

The *Bleus* and the *Blancs*: Revolutionary Commemoration and Political Coalition Building at the
1889 Decennial Exhibition of Fine Art

By Glynnis Napier Stevenson

Submitted at University College London for the degree of Ph.D in History of Art

Supervised by Richard Taws and Tamar Garb

Declaration Page

I, Glynnis Napier Stevenson, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This dissertation explores the revolutionary-themed paintings on display at the centennial of the French Revolution against the backdrop of the tense political election of 1889. Its prominent themes include revolutionary commemoration, cultural memory, political “othering”, populism vs. centrism, and the political use and abuse of history.

The 1889 *Exposition universelle*, held nominally to celebrate the anniversary of the French Revolution, is today best known for the construction of the Eiffel Tower, and for its projection of French colonial power. Less well known are the paintings that formed an essential part of its political agenda. The event, a spectacle heralding France’s technological, artistic, and imperial prowess, was criticized by those on the left for insufficiently celebrating the legacy of the French Revolution. The relative absence of revolutionary symbolism in the fairground speaks to organizers’ concerns that an overemphasis on the Revolution could polarize the electorate.

Various stripes of clerical royalism, militant ethno-nationalist Bonapartism, centrism, and socialist leftism complicated the French political landscape of the *fin-de-siècle*. The charismatic, militant, populist General Boulanger had the support of an unwieldy spectrum of voters ranging from royalists fatigued from successive political losses to disaffected working-class voters. In response, the Opportunist Republicans in power created a politically neutral centennial celebration less to stifle the left than to avoid enraging their royalist-Boulangist opposition any further. Revolutionary commemoration and counter-commemoration in 1889 provide useful case studies for understanding the fraught contemporary charge of political difference.

This project sheds light on the Naturalist paintings created between 1878-1888 representing various aspects of the Revolution of 1789. These paintings have not been analyzed

for their multi-layered rewriting of history. There were fewer than two dozen pictures representing the French Revolution in the Decennial Exhibition on the 1889 fairgrounds, but they provide an important vantage point from which to understand purposeful forgetting, compromise, and the centrist taming of history.

Impact Statement

As a museum professional, I aim to impact the telling of public history by probing the creation of national founding narratives, like those surrounding the French Revolution, through the visually arresting lexicon of visual culture. Every contemporary nation-state has their own rendition of an oversimplified story passed down from childhood and I believe it is the role of the historian to unpack these narratives and provide affordable and legible counterprogramming supported by archival research and writing free of jargon.

In its clarity and structure, this dissertation flows much like a museum exhibition, with each chapter centered on focal works of art and bound by the umbrella themes of political groupings. In structuring this study I thought about the overarching themes of the chapters as if the didactic panels in rooms of an exhibition.

In our current global political climate, centrist democracies once thought stable are now continuously under threat from rightwing extremism in election after election. Although it is critical not to equate today's political parties to the loose factions of the past, there are several similarities. Firstly, the response of centrists has been, both in the current day and at the end of the nineteenth century, to attempt to soften the ire of conservatives against their governance than to embrace the left more fully, seen as a 'given' in electoral outcomes. Secondly, the teaching of singular founding narratives, like the French Revolution, and an unwillingness to understand the multiple histories involved in such complex periods, plays a significant role in fueling continued social, cultural, and political polarization. And thirdly, governing centrists are not innocent of perpetuating misunderstandings of history and, as such, I have placed the Opportunist

Republicans in power first in the chapter structure since I believe that those in power should have the strongest desire to right past wrongs that incur present difficulties.

While the more strident voices of politics, be they the royalists and militant right of the *fin-de-siècle* or today's *Rassemblement National* led by Marine Le Pen, have a vested interest in promoting false history, this project aims to engage the broad middle, and their leftist allies concerned with the survival of representative democracies. Beyond the work of civil servants and diplomats, art historians can bring their knowledge of collections, archives, and history to bear on this important fight. The FRAME (French American Museum Exchange) could facilitate the loans of artworks between France and the United States, especially since it exists to build rapport between regional museums in both countries. Since the works of art featured in this dissertation are lesser known and often off-view, they could carry less of a financial burden in addition to providing new experiences for museum visitors. From the outset, I have sought to write this dissertation with a broader audience in mind, and with a future goal of curating an exhibition based on its themes.

Dedication

To my mom, dad, and Gigi, without all of you, none of this would have been possible.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the following for their support of this project. Firstly, the UCL History of Art Department for their feedback throughout the research and writing process from the Upgrade Presentation through submission. Special thanks goes to my advisor Richard Taws for proofreading several drafts of each chapter and helping me clarify my arguments. Tom Stammers was a wonderful external reviewer even beyond his questions during the Upgrade Presentation. I am also grateful to the Department for providing me with the Departmental Research Bursary and the additional financial support from the Society for the Study of French History and the UCL-PSL Partnership Fund. The latter two funds enabled me to complete my archival research abroad in Paris, Nantes, Vizille, and Roubaix. Thank you to Charlotte Guichard and Jean-Luc Chappey at École normale supérieure and the Sorbonne for overseeing my convention de stage and welcoming me to present on the popularization of science within the fairgrounds of the *Exposition universelle*. They were also keen to make introductions to recent French doctoral researchers Guillaume Lancereau and Margaret Renard, who offered me their feedback wholeheartedly. Thank you to the archivists and employees of all the institutions that have given me access to their paper trails: Véronique Despine-Faure at the Musée de la Révolution française in Vizille, Jana Meyer at the Filson Historical Society in Louisville, everyone who pulled files at the Archives nationales in Paris and Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, the Archives départementales in Nantes, and the Bibliothèque numérique de Roubaix. The conferences that have invited me to present and sharpen my ideas have been greatly influential, the AHNCA Dahesh Museum Graduate Symposium and Richard Taws and Simon Macdonald's conference on the visual culture of the French Revolution at UCL have been thrilling as a participant. Lastly, thank you to all the

museums I have worked and interned in, because you shaped my interest in art objects, my approach to provenance research, and my passion for object files. These include: the Art Gallery of Ontario, the Robert Bowman Gallery, the Kimball Art Center, the Barnes Foundation, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, the Museum of Modern Art. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, my institutional home 2016-2023, and especially my home department colleagues working on our French Paintings Catalogue, Aimee Marcereau DeGalan, Meghan Sloan-Gray, Brigid M. Boyle, Dani Hampton Cullen, Stephanie Alger, and MacKenzie Mallon, deserves a special acknowledgement for their long-term support of my career and research interests. Thank you for every brown bag “Lunch and Learn” to listen to my presentations and providing a template for my approach to art historical research.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction (pp. 26-92)

Centering the Revolution in the 1889 Decennial Exhibition of Art

Chapter One (pp. 94-144)

A ‘young, enthusiastic man, throwing green leaves to the wind’: Jacobinism at the Decennial Exhibition of 1889

Chapter Two (pp. 145-185)

‘In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday’: Royalism at the 1889 Decennial Exhibition

Chapter Three (pp. 186-231)

‘The only one amongst us who has been a republican’: Bonapartism at the 1889 Decennial Exhibition

Chapter Four (pp. 232-276)

‘Nothing at the Champ de Mars or the Trocadéro’ to recall 1789: Rejecting the Revolution at the 1889 Decennial

Conclusion (pp. 277-307)

‘Triumph of the Republic’

Illustrations (pp. 308-435)

Bibliography (pp. 436-498)

List of Illustrations

Introduction: Centering the Revolution in the 1889 Decennial Exhibition of Art

Figure 0.1a. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. I. (p. 309)

Figure 0.1b. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. II. (p. 310)

Figure 0.2a. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. III. (p. 311)

Figure 0.2b. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. IV. (p. 312)

Figure 0.3a. Interior Map of the 1889 Decennial Layout, Rez-de-Chaussée, Palace of Fine Arts from the Exhibition Catalogue, p.VI. (p. 313)

Figure 0.3b. Interior Map of the 1889 Decennial Layout, First Floor, Palace of Fine Arts from the Exhibition Catalogue, p.VII. (p. 314)

Figure 0.4. Hippolyte Blancard, *Exposition universelle of 1889: General view under the dome of the Palace of Fine Arts, 7th Arrondissement, Paris*, 1889, platinum print photograph, Musée Carnavalet, PH76900. (p. 315)

Figure 0.5. Hippolyte Blancard, *Exposition universelle of 1889: General View of the Galleries Rapp and Desaix of the Palace of Fine Arts, 7th Arrondissement*, 1889, platinum print photograph, Musée Carnavalet, PH76916. (p. 316)

Figure 0.6. Hippolyte Berteaux, *Assassination Attempt against Hoche*, 1885, oil on canvas, 208 x 325 cm (81.9 x 127.9 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, D 886.1.1. (p. 317)

Figure 0.7. Alexandre Bloch, *The Chapel of La Madeleine at Malestroit*, 1886, oil on canvas, 206 x 249 cm (81.1 x 98 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper, D.887-1.1. (p. 318)

Figure 0.8. Charles-Alexandre Coëssin de la Fosse, *The Mass for the Dead in the Morbihan (Vendémiaire An II)*, collotype from the Braun artistic reproduction workshops, Paris, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Charles-Coessin-de-la-Fosse-The-Mass-for-the-dead-in-the-Morbihan-Vendemiaire-Year-II_fig2_355707881. (p. 319)

Figure 0.9. Charles-Alexandre Coëssin de la Fosse, *Pacification of the Vendée, Ninth Hussars in 1795*, 1882, oil on canvas, 134 x 190.5 cm (52.7 x 75 in.), Collection of the Musée Massey, Tarbes, deposited at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Carcassonne. (p. 320)

Figure 0.10. Hippolyte-Pierre Delanoy, *The Desk of Citoyen Carnot*, 1880, oil on canvas, 85 x 135 cm (33.5 x 53.1 in.), sold at *Collection de Mr. X et à Divers amateurs*, Digard Auction, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 29, 2022, <https://www.artnet.com/artists/hippolyte-pierre-delanoy/>. (p. 321)

Figure 0.11. Cover Page of Frantz Jourdain, *Constructions élevées au Champ de Mars par M. Ch. Garnier, architecte... pour servir à l'histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1889). (p. 322)

Figure 0.12. Jean Béraud, *Entrance to the Exposition universelle of 1889*, 1889, oil on wood, 30 x 40 cm. (11 4/5 x 15 3/4 in.), Musée Carnavalet, P1654. (p. 323)

Figure 0.13. “Élections générales: Electeur, Choisis,” an advertisement in the conservative newspaper *Le Gaulois* (September 16, 1889): unpaginated. (p. 324)

Figure 0.14. Unknown Artist, *The Palace of Fine Arts, Exposition universelle, Paris*, 1889, photochrome print, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., lot 13418. (p. 325)

Figure 0.15. Louis Béroud, *The Central Dome of the Gallery of Machines at the Exposition universelle of 1889*, 1890, oil on canvas, 228 x 196 1/2 cm. (89.7 x 77.3 in.), Musée Carnavalet, P2314. (p. 326)

Figure 0.16. Albert Bettannier, *The Black Stain*, 1887, oil on canvas, 110 1/2 x 150 1/2 cm. (43.5 x 59.2 in.), Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. (p. 327)

Figure 0.17. Édouard Detaille, *Salute to the Wounded*, 1877, oil on canvas, 80 x 130 cm. (31 2/5 x 51 1/10 in.), São Paulo Museum of Art. (p. 328)

Figure 0.18. Hippolyte Blancard, *Exposition universelle of 1889. Exhibition of Sculpture in the Galerie Rapp and Desaix of the Palace of Fine Arts, "Quand même" by Antonin Mercié (1845-1916), 7th Arrondissement, Paris*, 1889, platinum print photograph, Musée Carnavalet, PH76909. (p. 329)

Figure 0.19. Antonin Mercié, *Gloria Victis*, bronze cast in 1875 (model completed 1872, plaster shown at Salon of 1874), 311 x 192 x 151 cm. (122 9/20 x 75 3/5 x 59 9/20 in.), Petit Palais, Paris. (p. 330)

Figure 0.20. Unknown photographer, *Alsace*, photograph with additive color processes, 19th century (Victorian), 10 1/2 x 6 7/20 cm. (4 1/8 x 2 1/2 in.), Fleet Library Picture Collection Rhode Island School of Design. (p. 331)

Figure 0.21. Georges Scott, *Drawing of the Inauguration of Vital-Cornu's Statue of Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal, July 12, 1889*, seen in the July 20, 1889 issue of *Le Monde illustré*. (p. 332)

Figure 0.22. Henri Gervex and Alfred Stevens, *Rouget de Lisle and the Soldiers of the Republic*, 1887-88, oil on canvas, 120 x 140 cm. (47.2 x 55.1 in.), Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille. (p. 333)

Chapter One: A ‘young, enthusiastic man, throwing green leaves to the wind’: Jacobinism at the Decennial Exhibition of 1889

Figure 1.1. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal*, 1888, oil on canvas, 251 x 177 cm. (98.8 x 69.7 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’Archéologie de Chalôns-en-Champagne, inv. 890.30.19. (p. 334)

Figure 1.2. Charles Vital-Cornu, *Camille Desmoulins*, 1882, plaster, no longer extant. (p. 335)

Figure 1.3. Jean Baffier, *Monument to Marat*, 1885, this version erected in Vizille in 2013, bronze, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille. (p. 336)

Figure 1.4. Ernest-Joseph Barrias, *The Defense of Paris*, erected 1883, bronze. (p. 337)

Figure 1.5. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *Cincinnatus Receiving the Deputies of the Senate Charged to Bring to Him the Insignia of the Dictatorship*, 1844, oil on canvas, 114 x 146 cm. (45 x 57.5 in.), École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. PRP89. (p. 338)

Figure 1.6. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *The Death of Chopin*, 1885, oil on canvas, 110 x 131 cm. (43.3 x 51.5 in.), National Museum, Krakow. (p. 339)

Figure 1.7. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *Death of a Pilgrim*, 1887, oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 40 1/8 in. (65.1 x 101.9 cm), Toledo Museum of Art, OH, 1977.38. (p. 340)

Figure 1.8. Léon Cogniet, *The National Guard of Paris Leaving for the Army, September 1792*, 1836, oil on canvas, 76 x 189 cm. (29.9 x 74.4 in.), Palace of Versailles. (p. 341)

Figure 1.9. Paul Delaroche, *The Conquerors of the Bastille in front of the Hôtel de Ville, 14 July 1789*, commissioned from 1839, oil on canvas, 400 x 435 cm. (157.5 x 171.3 in.), Petit Palais, Paris. (p. 342)

Figure 1.10. Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Steel Vault: Reception of Louis XVI at the Hôtel de Ville, 17 July 1789*, 1889-91, oil on canvas, Salon Lobau, Hôtel de Ville, Paris. (p. 343)

Figure 1.11. Stop, *The Salon of 1888, by Stop: Barrias* [captioned “Camille Desmoulins kidnapped by a man who is bald, but strong”], from *Journal amusant*, no. 1652 (April 28, 1888): 4. (p. 344)

Figure 1.12. Alfred Loudet, *Marat* [in conversation with Robespierre and Danton], oil on canvas, 320 x 400 cm. (126 x 157.5 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille (currently on view at the Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille). (p. 345)

Figure 1.13. Stop, *The Salon of 1882, by Stop: Loudet* [captioned “Marat gives Danton and Robespierre an idea for the cancan, new national dance”], from *Journal amusant*, no. 1343 (May 27, 1882): 4. (p. 346)

Figure 1.14. Edmond-Louis Dupain, *The Girondins Pétion and Buzot the evening of 30 Prairial or The Death of the Last Girondins*, 1880, oil on canvas, 320 x 225 cm. (126 x 88.6 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts et d’archéologie, Libourne. (p. 347)

Figure 1.15. After François Flameng, *Camille Desmoulins*, published in *L’Art*, 1882, etching, 27 1/2 x 36 9/10 cm. (10.8 x 14.5 in.), British Museum. Painting destroyed during the First World War. (p. 348)

Figure 1.16. Alexandre Lequien, *Camille Desmoulins*, 1881, marble, 85 x 60 x 40 cm. (33.5 x 23.6 x 15.75 in.), Municipal Council Room, Hôtel de Ville, Guise. (p. 349)

Figure 1.17. Copy after Amédée Doublemard, *Monument to Camille Desmoulins*, original inaugurated in 1889 and melted down by the Germans during the First World War, a copy replaced it in 1923, it was removed again during the German Occupation of 1940-44, this version dates to 1949, bronze, place d’Armes, Guise. (p. 350)

Figure 1.18. François Flameng, *The Massacre of Machecoul—10 March 1793*, 1884, oil on canvas, 500 x 650 cm. (196 17/20 x 255 9/10 in.), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet, France. (p. 351)

Figure 1.19. François Flameng, *Bathing of Court Ladies in the 18th Century*, 1888, oil on canvas, 90 x 115 cm. (35 2/5 x 45 1/5 in.), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (p. 352)

Figure 1.20. Engraving after Carrier-Belleuse in illustrated supplement of *La Presse*, no. 1 (May 1, 1882). (p. 353)

Figure 1.21. Etienne-Henry Dumaige, *Camille Desmoulins, Palais-Royal, 1789*, 1882, bronze, 97 1/2 x 53 x 42 cm. (38.4 x 20.9 x 16.5 in.), Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille. (p. 354)

Figure 1.22. Alfred Stevens and Henri Gervex, Fragment of *Panorama of the Century*, ca. 1889, oil on canvas, 440 x 239 cm (173.2 x 94 in.), Musée Carnavalet, Paris. (p. 355)

Figure 1.23. Chestnut Tree Arcade, Gardens of the Palais-Royal, picture taken by the author in September 2022. (p. 356)

Chapter Two: 'In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday': Royalism at the 1889

Decennial Exhibition

Figure 2.1. Julien Le Blant, *The Execution of Charette*, 1883, oil on canvas, 160 x 280 cm. (63 x 110. 2 in.), private collection, Orléans. (p. 357)

Figure 2.2. Julien Le Blant, *The Square Battalion, Fougères Affair 1793*, 1880, oil on canvas, 151 x 227 1/3 cm. (59.5 x 89.5 in.), Brigham Young University, Social Science Department, Provo, UT. (p. 358)

Figure 2.3. Stained Glass depicting Turreau's Infernal Columns, Chapelle du Petit-Luc, Lucs-sur-Boulogne. (p. 359)

Figure 2.4. Joseph Aubert, *The Drownings in Nantes in 1793*, 1882, oil on canvas, location unknown. Source: Wikimedia, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Noyades_de_Nantes_%28Joseph_Aubert%29.jpg. (p. 360)

Figure 2.5. Auguste-Hyacinthe Debay, *Episode from 1793 in Nantes*, 1838, Salon of 1850, oil on canvas, 227 x 174 cm. (89.4 x 68.5 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes (on loan to château de ducs de Bretagne, Nantes in Spring 2022). (p. 361)

Figure 2.6. Paulin Guérin, *François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie (1763-1796), General in Chief of the Vendéen Armies*, 1819, oil on canvas, 216 x 140 cm. (85 x 55.1 in.), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet. (p. 362)

Figure 2.7. Julien Le Blant, *Battle of Fère-Champenoise, March 25, 1814*, 1886, oil on canvas, 260 x 380 cm. (102.4 x 149.6 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes, Inv. D.08., © Jean-Marie Protte. (p. 363)

Figure 2.8. Draner, *Le Salon Pour Rire, Le Charivari*, Salon of 1883 special issue. (p. 364)

Figure 2.9. Émile Gaucher, *Statue of François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie*, inaugurated August 27, 1896 in the park near the Charette château in Couffé. (p. 365)

Figure 2.10. White royalist cockades from the Charrette execution centenary of 1896, Le Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. Photo taken by the author. (p. 366)

Figure 2.11. Petrus Camper, unpaginated plate in the appendix showing facial angle measurements promoting physiognomic theories of European supremacy in *Dissertation On the*

Natural Varieties that Characterize the Physiognomy of Men of Different Climates and Different Ages, Followed by "Reflections on Beauty" (Paris: chez H.J. Jansen, 1791). (p. 367)

Figure 2.12. Alexandre Bloch, *The Death of General Beaupuy*, 1888, oil on canvas, 200 x 160 cm. (78.7 x 63 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes. (p. 368)

Figure 2.13. Frontispiece from M. Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le general Charette*, pt. 1 (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1809). (p. 369)

Figure 2.14. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, *The Pardon in Brittany*, 1886, oil on canvas, 114.6 x 84.8 cm. (45 1/8 x 33 3/8 in.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (p. 370)

