

A TALE OF TWO CEMETERIES

The Paris Commune, the Haymarket Affair, and the Politics of Memorialization

This paper examines the relationship between late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century Paris and Chicago by analyzing their respective commemorations and memorializations of the Paris Commune and the Haymarket Affair. Though these commemorations reveal many key differences between the two cities—notably the power of municipal authority—they ultimately speak to the power of silence as a political tool wielded by both the oppressor and the oppressed.

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“The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today.”¹
Albert Spies, 11 November 1887

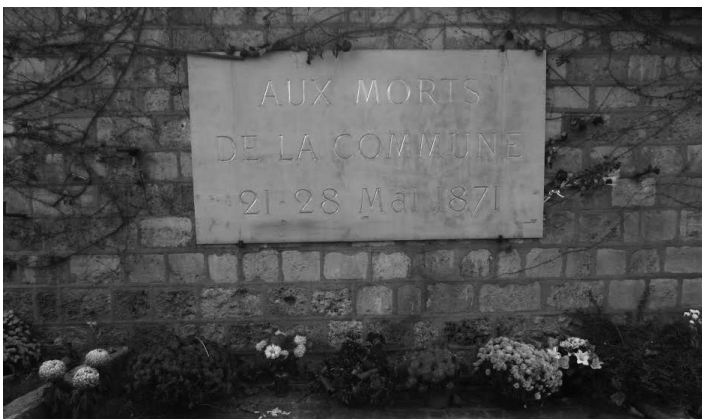
The Paris Commune and the Haymarket Affair were two of the late-nineteenth century’s most notorious events. They both revealed forces of disorder that threatened to disrupt the stability of bourgeois capitalist society, demonstrating increasing class-consciousness among workers. Depending on which side of the bourgeois-working class divide one fell, these events were either seen as a threat to the core values of modern civilization or the spark that could ignite a full-scale working class revolution. While these incidents certainly had an international impact, their consequences were felt most deeply in Paris and Chicago, the cities in which they took place. Indeed, the Paris Commune and its subsequent repression in 1871 and the Haymarket bombing and trial in 1886 remain some of the most contested chapters in these cities’ histories. The processes through which each city attempted to memorialize these events reveal many of the fundamental similarities and differences between Paris and Chicago during this period, clearly demonstrating their historiographic importance.

Despite the crucial role of memorialization, the ways in which each city memorialized these events have not yet been explic-

itly compared or examined, despite numerous comparisons of the Paris Commune and the Haymarket Affair throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.² A fair number of comparisons examine how the events influenced municipal socialist groups, in addition to their impact on the burgeoning international socialist movement.³ Most explicit comparisons, however, focus on the direct aftermath of each event, without exploring other possible means of comparison.

This paper will explore one of these potential comparisons by examining the ways in which Paris and Chicago sought to memorialize the Commune and Haymarket. The process of municipally memorializing each of these incidents was intense and politically charged, usually pitting one side against another in a battle to ensure future generations would remember *their* story. Thus, the memorialization process can aid in effectively analyzing the ways in which the history of each event was constructed, in conjunction with the larger social, political, and cultural forces at play in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Paris and Chicago. This paper will demonstrate how the differences between the memorialization processes in Paris and Chicago reveals two different examples of the way historical narratives are constructed, which, in turn, reveal a great deal about the cities that had a hand in constructing those narratives.

In order to analyze the process of memorialization, I will examine several monuments built with either an explicit or implicit goal of memorializing the Paris Commune or the Haymarket affair, and the context surrounding their creation. Though the Haymarket affair occurred fifteen years after the Paris Commune, I will begin by analyzing *The Police Monument* and *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* because their construction was completed before any memorials to the Commune. Next, I will discuss the *Mur des Fédérés* (*Communards’ Wall*), the only explicit memorial to the Commune, in addition to two monuments that are often associated with the memory of the Commune: the *Basilique du Sacré-Cœur* and the *Monument aux victimes des Révolutions*. To conclude, I will examine the similarities and differences between



Mur des Fédérés at the Père Lachaise cemetery (2015)
Source: Paige Pendarvis

the Commune and Haymarket memorials, and what those can tell us about the Paris and the Chicago that constructed these monuments.

