagion, tout cela le bouleversa et il resta fort troublé; pendant trois semaines, il ne voulut plus entrer dans la chambre, il se réveillait la nuit en sursaut avec des terreurs. C'est à partir de ce moment qu'il resta un peu plus nerveux, qu'il eut quelques migraines vagues, dans le front, dit-il, tantôt d'un côté, tantôt de l'autre et qu'il commença à se plaindre de cette dysesthésie toute spéciale accompagnée d'un sentiment de frayeur.

Un premier point ne doit pas vous embarrasser : la dysesthésie qui s'est développée semble bien en rapport avec la première émotion éprouvée en 1870, l'impression de froid persistant aux points saillants du côté gauche qui ont porté sur la glace, mais elle ne semble avoir aucun rapport avec la seconde aventure, la nuit passée près du malade, et cependant c'est après cette seconde

émotion qu'elle s'est développée. C'est là, comme nous l'avons souvent dit, un fait extrêmement fréquent: une émotion affaiblit la force de résistance de ces malades et amène le développement, la manifestation d'un autre phénomène quelquefois bien antérieur, provoqué par une émotion bien plus ancienne et qui était resté latent tant que le cerveau était plus valide. Quoi qu'il en soit de ce retard dans l'apparition des phénomènes, cette dysesthésie spéciale avec sensation de froid semble avoir son origine dans le souvenir plus ou moins conscient des sensations éprouvées, quand il a dormi la nuit du côté gauche, sur la terre glacée », *Névroses et idées fixes*, 300-302.'

Both Charcot and Janet's accounts analyze former soldiers who experienced a traumatic circumstance related to the war (whether sonic or a physical injury such as frostbite) which was then reignited by a later event. Both doctors are clearly intrigued by these cases and by the delay in onset or the connections between seemingly “unrelated” events. Yet they fail to ask questions which might allow us a clearer glimpse at the ways these patients experienced repeat exposure to traumatic events, re-experience of trauma through unexpected recollections, or physiological reactions to reminders of the events. Moreover, Charcot and Janet were silent (and perhaps unaware of) the ways in which non-combatants might have had similarly triggering experiences. Ultimately, the accounts offer tantalizing evidence, but also demonstrate obvious ways in which contemporary accounts are limited by the cultural frameworks of the era.

⁴³ This is part of the “sensual turn” in the humanities more broadly, as well as the “sonic turn” in music studies. Studying sounds of the past—particularly in the era before sound recordings—is fraught with difficulties, as we struggle to find traces of “vanished” sounds in the remaining historical evidence.

⁴⁴ Vincent d'Indy recalls the specific beginning of the bombardment, *Histoire du 105e Bataillon de la Garde Nationale de Paris en l'année 1870-1871 par un engagé volontaire dudit bataillon , âgé de 19 ans* (Paris: Charles Douniol et Cie, 1872) 93. For description of the locations particularly effected, see Legrand du Saulle, *Le délire des persécutions*, 498.

⁴⁵ Memory itself was the object of great dispute during the late nineteenth century, from Théodule Ribot's *Diseases of Memory: An Essay in the Positive Psychology* (1883) to Proust's subsequent musings on involuntary memory in the early 20th century to Maurice Halbwach's later work on collective memory. As noted earlier, Allan Young's more recent analyses of the history and emergence of trauma and PTSD calls attention to how a new kind of traumatic memory—grounded in repression and dissociation—emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁶ Howard Brown, working from Robert Gildea's earlier analyses, argues it was only when la semaine sanglante "became a collective memory of trauma, in other words, when it became a chosen trauma, that it provided the basis for developing a working class consciousness." See Brown, *Mass Violence & the Self*.

⁴⁷ In the first years after la semaine sanglante, Communard authors began to call for a sacralization of the space at Père Lachaise. While he did not mention any specific spaces within the cemetery, Lissagary in 1876 noted that fédéré victims were buried in mass graves at Père Lachaise, Montmartre, and Mont-Parnasse, "where the people in pious remembrance will annually come as pilgrims." Lissagary, *History of the Commune of Paris*, 392.

⁴⁸ The description of this as a pilgrimage was already present in the 1880s. For a recent study of this as secular pilgrimage, see Frégosi, "La 'montée' au Mur des Fédérés du Père-Lachaise: Pèlerinage laïque partisan," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions [En ligne]*, 155 (Juillet-Septembre 2011).

⁴⁹ Participants then listened to political speeches accompanied by cries of "Vive la Commune. *La Justice*, 28 May 1893.

⁵⁰ In this year, they obeyed the prohibition on political speeches but used song in political ways.