Figure 2.15. Fernand Cormon, *Cain*, 1880, oil on canvas, 400 x 700 cm (157.5 x 275.6 in.), Musée d'Orsay, Paris. (p. 371)

Figure 2.16. Fernand Cormon, oil sketch for the amphitheater of paleontology of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, *The Human Races*, 1897, oil on canvas, 87.5 x 129.5 x 4.5 cm. (34.4 x 50.9 x 1.7 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, Petit Palais. (p. 372)

Figure 2.17. Detail, Julien Le Blant, *The Square Battalion, Fougères Affair 1793*, 1880, oil on canvas, 151 x 227 1/3 cm. (59.5 x 89.5 in.), Brigham Young University, Social Science Department, Provo, UT. (p. 373)

Figure 2.18. Julien Le Blant and Auguste Lèveillé, engraving from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), p. 30, the caption reads, "'Who are you ?' Marche-A-Terre [Walk on Earth] asked him." (p. 374)

Figure 2.19. Julien Le Blant and Auguste Lèveillé, engraving from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), p. 29, the caption reads, “The Chouans ask him for his benediction.” (p. 375)

Figure 2.20. Julien Le Blant and Auguste Lèveillé, engraving from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), p. 10, the caption reads “He began to eat with a stupid indifference.” (p. 376)

Figure 2.21. “Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant,” *Lectures pour tous* (May 15, 1917) : 1103-09. (p. 377)

Figure 2.22. Alexandre Bloch, *The Defense of Rochefort-en-Terre*, 1885, oil on canvas, 190 x 238 cm. (74.8 x 93.7 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper. (p. 378)

Figure 2.23. François Flameng, *The Massacre of Machecoul—10 March 1793*, 1884, oil on canvas, 500 x 650 cm. (196.85 x 255.91 in.), Musée d’art et d’histoire de Cholet. (p. 379)

Figure 2.24. Replica of Julien Le Blant, *The Execution of Charette*, 1883, oil on canvas, 160 x 280 cm. (63 x 110. 2 in.), La Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. (p. 380)

Figure 2.25. Installation view of “Charette” Chapel in La Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. Photo taken by the author, May 2022. (p. 381)

Figure 2.26. Close up view of “Charette” Stained Glass Rondels, Chapel in La Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. Photo taken by the author, May 2022. (p. 382)

Chapter Three: ‘The only one amongst us who has been a republican’: Bonapartism at the 1889 Decennial Exhibition

Figure 3.1. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *Jena (Napoleon on Horseback)*, 1880, watercolor on paper, 24 x 30 cm. (9.45 x 11.81 in.), Newport Museum and Art Gallery, South Wales. (p. 383)

Figure 3.2. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *1806, Jena*, 1890, oil on canvas, 108 3/5 x 145 2/5 cm. (42.75 3/4 x 57.25 in.), The Frick Pittsburgh. (p. 384)

Figure 3.3. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Jena, 14th October 1806*, 1836, oil on canvas, 465 x 543 cm. (182.4 x 213.6 in.), Château de Versailles. (p. 385)

Figure 3.4. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *The Campaign of France—1814*, 1864, oil on wood, 51 1/2 x 76 1/2 cm. (20.28 x 30.12 in.), Musée d’Orsay. (p. 386)

Figure 3.5. Maurice Réalier-Dumas, *Bonaparte at the Tuileries—10 August 1792*, 1888, oil on canvas, 200 x 300 cm. (78.74 x 118.11 in.), Musée de Gajac, Villeneuve-sur-Lot. (p. 387)

Figure 3.6. Maurice Réalier-Dumas, *Napoleon Entering the École de Brienne, 25 March 1779*, oil on canvas, 201 x 150 1/4 cm. (79 x 59.25 in.), sold at *Home and Interiors*, Bonham’s Online, Los Angeles, September 16-26, 2023, lot 81. (p. 388)

Figure 3.7. Antoine-François Callet, *Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre, dressed in his grand royal costume in 1779*, Salon of 1789, oil on canvas, 278 x 196 cm. (109 2/5 x 77 1/10 in.), Château de Versailles. (p. 389)

Figure 3.8. Goupil & Cie., Publisher, and Edouard Detaille, *Bonaparte en Égypte / peint par E. Detaille; Edouard Detaille; photogravure Goupil & Cie.* Egypt France, 1878. Paris; London; La Haye: Imprimé & Publié par Goupil & Cie Editeurs le 1er 8bre; Berlin: Verlag von

Goupil & Co.; New York: Published by M. Knœdler. Photograph.

<https://www.loc.gov/item/2014649325/>. (p. 390)

Figure 3.9. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Battle of the Pyramids*, 1810, oil on canvas, 389 x 311 cm. (153.15 x 122.41 in.), Château de Versailles. (p. 391)

Figure 3.10. Louis-François, Baron Lejeune, *General View of the Battle of the Pyramids, 21st July 1798, Egypt Campaign (1798-1801)*, 1806, oil on canvas, 201 1/2 x 439 cm. (79.33 x 172.84 in.), Château de Versailles. (p. 392)

Figure 3.11. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade, also called Memory of the Civil War, June 1848*, ca. 1850-51, oil on canvas, 29 x 22 cm. (11.42 x 8.66 in.), Musée du Louvre. (p. 393)

Figure 3.12. Maurice Réalier-Dumas, *Napoleon*, 1895, color lithograph, 56 4/5 x 43 4/5 cm. (22.38 x 17.25 in.), sold at *Hindman: Prints and Multiples*, Artsy, September 29, 2021. (p. 394)

Figure 3.13. Lucien Métivet, *The January Century*, 1895, color lithograph, 595 19/50 x 493 4/5 cm. (234.4 x 191.4 in.), offered by Swann Auction Galleries, 100 Rare and Important American Posters sale, October 14, 2004, lot 64. (p. 395)

Figure 3.14a (verso). Caran d'Ache, *Military Piece "L'Épopée,"* 1886, zinc and decoupage, 146 x 50 cm. (57.5 x 19.7 in.), Musée de l'Armée, Paris, 19454-48. (p. 396)

Figure 3.14b (recto). Caran d'Ache, *Military Piece "L'Épopée,"* 1886, zinc and decoupage, 146 x 50 cm. (57.5 x 19.7 in.), Musée de l'Armée, Paris, 19454-48. (p. 397)

Figure 3.15. Adolphe Willette, *Poster for "Élections législatives du 22 Septembre 1889,"* 1889. (p. 398)

Figure 3.16. Anonymous, printed by Alcan-Lévy, “Popular History of General Boulanger,” ca. 1888, hand-colored engraving and printed text, 65 x 45 1/3 cm. (25.6 x 17.7 in.), Musée Carnavalet, Legs Maurice Quentin-Bauchart, 1911. (p. 399)

Figure 3.17. Edouard Detaille, *The Dream*, 1888, oil on canvas, 300 x 400 cm. (118.11 x 157.44 in.), Musée d’Orsay. (p. 400)

Chapter Four: ‘Nothing at the Champ de Mars or the Trocadéro’ to recall 1789: Rejecting the Revolution at the 1889 Decennial

Figure 4.1. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Marat assassinated! July 13, 1793, 8 o’clock in the evening*, 1880, oil on canvas, 272 x 360 cm (107 x 141 7/10 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. (p. 401)

Figure 4.2. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *The Death of Bara*, 1883, oil on canvas, 350 x 250 cm (137 4/5 x 98 2/5 in), Musée d’Orsay. (p. 402)

Figure 4.3. Jean-Jacques Hauer, *The Death of Marat*, 1794, oil on canvas, 60 x 49 cm (23 3/5 x 19 3/10 in), Musée Lambinet, Versailles. (p. 403)

Figure 4.4. Paul Baudry, *Charlotte Corday*, 1860, oil on canvas, 203 x 154 cm. (79.9 x 60.6 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes. (p. 404)

Figure 4.5. Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *A Gate of the Louvre, The Morning of Saint Bartholomew*, 1880, oil on canvas, 318 x 400 cm (125 1/5 x 157 1/2 in), Musée d’Art Roger-Quilliot, Clermont-Ferrand. (p. 405)

Figure 4.6. Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Pope and the Inquisitor, called Sixtus IV and Torquemada*, 1882, oil on canvas, 113 x 134 cm (44 1/2 x 52 3/4 in), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux. (p. 406)

Figure 4.7. Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *Tunis, The Black Horse of General Boulanger*, study for the 1887 painting, oil on panel, 46 x 36 cm (18 1/10 x 14 1/5 in), sold at Beaussant-Lefevre, Paris, June 29, 2011, lot 22. (p. 407)

Figure 4.8. Arturo Michelena, *Charlotte Corday Going to the Scaffold*, 1889, oil on canvas, 234 x 315 1/2 cm (92.1 x 124.2 in), Galería de Arte Nacional, Caracas. (p. 408)

Figure 4.9. Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Last Moments of Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico*, 1882, oil on canvas, 222 x 303 cm (87.4 x 119.2 in), Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (p. 409)

Figure 4.10. Jean-Jacques Hauer, *Marie-Anne Charlotte de Corday called Charlotte Corday*, 1793, oil on canvas, 60 x 47 cm (23 3/5 x 18 1/2 in), Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. (p. 410)

Figure 4.11. André Brouillet, *A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière*, 1887, oil on canvas, 290 x 430 cm (114.2 x 169.3 in), Descartes University, Paris, FNAC 1133. (p. 411)

Figure 4.12. Adolphe Braun et Cie after Georges-Jules-Auguste Cain, *The Bust of Marat at the Pillar of Les Halles*, 1880-1898, photographic print, 9 x 13.5 cm (3 1/2 x 5 3/10 in), The British Museum. (p. 412)

Figure 4.13. Detail from Anonymous, *The Three Eras of the Life of Jean Paul Marat Projected as Holy by the Jacobins*, an illustration from a pamphlet entitled “The Criminal and Political Life of Jean-Paul Marat, called ‘the Friend of the People’ (Paris, 1795),” 1795, etching, 15.5 x 11.9 cm (6 1/10 x 4 7/10 in), The British Museum. (p. 413)

Figure 4.14. Jules Aviat, *Charlotte Corday*, 1880, oil on canvas, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille. (p. 414)

Figure 4.15. Jules Aviat, *Charlotte Corday*, 1880, oil on canvas, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille. (p. 415)

Figure 4.16. Tony Robert-Fleury, *Pinel Freeing the Insane from Their Chains*, 1876, oil on canvas, 401.3 x 500.4 cm (158 x 197 in), Hôpital de la Salpêtrière, Paris. (p. 416)

Figure 4.17. A reproduction of Charlotte Corday's skull in Cesare Lombroso, *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale* (Turin: L. Roux, 1893), 288. Copy in Wellcome Collection, London. (p. 417)

Figure 4.18. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Woman Standing with Closed Fists (study for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, black chalk on laid paper, 48 x 31.4 cm (18.9 x 12.4 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine. (p. 418)

Figure 4.19. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Charlotte Corday (study for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, graphite on laid paper watermarked 'Arches', 32.4 x 31.1 cm (12.75 x 12.2 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine. (p. 419)

Figure 4.20a and b. Jean-Joseph Weerts, [recto] *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* [verso] *Figures in the Opening of a Door (studies for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, [recto] graphite on laid paper [verso] black chalk and charcoal on laid paper, 32.5 x 24.3 cm (12.8 x 9.6 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine. (pp. 420-421)

Figure 4.21a and b. Jean-Joseph Weerts, [recto] *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* [verso] *Figures in the Opening of a Door (studies for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, graphite and charcoal on laid paper, 32.5 x 23.9 cm (12.8 x 9.4 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine. (pp. 422-423)

Figure 4.22. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Soldier Brandishing His Sword (study for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, graphite on watermarked laid paper, 48.5 x 31.9 cm (19 x 12.55 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine. (p. 424)

Figure 4.23. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Portrait of Joseph Bara*, 1882, oil on canvas, 101.5 x 70 cm (40 x 27.5 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. (p. 425)

Figure 4.24. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *The Death of Joseph Bara* (sketch), ca. 1882, oil on panel, 25.4 x 18 cm (10 x 7 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine. (p. 426)

Figure 4.25. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *The Night of 9-10 Thermidor*, 1897, oil on wooden panel, 80 x 100.2 cm (31 1/2 x 39 1/2 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. (p. 427)

Figure 4.26. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Study for the Ceiling of the Hôtel des Monnaies: The City of Paris Receiving the Nations*, 1889-1891, oil on canvas, 90 x 122 cm (35 2/5 x 48 in), Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris. (p. 428)

Conclusion: 'Triumph of the Republic'

Figure 5.1. Jules Dalou, *Triumph of the Republic*, installed 1899, bronze, place de la Nation, Paris. (p. 429)

Figure 5.2. Victor Marec, *Place de la Nation / 25 August 1899*, 1899, oil on framed panel, 35 x 43 cm. (13.8 x 16.9 in.), Musée Carnavalet. (p. 430)

Figure 5.3. Charles Marville, *[Cloud Study over Paris]*, 1856-1857, albumen silver print, 160 7/10 x 20 3/5 cm (6 9/16 x 8 1/8 in), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987.1094. (p. 431)

Figure 5.4. Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, *The Lion of Belfort*, 1880, red sandstone, Belfort. (p. 432)

Figure 5.5. Léopold and Charles Morice, *Monument to the Republic*, installed 1883, bronze, Place de la République, Paris. (p. 433)

Figure 5.6. Alfred Roll, *July 14, 1880, Inauguration of the Monument to the Republic*, 1882, oil on canvas, 645 x 980 cm. (253.9 x 385.8 in.), Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris. (p. 434)

Figure 5.7. Auguste Gérardin and B.D., “Paris.—Inauguration, sur la Place de la République.—M. Dalou, statuaire.—(D’après nature, par M. Gérardin.),” reproduced in *Le Monde illustré* (September 28, 1889): 200-201. (p. 435)

INTRODUCTION

Centering the Revolution in the 1889 Decennial Exhibition of Art

The 1889 *Exposition universelle* in Paris is well known as a crucial event in the commemoration of France's past and in the celebration of its technological and commercial future. At its heart were two art exhibitions. The Decennial exhibition celebrated the art created since the previous Parisian world's fair in 1878 and the Centennial stretched back to the Revolution and ended where the Decennial began.¹ At the Decennial, Naturalist paintings representing scenes from the French Revolution were shown. The implications of displaying the Revolution in a politically fractious election year are the principal subject of this dissertation. The retelling of the French Revolution through painting at the Decennial Exhibition of 1889 made space for both the optimism of symbolic and legislative changes in 1789 and the civil wars between royalists and republicans in the Vendée and Brittany, which retain the power to incite conservative hostility to republicanism to the present day. The paintings featured in this study, created a century after the initial events and honored in the 1889 *Exposition universelle*'s "Best of the Decade" display, emphasize the incompleteness of the French republican experiment in the 1880s, when so many historical interpretations of the French Revolution coexisted, however inharmoniously. These histories are reflected in the works shown at this exhibition that attempted to collapse a century of interpretation into single frames. These paintings offer a rich prism for examining the competition of retellings of the French Revolution. The *Exposition universelle* of 1889, on the other hand, only nominally honored a singular Centennial, for it embraced the possibility of creating a national myth that would unify an ideologically fragmented electorate.

¹ Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 114.

There is little writing on the revolutionary content of the 1889 *Exposition universelle*. In fact, most observers remarked upon how unrevolutionary it was. One of the planners of a leftist counter-centenary at the Louvre, the historian Maurice Tourneux, lamented that “nothing at the Champ de Mars or the Trocadéro would recall that this prodigious deployment of national activity has at its origin the celebration of the centenary of 1789.”² Instead, the *Exposition* was remembered for the protrusion of the Eiffel Tower from the broad sweep of the Champ de Mars in Paris’ 7th arrondissement and the remaking of that former military training ground into a testament to France’s imperial and technological power. If the 1878 *Exposition universelle* had been tentative in its bravado due to diplomatic negotiations with Germany, the 1889 Centennial of the French Revolution was the first chance for the center-left government, called Opportunists, to prove themselves as the leaders of a renewed world power. There were internal fears, relayed amongst bureaucrats if not publicly, about the number of European nation-states withholding national support for pavilions in 1889. Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Great Britain, Denmark, The Netherlands, Russia, Italy, Romania, Spain, Portugal, Luxembourg, Egypt, and Brazil all refused to send delegations, leaving individuals from those nations to source stipends privately should they want to participate.³ Hence, the Brazilian Pavilion that stood next to the

² Maurice Tourneux, “L’Exposition historique de la Révolution française,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (May 1, 1889): 403. This counter-centenary is discussed in Chapter Four.

³ F/21/523, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. “Bâtiments civils. Travaux d’art, musées, expositions, manufactures, bâtiments civils, théâtres et musique: Expositions des Beaux-Arts aux Expositions universelles, 1855-1889: Expositions de 1867 et 1889: No. 3509: Chambre des Députés, Quatrième législature, Session de 1889; Annexe au procès-verbal de la séance du 31 janvier 1889. Rapport sur l’état des travaux et sur le compte des dépenses de l’Exposition universelle de 1889, à la date du 31 décembre 1888, présenté par M. Pierre-Légrand, Ministre du Commerce et de l’Industrie; Rapport au Président de la République française; Paris, le 30 janvier 1889,” 59-60.

Eiffel Tower had been funded by a private initiative unwilling to relinquish such an opportunity to display Brazil's cultural and technological output.⁴

The reason for these abstentions was obvious enough: these were all countries that resided on a spectrum from constitutional monarchy to absolutist tsardom and here was a world's fair purporting to commemorate the violent overthrow of the French monarchy. But regarding the Revolution itself, which was scarcely the dominant motif of the fairgrounds, the largely European monarchies need not have worried. As historian Pascal Ory wrote of the 1889 display, "The risk of an Opportunist commemoration was that it was a cold and entirely allegorical commemoration."⁵ With so many potential breakaway factions arrayed against them, at home and abroad, the Opportunists had to soften the Revolution's divisive legacy. Even if the world's fair alone was unlikely to change votes, the lukewarm support for the *Exposition historique de la Révolution française* that Tourneux helped organize at the Louvre was a sign that the distinct lack of defining images of the Revolution troubled voters the Opportunists would need come autumn.

This fear was not unfounded; on the day the *Exposition* opened, monarchists held a counter centenary banquet toast to the royalist pretender comte de Paris at the Salle Wagram in Paris' 17th arrondissement, while monarchist newspapers like *L'Étoile de la Vendée* followed

⁴ For more on the Eiffel Tower and the dominance of technology at this event, see: Miriam R. Levin, *When the Eiffel Tower Was New: French Visions of Progress at the Centennial of the Revolution*, exh. cat. (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1989); John W. Stamper, "The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair," *Technology and Culture* 30, no. 2, *Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Carl W. Condit* (April 1989): 330-353; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal* (Pittsburgh: Periscope, 2012); Hollis Clayson, "The Ornamented Eiffel Tower: Awareness and Denial," *Nonsite*, no. 27, *The Nineteenth Century* (February 11, 2019), <https://nonsite.org/the-ornamented-eiffel-tower/>. Individuals who wished to participate in the Exposition universelle without nation-state support were reliant on private sponsorship. AN F/21/523, "Bâtiments civils. Travaux d'art, musées, expositions, manufactures, bâtiments civils, théâtres et musique," 59-60.

⁵ Pascal Ory, *Une nation pour mémoire: 1889, 1939, 1989, trois jubilés révolutionnaires* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1992), 162.

every anti-*Exposition* event with interest.⁶ Perhaps due to this heightened antipathy from the right, the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 was far more inhospitable to leftist republicans, embodied by political leaders like future Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) and the Sorbonne's first chair of the study of the French Revolution, Alphonse Aulard (1849-1929), than it was to the combined forces of clerical, militant nationalist, and royalist voting blocs. Those who wanted full recognition of the Revolution's course, from the opening of the Estates General through the beheading of Louis XVI and culminating in the coup of Brumaire that brought Napoleon I to the throne, were forced off the Champ de Mars to curate the *Exposition historique de la Révolution française*, which better represented their leftist ideals. In contrast, the official display on the Champ de Mars was the outward manifestation of the politics of moderation, which took for granted that leftist coalitions would be safe votes for the maintenance of democracy, despite the municipal elections of May 1888, where leftist outlets gloated about the "crushing of the moderate party" and republicans acknowledged that "conservatives seem to be winning a few seats on municipal councils in regions hitherto reputed to be republican."⁷

Important dates drawn from France's revolutionary history, such as the opening of the Estates General on May 5th or Bastille Day on July 14th were celebrated in 1889 with banquets and balls.⁸ Statue unveilings on July 12th and September 21st replaced memories of crowds

⁶ *L'Étoile de la Vendée*, no. 263 (May 5, 1889): unpaginated.