CHICAGO AND THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR

On the evening of 4 May 1886, a group of Chicago police officers arrived to supervise a peaceful anarchist rally in support of an eight-hour work day. As they approached and ordered the rally to disperse, an unknown individual threw a homemade bomb at the group of officers.⁴ During the ensuing violence in the aftermath of the bomb's explosion, seven policemen and an unknown number of civilians were killed.⁵ Chicago's anarchists, of whom a large number were German immigrants, were immediately blamed for the incident: nine were indicted, seven stood trial, eight were found guilty, and four were executed.⁶ There was minimal evidence against the defendants, save for their radical anarchist rhetoric printed in newspapers like *The Alarm* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. The bomber's identity was never conclusively determined—the eight anarchists were convicted primarily on the basis of their writings.⁷



Monument aux victimes des révolutions in Paris (2015)
Source: Paige Pendarvis

The trial, now commonly viewed as horrendously unjust, can best be understood “in terms of the willingness of the citizens of Chicago... to accept, even to expect and demand decisive action to preserve what they saw as social order.”⁸ More of a show trial than anything else, the guilty verdicts threatened other potential anarchist agitators with a similar fate, while also reassuring Chicagoans that public authority was effective—or at least capable of ruling with an iron fist. A little more than a year after their conviction (which was spent appealing their case) on 11 November 1887, four of the defendants (Spies, Parsons, Engel, and Fischer) were hanged.⁹ In the weeks following the execution, many mourned the loss of four innocent men, while many more “celebrated the moral judgment rendered on the gallows.” The trial and subsequent executions seemed to divide Chicago “into separate spheres

of sentiment determined largely by where they lived and worked and how well they spoke English.”¹⁰ Thus a Chicago hostile and unsympathetic to radical politics and immigrant workers was the stage on which the drama of memorializing the Haymarket affair played out.

In January of 1888, not long after the massive funeral for the executed anarchists, a group of prominent businessmen gathered to oversee the construction of a memorial to the 180 police officers involved in the Haymarket incident, raising \$10,000 for the proposed monument.¹¹ The *Chicago Tribune* subsequently sponsored a competition for the best design, offering a \$100 prize.¹² Johannes Gelert, (ironically) a young Danish immigrant and sculptor, won the contest despite having his first proposal rejected by the committee. His initial design was too allegorical for the high degree of verisimilitude the committee desired.¹³ Gelert eventually decided to model the sculpture on a policeman whom he had seen on a Chicago street and thought of as a “model” officer. The monument committee, however, was horrified that the intended subject looked “too Irish,” thus representing the immigrant communities often associated with labor radicalism.¹⁴

The Police Monument was dedicated on Memorial Day 1889, during a ceremony attended by city officials and members of the monument committee. The finished monument stood on a tall pedestal inscribed with the words, “Dedicated by Chicago to her Defenders in the Riot,” and was placed in the center of Haymarket Square. The statue of the officer atop the pedestal has its gaze fixed straight ahead, with one arm raised in a command to halt, while wearing a replica of the 1886 Chicago police uniform.¹⁵ The literal image of the monument would have been readily accessible to the general public, avoiding the potential interpretative confusion of an allegorical figure. However, its realism does not ensure a completely unambiguous reading. Though Gelert chose his model because, “he was able to catch those ideal qualities of the guardian of the peace instead of the more unpleasant ones of strength and insensibility,” viewing the monument in the context of Haymarket and its aftermath would seem to warrant a more authoritarian reading of the image as a threat to all those who dare to threaten public order.¹⁶ This second reading is echoed in the words of Chicago's Mayor Cregier at the dedication ceremony, stating that the monument “stands... in this conspicuous place as a silent monitor to all who dare to come to this free land and to disobey its laws.”¹⁷