⁵¹ For an account of the difficulties with the first year's "commemoration/protest," see front page coverage on May 25, 1880 in *La Justice*. This protest seems to have been marked by silence, perhaps in an attempt to evade police attention: pilgrims were only allowed to enter in small groups. In 1885 there was an armed confrontation between the police and the pilgrims—see *La Justice*, 25 May 1885. In 1888, there was a shooting at the ceremony. In 1894, armed guards patrolled the cemetery. The rule, according to the Préfecture of Police, was that "le préfet de police, après avoir pris les instructions du ministre de l'intérieur, a décidé que les mesures d'ordre seront les mêmes que dimanche dernier. On ne laissera pénétrer dans le cimetière que les porteurs de couronnes. Ils seront autorisés à les déposer au mur des Fédérés, à la condition qu'ils ne soient suivis aucun cortège et qu'il ne soit pas prononcé de discours." *La Justice*, 4 June 1894. In 1895, "tous défilent en silence sous l'œil inquiet des officiers de paix," *La Justice* 28 May 1895. For an account of a speech being silenced, see *La Justice*, 25 May 1897. In 1899, the inscriptions on funerary objections/wreaths read "Aux martyrs de 1871," "Aux vaincus de la Commune," "Les Socialistes aux Fédérés," *La Justice*, 30 May 1899. See the coverage of the event in 1900, complete with a brawl with the police, in *La Justice*, 29 May 1900. In fact, revolutionary songs were in general forbidden, such as "La Ravachole," a reworking of "La Carmagnole" in honor of François Ravachol. See Richard D. Burton, *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001): 147-148.

⁵² Sonic occupation comes from the work on Music and Protest—Maria Sonevsky (sp?) Robert Gildea notes that "to dwell on the defeat of the rising was to establish workers as martyrs and the bourgeoisie as the agents of violence." The SFIO (Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière) resumed the cult of the Paris Commune in 1908, following a final decision by the municipality of Paris not to use the plot against the Mur des Fédérés for private graves, and by the erection of a plaque in memory of the Commune in 1909. *The Past in French History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 45, 48.

⁵³ The quote continues: the crimes which have crowned our sorrows. The vote of public utility came in 1873. The project's leaders explicitly described Montmartre as hallowed ground of recent martyrs, namely the Versaillais generals killed during the March 18 uprising in 1871. For more on Sacré-Cœur, see Burton, *Blood in the City*, 147-148. For more on this, see David Harvey, "Monument and Myth." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 3 (Sept. 1979): 362-381 and Raymond A. Jonas, "Monument as Ex-Voto, Monument as Historiosophy: The Basilica of Sacré-Cœur." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 482-502.

⁵⁴ Roger-Ducassee sends a letter to Andre Lambinet from Paris, Sunday night, 24 November 1918. "Mon cher ami, je ne pourrais m'endormir sans vous avoir écrit et sans achever près de vous cette journée où je peux dire que ma pensée n'a été qu'avec vous. C'était, au Sacré-Cœur de Montmartre, le *Te Deum* de la Victoire. J'avais pu obtenir une place dans la haute tribune de l'orgue et assister ainsi à cette merveilleuse cérémonie, dans cette église dont, depuis plus de vingt ans, je viens, à chaque retour des vacances, contempler le lent achèvement. Imaginez plus de 6,000 hommes réunis sous ces voûtes, dont la défaite avait inspiré la construction et qui retentissait des cantiques de la Victoire! Le cardinal archevêque, des évêques, cent prêtres, toutes les sociétés catholiques des paroisses portant des drapeaux français, un peuple immense, uni dans la même foi séculaire et dans les mêmes actions de grâce. Quel spectacle pour un français et pour un chrétien! Et quel frémissement quand tous, d'une seule voix, ont entonné le Magnificat liturgique!

Le Père Gilet, de l'ordre de saint Dominique, a développé le text du cantique, "Deposuit potentes de sede et exultant humiles!" Ce fut fort beau. Puis a eu lieu la Procession du Saint Sacrement, porté par le Cardinal sous le dais que soutenaient cinq officiers: tous les hommes (car il n'y avait que des hommes) suivaient en portant un cierge et cette foule clamait "Sauvez, sauvez la France." La Savoyarde tintait, les trompettes vibraient du haut des tribunes et tous, sur le passage de Dieu, se courbaient comme un chant de roseaux.

Alors, l'âme hors de moi-même, j'ai revu ceux qui sont morts, là, parmi nous, avec nous, au-dessus de cette procession frissonnante et j'ai pensé, Dieu l'a dû permettre, que le vent qui faisait vaciller les cierges, quand le Cardinal a béni Paris du haut du Mont des Martyrs, a apporté dans leur tombes les chants de grâce de tout un peuple! Comme je vous ai senti près de moi et n'ai point osé me retourner de peur de vous voir! Je n'ai pas prié, je n'aurais pas trouvé les mots, mais je pleurais comme un enfant et je suis sûr que Dieu aura préféré mes larmes. Nous vivons, à certain jours, des heures grandes comme des années et, pour certains d'entre nous, nos âmes se fondent d'amour et de joies graves!..." *Lettres à son ami André Lambinet, présentées et annotées par Jacques Depaulis* (Hayen: Pierre Mardaga, 2001), 122. I am thankful to Jill Rogers for suggesting this reference to me.

⁵⁵ Neither of these stories ends in the early 20th century. The annual montée du Mur continues today on the Sunday closest to May 28, accompanied by speeches and singing of "Les temps des cerises." Sacré-Cœur still dominates the Parisian skyline, today accompanied by a new noisy din, not of revolution or Catholic mourning, but the chatter of tourists who fill the basilica's steps.

⁵⁶ Cf the work of Till on wounded cities.