⁷ Of the polarization seen in the municipal election results, one author wrote, "The characteristic of this election is the crushing of the moderate party. The voters shout it with all their strength, and the deaf would be the one who would not hear it; there is no more room for the opportunists: the struggle will be confined from now on between radicals and reactionaries... from now on we will have to be either outright republican or outright monarchist." J. Bepmale, "Saint-Gaudens, le 19 mai 1888: Les Elections Municipales [sic]," *Le Petit montagnard*, no. 20 (May 20, 1888): unpaginated. Another noted that "safe" monarchists seats in the west had given way to leftists and conservatives had made in-roads in republican areas, while manufacturing workers voted largely for General Boulanger. "Bulletin," *Le Petit Comtois: journal républicain démocratique quotidien*, no. 1734 (May 8, 1888): unpaginated.

⁸ F/12/3960, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine: "Fête du 14 juillet; Banquet des chemins de fer, 17 sept. 1889; Banquet du ministre des Travaux Publics, 21 sept. 1889; Banquet offert aux exposants à l'Hôtel de ville, 11 mai 1889; Banquet de la Bourse du commerce; Banquet offert au commissariat général par les commissions étrangères à l'hôtel continental, 13 juin 1889."

surging out of the Palais-Royal and elevated the founding date of the Republic. In 1889, the French Republic faced down an unexpected alliance between the religious right and the anti-clerical right, which received over four million votes in that year's September and October legislative elections.⁹ To earn the support of the broad center, the Opportunists tried to transform issues with the potential to fracture their coalition into political wins, or in the case of their suppression of the Catholic Church, didn't mention these issues at all. This dissertation complicates the idea that the Opportunist Revolution was settled and confident in its visual representation. For example, of the sixteen paintings with a revolutionary theme in the Decennial Exhibition, nine were Vendée-themed paintings, a strong indication that the Opportunist government sought to minimize any potential political blowback from the right by disproportionately acknowledging their strongest and most emotive critique of the Revolution.¹⁰

The republican experiment begun spiritually in 1789—though in reality established in 1792—was upended several times during the nineteenth century and had returned only recently in 1879. In 1889, it was once again under threat, this time from a perceived populist leader who lacked fixed convictions and appealed to the working-class right and left. My focus here is not on the *Exposition universelle*'s mimicry and mockery of indigenous cultures or its dominant presentation of technological advancements, which have been the subject of much research, although both remain important topics. Instead, this study places the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 within the context of a political election year that once more pitted the *bleus*, the coalition of republicans of all stripes, against the *blancs*, a right wing newly willing to employ the ex-Minister of War General Georges-Ernest Boulanger (1837-1891) to end their series of political defeats.

⁹ Odile Rudelle, *La république absolue: 1870-1889*, new ed. (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1982), 257-278.

¹⁰ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 64.

The colors of both sides were steeped in revolutionary symbolism: the soldiers of the revolutionary army conscripted to fight counterrevolutionary forces within and without wore blue coats, while white was the predominant color of the royal flag, further embellished with gold fleur-de-lys. These colors, employed in the title of this dissertation to establish the breadth of the French political spectrum, are diametrically opposed. However, even though the chapters that follow are based around different political coalitions, there was flexibility between these polarized positions and the *Exposition universelle* created opportunities for the opponents of the Opportunists to be heard, at least symbolically. Focusing on the minimized representation of 1789, which was for some the origin point for a nation free of absolutist rule and for others the beginning of all France's ills, exposes the complex ways in which a political coalition was built via multiple interpretations of a founding myth.

Even after a decade of republican leadership, there was great risk in embracing the histories of the First French Revolution when many on the right considered 1789 to be France's original sin and the governing party took steps, mostly in the form of increased policing, to minimize the chances of crowds becoming unruly, so as not to give voice to accusations of republicanism's potential for violence.¹¹ The Commune of 1871 had been just the most recent in a string of events that harkened back to the popular violence of 1789, and everyone over the age of 25 would have had vivid memories of the chaos after the loss of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871).¹² After a series of corruption blunders and failed imperialist missions, the center-

¹¹ The Legitimist (ultraroyalist) Bishop of Angers, Monseigneur Charles-Émile Freppel, stated that the Revolution was the "decide of the social order." He published his *The French Revolution on the Centenary of 1789* in the centennial year and encouraged non-participation in republican events. Martin Simpson, "Taming the Revolution? Legitimists and the Centenary of 1789," *English Historical Review* 120, no. 486 (April 2005): 343. On the careful choreography of the fêtes of 1889, see Charles Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France: The Experience of the Third Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, no. 3 (July 1977): 450.

¹² Stephen E. Hanson, *Post-Imperial Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 101.

left government was fighting not only to maintain power but also to preserve democracy in a nation that had only been truly republican for a decade. The small number of revolutionary images in the Decennial—just sixteen—reflects the desperation with which the *Exposition universelle* was cobbled together as a campaign stop and exemplifies the polarizing potential of revolutionary memory one hundred years after the storming of the Bastille.

Rather than look back to the Revolution, the center-left Opportunist Republican coalition wanted to emphasize their own imperial, technological, and cultural gains. The centenary was intended to show the triumph of their politics of moderation. Following the first round of voting on September 22, 1889, the government's official journal stated:

Republican France had borne the misfortunes that had once overwhelmed it with too much stoic energy to be extinguished or even weakened by the blows of political adversaries, who were more violent than truly convinced. Those who, confident in the wisdom and robust energy of the workers of their country, did not fear to associate the free and spontaneous demonstration of the living forces of France with the celebration of the centenary of the Revolution of 1789, the essentially peaceful and humanitarian character of which they were thus marking, were certainly right.

Once it became clear that the combined rightwing union was defeated, the center felt confident to declare that their vision of the Revolution was borne out, though the *Exposition* had been anything but “free and spontaneous.”¹³ The Centennial and Decennial exhibitions of fine art were a small, but nonetheless crucial attempt to reassert the French belief in their own cultural

¹³ “Partie non officielle: Paris, 29 septembre 1889,” *Journal officiel de la République française. Lois et décrets*, no. 264 (September 30, 1889): 4853.

supremacy. To date, the revolutionary paintings in these displays, condensed into the Decennial, have not been analyzed for their contribution to the government's messaging through the *Exposition universelle*, despite a wealth of scholarship on world's fairs and on the commemoration of the French Revolution.¹⁴

The chapters to follow focus on the revolutionary paintings in the Decennial Exhibition, a relatively small part of a broader campaign focused on staving off rightwing populism and the religious, monarchic right. The artists featured in this venue were eligible for medals, highlighting that though their artworks often spoke to political division, the government recognized the need to acknowledge France's separate voting coalitions. The uneasy political marriage between the monarchists and the self-styled populist Boulanger, nicknamed General *Revanche* for his anti-German bloodlust, influenced many of the decisions made for the display of fine arts. The Decennial jury, comprised of esteemed academic artists and administrators of the 1880s, chose the focal paintings in this dissertation as the most representative of revolutionary-themed paintings of their time. Some were widely critiqued and discussed, while others were not, which suggests that some were chosen to curry favor with political voices outside the centrist mainstream. The French Revolution was up for debate in the 1880s and painting of this era has not received its due. Like the decade's boom in statues honoring both republican and anti-republican legends, which has been well traversed terrain, the paintings

¹⁴ For some examples to show the breadth of topics that have been covered in relation to world's fairs, see: Deborah L. Silverman, "The 1889 Exhibition: The Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism," *Oppositions* 8 (Spring 1977): 70-91; Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-92); Michael Adcock, "The 1889 Paris Exposition: Mapping the Colonial Mind," *Journal of Music Research*, no. 22 (Spring 2001): 31-40; Pascal Ory, *Une nation pour mémoire: 1889, 1939, 1989, trois jubilés révolutionnaires* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1992); Nils Müller-Schaeßel, "Fair Prehistory: archaeological exhibits at French Expositions Universelles," *Antiquity* 75, no. 288 (June 2001): 391-401; Isabelle Flour, "Orientalism and the Reality Effect: Angkor at the Universal Expositions, 1867-1937," *Getty Research Journal* 6, no. 1 (January 2014): 63-82; Van Troi Tran, "How 'natives' ate at colonial exhibitions in 1889, 1900, and 1931," *French Cultural Studies* 26, no. 2 (2015): 163-75; Sara Pappas, "Fragments of the Past: The Petit Palais, the Exposition Universelle, and the Ghosts of French Imperialism," *Dix-Neuf* 24, no. 2-3 (2020): 245-59.

initially presented in Salons from 1878 to 1888 offer a unique perspective on the fragmented politics of the early Third Republic.¹⁵

Opportunism and its Discontents

As I will be using “Opportunist” repeatedly to describe the center-left bloc that gained power in the late 1870s, it requires a brief introduction, even as more details will emerge later in Chapter One. This political context is central to my interpretation of these paintings and their display.

The republican leaders of the 1880s called themselves Opportunists to put a positive spin on their privileging of political expediency over rigid orthodoxy. Rather than advocating for policy minutiae that could highlight fragmentation within the republican bloc, Opportunist leader Léon Gambetta’s (1838-1882) speeches offered a unifying message that “denied the absolute everywhere,” claiming to be from a “school that only believes in the relative, in analysis, in observation, in the study of facts, in rapprochement...”¹⁶ The only thing constant about the Opportunists was their willingness to shift to suit new political climates. As they moved from the opposition to maintaining power over several cycles in the 1870s, their path to political victory was complicated by blunders including a corruption scheme involving President Jules Grévy’s son-in-law exposed in 1887.¹⁷ From the mid-1870s on, when the monarchist leadership that had assumed power following the *année terrible* of 1870-71 began to fracture amidst infighting, the

¹⁵ Neil McWilliam has written extensively on the *statuomanie* of the Third Republic. See: Neil McWilliam, “Monuments, Martyrdom, and the Politics of Religion in the French Republic,” *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 2 (June 1995): 186-206; Neil McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance: Jean Baffier, A Nationalist Sculptor in fin-de-siècle France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Neil McWilliam, “Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Etienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic,” *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (April 2004): 381-418; See also, Karine Varley, “Under the Shadow of Defeat: The State and the Commemoration of the Franco-Prussian War, 1871–1914,” *French History* 16, no. 3 (September 2002): 323-344.

¹⁶ Ferdinand-Camille Dreyfus, “M. Léon Gambetta,” *La Lanterne*, no. 2083 (January 3, 1883): unpaginated.

¹⁷ Raymond Huard, “Le centenaire de 1789 et les origines du parti radical: la Fédération de 1889,” in *Le XIXe siècle et la Révolution française [journées d’études de Nanterre, octobre 1989]* (Paris: éditions Créaphis, 1992), 130.

republicans made gains in parliament via consistent messaging about domestic peace and stability. In 1889, they sought to reclaim this mantle with the *Exposition*, arguing for the second time to the population that their form of governance deserved to continue.¹⁸

By waiting for his opponents to err—as when the monarchist-backed President Patrice de MacMahon (1808-1893) dismissed his Opportunist Prime Minister Jules Simon (1814-1877) over constitutional disagreements and attempted to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies in 1877’s crisis of *Seize-Mai*—Gambetta looked to yoke the Revolution’s symbolism to his political platform in order to gain seats in the elections of October 1877.¹⁹ After the *Seize-Mai* crisis, Gambetta made explicit parallels between this attempted overthrow of the parliamentary system and France’s founding narrative.²⁰ His election dossier, which he handed to the President of the Chamber to read from the dais, stated, “The truth is...that a battle has been fought between the conservative spirit and the revolutionary spirit, in which the conservative spirit has always been defeated. We have seen the majority, with the flag of social disruption in its hand, marching on the other two powers of the State.”²¹ After a century in which successive dictatorships and monarchies, followed by violent overthrow, were the political norm, Gambetta drew upon his oratorical skills to normalize republicanism as the French standard. By recasting the republican system inaugurated by the Revolution as firm and eternal rather than associating the Revolution

¹⁸ This is the main thesis of Brenda Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789* (New York: Garland, 1987). In her study of the politics of the early Third Republic, Odile Rudelle argues that 1885 was the first time the Opportunists had to run as the insider faction. Rudelle, *La république absolue: 1870-1889*, 107-152.

¹⁹ In this constitutional flashpoint, the ultimate question was over whether the Head of State should have prerogative to interpret the laws or the Chamber of Deputies. As President of the Chamber of Deputies, Gambetta pressed the latter. Also at stake was ongoing clerical agitation led by bishops, which the republicans condemned. Jean-Marc Guislin, “La crise du Seize-Mai, cent trente ans après: Présentation de la journée,” in *Le Seize-mai revisité*, ed. Jean-Marc Guislin (Lille: Publications de l’Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, 2009), 13-16.

²⁰ For a more in depth look at the *Seize-Mai* crisis, see, Susanna Barrows, “Une étrange année: Victor Hugo et le coup du Seize-Mai,” *Le Mouvement Sociale* 256, no. 3 (2016): 65-79.

²¹ “Chambre des Deputés: Présidence de M. Jules Grévy, Séance du 16 juin 1877,” *La République du Midi*, no. 165 (June 19, 1877): unpaginated.

with instability, Gambetta and his Opportunist faction were able to take power in 1879, beginning the first period of a truly “republican Republic.”²²

The royalist pretender, Henri, comte de Chambord (1820-1883), sought to replace the French tricolor with the white flag of the monarchy, making the Opportunists the only faction with a realistic claim to preserving the Republic, while the conservatives now appeared beholden to the decadence of past regimes.²³ On the stump, Gambetta, remembered mostly for leading National Guard forces during the Franco-Prussian War and escaping in a hot air balloon from Montmartre as the Prussians closed in on Paris, wrested the narrative of law and order away from his conservative opponents. By the legislative elections of 1881, though, Gambetta had become the safe, centrist bet from his perch as President of the Chamber of Deputies while the Radical Republicans, the progressive left, made a series of gains that denied the Opportunists a majority government.²⁴ The Radical paper *Le Progrès* attributed the left’s electoral success at Opportunism’s expense to their pursual of moderation.²⁵ Opportunism’s great promise—that it alone could meld together disparate republican factions—was only as firm as its leadership. Gambetta, who was a singular tactician from the Chamber, revealed as much when his premature death in late 1882 left his party without a forceful strategist. While the Opportunists had benefitted from the intransigence of their conservative opponents from 1875, now Gambetta

²² This phrase comes from Pierre Sérié, *La Peinture d’histoire en France, 1860-1900: La Lyre ou le poignard* (Paris: Arthema, 2014), 23-24.

²³ In a missive of July 1871, issued foolishly when monarchists had solid support for their leadership, the comte de Chambord made his case for the white flag, arguing that “Henri V cannot abandon the white flag of Henri IV.” Henri de Bourbon, comte de Chambord, *Manifeste de M. le comte de Chambord: 5 juillet 1871* (Montpellier: Pierre Grollier, 1871), 7.

²⁴ Gambetta’s Republican Union won 204 seats, while the “republican” vote split three other ways as well out of dissatisfaction with Gambetta’s leadership: Jules Ferry’s Republican Left got 168 seats, while on either side of these blocs were 40 deputies who were even more centrist than Gambetta and 40 farther left than Ferry, led by the socialist Louis Blanc. Rudelle, *La république absolue*, 65-103.

²⁵ Joseph Dijan, “Oran, le 24 août 1881: Élections en France,” *Le Progrès: journal républicain radical*, no. 6 (August 25, 1881): unpaginated.

appeared as the strongman who had placed his own position above the parliamentary system.²⁶

“Now that the reactionary parties don’t exist in France...,” the Radicals argued, it was time for the Republic “to accomplish the program that she has traced out since ’89.”²⁷

But this leftist surge did not last and Jules Ferry (1832-1893), who succeeded Gambetta as the Opportunists’ leader, reiterated what made their strategy so effective. Republicans of the 1860s had spoken of their esoteric links to the revolutionary past; Ferry had warned them that “an exclusionary and egotistical cult of some popularity in Paris or Lyon” would not help them wrest control from the Bonapartists and fulfil the aspirations of 1789.²⁸ The only means of taking power, Ferry counselled, was to garner rural votes by co-opting the structure and safety associated with Bonapartism before the Battle of Sedan had led to the Second Empire’s collapse in 1870. Ferry made this strategy clear in somewhat crude terms in a speech given a few months after he was forced to step down from the Prime Ministership in March 1885 due to the unpopularity of his imperialist expansion into Southeast Asia. To a sympathetic republican audience in Lyon, Ferry expounded upon the true reason he believed Opportunists had been able to defeat the conservatives at the end of the 1870s:

Why did the French peasant let himself be duped twice by the Bonapartes? Because he believed the Empire would provide that stability that he demanded as the condition of his labor. And why did he come resolutely to us, during the tests of May 16th? He came to us, not only because he hated and dreaded the *ancien régime*, whose menacing image he saw

²⁶ “Gambetta and Grévy: Paris Dispatch to the London Times,” *The New York Times* 30, no. 9297 (June 26, 1881): 9; S. A. Ashley, “The Failure of Gambetta’s *Grand Ministère*,” *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 107-09.

²⁷ Joseph Dijan “Oran, le 24 août 1881: Élections en France,” *Le Progrès: journal républicain radical*, no. 6 (August 25, 1881): unpaginated.

²⁸ Gaboriaux, *La République en quête de citoyens*, 13.

clearly in the reactionary coalition, but above all because he understood, because you made him understand, that the Republic was the only government capable of assuring him stability.²⁹

Conveniently sidestepping the issue of empire-building that had tarnished his reputation for focusing on the issues most salient to French voters, Ferry refocused attention on the primary rationale for voting Opportunist. Ferry's reference to the *Seize-Mai* crisis was not simply a rumination on a past political triumph. By 1885, monarchist and Bonapartist political leadership had united to capitalize on dissatisfaction with the comfortably in-power Opportunists.

Ferry saw the same threat in this new coalition as he had in the monarchist leadership of the early Third Republic in the 1870s. He made clear that the Opportunists' biggest political weapon against the right was to cast them as destabilizing, thereby commanding the broad center. As the late Gambetta had earlier in the 1880s, Ferry emphasized the Opportunists' "promise" of stability over the further "ministerial crises" and "suffering" inflicted by the Bonapartes and the Bourbons, whom he conflated.³⁰ He capitalized upon the stability messaging Gambetta had used to catapult the Opportunists to power. Their political positioning as the only stable political party was consistent long before General Boulanger's ascent and marriage with the Conservative Union led by Baron Armand de Mackau (1832-1918). In the elections of 1885, which was the last legislative contest before 1889 and came a year after the 1889 Centennial of the French Revolution was decreed, two hundred monarchists won seats with the support of the

²⁹ Jules Ferry, "Discours de Lyon, du 9 août 1885," in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 7, *Discours sur la politique intérieure (2^e partie) depuis le 30 mars 1885*, ed. Paul Robiquet (Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1898), 14.

³⁰ Ferry, "Discours du 27 septembre 1887, à Saint-Dié," in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 7, *Discours sur la politique intérieure (2^e partie) depuis le 30 mars 1885*, 80, 84.

Bonapartists.³¹ This political tremor came after financial crashes and hardship; news of another world's fair to be held in less than five-year's time was accompanied by protests.³² Ferry warned of these faux republicans who latched onto the symbolism of the Revolution but who aimed to "cut the throat of the Republic" via plebiscite and rule by a domineering figure.³³

This figure soon appeared to test the stability of the French Republic in the form of Boulanger. Boulanger's path from soldier of both France's imperialist campaigns in North Africa and the Franco-Prussian War to a life of disgrace in exile in Brussels has been of interest to historians of the French *fin-de-siècle*, for example Michael Burns, William Irvine, Jean Garrigues, and Bruce Fulton.³⁴ They have debated the strength of his allegiance to the French republic, as highlighted by his refusal to stage a coup following a by-election victory in Paris in January 1889, and his authoritarian impulses, backed up by the secret royalist financial support for his campaign.³⁵ Boulanger had an outsized impact on the moment's politics and his absence from the Champ de Mars in 1889 did not go unnoticed. His followers, deprived of a figurehead

³¹ The Grévy administration decreed on November 8, 1884 that a new Exposition would take place after planning since July. F/12/3757, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine: "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). Documents généraux; Préparation de la loi du 6 juillet 1884 instituant l'exposition." *Guide illustré de l'Exposition universelle de 1889; Comprenant 50 Gravures et 20 Plans; Champ-de-Mars, Trocadéro, Esplanade des Invalides, berges de la Seine. Œuvres et produits exposés*. 1st edition. (Lille: L. Danel, 1889).