Though the monument was moved from the center of Haymarket Square to Union Park in 1900 because it was a traffic obstruction in the busy square, it did not lose its symbolic significance. No matter where the monument was moved over the course of its 120-year history, it was always a site of controversy—frequently subject to bombing and vandalism.¹⁸ *The Police Monument* marks Chicago's first attempt to physically construct a memory of the Haymarket affair. Fur-

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ther, *The Police Monument*—the only memorial to Haymarket within Chicago’s city limits—has represented the “official memory” of the event as a repugnant uprising of immigrants and socialists, resulting in the “tragic” loss of police lives since its dedication in May 1889. The monument, which was commissioned in part by city leaders, has been subsequently supported by civic authorities in Chicago’s commemoration of the Haymarket incident, and continues to be part of “the authoritative public history” of the city.¹⁹ In short, *The Police Monument* deploys images of authority, law, and order to construct an official memory; questioning the validity of this memory, then, would be akin to questioning the unassailable civic authority of law and order.

In response to *The Police Monument*’s construction of an official public memory, Chicago’s anarchist community began planning a monument of its own, in the hope of offering an alternative narrative of the Haymarket affair. In July 1889, the Pioneer Aid and Support Association, a group dedicated to providing support for the families of the Haymarket martyrs and others disadvantaged labor supporters, began fundraising for a monument; all workers were asked to contribute.²⁰ Albert Weinert, a German immigrant and sculptor, was commissioned to design the memorial in 1892. Nearly four years later, on 25 June 1893, *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* was unveiled in Waldheim Cemetery in Forest Park, Illinois, attracting a crowd of 8,000.²¹

The monument consists of a dramatic allegorical hooded female figure, placing a crown of laurels on the head of a dying male worker, while preparing to draw her sword. The woman rests in front of a tall granite shaft, atop a smaller granite pedestal. Albert Spies’ last words, “The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today,” are inscribed on the lowest step of the pedestal, directly below the year of the executions, 1887. The names of the eight defendants are inscribed on the back of the granite shaft.

In contrast to the stillness of *The Police Monument*, *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* is full of movement. The woman lunges forward as if readying herself to step off the pedestal and into the surrounding space; her cape billows behind her as she prepares to brandish a concealed sword. Compared to *The Police Monument*, *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* is a direct affront to the municipal authority embodied in the first memorial. The allegorical female figure’s forward motion confronts the male police officer’s call to halt, refusing to be silenced by the authority of unjust law and order.

The figural relationship between the two monuments is also analogous to the empowering impact of *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* for Chicago’s labor and anarchist communities. Not only did the new monument serve as a physical opposition to the historical narrative embodied in *The Police Monument*, it also became a site that could func-

tion as the center of activism for the anarchist and socialist movements. With the city’s crackdown on the radicalism associated with Haymarket, the monument turned Waldheim Cemetery into a safe haven for the anarchist movement and other radical groups. The cemetery remained a sacred space of remembrance and mourning, but also became a place of action and aspiration.²² The significance of *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* transcended its local context, transforming Waldheim Cemetery into “a revolutionary shrine, a place of pilgrimage for anarchists and socialists from all over the world,” establishing the Haymarket martyrs’ place in the mythology of the radical left.²³



Haymarket Martyr’s Memorial in Chicago, IL (2009)
Source: Zol87 (Wikimedia Commons)

THE PARIS COMMUNE: FORGETTING AND REMEMBERING

The Paris Commune lasted for 72 days from 18 March to 28 May 1871, following France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the abdication of Napoleon III, and a four-month siege of Paris by the Prussian army. The newly-formed Third Republic signed an armistice with Prussia on 28 January 1871. National elections were held in February, revealing the typical division between Paris, a few other urban centers, and the rest of France. On 18 March 1871, Adolphe Thiers, the Third Republic’s chief executive, sent national troops to disarm the Parisian National Guard (*fédérés*, formed to protect the city during the Prussian siege) by seizing the city cannons located atop the Butte Montmartre.²⁴ Though rooted in a variety of complex social and political issues, the national government’s attempted disarmament of Paris provided the necessary spark that ignited a spontaneous popular Parisian uprising which soon exploded into violence. The insurrection resulted in the establishment of an autonomous municipal government: the Commune. The official declaration of the Commune and its corresponding governing body, the Central Committee of the National Guard, was declared on 26 March 1871, remaining in power for 72 days.²⁵

Viewed by many as an example of Karl Marx's "dictatorship of the Proletariat," the Commune was violently repressed by the Versaillais (troops of the national government, based in Versailles since the final months of the Franco-Prussian War) from 21-28 May 1871. This week, known infamously as *la Semaine sanglante* (the Bloody Week), resulted in the deaths of at least 20,000 Communards, with some estimates putting the death toll closer to 30,000.²⁶ The dead consisted of far more than combatants or those in combat areas: the Versaillais were ruthless in killing their prisoners, or those suspected of aiding the Communards, including women and children.²⁷ After a week of brutal fighting, the final battle of the Paris Commune took place at the Père-Lachaise cemetery in northeastern Paris, the Communards' last stronghold. Vicious combat took place among the tombstones until nightfall, when the remaining 150 Communards surrendered to the Versaillais, and were subsequently lined up against the cemetery's eastern wall, shot, and thrown into a common grave.²⁸

The *Semaine sanglante* was followed by a period of equally harsh political, cultural, social, and artistic repression and censorship, along with continuing trials, executions, and deportations of the Communards.²⁹ The Third Republic did everything it could to ensure that Paris and the nation would forget the "crimes of the Commune" and move forward as one unified Republic. Notably, the French state did not officially recognize the executions and deaths of innocent civilians by the state during the repression of the Commune until 2001.³⁰

The repressive, reactionary atmosphere in Paris during the post-Commune years is a key factor in explaining why it took nearly fifteen years for a particular place to emerge as a memorial site dedicated to the Commune's memory. In spite of harsh censorship laws forbidding any reference to the Commune, its memory among the working classes could not be entirely extinguished.³¹ The battle at Père-Lachaise between the *Versaillais* and the last of the Communards had not yet become particularly important in popular memory. Instead, smaller acts of mourning and remembrance took place at other smaller cemeteries elsewhere in the city.³² However, after the national government granted full amnesty to all exiled and imprisoned Communards in 1880, commemoration practices began to change.

The government struggled to keep the Commune out of public memory as the exiled Communards returned to the city, threatening to renew interest in the Commune and France's revolutionary past.³³ The early 1880s witnessed a growing consciousness of the Commune's memory through the evocation of the infamous wall in the Père-Lachaise cemetery as a memorial site in poems and songs, which was soon followed by drawings, prints, and paintings.³⁴ In the most comprehensive early history of the *Mur des Fédérés* (Communards' Wall), Madeleine Rebérioux argues that the evocation



Haymarket Riot Monument, by John Gelert (1889)
Source: Chicago Historical Society

of the wall in images and songs was the catalyst in inspiring the first organized demonstrations using this site.³⁵

The Père-Lachaise Cemetery soon became a hotly contested public space as it gained increasing symbolic and memorial importance. Conflicts developed between the Parisian municipal council, led by a radical republican and socialist coalition, and the moderate-conservative republicans running the national government. The disagreement began over the national government's refusal to allow the addition of an epitaph reading "Member of the Commune" to the tombstones of several Communards buried in Père-Lachaise. This incident led to further conflicts between municipal and national authority over public acts of remembrance concerning the Commune such as funerals, a monument dedicated to the Communards executed in Père-Lachaise, and the renaming of streets after prominent Communards.³⁶

These disputes did not stop Parisians (mostly from working class or socialist backgrounds) from undertaking an annual *montée au Mur* on the anniversary of the Parisian insurrection that established the Commune, 18 March.³⁷ They carried on this tradition in spite of the restriction on any sort of speech in the cemetery or before the wall: they would march silently through Père-Lachaise, carrying wreaths to place along the wall.³⁸ Indeed, these rituals were the primary method of combatting the national government's attempt at pushing the Commune out of French memory. Finally, in 1909, a small plaque inscribed with the phrase "To the dead of the Commune, 21-28 May 1871" was fastened to the wall,

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thus marking the *Mur des Fédérés* as an explicit memorial to the Paris Commune.³⁹ Though the Commune would never be part of official French memory, this simple plaque on that infamous wall ensured that the Commune would not be forgotten. If nothing else, the plaque marked the wall as the official memorial site for those who continued to honor the Commune, and refused to let its memory be stamped out by the national government.