³² Frederick Brown, "Eiffel's Tower," *New England Review* 29, no. 4 (2008): 8.

³³ Ferry, "Discours à l'Association républicaine," in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 7, *Discours sur la politique intérieure (2^e partie) depuis le 30 mars 1885*, 118.

³⁴ For significant examinations of the Boulangist moment, see Zeev Sternhell, "Barrès et la gauche: du boulangisme à 'la cocarde' (1889-1895)," *Le Mouvement social*, no. 75 (April-June 1971): 77-130; Michael Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics: Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair, 1886-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); William D. Irvine, *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered: Royalism, Boulangism, and the Origins of the Radical Right in France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) and "Royalists, Mass Politics, and the Boulanger Affair," *French History* 3, no. 1 (1989): 31-47; Bruce Fulton, "The Boulanger Affair Revisited: The Preservation of the Third Republic, 1889," *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 2 (November 1991): 310-29; Robert Tombs, ed. *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918* (London: Routledge, 1991); Jean Garrigues, *Le général Boulanger* (Paris: Perrin, 1999); Bertrand Joly, *Aux origines du populisme Histoire du boulangisme (1886-1891)* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2022).

³⁵ For more on this aspect, see Irvine, "Royalists, Mass Politics, and the Boulanger Affair," 31-47; Miguel Àngel Ortiz-Serrano, "Political Connections and Stock Returns: Evidence from the Boulangist Campaign, 1888-1889," *Financial History Review* 25, no. 3 (2018): 323-56.

after Boulanger's self-exile in April 1889, were still looking for a strong leader to save France from perceived decline, and therefore had to be accommodated in some way by the Opportunists lest they vote for the right-wing opposition. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, Boulanger, who embodied the contradiction of being a republican with appeal to anti-republican forces, reappeared in the Decennial in the form of Napoleon Bonaparte, even if this connection was not made explicitly. Boulanger notably identified as a republican committed to "democratic reforms" and promoted himself as a better advocate for French republicanism than the leadership of the Opportunists.³⁶ His challenge to their governance posed such a significant threat that the Opportunists had to engage in antidemocratic practices themselves to maintain some semblance of democracy.

Through a series of anti-democratic maneuvers, including surveillance and harassment of Boulangist candidates and threatening the General with a trial for conspiracy against the State, the Opportunists were able to quell the fervor for his candidature.³⁷ Boulanger posed a unique threat to the French Republic in that he had the sheen of military service and the bona fides of having served in the Opportunist government. When he was Minister of War from January 1886-May 1887, Boulanger's support came from the Radical Left, especially from Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929) and the propagandist Henri Rochefort (1831-1913).³⁸ As he broke away from the Opportunists who spurned him, conservative leaders like Baron de Mackau, Prince Philippe (1838-1894), comte de Paris, and the Duchess d'Uzès (1847-1933), began to support him financially in the lead up to 1889's legislative elections, even while he maintained

³⁶ Georges Boulanger, *Discours du Général Boulanger au banquet de Nevers, le 2 décembre 1888* (Paris: Imprimerie Lefebvre, 1889), 2.

³⁷ The police tracked the number of pamphlets and posters supporting Boulanger across France, as well as disbanding groups that supported him like the Ligue des Patriotes. Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics*, 68. Conservative papers like *L'Étoile de la Vendée* covered the suppression of the Ligue on the front pages of their March 17 and April 7, 1889 issues.

³⁸ Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics*, 58.

support amongst industrial workers who had shown more interest in Radical Republican candidates.³⁹ His military service appealed to Paul Déroulède's ethnonationalist Ligue des Patriotes, which had strength within cities.⁴⁰ Where Boulanger lagged in support were traditionally royalist regions like the Vendée; the conservative purists wanted nothing to do with a former republican with supporters as different in political outlook from them as the one-time leftist journalist Rochefort and the Radical Republican Clemenceau.⁴¹

Even after forcing Boulanger into exile, the Opportunists continued to engage in voter suppression efforts, led by their Minister of the Interior, Ernest Constans (1833-1913), who was restored to this post in February 1889 for the purpose of rooting out Boulangism.⁴² Historian Bruce Fulton has declared Constans the true leader of the Boulangist-era cabinet.⁴³ Even so, in the 1889 legislative elections, the popular vote was won by a margin of just 1.97%, a sign of deep discontent with Opportunist leaders.⁴⁴ What enabled them to take 350 seats (357 with their socialist allies) to the Boulangists' 48 and monarchists' 162 was a breadth of support rather than a depth.⁴⁵ Underneath the republican victory, often posited as an inevitable triumph, was a divided populace: there were just 11,673 votes between the 4,037,563 who voted to maintain the Third Republic and the 4,025,890 who didn't.⁴⁶

³⁹ Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics*, 60, 70.

⁴⁰ Some local chapters, though, fractured over support for Boulanger; in Meurthe-et-Moselle (northeast), the majority of the members were anti-Boulanger and made their own Union Patriotique de l'Est in June 1888. William Serman, "The nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 1888-1912," in *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, ed. Robert Tombs (London: Routledge, 1991), 123. Even within ultranationalistic groups, support for Boulanger was a debated issue.

⁴¹ Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics*, 89.

⁴² Constans served as Minister of the Interior from May 1880-November 1881 in the cabinets of Prime Ministers Charles de Freycinet (1828-1923) and Jules Ferry. He then served as the Governor-General of French Indochina from 1887-88 before joining Prime Minister Pierre Tirard's cabinet in February 1889. Fulton, "The Boulanger Affair Revisited," 313.

⁴³ Fulton, "The Boulanger Affair Revisited," 313.

⁴⁴ Rudelle, *La république absolue*.

⁴⁵ Rudelle, *La république absolue*, 257-278.

⁴⁶ Rudelle, *La république absolue*, 257-278.

For all the Opportunists' efforts at presenting a united front, they oversaw an empire of many distinct cultures, religions, and languages. Within the sphere of domestic politics, they were at odds not only with the revanchist right, made up—for the time being—of clerical monarchists and irreligious militants, but also with the Radical Republicans to their left. The title of the latter group was one they had bestowed upon themselves rather than an external judgment of their political positions.⁴⁷ The Radicals were especially wary of the center, which they argued spoke “vaguely of liberty, of legality, but when we remember...how they used power when they had it, we attach little importance to their babble. Moreover since the invention of the word *Opportunism*, we are a bit wary of statements.”⁴⁸ Yet to overcome a coalition that threatened the project of a democratic republic, the Opportunist Republicans would need their leftist sometime-allies and some conservatives ill-inclined to disrupt the current political system, despite their misgivings about republicanism.

Literature Review and Stakes of the Argument

This dissertation raises several queries about two significant bodies of scholarship: art historical studies of academic art and what the many studies of revolutionary commemoration have to say about the political stakes of painting the Revolution in 1889. It seems to be a prerequisite before embarking upon a discussion of Naturalist painters to acknowledge that “this dramatic parable of the battle of aesthetic good [avant-gardes] and evil [academic art] no longer satisfies the curious historian and the adventurous spectator.”⁴⁹ This citation from Robert Rosenblum's advocacy for

⁴⁷ When offering rebuttals of both conservatism and Opportunism, leftists referred to their own bloc as Radicals. See for example: *Les patrons du radicalisme ou l'histoire lamentable de Thiers et Gambetta, à propos des élections par un patriote Lorrain* (Paris: les principaux librairies, 1877).

⁴⁸ *Les patrons du radicalisme ou l'histoire lamentable de Thiers et Gambetta*, 45.

⁴⁹ Robert Rosenblum, “The Nineteenth-Century Franc Revalued,” in *The Past Rediscovered: French Painting 1800-1900*, exh. cat. (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1969), unpaginated, cited in Neil McWilliam, “Limited Revisions: Academic Art History Confronts Academic Art,” *Oxford Art Journal* 12, no. 2 (1989): 72.

a reappraisal of academic art comes early in “Limited Revisions,” Neil McWilliam’s critique of art institutions, which recounts the many-decade scholarly debate between Impressionist art historians and those who work on the long-reviled *art pompier*.⁵⁰ Rosenblum was writing in 1969, McWilliam in 1989, and since then the field has blossomed sufficiently that I do not feel I must spend more than one sentence denying that the terminology “firefighter art” has any place here.

“Firefighter Art,” the literal translation of *art pompier*, is a derisive term referring to the horsehair helmets frequently seen in the military history paintings so popular in *fin-de-siècle* Salons and meant to dismiss these artworks as mere State propaganda.⁵¹ Accepting for a moment the assumption that military history painting is inherently “official” art, this is scarcely reason not to study these paintings. The revolutionary paintings of Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825), several of which were undoubtedly propaganda, have received significant attention both for the political roots of their creation and the innovation of their maker.⁵² “Propaganda” alone as a descriptor should not hinder scholarly attention, so long as the political circumstances of a work’s production are analyzed. For instance, McWilliam’s analysis of the deeply problematic sculptor Jean Baffier (1851-1920) offers a template for how one might understand artists representing the Catholic counterinsurgency in the Vendée in more sympathetic terms.⁵³

Christopher Prendergast’s singular focus on Antoine-Jean Gros’ (1771-1835) *Napoleon on the Battlefield at Eylau* (1808, Louvre) suggests a means to consider how effective political

⁵⁰ McWilliam, “Limited Revisions,” 71-86.

⁵¹ McWilliam, “Limited Revisions,” 73.

⁵² T. J. Clark, “Painting in the Year Two,” *Representations*, no. 47 (Summer 1994): 13–63. Helen Weston, “Jacques-Louis David’s “La Mort de Joseph Bara”: a Tale of Revolutionary Myths and Modern Fantasies,” *Paragraph* 19, no. 3, *Painting and Narrative* (November 1996): 234-50; William Vaughan and Helen Weston, eds. *David’s The Death of Marat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁵³ Neil McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance: Jean Baffier, A Nationalist Sculptor in fin-de-siècle France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).

messaging can be conveyed visually.⁵⁴ Methodologically, I am also inspired by Susan Siegfried and Katie Hornstein’s cogent work on military history painters such as Horace Vernet (1789-1863), Louis-François Lejeune (1775-1848), and Gros in their respective studies “Naked History” and *Picturing War in France*.⁵⁵ Both of these texts focus on eras prior to the Crimean War—although discussion of Édouard Detaille’s *The Dream* (Fig. 3.17) forms a core part of Hornstein’s coda. However, early-nineteenth-century artists initiated many of the visual paradigms and multimedia approach to publication utilized by Naturalists in the 1880s. Regarding that period, several recent dissertations have broadened research on academic art. Kimberly A. Jones’ dissertation on the state commissions of the sought-after history painter Jean-Paul Laurens is one such example.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Cheryl K. Snay and Jennifer Getson offer different approaches to art commissions under the Third Republic, emphasizing the boom in statuary monuments; Snay took a broader look at the period from 1870-1900, which encompassed the conservative early Republic and the rise of republicanism, while Getson focused on the pardoned Communard sculptor Jules Dalou, whose works for the Opportunists were perceived as a *mea culpa*.⁵⁷ Lastly, although her ambitions are different to mine, Alexis Clark’s attention to museology of the Impressionist era provides a solid foundation for

⁵⁴ Christopher Prendergast, *Napoleon and History Painting: Antoine-Jean Gros’s La Bataille D’Eylau* (London: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁵⁵ Susan Locke Siegfried, “Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France,” *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (June 1993): 235-58; Katie Hornstein, *Picturing War in France (1792-1856)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁵⁶ Kimberly A. Jones, “Resurrecting History: Jean-Paul Laurens and the Politics of History Painting During the French Third Republic, 1871-1914” (Ph.D diss., University of Maryland, 1996).

⁵⁷ Cheryl K. Snay, “Politics by Another Name: Government-Sponsored Art in Paris, 1870-1900” (Ph.D diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2000); Jennifer Getson, “Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration in Third-Republic Paris” (Ph.D diss., Ohio State University, 2013).

understanding how the Opportunists' "Republic of the Arts" bolstered the curation of the Centennial and Decennial Exhibitions of 1889.⁵⁸

This revived interest in academic art over the past three decades has underscored several major monographic exhibitions including but not limited to: *Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921): Peintre d'histoire* (Musée d'Orsay and Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, 1997-98); *Reconsidering Gérôme* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2010); *Dans la lumière de l'impressionnisme: Édouard Debat-Ponsan (1847-1913)* (Musée des Beaux-Arts Tours, 2014); and *Bouguereau and America* (Milwaukee Art Museum and Memphis Brooks Museum, 2019).⁵⁹ As a museum professional, I am heartened that these institutions have taken on the risk of focusing on artists who are less well-known than their Impressionist and Post-Impressionist peers and whose reputations began to flag shortly after 1900.⁶⁰ However, this is not a monographic study. The artists featured herein do not have existing archives offering insight into their process or thoughts. Only Jean-Joseph Weerts, due to his gift of his works and papers to his hometown museum, has the paper trail to support a biographical approach like those cited above, as can be seen in Chantal Acheré-Lenoir's research on the artist.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Alexis Meredith Clark, "A Republic of the Arts: Constructing Nineteenth-Century Art History at the Musée du Luxembourg, 1871-1914" (Ph.D diss., Duke University, 2014).

⁵⁹ Renaud Bardon and Didier Blin, eds. *Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921): Peintre d'histoire*. exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1997); Scott Allan and Mary Morton, *Reconsidering Gérôme*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010); Sophie Join-Lambert, Véronique Moreau, and Karine Kukielszak, *Dans la lumière de l'impressionnisme: Édouard Debat-Ponsan (1847-1913)*. exh. cat. (Tours: Musée des Beaux-Arts Tours, 2014); Tanya Paul et al. *Bouguereau and America*. exh. cat. (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 2019).

⁶⁰ The posthumous reputations of academic painters slid precipitously from their heights. See Samuel Harwell Howell, Jr., "The Dilemma of the French History Painter, 1870-1914: Jean-Paul Laurens, Paul-Albert Besnard, Georges-Antoine Rochegrosse" (Ph.D diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1994); Jones, "Resurrecting History"; Stephen Bann, "Paul Delaroche's Early Work in the Context of English History Painting," *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 3 (2006): 341–369.

⁶¹ Chantal Acheré-Lenoir, "Jean-Joseph Weerts (1846-1927) et la peinture monumentale: *La charte des drapiers de Roubaix*," *Revue du Nord* 74, no. 297-98 (July-December 1992): 785-809; Chantal Acheré-Lenoir, Amandine Delcourt, and Alice Massé, *Les Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine*, exh. cat. (Lille and Roubaix: Éditions inventit et La Piscine, 2012).

Instead, this dissertation offers a nuancing and development of Richard Thomson's argument in *The Art of the Actual*, the first chapter of which is entitled "Naturalism at the Service of the Republic."⁶² The critical responses to the curatorial choices in the 1889 Palace of Fine Arts rested on stylistic preferences, with many making the case that Naturalism remained the national style (if its broad array of applications could indeed constitute one style). Thomson makes the most eloquent case for the synergy between the republican governments of the Third Republic and the academic painters who practiced what can loosely be termed "Naturalism." Michael Orwicz suggests, however, that Naturalism was hotly contested political terrain amongst art critics from a variety of political and aesthetic persuasions, which was in part a recognition that conservatives could still make a mark in artistic spheres even without political power.⁶³ Terms such as "le réalisme," "l'observation," and "la vérité" were widely used in Salon criticism, but to different ends depending on the outlet and the writer.⁶⁴ The architect Paul Lenoir (1826-1893) reflected broader critical sentiments when he equated "poetry" in art with what is "real and true...and borrowed from nature" in his 1889 ode to the history of Naturalism in art.⁶⁵ The reception of art in the 1880s plays a critical role in any examination of Salon art, but beyond the biases of critics, this thesis aims to show that Naturalism was also contested amongst the artists themselves. Far from communicating solely the republican view of events, in this case the historical events of the French Revolution, Naturalist painting was employed by artists to create canvases that catered to a variety of political viewpoints.

⁶² Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 33-79.

⁶³ Orwicz, "Criticism and Representations of Brittany in the Early Third Republic," 291-98; Orwicz, "The Representation of the Breton: Art Criticism, Politics and Ideology in Paris, 1885-1889," 8.

⁶⁴ Orwicz, "The Representation of the Breton," 8.

⁶⁵ Paul Lenoir, *Histoire du réalisme et du naturalisme dans la poésie et dans l'art, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Quantin, 1889), 1.

A year before the *Exposition universelle*, the influential art critic Albert Wolff proclaimed that the Salon was a “battlefield” between the “only two currents of art”: Idealism and Naturalism.⁶⁶ He elevated Naturalism above the former, stating that the “French School lives in observation more so than imagination; reality is what demarcates contemporary art.” After the halfway point of the Exposition, the art critic Hippolyte Durand-Tahier (1863-1899) described the display as a showcase of “The new tendencies of the French School: realism and plein-air [painting].”⁶⁷ In his view, these trends were very broad and contained many genres of art rather than a discernable painterly style. There were “painters of history and decorators,” like Fernand Cormon (1845-1924), Édouard Detaille (1848-1912), Henri Gervex (1852-1929), and Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921), as well as painters of “antiquity” like the Decennial jury Vice-President William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905). “History of France,” as practiced by Laurens, Hippolyte Berteaux (1843-1926), François Flameng (1856-1923), Decennial jury President Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891), and Jean-Joseph Weerts (1846-1927) was another category falling under the broad tent of “realism.” Adolphe Roll (1846-1919), Henri Gervex, and Jean Béraud (1849-1935) were also granted the titles of painters of “modern life.”⁶⁸ Durand-Tahier’s fierce advocacy for Naturalism led to his serving as the first Secretary General of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts founded by Meissonier after the close of the 1889 *Exposition* and his inclusion in the Opportunists’ press organ, *Journal officiel de la République française*.⁶⁹

As outlined in Marnin Young’s study of the Naturalist painter of rural life, Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884), supportive critics of this new take on realism like Jules-Antoine Castagnary

⁶⁶ Albert Wolff, *Figaro-Salon* (Paris: J. Boussod, Manzi, Joyant, et Cie, 1888), 4.

⁶⁷ Hippolyte Durand-Tahier, “Exposition universelle de 1889: L’Exposition décennale française (1878-1889),” *Journal officiel de la République française*, no. 232 (August 29, 1889): 4215.

⁶⁸ Durand-Tahier, “Exposition universelle de 1889,” 4215.

⁶⁹ Durand-Tahier, “Exposition universelle de 1889,” 4215-18.

(1830-1888) and Émile Zola (1840-1902) believed Naturalism combined “plein air” observation with the rigors of scientific truth.⁷⁰ However, Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848-1907) would decry Bastien-Lepage as a fraudulent practitioner of Naturalism early in the 1890s, proof that its “tenets” were amorphous.⁷¹ Durand-Tahier’s claim that the Naturalism of the 1880s would outlive the end of the nineteenth century as the dominant mode of representation did not prove prophetic, though we can say this only with the benefit of hindsight.⁷² Anyone who saw the Decennial Exhibition, where Durand-Tahier declared that “Impressionism was banned,” and the practices of its jury members, would conclude in 1889 that “French” art had been speaking in a Naturalist voice for the past decade and that it would continue into the twentieth century.⁷³

Just as critics could not agree upon what constituted “Naturalism,” artists likewise applied its broad precepts to a wide range of subjects. As such, Naturalism is an artistic strategy premised on a clear attention to narrative that in fact takes several forms. In her recent study of nineteenth-century narrative painting, Nina Lübbren concludes that the “slick, smooth” finish of academic canvases is too easily dismissed for its “easy appreciation factor.”⁷⁴ Both she and Patricia Smyth argue for a reappraisal of clarity of form in painting as a deliberate and clever strategy of immersing the audience that was expected of academic artists.⁷⁵ “La vérité”, “l’observation,” and “le réalisme” were the benchmarks of critical reception in the 1880s.⁷⁶ But Lübbren also denies that the “legible” surface is the same as a styleless surface; she cites several

⁷⁰ Marnin Young, “The Motionless Look of a Painting: Jules Bastien-Lepage, Les Foins, and the End of Realism,” *Art History* 37, no. 1 (February 2014): 39-40.

⁷¹ Young, “The Motionless Look of a Painting,” 39-40.

⁷² Durand-Tahier, “Exposition universelle de 1889,” 4218.

⁷³ Durand-Tahier, “Exposition universelle de 1889,” 4217.

⁷⁴ Nina Lübbren, *Narrative Painting in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023), 165.

⁷⁵ Patricia Smyth, *Paul Delaroche: Painting and Popular Spectacle* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022).