Though the *Mur des Fédérés* is the only explicit site memorializing the Paris Commune, there are two other monuments often associated with the Commune's memory. The construction of the Basilique du Sacré-Cœur, for example, has been perceived as expiation for the excesses of the Second Empire and the Commune. Built high atop the Butte Montmartre, the Basilique du Sacré-Cœur towers over the Parisian landscape below it, symbolically dominating the city in its shadow. In 1872, the Catholic Church persuaded the young Third Republic to grant it this prime Parisian real estate. The decid-

emerging from the wall with her arms spread wide to either side, protecting numerous male figures—just barely visible—from harm's way. Many have commented on the monument's connection to the *Mur des Fédérés*, with some suggesting that the sculptor, Paul Moreau-Vauthier, used stones from the original wall (which had been partially destroyed).⁴³ The *Monument aux victimes des Révolutions* represents a 26-year long battle between the Parisian municipal council and the national government: the city had requested permission to build a monument to the Commune since 1883. Finally, in 1909, the national government agreed to let Paris build a monument, but forbade exclusive memorialization of the fallen Communards. The national government would only authorize a monument to the victims of all of France's revolutions, and would only permit its constructed outside the recently politicized public space of the Père-Lachaise cemetery.⁴⁴ The case of the Parisian process of memorializing the Commune was not a battle between two competing memories, but a battle between remembering and forgetting.

“... the similarities [between the Paris Commune and the Haymarket affair] that emerge... [seem to be rooted in similar] developing international socialist and labor movements.”

edly conservative post-Commune government passed a law declaring the construction of the basilica “a work of public utility,” enabling the use of expropriation laws to secure the necessary land.⁴⁰ Consequently, the Basilique du Sacré-Cœur was built on the very spot where the Commune began in a skirmish over Parisian canons, and very near the cemetery where the Commune met its violent end.⁴¹

From the beginning of construction in 1875, until its subsequent completion in 1919, many Parisians viewed the project with contempt, and did everything in their power to prevent its establishment.⁴² The basilica was built on the remains of Communard martyrs in an attempt to redeem the sin they had unleashed upon Paris. It seems that forgetting the memory of the Commune was the most effective way to absolve Paris of its sin; in this way it almost seems as if Sacré-Cœur is an anti-memorial. Though the Basilique du Sacré-Cœur was not explicitly conceived as any sort of memorial or anti-memorial to the Paris Commune, it is understood as a highly charged political symbol because of the context in which it was built.

Commonly mistaken for the *Mur des Fédérés*, the *Monument aux victimes des Révolutions* is actually a separate memorial sculpted into a wall of the Square de Samuel-de-Champlain, a stone's throw from Père-Lachaise and the *Mur des Fédérés*. The 1909 memorial depicts a mysterious female figure

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MONUMENTAL SILENCE IN PARIS AND CHICAGO

The fundamental difference between the memorialization of the Haymarket affair and the memorialization of the Paris Commune is the role that memory played in each context. In Chicago's case, two alternate memories of the Haymarket affair materially coexist as monuments, in constant tension with one another over which account holds more authority over the general public. Chicagoans from disparate ends of the political and socioeconomic spectrums agreed that Haymarket must be *remembered*. The stakes were too high for either side to simply let the events from May 1886 to November 1887 fall into historical oblivion. The memory of Haymarket was powerful ammunition for either side, with both camps claiming their own martyrs. Paris, on the other hand, was not the site of a battle between two conflicting memories, but of a struggle to ensure that the Commune was remembered. Post-Commune Paris witnessed continual conflict between the national will to forget the painful, violent disruptions of the past and the municipal, leftist will to remember the bloody, unjust foundation upon which France's Third Republic was partially founded. To many Parisians, even those who had supported the Commune, reconciliation was critical to future stability, and reconciliation meant forgetting.⁴⁵

For Chicagoans, memorializing the Haymarket affair began in January 1888 shortly after the executions of the four anar-

chists in November 1887. Because the entire affair was hotly contested, a memorial like *The Police Monument* sought to cement a readily comprehensible image of what Haymarket was *really* about. The business and civic elites of Chicago set out to reaffirm their commitment to law and order, demonstrating that the city would resort to violence or even potential injustice in order to ensure “tragedies” like the Haymarket affair would never happen again. To Chicago’s elites, the real martyrs were the policemen who had been killed without any semblance of justice while upholding their duty to protect law and order. Though this view of Haymarket alienated a sizeable portion of Chicago’s immigrant working classes and political radicals, the city of Chicago was willing to pay the price to ensure that its martyrs were remembered. The immigrant, anarchist, and socialist communities of the Pioneer Aid and Support Association had a similar end in mind as the elites responsible for *The Police Monument*. *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* is even more important, however, because not even city restrictions on radical political activity could stop the socialist community from memorializing their unjustly executed martyrs, in addition to creating a new public space which this community could claim as their own. Though they were relegated to Waldheim Cemetery, just outside of Chicago’s city limits, *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* gained just as much attention as *The Police Monument*, noted for the massive processions from the city to the cemetery each year. Though dismissed by Chicago’s municipal authorities, *The Haymarket Martyrs’ Monument* is a testament to a marginalized community’s will to have its side of the story permanently cemented in public memory.

In contrast, Paris was much slower to memorialize the Commune, even though the city’s municipal council was full of republicans and radicals who had supported the Commune, or



Basilique du Sacré-Cœur de Montmartre in Paris (2011)
Source: Tonchino (Wikimedia Commons)

were at least sympathetic to sustaining its memory. Though there were numerous acts of mourning for the slain Communards, this early activity was not focused on remembering and memorializing the Commune as an event. Further, the decades following the Commune were notable for their absence of any official memorial. Despite the efforts of groups like the *Amis de la Commune*, the French Communist party and their supporters who undertook regular efforts to memorialize the Communards, it took more than thirty years for the *Mur des Fédérés* to be physically marked as a memorial site. Indeed, until the 1980s, the *Mur des Fédérés* in all its austere simplicity was the only memorial or monument explicitly dedicated to the Commune’s memory.⁴⁶ Citizens of Paris had to fight long and hard against the national government’s policy of forgetting, and the enthusiastic support that policy received among many (mostly bourgeois) Parisians. However, the *montée au Mur* and other rituals of remembrance kept the Commune’s memory alive long enough for the national government to finally permit the wall in the Père-Lachaise cemetery to be officially marked as a memorial for generations to come.

The lack of obvious anti-Communist heroes and martyrs could be another potential explanation for the lack of an “official,” government-approved memory of the Paris Commune. Unlike the slain police officers of the Haymarket affair, it is difficult to pinpoint specific *Versaillais* who could have feasibly entered the pantheon of early Third Republic martyrdom. Though there certainly were casualties on both sides, even Marshal MacMahon, a leader of the *Versaillais*, stated in a post-Commune deposition that, “All I can say is that the insurgents lost a lot more people than we did.”⁴⁷ No matter how justified and necessary the repression of the Commune was to the national government, the inequity of death and brutality was not something deemed worthy of official remembrance. Though there have been numerous instances of the French republican governments using violence against its citizens, in order to ensure its survival the early Third Republic needed to separate itself from the state-perpetrated violence of its predecessors.⁴⁸ A simple, effective way to achieve this separation was to try to erase all traces that it ever happened. The Third Republic would not let itself be linked with the bloody memory of the Reign of Terror of 1793 or the June Days of 1848: both were short-lived and ended in the coup d’état of a Bonaparte. Forgetting was the easiest way to ensure people did not perceive that history was once again repeating itself.