⁷⁶ Michael Orwicz offers a rich discussion of how critics of many political persuasions used these terms to equate works they appreciated with “truth.” Michael R. Orwicz, “The Representation of the Breton: Art Criticism, Politics and Ideology in Paris, 1885-1889” (Ph.D diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), 8.

artists with different styles of facture including sleek Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), Teofilo Patini (1840-1906) for his “muddy palette,” and Henri Regnault’s (1843-1871) “coagulated” build-up of paint.⁷⁷ From this dissertation’s featured artists, we can add Julien Le Blant’s (1851-1936) expressive white bursts of light, Jean-Joseph Weerts’ (1846-1927) borderline grotesque figures in their contorted, theatrical poses, and Edouard-Louis Dupain’s (1847-1933) use of earth tones and loose brushwork mimicking unkempt nature. None of them could be described as abstract, but, agreeing with Richard Thomson, they identify unique painterly signatures within the general precepts of Naturalism.⁷⁸

It was partly for his deviation from a perceived consensus regarding Naturalist painting that columnist Henri Escoffier lambasted the curator of the Centennial of 1889, Antonin Proust (1832-1905), for failing in his “strict duty to be impartial” as the commissioner of fine arts for the world’s fair. “I am surprised that he was left so unrestrained,” he continued, “as to expose France to be, artistically speaking, the laughingstock of the world, if the Decennial exhibition, made by the artists themselves, had not kept it in the first rank.”⁷⁹ Escoffier’s tastes were reflected in the Decennial, which promoted the dominant Naturalism practiced by the leading academic painters. Meissonier and Bouguereau led a group that included Detaille, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898), Jean-Léon Gérôme, and the aged curator of the Musée du Luxembourg, Étienne Arago (1802-1892).⁸⁰ In a sign of how closely intertwined the aesthetics of the Decennial were with the Opportunist government, artists had to petition the government to be allowed some choice in who got to sit on the jury. Eventually, the Opportunists agreed to choose

⁷⁷ Lübbren, *Narrative Painting in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 165.

⁷⁸ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 73.

⁷⁹ Escoffier wrote under the pseudonym Thomas Grimm. Thomas Grimm, “La Centennale,” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9,671 (June 18, 1889): 1.

⁸⁰ *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, iii.

half the Decennial jury, while the other half was chosen by artists.⁸¹ The institutional backing for the Decennial display and the preponderance of Naturalist pictures in the exhibition would seem to support the common assumption that Naturalism and republican politics were enmeshed.⁸² The visions of the French Revolution on canvas, however, most of which were sympathetic to conservative viewpoints, complicate this narrative.

Studies of revolutionary commemoration during the Third Republic, many of which were published in anticipation of the Bicentennial of 1989, such as Brenda Nelms' *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789* and Pascal Ory's *Une nation pour mémoire*, emphasize that the political realities of 1889 necessitated representing the Revolution of 1789 as neutrally as possible.⁸³ Of the display on the Champ de Mars, Nelms wrote "The resulting hodgepodge, designed to meet the needs of the contemporary political crisis, was long on rhetoric and highly selective in its symbolism. But in spite of its eleventh-hour origins, the centennial of 1789 did faithfully reflect the policies and positions of the Opportunist regime and did exhibit a consistency of character and purpose."⁸⁴ She cites the *Exposition* planners' own words, as when the engineer Alphonse Alphand told his fellow organizers to play up "the unity of the nation in the eyes of the whole world gathered at the Universal Exposition."⁸⁵ The end result, Nelms proposes, was a fair designed to "entice conservative support while retaining that of the left."⁸⁶

⁸¹ Clark, "A Republic of the Arts," 121-22.

⁸² See Geneviève Lacambre, "Toward an Emerging Definition of Naturalism in French Nineteenth-Century Painting," in Gabriel P. Weisberg, ed. *The European Realist Tradition*, exh. cat. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), 237; Michael Orwicz, "Criticism and Representations of Brittany in the Early Third Republic," *Art Journal* 46, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 295; Orwicz, "The Representation of the Breton," 199; Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 106, 308; Marnin Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

⁸³ Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789*; Ory, *Une nation pour mémoire*.

⁸⁴ Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789*, 249.

⁸⁵ AN F12/3915, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. "Commissariat général des Fêtes de l'Exposition et du Centenaire de 1789, Commission de contrôle. Procès-verbal du 29 mars 1889," cited in Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789*, 251.

⁸⁶ Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789*, 254.

However, the paintings in the Decennial that actually probed what the Revolution meant in 1889 and which explored its symbolism most overtly were not discussed in Nelms and Ory's work. In this dissertation, the paintings themselves are the focal point and complicate the idea, via representations of the 10 August 1792 fall of the monarchy and the civil wars in the Vendée, that the Opportunist Revolution of 1889 was necessarily anodyne or politically straightforward.

In some ways, the Centennial of 1889 has been read like that of 1989, as commemorating, in Steven Kaplan's words, a "Revolution of quasi consensus."⁸⁷ In 1989, with the destruction of a republican form of government less probable than it had appeared a hundred years earlier, President François Mitterrand organized a parade featuring all regions of France alongside representatives of its former colonies. This tolerably multicultural scene predictably incensed the right, which the recently re-elected Mitterrand could afford to do.⁸⁸ He had just won a declarative presidential victory over Jacques Chirac's Rally for the Republic (*Rassemblement pour la République*) and leftist parties avenged their 1986 losses in the National Assembly. The Bicentennial festivities were a visual manifestation of Mitterrand's "A United France is on the March" campaign slogan, offering a fantasy of consensual republican universalism that eliminated all mention of the Terror and the brutality of French imperialism.⁸⁹

This confident Republic empowered a slate of historical writing about the French Revolution, from many viewpoints, led by François Furet, Lynn Hunt, Mona Ozouf, Linda Orr, Pierre Nora, Jean-Clément Martin and even fundamentally antirevolutionary writers like Simon

⁸⁷ Steven Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution: The Historian's Feud, France, 1789/1989* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1.

⁸⁸ Michael Leruth described the event as one of "palatable pluralism." Michael Leruth, "François Mitterrand's 'Festival of the World's Tribes': The Logic of Exoticism in the French Revolution Bicentennial Parade," *French Cultural Studies* 9, no. 25 (1998): 63.

⁸⁹ Steven Kaplan writes of the festivities shorn of explicit mention of 1793: "The Revolution that dominated the Bicentennial featured not the People-as-Actor engaged self-consciously if not autonomously in a struggle to avenge injustice, but the People-as-Discourse, filling a rhetorical power vacuum with its claims of kingly sovereignty in the language arena where politics took place." Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution*, 194.

Schama and entirely ahistorical writers like Reynald Secher.⁹⁰ The revisionist Furet emphasized the error of seeing the French Revolution through the prism of one's own politics when "nothing nor anyone is threatening the achievements of the French Revolution, for the Right has ceased, ever since the defeat of fascism, to define itself to opposition to the Revolution of 1789-94."⁹¹ As such he had little time for neo-'Jacobin', 'Marxist' ideology that insisted the Revolution still had "political stakes" after 1945.⁹² While decrying the idea that a historian of the French Revolution must "show his colors", Furet nevertheless acknowledged that there is no such thing as "'innocent' historical interpretation."⁹³ Throughout this study, I am open about my own politics as I do believe that representative democracy is under threat from rightwing, grievance-based politics and that there are useful echoes if not one-to-one comparisons in the politics of the Third Republic.

The revolutionary historiography of the Third Republic has been explored in depth by studies of the foundational histories of the Revolution published by Adolphe Thiers (1797-1877), Jules Michelet (1798-1874), Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), Alphonse Aulard (1849-1928), Albert

⁹⁰ Simon Schama, *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2004); Reynald Secher, *A French Genocide: The Vendée* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003). Important examples of this rich literature on the historiography of the French Revolution include: François Furet and Denis Richet, *La Révolution. 2 Du 9 Thermidor au 18 Brumaire* (Paris: Réalités Hachette, 1966); François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984-92); Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Linda Orr, *Headless History: Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Lynn Hunt, "Forgetting and Remembering: The French Revolution Then and Now," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1119-135; Lynn Hunt, "The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (February 2003): 1-19; Jean-Clément Martin, *La Vendée et la Révolution, Accepter la mémoire pour écrire l'histoire* (Paris: Perrin, 2007); Jeremy Ralph Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France Since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Joseph Tandler, "Alphonse Aulard Revisited," *European Review of History* 20, no. 4 (2013): 649-69; Guillaume Lancereau, "De raison et de mémoire. Écrire l'histoire de la Révolution française (1881-1939), vol. 1" (Ph.D diss., Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2020); Alan Forrest and Pierre Serna, "La Révolution française dans l'historiographie anglaise," *La Révolution française* 23 (2022): <http://journals.openedition.org/lrf/7012>.

⁹¹ Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 82.

⁹² Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 82.

⁹³ Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 1.

Sorel (1842-1906), and Albert Mathiez (1874-1923).⁹⁴ Guillaume Lancereau's recent dissertation analyzed these historians of the Third Republic as they hashed out their personal politics via writing about the French Revolution from 1881 to the outbreak of the Second World War.⁹⁵ Earlier, Linda Orr's *Headless History* built upon the Furetian concept that researchers of the French Revolution are always looking at their own moment rather than events after 1789. Nineteenth-century historians like Michelet, whether Romantic or Realist, theorized "the idea of evolution," a positivist attempt to connect all the eras of history that is less in vogue now.⁹⁶ In their popularity and in their refutations of one another, these texts fueled the continued divisiveness of the Revolution during the 1870s and 1880s. Michelet was particularly inspirational for the artists of the Third Republic, kept alive in spirit if not in body by public commemorations in 1876, 1882, and 1898.⁹⁷ His 1840s writing on the French Revolution was included in children's dictation exercises into the twentieth century. Indeed, the Opportunists celebrated the advent of the 1889 Centennial with a new edition of his *Histoire de la Révolution française*.⁹⁸ The Radical-Socialist paper *Le Radical* published this influential text in installments throughout the Centennial year, see for example the April 19, 1889 issue, which republished Book 1, April-July 1789 to give readers historical context for the early days of the Revolution in

⁹⁴ F.-A. Aulard, ed. *Catalogue des objets formant l'exposition historique de la Révolution française*, exh. cat. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, 1889); *La Société des Jacobins: Recueil de documents sur l'histoire des club des Jacobins de Paris*, 6 vols. (Paris: 1889–1897); *Recueil des Actes du comité de salut public*. 27 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895); Albert Mathiez, "Défense de Robespierre," *Annales Historiques de La Révolution Française* 1, no. 2 (March-April 1924): 97–114; Jules Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1952); Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, vol. 4, *Les limites naturelles, 1794-95* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1892); Hippolyte Taine, *Les Origines de la France contemporaine*, vol. 2, *La Révolution.—La Conquête jacobin* (Paris: Hachette, 1881).

⁹⁵ Lancereau, "De raison et de mémoire."

⁹⁶ Orr, *Headless History*, 8-9.

⁹⁷ Camille Creghton, "Commemorating Jules Michelet, 1876, 1882, 1898: The Productivity of Banality," *French History* 33, no. 3 (2019): 400.

⁹⁸ Creghton, "Commemorating Jules Michelet, 1876, 1882, 1898," 400.

anticipation of the *Exposition* opening in May.⁹⁹ The factions of the left were, equally, united in their passion for Michelet's evolutionary Revolution that tied the republicans of the nineteenth century to the goals of 1789. The expansive scholarship regarding the impact of nineteenth-century writing on our understanding of the Revolution enriches the present analysis, which adds to these debates by showing how they were transcribed onto canvas and employed in the service of political gain.

Designing the Decennial

Preparations for the Decennial began in August 1886, when two successive Ministers of Public Education and Fine Arts, Marcellin Berthelot (1827-1907), a trained chemist, and Eugène Spuller (1835-1896), a newspaper-editor-turned-politician, set out the ground rules in two decrees of August 2, 1886 and December 16, 1887.¹⁰⁰ When researching the bureaucratic planning of the 1889 *Exposition universelle*, it is in the relatively subtle appearance of new names on letterheads denoting leadership changes that the instability of the process is most apparent.¹⁰¹ Spuller's tenure from May 30 to December 12, 1887 coincided with the collapse of the Grévy government and the cabinet shuffles continued under President Sadi Carnot and his Prime Ministers; his successor Léopold Faye (1828-1900) had been in the job just four days

⁹⁹ "Histoire de la Révolution Française par J. Michelet: Livre premier Avril-Juillet 1789," *Le Radical*, no. 109 (April 19, 1889): unpaginated.

¹⁰⁰ Alfred Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général; Exploitation, services divers, régime financier et bilan de l'exposition*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), 36. The following documents confirm that Berthelot was Minister of Public Education and Fine Arts for the initial planning period: *Archives nationales. Décret et arrêté relatifs à l'organisation des archives nationales. (14-16 mai 1887.)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887). The departments of Public Instruction and Fine Arts were merged after the tenure of Antonin Proust as Minister of Fine Arts, a sign of how intertwined the Opportunists considered the arts and their political messaging.

¹⁰¹ AN F/12/3757, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine : "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). Documents généraux; Préparation de la loi du 6 juillet 1884 instituant l'exposition."

when the December 16, 1887 decree was issued.¹⁰² From April 3, 1888 to February 22, 1889, Édouard Lockroy (1838-1913), a Radical Republican working in concert with the Opportunists in power, took over this cabinet position and oversaw most of the Decennial planning from the government perspective. Armand Fallières (1841-1931), who is listed in the catalogue, was in the position from February 22, 1889 to March 17, 1890 and was therefore in place for the run of the Decennial.

A later decree of July 23, 1887 went so far as to name the government press corps of the *Exposition universelle*, headed by Adrien Hébrard (1833-1914), who was a Senator for la Haute-Garonne (centered on the republican hub of Toulouse) from 1879 to 1897, director of the newspaper *Le Temps*, and President of the Parisian Press Syndicate from 1886 to 1897. There was significant overlap between the editorial boards of media outlets in this period and representatives in the National Assembly, creating a symbiotic relationship between policy and communication about policy. *Le Temps*, a conservative republican daily, had such stature that the government even bribed them for positive coverage in 1889.¹⁰³ This ensured that the most Centennial-skeptical of republican voters at the very least were receiving messages to head to the Champ de Mars. Hébrard was joined by other republican journalists and the President of the Association of the Provincial Monarchic Press, in a sign of outreach beyond favorable outlets.¹⁰⁴ The overall infrastructure of experience and reception was carefully orchestrated by the

¹⁰² Carnot's Prime Ministers during the relevant time were Pierre Tirard from December 12, 1887 to April 1, 1888, Charles Floquet from April 3, 1888 to February 15, 1889, and Pierre Tirard again from February 23, 1889 to March 14, 1890. Faye served as Minister of Public Instruction, Worship, and Fine Arts between Spuller and Lockroy from December 12, 1887-April 2, 1888. Minister of Worship was a separate title from that of Public Instruction and Fine Arts that Faye held simultaneously.

¹⁰³ On the bribes, see Fulton, "The Boulanger Affair Revisited," 313; on the leanings of *Le Temps*, see Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France," 438.

¹⁰⁴ P. Barbe, "Par arrêté en date du 23 juillet 1887, sur la presentation des comités, des syndicats et associations de la presse française, le ministre du commerce et de l'industrie, a constitué comme suit le bureau de la commission de la presse à l'Expositon," *Journal officiel de la République française. Lois et décrets*, no. 199 (July 24, 1887): 3444-45.

Opportunists to prepare for an event which would ultimately welcome between 28-30 million visitors, at an average of 175,000 per day.¹⁰⁵ Initial estimates were that some 25,398,609 visited the Exposition of 1889, up considerably from 12,516,995 in 1878.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, there were 60,000 exhibitors, of which two thirds were French, though one French commentator maligned the “little Javanese people and the Egyptian newsboys” as “unserious.”¹⁰⁷ Internally, the Opportunists were seen to have designed a spectacle to heal “France, sick of politics, went to the Exposition as a remedy.”¹⁰⁸

From the Exposition catalogue of 1889, a vital source for this study, the list of government administrators is as follows (figs. 0.1a and b):¹⁰⁹

Government Administrators

Minister of Public Education and Fine Arts: M. [Clément Armand] Fallières, Deputy, Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts.

Office of Education and Museums

MM. Crost, Head; Trawinski, Deputy Head; Gruyer, Member of the Institut de France, Principal Inspector of Provincial Museums; Eugène Véron, Principal Inspector of Provincial Museums

Direction of Fine Arts

Director of Fine Arts: [Gustave Paul] Larroumet [1852-1903]

Relevant members of the Special Commission of Fine Arts:

- Antonin Proust (1832-1905), Deputy, former Minister of Arts 1881-1882, Special Commissioner
- Georges Hecq (1852-1903), Head of the Fine Arts and Civil Buildings departments at the Ministry of Public Education and Fine Arts, Deputy Special Commissioner

¹⁰⁵ Patrick Young, “From the Eiffel Tower to the Javanese Dancer: Envisioning Cultural Globalization at the 1889 Paris Exhibition,” *The History Teacher* 41, no. 3 (May 2008): 341.

¹⁰⁶ Adolphe Morillon, “Les resultats de l’Exposition,” *Le Correspondent* 157 (December 10, 1889): 782.

¹⁰⁷ Morillon, “Les resultats de l’Exposition,” 782.

¹⁰⁸ Morillon, “Les resultats de l’Exposition,” 809.

¹⁰⁹ *Catalogue général officiel de l’Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), I-II.

- Armand Dayot (1851-1934), Inspector of Fine Arts, Principal Inspector of the Retrospective Exhibition
- Roger Marx (1859-1913), Deputy Inspector of Fine Arts, Senior Inspector of the Retrospective Exhibition
- Henry Havard (1838-1921), Inspector of Fine Arts, Principal Inspector of the Decennial Exhibition (French section)
- Roger Ballu (1852-1908), Inspector of Fine Arts, Principal Inspector of the Decennial Exhibition (foreign section)
- Paul Delair (1842-1894), Curator of Exhibitions, responsible for the conservation of works of art
- Édouard Garnier (1840-1903), Head of Catalogue
- Pr  tet, Bisson, Glaudinont, delegate and assistant delegates for the placement of works (painting)...

From 1886, the government had considered leaving the Exposition organizing to private initiative, though with recent financial crashes due to business speculation, this was deemed risky; ultimately the government decided upon overseeing organization with the participation of some private partners.¹¹⁰ The first significant decision the government's preparatory Commission made, as far as affecting painting selection by the Decennial jury goes, was the selection of Antonin Proust as the Special Commissioner of Fine Arts; even though he was largely in charge of curating the Centennial Exhibition, Proust had jurisdiction over the whole of the fine arts display.¹¹¹ This included six separate exhibitions, of which the Decennial and the Centennial had to co-habitate. There was also a Retrospective Exhibition of French Art at the Trocad  ro, a display teaching the art of drawing, a showcase for the National Manufacturers, like Gobelins, and a Theatrical Exhibition.¹¹² Proust's influence, as alleged in the *Exposition* post-mortem penned by the engineer Alfred Picard (1844-1913), who was General Reporter for the 1889 *Exposition* and General Commissioner of the 1900 *Exposition*, was seen in final numbers for

¹¹⁰ F/12/3757, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine : "Commissariat g  n  ral. Exposition universelle de 1889    Paris (1876-1900). Documents g  n  raux; Pr  paration de la loi du 6 juillet 1884 instituant l'exposition."

¹¹¹ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889    Paris*, 36.

¹¹² Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889    Paris*, 36.

artistic selection.¹¹³ French submissions to the Decennial were created between 1878 and 1888 and had been shown previously at the annual Salons; they amounted to 2,955.¹¹⁴ For comparison, between 1880 and 1889, the average number of works shown at the Salon each year was 5,251, so the Decennial was about half the size of a Salon as it was originally conceived, giving it an air of exclusivity.¹¹⁵ However, the concept and the final result were quite different. The initial cut of works of art, ranging from painting to engraving, was 1,900 and this was raised to 2,777, of which 1,418 were oil paintings, after the submitted works were examined in person at the dépôt on the Palais des Champs-Élysées between January 5 and February 15, 1889.¹¹⁶ This amounted to a 94% chance of success if a work was submitted to the Decennial Exhibition. While 1,418 remains the “official” number in the *Exposition* catalogue and onsite, the works with ellipses bring the number of works eligible for medals up to 1,608. There were an additional 190 works in the final catalogue that the jury had not admitted presented with ellipses.¹¹⁷ Some remained as far afield as the United States, were not loaned by home institutions despite request letters with the government imprint, were immovable decorations, or were controversial in subject matter.¹¹⁸

In a boon to future historians, Proust restored the titles of these initially rejected works to the edition of the 1889 catalogue published through art publisher L. Danel of Lille, even though

¹¹³ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, 39.