Thus, the two cities’ reactions to each event reveal a great deal about their underlying characteristics and history, calling into question the fruitfulness of a comparison altogether. For instance, Paris and Chicago diverged dramatically over questions of municipal autonomy and authority. Though the Haymarket affair reverberated in America’s national consciousness, the bulk of the event was chiefly handled by municipal authorities. The conflict that existed over memorializing the

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Haymarket was played out between the interests of civic elites who largely represented Chicago's municipal authority and the interests of the immigrant and working classes. Parisian municipal autonomy was hotly contested throughout the post-Commune years, characteristic of the historic tension between the interests of Parisians and those of the nation as a whole. For the national government, controlling the history of Paris was paramount—resulting in both in the Commune's bloody repression and the struggle to relegate all memory of it into historical oblivion. Unlike Chicago, the national government of Paris sought to create an agreed-upon historical account that had no conflicting accounts of the past. An official history was critically important to the security of the young Third Republic, and any contestation of that official memory was anathema to it. Memory threatened to divide the nation as well as Parisians, with the risk of provoking yet another outbreak of violent revolution.

When comparing the memorialization of the Paris Commune and the Haymarket affair, the similarities that emerge do not seem rooted in something shared between Paris and Chicago as cities. Rather, the similarities between the two stem from larger international trends connected to the developing international socialist and labor movements. Indeed, these international movements expressed solidarity with the working class victims of each event, lionizing them as martyrs and rallying around them in annual memorial celebrations. Both Chicagoan and Parisian socialists transformed the cemetery into a politicized public space, creating places of pilgrimage where socialists and their sympathizers could gather to pay respect to fallen comrades, as well as plan for the future of working class liberation. These trends do not seem to be related to anything specific to Chicago or Paris. Indeed, if a similar event, perceived by the general public as representative of some sort of class conflict, had happened in another major urban center, a similar reaction may have

been expected to occur. Therefore, what *connects* the Commune and the Haymarket are forces that seem to transcend the particular municipal spaces in which they occurred.

Above all, both the Haymarket affair and the Paris Commune demonstrate the profound power of silence. Though silence is often used by those in power as a weapon of oppressing dissenting opinion (through censorship, violence etc.), the groups that it intends to quiet often repurpose it, using it to their advantage. Indeed, memorials, monuments, and the dead are all characterized by silence, but that is the very source of their power. Once the voices of a people are enshrined in a physical memorial or monument, they will remain forever heard in the monument's silence. Though time literally quiets these voices, the monument contains them, so they can never permanently be forgotten. The simple and austere plaque on a wall in the Père-Lachaise cemetery where death silenced so many is a testament to the voices of Parisians who refused to allow their collective memory to be suffocated. Not even the national government's systematic forgetting could extinguish the memory of the fallen Communards. Though there was no analogous policy of forgetting the Haymarket affair, there was indeed an attempt on the part of the business elites and their allies in the city government to suppress the memories of the "other": the anarchist, the immigrant, the worker. Though Chicago succeeded in pushing these memories outside of city limits, the imposed silence within the city backfired on municipal authority, resulting in the stunning monumental silence of *The Haymarket Martyrs' Monument* at Waldheim Cemetery. Though memorials of the Haymarket affair and the Paris Commune may not point to many similarities between Chicago and Paris, comparing them certainly reveals the power of monument and memory, and the struggle many undertake to have their stories cemented in monumental silence. 🏛️

Endnotes

- [1] As quoted in Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 363.
- [2] However, the press's reception of each event has received some attention. See: Marjorie Murphy, "And They Sang the 'Marseillaise': A Look at the French Left Press as It Responded to the Haymarket," *International Labor and Working Class History* 29 (spring 1986): 28-37; Catherine Collomp, et al. "The 'Social Revolution' in America? European Reactions to the 'Great Upheaval' and to the Haymarket Affair," *International Labor and Working Class History* 29 (spring 1986): 38-52; Samuel Bernstein, "The Impact of the Paris Commune in the United States," *The Massachusetts Review* 12.3 (summer 1971): 435-446; Philip M. Katz, *From Appomattox to Montmartre: Americans and the Paris Commune* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
- [3] Samuel Bernstein, "American Labor and the Paris Commune," *Science and Society* 15.2 (spring 1951): 144-162; Hubert Perrier and Michel Cordillot, "The Impact of Haymarket on European Social Movements: The Origins of May Day: The American Connection," in *In the Shadow of the Statue of Liberty: Immigrants, Workers, and Citizens in the American Republic, 1880-1920*, ed. Marianne Debouzy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Hartmut Kiel and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
- [4] Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 120-122.
- [5] *Ibid.*, 121.
- [6] Albert Parsons, who had escaped arrest, surrendered himself the day the trial began; *Ibid.*, 121-122.
- [7] *Ibid.*, 116. The majority of the 136 exhibits of evidence presented by the prosecution at the Haymarket trial were words the defendants had either spoken or published.
- [8] *Ibid.*, 122.
- [9] Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 393.
- [10] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 275.
- [11] Melissa Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments: The Haymarket Affair," in *Visualizing Labor in American Sculpture* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1999), 45; Paul A. Shackel, "Remembering Haymarket and the Control for Public Memory," in *Heritage, Labor and the Working Classes*, eds. Laurajane Smith, Paul A. Shackel, and Gary Campbell (New York: Routledge, 2011), 47.
- [12] *Ibid.*
- [13] *Ibid.* Dabakis describes his rejected proposal as, "an allegorical portrayal of law as female figure holding an open book over her head."
- [14] *Ibid.*
- [15] *Ibid.*, 46-47.
- [16] Johannes Gelert quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*, December 14, 1888.
- [17] *Chicago Tribune*, May 31 1889, 1.
- [18] Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," 47-49.
- [19] *Ibid.*, 49.
- [20] *Ibid.*
- [21] Shackel, "Remembering Haymarket," 40.
- [22] Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," 61.
- [23] Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith, *Chicago: The History of Its Reputation* (New York, Blue Ribbon Books, 1929), 166, cited in *Ibid.*, 61.
- [24] Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, 5.
- [25] *Ibid.*
- [26] Janice Best, "Une Statue monumentale de la République," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 34 (2006), 303.
- [27] David A. Shafer, *The Paris Commune: French Politics, Culture, and Society at the Crossroads of the Revolutionary Tradition and Revolutionary Socialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 90-1.
- [28] Pierre Milza, *L'année terrible* (Paris: Perrin, 2009), 413-14; Shafer, *The Paris Commune*, 183-84.
- [29] Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, 8.
- [30] *Ibid.*, 210.
- [31] Madeleine Rebérioux, "Le Mur des Fédérés: Rouge, 'sang craché'" in *Les Lieux de mémoire I: La République*, edited by Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 620.
- [32] *Ibid.*, 624.
- [33] Shafer, *The Paris Commune*, 183.
- [34] Rebérioux, "Le Mur des Fédérés," 624-25.
- [35] *Ibid.*, 625.
- [36] Shafer, *The Paris Commune*, 183-184.
- [37] *La montée au Mur* is a memorial procession during which a large group climbs up the hill to Père-Lachaise to pay their respects at the *Mur des Fédérés*.
- [38] Rebérioux, "Le Mur des Fédérés," 625.
- [39] Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, 15. Original French text reads, "Aux morts de la Commune 21-28 mai 1871."
- [40] David Harvey, "Monument and Myth," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69.3 (September 1979), 376.
- [41] *Ibid.*, 362.
- [42] *Ibid.*
- [43] Best, "Une Statue monumentale," 316.
- [44] *Ibid.*, 315.
- [45] Shafer, *The Paris Commune*, 184.
- [46] Wilson, *Paris and the Commune*, 207-208.
- [47] Deposition de M. le maréchal Mac-Mahon (28 August 1871) in *Enquête Parlementaire sur l'insurrection du 18 mars 1871* (Paris: Librairie Législative, 1872), 183.
- [48] Robert Gildea, *The Past in French History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 19, 24.