¹¹⁴ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, 39.

¹¹⁵ Jones, “Resurrecting History,” 376.

¹¹⁶ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, 38-39.

¹¹⁷ *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, 1-56.

¹¹⁸ Édouard Detaille famously had many American collectors and many of them would not loan his paintings for the first world’s fair he could show in. “Les Envois du Salon et des Expositions: Décennales et Centennales,” *La Vie artistique*, no. 8 (February 24, 1889): 59. Puvis de Chavannes was on the jury and had no works on display because of his prominence as a painter of permanent decorations and unrelatable murals. The loan letters went out on Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts letterhead and were signed by the Director of Fine Arts, which at the time of the Exposition was Gustave Larroumet. F/21/4057/A-B, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. “Archives du Commissariat spécial des expositions des Beaux-Arts, correspondance; a) correspondance de M. Antonin Proust, commissaire spécial, 3 janvier 1888-29 novembre 1889.” *Travaux d’art, musées et expositions*. 1^{er} et 2^e volumes, (XIXe-XXe siècles): Paris, exposition universelle, groupe I Beaux-Arts.

many did not make a physical appearance onsite.¹¹⁹ Some of these ‘rejects’ had revolutionary themes and will be the subject of Chapter Four. If the works were presented in the catalogue with an ellipsis rather than an exhibition number, it was the signifier that they were not viewable at the Palace of Fine Arts on the Champ de Mars. In a compromise with the aesthetically conservative Decennial jury, Proust was successful in restoring the right of controversial artists to earn awards, though not to exhibit in the Palace of Fine Arts.¹²⁰ The revolutionary paintings with an ellipsis were not hung in the final Decennial display, I argue, because their content did not fit the politically incongruous but acceptably bloodless visions of the Revolution on display. Marat’s assassination, Joseph Bara’s murder, and the clearing of the Vendée, for example, remained polarizing issues a century on from their initial events.

Another pressure this oversight exerted upon the Decennial jury was in guiding its election process and determining that artists were restricted to a maximum of ten paintings. They had to submit a list between May 1 to 15, 1888, with works not accepted in the first round to be reconsidered in January 1889.¹²¹ The elections for the jury, presided over by the Ministry of Fine Arts, took place on April 14, 1888 at the Palace of the Champs-Élysées and the electors of the final jury came from a select group.¹²² Half the jury was chosen by members of the Academy of

¹¹⁹ L. Danel of Lille had a history of printing comprehensive volumes like *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle* by Baron Roger Portalis and Henri Bérardi. See their advertisement in *Catalogue général officiel de l'exposition universelle de 1889*, vols. 3-4, where they list their status as the official catalogue maker for not only the 1889 Exposition, but specifically for the Decennial. They won a gold medal at the Exposition of 1878. *Catalogue général officiel de l'exposition universelle de 1889*, vols. 3-4 (Lille: L. Danel, 1889), unpaginated. Édouard Garnier, who is listed within the catalogue as being the Head of the Catalogue Service but not listed as an author, was the author of a noted book on Sèvres porcelain. Édouard Garnier, *La porcelaine tendre de Sèvres* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1889).

¹²⁰ The post-mortem of the 1889 *Exposition*, penned by Alfred Picard, alleged that Proust made the decision to restore works the Decennial jury had rejected to eligibility for medals, even as the works remained outside the Champ de Mars. Alfred Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général; Exploitation, services divers, régime financier et bilan de l'exposition*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), 39.

¹²¹ “Avis aux Exposants français et étrangers pour l’admission de leurs ouvrages; L’Exposition universelle de 1889,” *L’Universelle exposition de 1889 illustrée*, no. 8 (May 15, 1889): 6.

¹²² Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, 38.

Fine Arts and the other half was chosen by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts.¹²³

The paintings' jury electors, as announced jointly by Marcellin Berthelot and Édouard Lockroy on April 1, 1887, were comprised of just 45 members, with another 30 added to this number to choose the drawings jury, representing France's officially recognized artistic elite.¹²⁴ They were "member artists of the Institute, decorated with the Legion of Honor for their works or having received the great Prix de Rome, or the Salon prize, or a travel bursary, or a medal at the annual Salons."¹²⁵ The commentator Adolphe Morillon noted that all those who elected the jury "lived in Paris or in that general area: they knew each other; they are therefore in a position to choose their judges wisely," demonstrating a firm belief in centralizing decisions in Paris, the hub of not only cultural but government power.¹²⁶ With these standards in place, there was significant overlap between the electors and the final jury, with but a few deviations.¹²⁷ Additionally, there was not only correlation between being on the admissions jury and the paintings jury but also between being in both bodies and receiving the maximum ten submissions.¹²⁸

In the end, the jury members (figs. 0.2a and b), led by Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891) and William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905), were as follows:

Decennial Painting Jury Members

Bureau

- Ernest Meissonier, artist-painter, member of the Institut de France, President
- William-Adolphe Bouguereau, artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France, Vice-President
- Tony Robert-Fleury (1837-1911), artist-painter, Reporter

¹²³ Marcellin Berthelot and Édouard Lockroy, "Jury d'Admission de l'Exposition nationale des Beaux-Arts en 1889," *L'Universelle exposition de 1889 illustrée*, no. 5 (April 1, 1887): 2-3.

¹²⁴ The jury of paintings likewise chose the drawings to be shown. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, III.

¹²⁵ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris*, 38.

¹²⁶ Morillon, "Les resultats de l'Exposition," 789.

¹²⁷ Berthelot and Lockroy, "Jury d'Admission de l'Exposition nationale des Beaux-Arts en 1889," 2.

¹²⁸ *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, 1-56.

- Ferdinand Humbert (1842-1934), artist-painter, Secretary

Members of the Paintings Jury

- Arago (Étienne) (1802-1892), Curator of the Musée du Luxembourg
- Barrias [Félix-Joseph] (1822-1907), artist-painter
- Benjamin-Constant, [Jean-Joseph] (1845-1902), artist-painter
- Bernier [Camille] (1823-1902), artist-painter
- Bonnat [Léon] (1833-1922), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Breton (Jules) (1827-1906), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Busson (Charles) (1822-1908), artist-painter
- Cabat [Louis-Nicolas] (1812-1893), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Carolus-Duran (1837-1917), artist-painter
- Cazin [Jean-Charles] (1840-1901), artist-painter
- Cormon [Fernand] (1845-1924), artist-painter
- Dagnan-Bouveret [Pascal] (1852-1929), artist-painter
- Delaunay [Jules-Élie] (1828-1891), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Detaille [Édouard] (1848-1912), artist-painter
- Duez [Ernest Ange] (1843-1896), artist-painter
- Français [Louis] (1814-1897), artist-painter
- Gérôme [Jean-Léon] (1824-1904), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Gervex [Henri] (1852-1929), artist-painter
- Harpignies [Henri] (1819-1916), artist-painter
- Havard (Henry) (1838-1921), Fine Arts Inspector
- Hébert [Antoine Auguste Ernest] (1817-1908), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Henner [Jean-Jacques] (1829-1905), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Laurens (J[ean]-P[aul]) (1838-1921), artist-painter
- Lefebvre (J[ules]-[Joseph]) (1836-1911), artist-painter
- Lenepveu [Jules-Eugène] (1819-1898), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Mantz (Paul) (1821-1895), Honorary General Director of Fine Arts
- Michel (André) (1853-1925), art critic and art historian
- Moreau (Gustave) (1826-1898), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Müller [Charles Louis] (1815-1892), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Pelouse [Léon Germain] (1838-1891), artist-painter
- Proust (Antonin), Deputy, former Minister of Arts
- Puvis de Chavannes [Pierre] (1824-1898), artist-painter
- Robert-Fleury, (J[oseph]-N[icolas]) (1797-1890), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Roll [Alfred] (1846-1919), artist-painter
- Signol [Émile] (1804-1892), artist-painter, Member of the Institut de France
- Vayson [Paul] (1841-1911), artist-painter
- Vollon (Antoine) (1833-1900), artist-painter

The display in the 1889 Palace of Fine Arts was divided into the Decennial and Centennial Exhibitions with the former broken up into small chambers and the latter under the main dome (figs. 0.3a and b). The organizing committees for the two exhibitions within the Palace of Fine Arts had divergent approaches to both the display of art and what should be displayed, and these disagreements spilled out into the press. The Decennial jury leaders Meissonier and Bouguereau shared their discontent with the Centennial organizer Proust in one joint press conference and it was known that they resented the whole Centennial due to its lack of commercial value for living artists.¹²⁹ Individual artists who complained to the government found that government administrators were sure to pin decisions on the jury. *L'Universelle exposition de 1889*, published by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to promote the fair and state the government view on various related issues, denied that Georges Berger (1834-1910), an engineer and progressive republican in charge of operations for the 1889 *Exposition*, could overrule the jury once the sections had designated spaces to one another in the Palace of Fine Arts.¹³⁰

However there were exceptions to this stated non-intervention tactic, as highlighted when Édouard Detaille, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Henri Harpignies, and François-Louis Français petitioned the government successfully to be placed on the paintings jury, on the grounds that the Salons had belonged to the artists since 1880 and the Decennial should too.¹³¹ See, also, the engraver Vaudet's open letter to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts regarding the awards glut and the "incompetence" of the jury, in which he rejected his silver medal outright,

¹²⁹ Constance Cain Hungerford, "Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts," *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 75.

¹³⁰ Berger's official title was General Director of Operations of the *Exposition universelle*. "Avis aux Exposants français et étrangers pour l'admission de leurs ouvrages; L'Exposition universelle de 1889," *L'Universelle exposition de 1889 illustrée*, no. 8 (May 15, 1889): 6. This outlet was published twice a month from 1886-1888, through all the planning of the fair.

¹³¹ "File 890042. Exposition universelle de 1889, Petition." Getty Special Collections Library, Malibu, California, cited in Clark, "A Republic of the Arts," 121.

choosing to tell the government rather than the jury.¹³² The jury members did go to government overseers when they had complaints and the government did intervene, as when they issued a decree on March 31, 1889, overriding regional museums' concerns about having gaps on their walls during a peak time for tourists as a direct response to Proust borrowing the *Coronation of Napoleon* by Jacques-Louis David from Versailles.¹³³ The final word was that the *Exposition universelle* took precedence. The curatorial differences within the Decennial ranged from complaints about encroachment on the Decennial's physical space, with Meissonier lamenting that due to Proust's partitions, "There will be rooms no more than three meters wide among those reserved for Decennial works; It is insufficient," to attacks on Proust's desire to have restaurants (and therefore open flames) near the art.¹³⁴

Hippolyte Blancard's (1843-1924) photographs of the Palais des Beaux-Arts show the similarity in the overall layouts between the two exhibitions. The Centennial Exhibition was granted a central position under the building's main dome while the Decennial was split between the *rez-de-chaussée* and first floor. In one image of the mezzanine works displayed directly under the dome for the Centennial Exhibition, Blancard showed how individual works of art were arranged in alphabetical order by artist, sometimes stacked one above the other, but never skied to diminish the power or status of a work and its creator (Fig. 0.4). Blancard's photographs of the wings to which the Decennial was relegated make plain how sculpture dominated the

¹³² "Chronique de l'Exposition," *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (October 5, 1889): unpaginated.

¹³³ On the Versailles controversy and the decree see, respectively, Laurent Just, "Petit Courrier de l'Exposition Universelle," *Journal des artistes*, no. 22 (June 2, 1889): 173-74 and Léon Palustre, "Concours et Expositions: Exposition universelle," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, no. 22 (June 1, 1889): 170-73. The art critic Paul Marmottan (1856-1932) wrote to the Director of Musées nationaux Albert Kaempfen (1826-1907), himself a member of the Sculpture and Metal Engraving jury, that he told Antonin Proust why he believed it was dangerous to transport David's *Coronation of Napoleon* and Gros' *Louis XVII Leaving the Tuileries* to the *Exposition universelle*. The government ultimately publicly sided with Proust. 20144790/130, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine. Archives des musées nationaux, Département des peintures du musée du Louvre (série P). volume 15 (sous-série P21). "1889, 21 février." 1871-1900.

¹³⁴ "Beaucoup de Bruit pour Rien," *La Vie artistique*, no. 13 (March 31, 1889): 98-99.

space, despite the painting specialties of the Decennial jury leaders. A photograph of the Galerie Rapp, the hub of the sculpture display, taken from the upper floor of the Decennial (Fig. 0.5) is mostly populated by white plaster casts, which in their light-reflective tones draw the light from the skylight ceiling above.

In the alcoves created by the surrounding balconies, protected from the light destructive to their conservation, the paintings of the Decennial were mounted on partial walls of varied size to accommodate the breadth of paintings large and small. In Blancard's photographs, however, they are all dwarfed by the immense scale of their environment, giving Meissonier and Bouguereau plenty to grumble about. The spats over curatorial issues were ultimately, as the reporters who attended the press conference put it, "Much ado about nothing."¹³⁵ Proust spoke to the building's architect Jean-Camille Formigé (1845-1926) shortly after the Decennial leaders threatened to postpone their opening until June and had the partitions designed to limit museum fatigue in such a cavernous space repositioned. However, the resentment stemmed from more profound aesthetic concerns, from the forced jumble of Naturalist and anti-academic pictures that left some critics confused and the Decennial organizers fuming. Meissonier made his hierarchy of styles, and his objection to the mixing of works from different periods, explicit, telling the press that he had taken the following concerns straight to the top of the Opportunist government: "M. Carnot [the President] himself agreed with me that the idea of exhibiting old works alongside modern works was not a happy one. This is also the opinion of Mr. Tirard [the Prime Minister and Minister of Commerce and Industry]."¹³⁶

Not all critics agreed that the Decennial and the Centennial exhibition were necessarily opposed. Durand-Tahier's positive review of the Decennial proposed that it was "the follow up

¹³⁵ "Beaucoup de Bruit pour Rien," *La Vie artistique*, 98-99.

¹³⁶ "Beaucoup de Bruit pour Rien," *La Vie artistique*, 98-99.

and the conclusion of the Centennial Salon, and the last chapter of the history of art of the nineteenth century. Courbet's and Manet's two-pronged attempt was realised. The Naturalist movement became widespread, and the depiction of modern life in its true light became the constant goal of contemporary artists."¹³⁷ This was, not coincidentally, also the official line about the Decennial. The party organ, *Journal officiel de la République française*, wrote that:

The French painting of the last ten years was subject to the formidable comparison of the Centennial Exhibition, which was largely composed of works by the century's greatest masters. This comparison only served to show, in our contemporary masters, the worthy successors of their illustrious predecessors, and universal admiration proclaimed the continuity with which French art continues its noble traditions, and the courage with which it opens up new paths.¹³⁸

Evidently, the Opportunists believed that the Naturalist paintings of the Decennial held up to the standard of the French canon and played a central role in the *Exposition*.

Durand-Tahier refuted the idea that "*grande peinture*" was in a "state of decay" solely because history painters had adapted to the visual vocabulary of their time whilst remaining rooted to the models of "our Latin civilization." In the physical environment within the Palace of Fine Arts, however, the Decennial was forced to contend with large sculpture casts and its elevation of Naturalism was sidelined in favor of the Centennial's eclectic mélange of France's artistic heritage and future. It was the last major display of academic artists in union against the

¹³⁷ Durand-Tahier, "Exposition universelle de 1889: L'Exposition décennale française (1878-1889)," 4215.

¹³⁸ "Partie non officielle: Paris, 29 septembre 1889," *Journal officiel de la République française. Lois et décrets*, no. 264 (September 30, 1889): 4854.

wide range of outlets for exhibiting new work in the late-nineteenth century. In 1890, Meissonier would lead a revolt against the established *Société des artistes français* (SAF) over the extent to which artists should cater to public tastes; the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 was his breaking point.¹³⁹ He inaugurated the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (SNBA) which privileged aesthetics over commercial viability.¹⁴⁰ One wonders how, given that Meissonier inaugurated a breakaway faction that put him at direct odds with his Decennial Vice-President William-Adolphe Bouguereau, the two managed to keep Decennial matters and the schism underway separate in their minds. The Decennial jury president had believed the inflated number of medals awarded to French artists in 1889 would highlight the cultural supremacy of French Naturalist painters and advocated for the 493 award recipients, of whom 73 were French, being treated as *hors concours* for the annual Salons.¹⁴¹

Bouguereau disagreed strongly with both the number of awards and that the *Exposition universelle* honorees deserved the same status as Salon medalists, who no longer had to vie for the jury's approval. In July 1889, he went public about his feeling that Meissonier hadn't taken his input into account and accused the jury President of altering the voting outcomes to suit his own tastes, resulting in "defective" medaling.¹⁴² Artists were, according to *La Revue des Beaux-Arts*, broadly apoplectic about the cheapening of their rewards.¹⁴³ "There was," *Le Journal des débats* argued in their June 13, 1889 issue, "not one artist participating in the Decennial exhibition who didn't receive a medal or an honorable mention...it's a simple diploma, since

¹³⁹ Marie Jeannine Aquilino, "The Decorating Campaigns at the Salon Du Champ-de-Mars and the Salon Des Champs-Élysées in the 1890s," *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 78.

¹⁴⁰ Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State the Early Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 112.

¹⁴¹ *Hors concours* status meant artists did not have to seek admission from Salon juries, they were simply eligible to exhibit. Hungerford, "Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts," 71-72.

¹⁴² "M. Bouguereau et le Jury de l'Exposition," *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 218-19.

¹⁴³ The editor of the journal Henry Hamel described the "indignation" as a "paroxysm," or violent outburst. Henry Hamel, "La Fin de Médailles: Meissonier et son jury," *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 193-94.

they decided to not hand out a single medal made of actual metal.”¹⁴⁴ As evidence of Meissonier’s “smallness of spirit” and dishonesty, the critic Henry Hamel alleged, Adolphe Yvon (1817-1893), Léon Comerre (1850-1916), Diogène Maillart (1840-1926), and Alexandre Desgoffe (1805-1882) refused their awards altogether.¹⁴⁵ In a particularly bombastic headline, Hamel declared it the “End of Medals.”¹⁴⁶ With some 38,300 out of 52,835 “serious” exhibitors—presumably not the performers in the human zoos and non-Western exhibitions—winning awards, those who weren’t honored would have stood out more.¹⁴⁷ The list of medalists was so extensive that to save space only artists’ names were listed rather than rewarded works.¹⁴⁸

Less than a year after the world’s fair, Meissonier created the SNBA following a December 1889 vote against his plan to honor the *Exposition* awardees. Meissonier’s pride was ridiculed in a faux-play written for *La Revue des Beaux-Arts*, where his vanity was epitomized in the character Meissonniella, whom the audience caught preening “in the mirror, trying on a crown of gold enriched with gemstones” and demanding that he be referred to as “Majesty.”¹⁴⁹ The real Meissonier was proud of his work at the Decennial, however, and held the SNBA’s first exhibition in the very same Palace of Fine Arts, replete with the same dignitaries who had opened the *Exposition*.¹⁵⁰ Patricia Mainardi dates the collapse of the system that bolstered Naturalism to earlier in the 1880s, following the withdrawal of state support for the official Salon after 1880, while Marie Aquilino chalks up the schism between the SAF and SNBA to market

¹⁴⁴ Cited in “Exposition Universelle de 1889: Les Médailles des Beaux-Arts,” *Courrier de l’art*, no. 29 (July 19, 1889): 228.

¹⁴⁵ These artists had all received many awards over the course of their careers. Hamel, “La Fin de Médailles,” 193-94.

¹⁴⁶ Hamel, “La Fin de Médailles,” 193.

¹⁴⁷ Morillon, “Les resultats de l’Exposition,” 787.

¹⁴⁸ “Petit Courrier de l’Exposition Universelle,” *Journal des artistes*, no. 28 (July 14, 1889): 221-22.

¹⁴⁹ “Un Jury de Peinture à l’Exposition universelle de X*** (Amérique du Sud); Deux petits actes,” *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 213-18.

¹⁵⁰ Hungerford, “Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts,” 74.

forces.¹⁵¹ The aftermath of the Decennial of 1889 was the likely outcome earlier events had presaged, but it was also the last united stand of Naturalist painting, which was as representative of modern art in its time as the works present in the Centennial.

In Proust's display, Monet's "blue whips" and Ingres' smooth surfaces coexisted with fourteen Manets and notably, no nudes by the late predominant figure of academic painting, Alexandre Cabanel (1823-1889), though his many students were featured in the Decennial.¹⁵² Cabanel had sat on the admissions panel for the paintings jury and would surely have voted himself for the jury had ill health not intervened. What is even more confusing is that after he passed away in January 1889 during the jury's work, none of his paintings of the 1880s made it into the final Decennial selection. This was scarcely an oversight, as Meissonier and Bouguereau were open about promoting the current 'French School' in contrast to Proust. Proust had been a former Minister of Arts under the leftist Gambetta government from 1881-1882 and his personal tastes skewed anti-academic.

Proust's goal for the Centennial exhibition was to show a supposed evolution of French art from the Davidian school to the work of his childhood friend Manet and the Impressionists.¹⁵³ While the conservative Musée du Luxembourg lent thirty-five paintings to the Decennial exhibition, including Detaille's (1848-1912) *The Dream* (Fig. 3.17), which blended the artist's personal favor for Boulangist revanchism with republican *fraternité* (as will be discussed in Chapter Three), Proust borrowed just three paintings from their holdings for the Centennial.¹⁵⁴ He also overruled Meissonier and Bouguereau regarding the aforementioned inappropriate works

¹⁵¹ Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 1; Aquilino, "The Decorating Campaigns at the Salon Du Champ-de-Mars and the Salon Des Champs-Élysées in the 1890s," 78.

¹⁵² A. Pallier, "Exposition universelle: Beaux-arts; Les Collections d'art au Champ de Mars," *La Liberté* (August 24, 1889): 1-2.

¹⁵³ Clark, "A Republic of the Arts," 124-26.

¹⁵⁴ Clark, "A Republic of the Arts," 122, 126.

that were denied a final place in the Decennial. Though these paintings remained outside of the Palace of Fine Arts, Proust had their titles printed in the final exhibition catalogue so that they could be considered for honors.

Curatorially, the Decennial had touches of Meissonier's firm hand, including exhibiting all the works at eye-level (*sur la cimaise*), not just those by the most highly regarded artists or the ones with a seat on the jury.¹⁵⁵ The Decennial had 3,400 m² of picture rail (the literal translation of *cimaise*) reserved for the artworks exhibited between the Galerie Rapp and the dome of the Palace of Fine Arts.¹⁵⁶ This method was first used during the Triennial of 1883. According to Mainardi, that was the first time this "spacious installation" style, now the norm in exhibitions, was used.¹⁵⁷ This stood in contrast to the 2,123 m² granted for the entirety of the foreign artists' display; the space granted to the French School alone made a statement.¹⁵⁸ Camille Debans' guide claimed the Decennial was evidence of the "superiority of our artists."¹⁵⁹ Even when Proust intervened to merge paintings by the same artist onto a single panel, something which can be seen in Blancard's photos and looks more cluttered than the average modern exhibition, the result was a feeling of being overwhelmed by Naturalist art.¹⁶⁰ As the Decennial unfolded, Bouguereau's main contention with the display was not with Proust, who let him have a work in the Centennial exhibition, but with Meissonier, whom Bouguereau claimed demoted his works "to immediately under the ceiling...abusing the picture-rail against him."¹⁶¹ Whether an artist specialized in genre or history painting, generally thought to be on opposite

¹⁵⁵ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général*, 103.

¹⁵⁶ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général*, 103.

¹⁵⁷ Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 108, 111.

¹⁵⁸ Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général*, 103.

¹⁵⁹ Debans, *Les Coulisses de l'Exposition*, 179.

¹⁶⁰ For reporting on Proust's curating, see Armand Dayot, "Les Beaux-arts aux Champ de Mars," *Le Figaro*, no. 20 (May 18, 1889): 77-79.

¹⁶¹ "M. Bouguereau et le Jury de l'Exposition," *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 218.

ends of the academic hierarchy, their canvases were given the same platform in the Decennial. This display further supports the idea that the multiple revolutionary histories on display were, from a curatorial perspective at least, considered equal.

My sample set of sixteen revolutionary paintings are as follows, with those not shown in the Palace of Fine Arts presented with an ellipsis, as they are in the catalogue:

The Revolutionary Paintings of the Decennial Exhibition of 1889

1. **Barrias, Félix-Joseph (student of Léon Cogniet; Prix de Rome) —no. 42, *Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal;--12 July 1789* [belongs to M. Chevalier, Salon of 1888] (Fig. 1.1)**
2. **Berteaux, Hippolyte-Dominique (student of Hippolyte Flandrin, Jalland, and Baudry)—no. 97, *Assassination Attempt on General Hoche* [Musée de Rennes, Salon of 1885] (Fig. 0.6)**
3. **Bloch, Alexandre (student of Bastien-Lepage and Gérôme)—no. 130, *Defense of Rochefort-en-Terre* (Musée de Quimper, Salon of 1885) (Fig. 2.22)**
4. **Bloch, Alexandre (student of Bastien-Lepage and Gérôme)—no. 131, *The Chapel of Madeleine in Malestroit* (Musée de Quimper, Salon of 1886) (Fig. 0.7)**
5. **Bloch, Alexandre (student of Bastien-Lepage and Gérôme)—no. 132, *Death of General Beaupuy* (Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Salon of 1888) (Fig. 2.12)**
6. **Cain, Georges-Jules-Auguste (student of Cabanel and Detaille)—no. 245, *The Bust of Marat, at Piliers-des-Halles* (belongs to M. A. Cruse, Salon of 1880) (Fig. 4.13)**
7. **Coëssin de La Fosse (A. Charles) (student of Picot)—no. 319, *The Mass of the Dead in Morbihan* (Fig. 0.8)**
8. **(...) Coëssin de La Fosse (A. Charles) (student of Picot)—*Hoche's Scouts; the Disarming of the Vendée* (Musée de Carcassonne) (Fig. 0.9)**
9. **Delanoy (Hippolyte-Pierre) (student of Gleyre, Barrias, Bonnat, and Vollon)—no. 416, *The Table of Citoyen Carnot* (belongs to M. Picart, Salon of 1881) (Fig. 0.10)**
10. **Detaille (Edouard) (student of Meissonier)—no. 466, *The Dream* (Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, Salon of 1888) (Fig. 3.17)**
11. **Dupain (Edouard-Louis) (student of Cabanel)—no. 514, *The Girondins Pétion and Buzot, the evening of 30 Prairial* (Musée de Libourne, Salon of 1880) (Fig. 1.14)**
12. **Le Blant (Julien)—no. 873, *The Square Battalion* (2nd class medal, Salon of 1880) (Fig. 2.2)**
13. **Le Blant (Julien)—no. 874, *Execution of Charette* (Salon of 1883) (Fig. 2.1)**
14. **Réalier-Dumas (Maurice) (student of Gérôme)—no. 1177, *Bonaparte at the Tuileries, 10 August 1792* (Salon of 1888) (Fig. 3.5)**
15. **(...) Weerts (Jean-Joseph)—*Assassination of Marat* (Musée d'Evreux, Salon of 1880) (Fig. 4.1)**

16. (...) Weerts (Jean-Joseph)—*Death of Bara* (At the Palais d'Elysée, Salon of 1883)
(Fig. 4.2)

While I illustrate all these works, bolded above are the works that I discuss at length in this dissertation. My selection of eleven out of these sixteen pictures for extended discussion stems from several criteria, beyond my desire to highlight works of art that have lacked in scholarly attention. My first benchmark for selection was contemporaneous interest, which demonstrates how these paintings were interpreted in the 1880s on their first outings, if not during the Decennial itself. Since there were around 1,600 paintings in the Decennial, works of art received scant individual attention in 1889, though sometimes my examples would be highlighted as standouts in their “rooms” in the Decennial.¹⁶² I have drawn extensively upon the Salon criticism of the 1880s to outline where consensus about the reception of these works by art critics may be found. Those that stimulated a vibrant discussion over the politics of the French Revolution in the 1880s, such as Julien Le Blant’s Vendée scenes (figs. 2.1 and 2.2) and Jean-Joseph Weerts’ republican martyrs Bara (Fig. 4.2) and Marat (Fig. 4.1), received the most column inches and provided the most substantial evidence for my thesis.

The choices of the exhibition jury have also determined the organization of my research; I began my project researching counterrevolutionary commemoration since nine—over half—of the revolutionary pictures I identified were scenes of the Vendée Wars.¹⁶³ The royalist leader Charette, and especially Julien Le Blant’s painting of the prelude to his execution in 1796 (Fig. 2.1) form the focus of Chapter Two. The painting and Charette’s memory have had a long

¹⁶² The journalist Camille Debans’ guide to the Exposition took the time to praise Le Blant and Félix-Joseph Barrias. Debans, *Les Coulisses de l’Exposition*, 180-81. Le Blant and Alexandre Bloch were also cited by *Le Figaro* in the Decennial. E. De Mandat-Grancey, “Les Beaux-Arts au Champs de Mars: Section française—Exposition decennale,” *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire du Dimanche*, no. 20 (May 18, 1889): 77-79. *Paris-exposition: Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: A. Colin, 1889), is also a good source for which works are in which Decennial rooms.

¹⁶³ Thomson identified that nine Vendée pictures were shown in the Decennial but did not elaborate or contrast that with how many revolutionary works there were overall. Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 64.

afterlife in counterrevolutionary and conservative politics, even as the painting itself remains in the private collection of the Charette family. Although I am indebted to the research of Jean-Clément Martin on the cultural memory and history of the Vendée, Le Blant's contribution to building memories of the Vendée remained untapped from an art historical perspective.¹⁶⁴ Le Blant's peer Alexandre Bloch also painted the Vendée, but avoided the canonical figures Le Blant specialized in. His three Vendée paintings (figs. 2.12, 2.22, 0.7) on display at the Decennial mostly focused on the foot soldiers, except for his painting of General Beaupuy, which I propose as a republican balance to Charette. Less relevant in this context was Le Blant's *The Chapel of Madeleine in Malestroit* (Fig. 0.7), although it may provide evidence for Thomson's assertion that artists who painted the Vendée in the Third Republic were processing the trauma of the Franco-Prussian War (Bloch's only known paintings depict either the Vendée or the Franco-Prussian War).¹⁶⁵

As to the Vendée artists I do not discuss in greater depth, Charles-Alexandre Coëssin de La Fosse (figs. 0.8 and 0.9) and Hippolyte Berteaux (Fig. 0.6) play a lesser role here for different reasons. Coëssin de La Fosse offered easily consumable scenes of Breton piety and republican troops that were scarcely commented upon by art critics, perhaps because his rendition of the theme was more banal. I also wrote about just one painting known only via engraving, Georges Cain's *The Bust of Marat, at Piliers-des-Halles* (Fig. 4.13), which was possible because Cain was a more widely discussed artist whose other artworks gave me a sense of his intentions.

Assassination Attempt on General Hoche by Hippolyte Berteaux (Fig. 0.6) is sadly in extremely

¹⁶⁴ In an anthology of essays from the Charette execution bicentenary conference, Julien Le Blant was misidentified as "Maurice Le Blant" and his painting is cited as having been created for the centennial of 1896. It was however painted in 1883. Docteur Jacques-Marie Suard, "Marie-Anne Charrette," in Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, eds. *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque* (Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996), 151. It is the only mention of the painting in this volume.

¹⁶⁵ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 65.

poor condition and I was unfortunately not able to see it in storage at the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes. The image offers the most startling and depressing evidence of Naturalism's posthumous status in museum collections.

One final image I do not discuss at length, *The Table of Citizen Carnot* by Hippolyte-Pierre Delanoy (Fig. 0.10), is something of an outlier, although it provides a transition to the non-Vendée images. It sold at auction on April 29, 2022, appearing to the public well after I had selected my images. It is a portrait of a revolutionary bureaucrat sans a human body; the revolutionary member of the Committee of Public Safety Lazare Carnot (1753-1823) is represented only by a black hat surmounted by red, white, and blue plumes. Beyond that, the table is covered in papers which, if the sole available image was of sufficiently high resolution, could no doubt be mined for further information the way scholars have done with other revolutionary letters in painting.¹⁶⁶

However, looking at the painting alongside other works by Delanoy demonstrates that despite the subject matter the artist saw this painting of Carnot's bureau more as a still life exercise than a foray into politics.¹⁶⁷ Many of the depicted objects were lent by Lazare Carnot's son, Lazare Hippolyte Carnot (1801-1888), including the knife and the telescope, while others were lent by museums and archives.¹⁶⁸ Edmond Turquet (1836-1914), the Undersecretary of Public Education and Fine Arts many times over, purchased it for Lazare Carnot's grandson, the Opportunist President Sadi Carnot.¹⁶⁹ While the political information can be found in periodicals,

¹⁶⁶ This is a popular approach with David's *Marat*, see Helen Weston, "The Corday-Marat Affair: No Place for a Woman," in William Vaughan and Helen Weston, eds. *David's The Death of Marat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 133-35.

¹⁶⁷ Many Delanoy still lifes have come up for auction in the past thirty years. <https://www.artnet.com/artists/hippolyte-pierre-delanoy/>.

¹⁶⁸ *Collection de Mr. X et à Divers amateurs* (Paris: Digard Auction, Hôtel Drouot, April 29, 2022), 38.

¹⁶⁹ Provenance from the sales catalogue. The painting was in the Carnot family until the 2022 sale. *Collection de Mr. X et à Divers amateurs*, 38. Turquet encouraged artists to paint for the Republic as Undersecretary of Public

the image appears to suffer from the obsession with archeological detail sans message that art critics often decried in *genre historique*.

The Decennial in Context: Arriving at the *Exposition universelle*

How did viewers encounter these paintings? Entering the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 from the Pont d'Iéna gave visitors the first glimpse of contrasts to come. The banks of the Seine along the northside of the fairgrounds were bedecked with French versions of foreign historical architecture designed by Charles Garnier, architect of the Paris Opéra, rather than creators descended from the represented cultures.¹⁷⁰ Engraved plates of Garnier's versions of Russian, African, and Asian dwellings were compiled into a tome for the avid collector of world's fair memorabilia. Featuring descriptions by Belgian architect Frantz Jourdain, who would go on to design Paris' Art Nouveau department store *La Samaritaine*, the text described an evolution of architecture in keeping with the age of social Darwinism.¹⁷¹ The cover page (Fig. 0.11) employed a crude compare-and-contrast visual paradigm of French technological and cultural supremacy that would prove a continuous theme throughout the centennial year. The so-called "primitive" "troglodyte" dwelling seen on the righthand side of the cover is a basic mortise-and-tenon-joint construction as seen at Stonehenge; while sturdy, its lintels and posts scarcely meet the need for human comforts, barely providing insulation from extreme weather.¹⁷² Garnier's

Instruction and Fine Arts from February 5-December 28, 1879 (Waddington government), December 28, 1879-September 22, 1880 (Freycinet government), September 23, 1880-November 13, 1881 (Ferry government), April 11, 1885-January 6, 1886 (Freycinet government). For example he acquired multiple images of Joseph Bara for the State, including that of Jean-Joseph Weerts. Jean-Clément Martin, "Bara, de l'imaginaire révolutionnaire à la mémoire nationale," in *Révolution et Contre-Révolution en France 1789-1989* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1996), 79-98.

¹⁷⁰ Nils Müller-Scheeßel, "Fair Prehistory: archaeological exhibits at French Expositions Universelles," *Antiquity* 75, no. 288 (June 2001): 391-401.

¹⁷¹ See Frantz Jourdain, *Constructions élevées au Champ de Mars par M. Ch. Garnier, architecte... pour servir à l'histoire de l'habitation humaine* (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1889).

¹⁷² Jourdain, *Constructions élevées au Champ de Mars par M. Ch. Garnier*, 6.

inspiration was the prehistoric site on Lake Albano near Rome and there is a clear conflation of this simple structure with non-French civilizations.

Above the stone structures of prehistory loomed the most dominant and most studied structure of the *Exposition universelle*, the Eiffel Tower, and the only one which remains in place on the Champ de Mars, though it too was meant to be temporary. The tallest structure in the world at the time, in this image it is cropped above the second landing of Gustave Eiffel's iron colossus as the tower begins to narrow into the spire. This coy denial of the apex of the structure surmounting the 1889 world's fair seems to instruct the image's viewer that they would need to experience it in person to get the full effect. The painter Jean Béraud (1849-1935) co-opted this mode of display for his own canvas (Fig. 0.12), showing the approach from the Pont d'Iéna. Béraud's tower reaches higher than that engraved in Jourdain's book, but its signature tip is still truncated well above the third terrace. The Eiffel Tower reaches into the clouds, demanding all below crane their necks to see the full structure. Further emphasizing the tower's new imposition on the Parisian landscape, Béraud painted Louis Dauvergne's (1854-1895) Brazilian Pavilion at its four-legged base, its white cupola barely surpassing the first terrace. Walking in through the route shown by Béraud, the visitor could proceed to the right of the tower to the Pavilions of the Americas, including that of Brazil. But the painting suggests that many pedestrians will curve to the left, following the sweep of tram tracks laid for the world's fair, towards the tower framed by flagpoles surmounted by the French tricolor. Forms of transportation, like trams and omnibuses or alternately, tuk tuks and wagons, developed existing stereotypes about non-European civilizations.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ On the Rue de Caïre, there were even white donkeys to make the illusion complete. Camille Debans, *Les Coulisses de l'Exposition: guide pratique et anecdotique, avec dessins, plans, etc.* (Paris: E. Kolb, 1889), 19-27, 34-37.

As Deborah Silverman has noted in her analysis of the fair's layout, the public assistance and social economy exhibits stood nearby colonial "human zoos," dehumanizing displays of indigenous peoples from the vast French Empire, where their enclosures had opening hours and provided little privacy from fairgoers.¹⁷⁴ Here, people of African and Asian descent were displayed for entertainment and to bolster "scientific" claims for racial difference, emphasizing the Republic's control over both indigenous peoples from the French *Outre-mer* and working-class French people.¹⁷⁵ In his speech to the Chamber of Deputies of March 14, 1896, Alfred Picard emphasized that the illusion of crowd control was the greatest service the 1889 *Exposition* provided. By showing "the spectacle of a people closely united around its government," foreign visitors "saw not the slightest hint of disorder" that they expected due to stereotypes about the "undisciplined and ungovernable" French lower socioeconomic classes.¹⁷⁶ This was his best argument in receiving the requested funds for the upcoming 1900 *Exposition* for which he was in charge. The specters of popular unrest and French imperialism haunted the Opportunists' electoral chances.

Conservatives tried to saddle the Opportunists with these issues, doing so quite literally in a campaign advertisement (Fig. 0.13) featured in the September 16th issue of the rightwing newspaper *Le Gaulois*, which depicted a farmer staggering under the cost of the Opportunists'

¹⁷⁴ Silverman, "The 1889 Exhibition," 70-91. The most extreme examples of this control over "othered" bodies were the "human zoos." For more on these, see Sandrine Lemaire and Pascal Blanchard, "Exhibitions, Expositions, Media Coverage, and the Colonies (1870-1914)," in *Colonial Culture in France Since the Revolution*, eds., Pascal Blanchard et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 90-97; Tran, "How 'natives' ate at colonial exhibitions," 163-75; Venita Datta, "Buffalo Bill Goes to France: French-American Encounters at the Wild West Show, 1889-1905," *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 3 (August 2018): 525-55. Rebecca Peabody, Steven Nelson, and Dominic Thomas, *Visualizing Empire: Africa, Europe, and the Politics of Representation* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2021).

¹⁷⁵ See, for some examples: Lemaire and Pascal Blanchard, "Exhibitions, Expositions, Media Coverage, and the Colonies (1870-1914)," 90-97; Tran, "How 'natives' ate at colonial exhibitions," 163-75; Datta, "Buffalo Bill Goes to France," 525-55.

¹⁷⁶ "Discours prononcé à la Chambre le 14 mars 1896 par Alfred Picard, commissaire général de l'Exposition universelle de 1900, au sujet de l'exposition de 1889," *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (March 15, 1896): 492.

political decisions. Expansion into Southeast Asia, the growth of public works, and the suppression of the Catholic Church take the place of his regular agricultural haul. Meanwhile, happy farmers enjoying the leisure time afforded to them by the “freedom” and “abundance” of conservative rule thrive on the right of the illustration. These issues gave rise to heated debates in the Chamber of Deputies throughout the Centennial year; in response to Jules Ferry’s minimization of the Catholic Church in public education, conservative leaders in the National Assembly Baron de Mackau, Paul de Cassagnac (1843-1904), and comte Albert de Mun (1841-1914) accused the Opportunists of allowing “the destruction of communal independence” via “forced laicization,” to which the only Opportunist rebuttal was that the right wanted to restore the monarchy.¹⁷⁷ The conservatives of 1889 were more politically shrewd than the comte de Chambord had been and held firm on a less alienating message than changing the national flag: “it’s about schools, not the monarchy.”¹⁷⁸ Their concrete issue, fighting taxation for laicization, had support amongst conservative republicans as well and threatened to splinter votes the Opportunists needed.¹⁷⁹ The Opportunists needed unifying messaging and the imagery of the French Revolution was potentially destabilizing, as it raised fears of civil unrest. Urban disruption was a theme underpinning numerous representations of the Revolution created by artists heavily impacted by the trauma of successive upheavals. While the Opportunists sought to present the right as divisive, their 1889 platform was frustratingly banal and acceptable.

¹⁷⁷ “Chambres des Députés: Session ordinaire de 1889 (Compte rendu in extenso.—66e séance; Séance du jeudi 6 juin 1889),” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (June 6, 1889): 1275-92. “Chambres des Députés: Session ordinaire de 1889 (Compte rendu in extenso.—68e séance; Séance du samedi 8 juin 1889),” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (June 8, 1889): 1317.

¹⁷⁸ “Séance du jeudi 6 juin 1889,” 1289.

¹⁷⁹ To much applause from the right, the conservative republican Deputy from Cantal, Louis-Amans Amagat (1847-1890), a one-time leftist who shifted allegiances for the 1885 elections, argued against “imposing” millions in taxes on Catholic families via “obligatory laicization.” “Chambres des Députés: Session ordinaire de 1889 (Compte rendu in extenso.—51e séance; Séance du mardi 14 mai 1889),” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (May 14, 1889): 973.

In his guidebook of the *Exposition*, the journalist Camille Debans suggested that visitors give themselves ten days to see everything on the Champ de Mars, starting across the Seine at the Palais du Trocadéro, home to an ethnographic museum, then passing through the History of Habitation exhibit and the pavilions of the Americas, not visiting the Palace of Fine Arts until day four.¹⁸⁰ Debans' scheduling for the French exhibits takes five days, culminating in a visit to the Gallery of Machines, which supports the idea that the world's fair was primarily intended to cement France's position as a technologically advanced power.¹⁸¹ Lastly, visitors were to conclude their fair experience at the Ministry of War and the colonial exhibitions on the Esplanade des Invalides.¹⁸²

Debans' route would bring the visitor towards the focal site of this study, the Palace of Fine Arts, a long rectangular structure topped by a scintillating gold dome (Fig. 0.14). This site supported the imperialist project beyond its walls in its incorporation of Orientalist paintings of harems or figures succumbing to desert thirst by artists such as Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant (1845-1902).¹⁸³ In the century between the French Revolution and this *Exposition*, which nominally celebrated the centennial of France's founding moment, the nation had become a sprawling empire and the organizers of the fair showed this in microcosm; views of the fair's

¹⁸⁰ Camille Debans, *Les Coulisses de l'Exposition: guide pratique et anecdotique, avec dessins, plans, etc.* (Paris: E. Kolb, 1889), 41-42.

¹⁸¹ For more on this aspect of the fair, see Roland Barthes, *La Tour Eiffel* (Paris: Delpire, 1964); Miriam R. Levin, *When the Eiffel Tower Was New: French Visions of Progress at the Centennial of the Revolution*, exh. cat. (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1989); John W. Stamper, "The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair," *Technology and Culture* 30, no. 2, *Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Carl W. Condit* (April 1989): 330-53; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal – Transcontinental Ambition in France and the United States during the Long Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: Periscope, 2012); Hollis Clayson, "The Ornamented Eiffel Tower: Awareness and Denial," *Nonsite*, no. 27, *The Nineteenth Century* (February 11, 2019): unpaginated, <https://nonsite.org/the-ornamented-eiffel-tower/>, for a few examples.

¹⁸² Debans, *Les Coulisses de l'Exposition*, 42.

¹⁸³ Benjamin-Constant's reputation was such that he earned ten submissions to the Decennial Exhibition of 1889, the maximum allowed for any artist. Half of them were Orientalist pictures. See *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), 4.

layout clearly show a halo of non-Western and prehistoric exhibits around the central Eiffel Tower, pavilions of Fine and Liberal Arts, and the Gallery of Machines. There was something distinctly revolutionary about the format of a world's fair, beyond the *Exposition* of 1889's commemoration of 1789. Jacques-Louis David's pageants on the Champ de Mars, replete with fireworks and glorification of "economic patriotism," set a literal stage for the French *Expositions* of a century later.¹⁸⁴ Previous scholars have emphasized the role of the *Exposition universelle* as a means of "inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power...throughout society."¹⁸⁵ But, nuancing the idea that this terrain of ideas was necessarily part of a system of surveillance, Tony Bennett argues that the *Exposition* enabled multidirectional transfers of information whilst still providing a framework of order. Far from a uniform format for exhibition, the *Expositions universelles* made space for a breadth of display tactics within their bounds, adding visual interest to an information-rich presentation.¹⁸⁶

Citing Jeffrey Minson, Bennett supports the assertion that such spaces take a rapidly growing and changing "ungovernable populace", echoing Picard's concerns, and mold it into a "multiply differentiated population."¹⁸⁷ The Gallery of Machines, the primary site of the Exposition highlighting the inventions that emblemized civilizational progress in the eyes of the organizers, was also a site for the cultivation of sharp divisions. In Louis Béroud's (1852-1930) painting of the Gallery of Machines' central nave (Fig. 0.15), two emblems of Empire in the figures of a dark-skinned sub-Saharan African man in a turban and a lighter-skinned Arab

¹⁸⁴ See Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

¹⁸⁵ Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations*, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 74.

¹⁸⁶ Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 217-36. Walter Benjamin also notably discussed the intersection of goods and commerce with the spectacular at the *Expositions universelles*. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁸⁷ Jeffrey Minson, *Genealogies of Morals: Nietzsche, Foucault, Donzelot and the Eccentricity of Ethics* (London: Macmillan, 1985), 24, cited in Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 76.

Berber in a burnous stand in nearly identical poses taking in the sites around them. It is a pretense at the inclusion and universalism that the center-left government in power, the self-titled Opportunist Republicans, sought to project in a fractured and fragmented society.

Béroud's painting ultimately undercuts its own message, and that of the world's fair, of a singular empire and nation brought together under the dome of "progress"; the African and Arab figures stand apart and alone, gazing at their surroundings while white French visitors hobnob nearby. But even these white figures, members of the French electorate, strolling the Gallery of Machines together belie the truth of French politics in 1889, which were fractured and noxious. That year's autumn legislative elections for control of the National Assembly could easily have overthrown the status quo of the past decade. For the first time, this study offers an analysis of the 1889 *Exposition universelle* as a year-long campaign stop for the Opportunists that focuses on the paintings of revolutionary scenes, which offered nods to the various voting blocs they would need in the autumn to maintain their power. The version of the 1789 Revolution represented in 1889 was not that of the center's preferred historians like Jules Michelet, whose writings frequently provided the philosophical support for official decorations such as those of Jean-Paul Laurens for the Hôtel de Ville and received three posthumous public celebrations, but a mirror of a politically diverse nation still at odds with itself.¹⁸⁸

Underlying Anxieties: The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune

The Decennial exhibition came at a critical time in the history of the Third Republic, when the nation had a decision to make between the continuation of a flawed parliamentary democracy or

¹⁸⁸ Richard Thomson argues that official projects like Laurens' showed that the "republican" status of France remained up for debate in this period. Thomson, *Art of the Actual* 38. On the Michelet celebrations discussed here: Creighton, "Commemorating Jules Michelet," 400.

a return to rightwing authoritarianism. Following a humiliating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, France's sense of its national prestige took a significant blow, creating the national anxiety that often precipitates the rise of nationalist-populist leaders (see for example Germany's humiliation following World War One that created the climate for the rise of Nazism). The Franco-Prussian War itself, which lasted just seven months and resulted in the capture of the French Emperor Napoleon III on the battlefield, was scarcely mentioned and depictions of it were removed from the walls of the annual Salons for nearly a decade.¹⁸⁹ The loss to Prussia was followed by an anarcho-socialist uprising in Paris, known as the Paris Commune, that was suppressed brutally by the conservative French government after six weeks of barricades and street fights.

Fears for the nation's stability after war and the Paris Commune prompted the re-election of monarchist conservative leadership until the late 1870s; in February 1871, 394 out of 644 seats in the National Assembly went to monarchists, with Gambetta's republicans winning just 40 seats, though republicans would win 99 out of 114 contested seats in by-elections in June 1872.¹⁹⁰ Gambetta's anti-German credentials were seen as legitimate even if there were questions over Commune sympathies within the republican bloc.¹⁹¹ Ernest Meissonier, almost twenty years before chairing the 1889 Decennial jury, participated in purging art with

¹⁸⁹ At the first Salon following the end of the war and the Commune in 1872, any images that threatened ongoing negotiations with the Prussians were removed. Robert Lethbridge, "'Painting Out' (and 'Reading In') the Franco-Prussian War: Politics and Art Criticism in the 1870s," *Journal of European Studies* 50, no. 1 (2020): 52-59.

¹⁹⁰ John Hutton, "The Clown at the Ball: Manet's Masked Ball of the Opera and the Collapse of Monarchism in the Early Third Republic," *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (1987): 83-84; Timothy B. Smith, "Republicans, Catholics and Social Reform: Lyon, 1870-1920," *French History* 12, no. 3 (September 1998): 246-75 ; Hanson, *Post-Imperial Democracies*, 99-101.

¹⁹¹ Hanson, *Post-Imperial Democracies*, 102.

Communard overtones from the Salon of 1872.¹⁹² Well into the 1880s, images of the Franco-Prussian War had to stop short of calling for all-out war against Germany.

Albert Bettannier's (1851-1932) *The Black Stain* (Fig. 0.16), presented at the Salon of 1887, took place in the Opportunists' preferred battlefield of the classroom rather than on France's eastern border. In it, the elementary school teacher points to a colorful map of France marred by a black blotch in the northeast regions of Alsace and Lorraine, now held by Germany. Simultaneously, he looks down gently at a boy of about eight years-old, beseeching him to name the lost regions. Over the door to the classroom, another map tells the viewer the schoolroom is in Paris but that avenging the loss of the eastern territories is a pan-French issue. The uniform of the boy at the front of the classroom, that of the *battalion scolaire* created to ensure France had a future healthy military corps, is the sharpest allusion to the sentiment of *revanche*.¹⁹³ A more strident canvas painted during ongoing diplomatic negotiations with Germany, the revanchist Édouard Detaille's depiction of German troops saluting the French wounded shown at the Salon of 1877 (Fig. 0.17), was rejected from the *Exposition universelle* of 1878.¹⁹⁴ In this climate of national mourning and outright censorship, artists who could speak to pain and desire to win back the lost eastern regions while skirting censorship, like Antonin Mercié (1845-1916), thrived.

¹⁹² Meissonier showed a special dislike for Courbet, but it is important to note that, rather than a personal conflict between two men, this was symptomatic of a larger silencing of the extreme left. The jury was happy to go along with Meissonier. Hutton, "The Clown at the Ball," 85. See also, Constance Cain Hungerford, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," *Art Bulletin* 61, no. 2 (June 1979): 277-88; Alisa Luxenberg, "Originality and Freedom: The 1863 Reforms to the École des Beaux-Arts and the Involvement of Léon Bonnat," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16, no. 2 (Autumn 2017): <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn17/luxenberg-on-1863-reforms-to-the-ecole-des-beaux-arts-the-involvement-of-leon-bonnat#ftnref51>; Beth Segal Wright, *Painting and History During the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁹³ "Battalion Scolaire—préparation militaire, sociétés de tir et de gymnastique," *Human-Hist.com* (November 1, 2018), <https://humanhist.com/culture/bataillon-scolaire-preparation-militaire-societes-de-tir-et-de-gymnastique/>

¹⁹⁴ Lethbridge, "'Painting Out' (and 'Reading In') the Franco-Prussian War," 58.

In the 1889 *Exposition universelle*'s sculpture display in the Galerie Rapp, one plaster sculpture dominated its peers, as evidenced by its scale in Hippolyte Blancard's photograph of its installation (Fig. 0.18). All around the swirling figure of an Alsatian woman and her fallen comrade, there are petite glimpses of the Decennial canvases above, but she is centered. Blancard's photograph reminds us that the paintings of the Decennial coexisted alongside works in other media—notably sculpture. Mercié's tribute to the Siege of Belfort, entitled *Quand même!*, featured an allegorical female figure taking up arms from a dying soldier. It nodded to the pervasive revanchism that gave rise to figures like General Boulanger. The placement of *Quand même!* next to a bust of the centrist reformer Jules Ferry (Prime Minister from 1880-81 and 1883-85) did not escape the ire of conservatives, who objected that a figure associated with anticlericalism and a bungled invasion of Southeast Asia should be “placed below the beautiful group *Quand même!* by Antonin Mercié.”¹⁹⁵ Its title means “nevertheless,” which, in light of Mercié's later commission to sculpt the Confederate General Robert E. Lee, evokes the “South will rise again” mantra of the Reconstruction Era American South, promising a return to antebellum status for the formerly enslaved. “Quand même!” had become a clarion call for the extreme right seeking military revenge against Germany. It was an emblem for ethnonationalist groups like the *League of Patriots*, who kept a placard with a relief of it in their Parisian headquarters.¹⁹⁶ Placing Ferry next to “an eminently patriotic work of art” such as Mercié's was an insult, suggested the conservative paper *Le Pays*, and it was exactly the kind of incoherence

¹⁹⁵ “L'Exposition,” *Le Pays*, no. 157 (June 9, 1889): unpaginated.

¹⁹⁶ “La Ligue des Patriotes,” *Le Rappel*, no. 6932 (March 3, 1889): unpaginated.

that would emblemize the presentation of the Revolution in painting as well.¹⁹⁷ Centrist politics made for unhappy bedfellows.

The juxtaposition of Mercié's *Quand même!* with a bust of Ferry highlights the Opportunists' curatorial strategy in brief—balance divisive elements associated with Opportunism with conservative outreach.¹⁹⁸ *Quand même!* was precisely the kind of image that both excited the *revanche*-inclined amongst the French populace and avoided running afoul of postwar censorship. Mercié's artwork wasn't ferocious enough for the virulent nationalist Jean Baffier, who quipped that Mercié's penchant for sculpting female figures saving wounded men meant that "We don't get it up anymore in France."¹⁹⁹ It also wasn't particularly beloved in Belfort, where a bronze version of Mercié's sculpture was unveiled in 1884 without public input into the figure meant to represent them. Many of the residents disliked the work's lack of site-specificity, believing the figure's costume to be too Alsatian rather than Belfortian, and loathed the flood of tourists that it brought.²⁰⁰ According to Karine Varley, Belfortians, who inhabited one of the few eastern territories not annexed after the Franco-Prussian War, believed that conflating Belfort and Alsace was a personal affront to their town's defiant hundred-day siege.²⁰¹ However, these complaints were not received in the halls of power in Paris and did not factor

¹⁹⁷ "L'Exposition," *Le Pays*, no. 157 (June 9, 1889): unpaginated. During the period of French colonial encroachment and domination of northern Vietnam from 1884-1945, the region was renamed Tonkin. Jules Ferry was a fierce advocate of colonialism and saw his government fall because of the unpopularity of this effort due to its immense costs.

¹⁹⁸ The right's dislike of imperialism had little to do with the harm done to indigenous cultures and much more to do with the cost of colonization when that cost could be used domestically.

¹⁹⁹ Due to his inflammatory persona, Baffier's sculptural projects became mired in political squabbles, often taking decades to receive funding or a firm "non" from those in power. Mercié thrived in the postwar decades by creating political monuments with enough artifice that they softened the trauma that inspired them. Neil McWilliam, "Race, Remembrance and Revanche: Commemorating the Franco-Prussian War in the Third Republic," *Art History* 19, no. 4 (December 1996): 486-87.

²⁰⁰ The conservative *Journal de Belfort* criticized Mercié for the "Alsatiennne" he placed in their town. Karine Varley, "National Identity, Local Memory and the 'Cult' of Belfort in Franco-Prussian War Commemorations, 1870-1914," *Nottingham French Studies* 1, no. 44 (2005): 42, 44.

²⁰¹ Varley, "National Identity, Local Memory and the 'Cult' of Belfort," 42.

into decisions made for the *Exposition universelle*, which was a glossy, cosmopolitan view of the Opportunists' outreach to the east, whose regional discrepancies mattered less than the unifying message they could provide.

Mercié emerged from the studio of Alexandre Falguière (1831-1900) shortly before the war, winning the Prix de Rome in 1868 at age twenty-three. After France's defeat in 1871, his sculptures emphasized the nobility of the meek, aligning his slain French soldiers, as seen in *Quand même!* or *Gloria Victis* (Fig. 0.19), with heroes from the Biblical or French past, such as David or Joan of Arc. Both David and Joan of Arc had been granted their missions by God and this context was not lost on Mercié's viewers and critics, who read the artist's Franco-Prussian War *oeuvre* in a providential light. Reminiscing on *Gloria Victis* with the privilege of hindsight after seeing *Quand même!* in the 1884 Salon, the critic Abel Gaveau grasped this connection instantly. As he wrote in the Catholic journal *La Semaine des familles*: "Prejudiced humans attribute glory fatally to the conquerors. But the just God, rewarder of sacrifice, holds the hand of the noble fallen vanquished..."²⁰² Mercié's sculptures elevated and ennobled national grief, raising it to the level of aesthetic beauty, where elsewhere in French society it engendered societal anxiety and fears of decline.²⁰³

"Glory to the vanquished," promised eventual recompense, or *revanche*, to the nation and had lasting resonance; for Salons to come, the artist was described as "the author of *Gloria Victis*."²⁰⁴ In a similar fashion, his *Quand même!* of 1884 gave the glory to the defeated, but

²⁰² Abel Gaveau, "Quand même!", *La Semaine des familles* (December 20, 1884): 594.

²⁰³ The *fin-de-siècle* saw a rise in Catholic pilgrimages because of widespread fears of moral and social decay. Raymond A. Jonas, "Anxiety, Identity, and the Displacement of Violence during the *Année Terrible*: The Sacred Heart and the Diocese of Nantes, 1870-1871," *French Historical Studies* 21, no.1 (Winter 1998): 73-74. Maurice Barrès was one of the prominent nationalist writers writing about national decline. Richard M. Berrong, "Pierre Loti's Response to Maurice Barrès and France's Growing Nationalist Movement: *Ramuntcho*," *Modern and Contemporary France* 17, no. 1 (2009): 36. The Legitimist right also strongly believed that France had been in decline since the Revolution. Hanson, *Post-Imperial Democracies*, 103.

²⁰⁴ See for example, Henry Jouin, *La Sculpture au Salon de 1877* (Paris: E. Plon, 1878), 50.

struck a more solid, earthbound tone that feels more menacing. Gone are the slender bodies of quattrocento Florence in favor of muscled masses more suited to weathering in a public square. Mercié's work swirls with dynamism: the female figure's overlarge bow, a hallmark of traditional Alsatian dress (Fig. 0.20), appears to whip forward in the wind, while with his dying breath, the soldier grips and pulls at the hem of her dress. The whirl of fabric, limbs, and weaponry makes for an appealing, imposing monument. The angel in *Gloria Victis* was unarmed and floated upward with ease; the battle was over and existed only in memory. In contrast, the emblem on the escutcheon on the ground in *Quand même!* is the Belfort coat of arms; Mercié grounds Alsace in a real place that had not long previously been starving under a Prussian siege. This is a figure readied for the battle to come.

In France, *Quand même!* became a symbol for the blood-and-soil nationalism that pumped under the surface through the 1880s, coming to the fore less than a decade after the Centennial of 1889. The Parisian Municipal Council purchased a version of Mercié's sculpture for the Tuileries Garden, not realizing that it was soon to become a rallying point for future demonstrations. During the Dreyfus Affair, pro-Dreyfus and antisemitic forces alike would contest space and ideology under the shadow of *Quand même!*, well suited to stand in for ethnonationalist sentiments almost thirty years after its creation.²⁰⁵ Though this violent discourse about what constituted "Frenchness," begun during the French Revolution, was not the dominant theme of the 1889 *Exposition universelle*, its potency threatened the centrists' tenuous hold on power.

²⁰⁵ Varley, "National Identity, Local Memory and the 'Cult' of Belfort," 43.

Chapter Arrangement: Painting the Revolution by Politics

The four chapters in this study begin with the center left, who held the levers of power in government and whose vision of the Revolution was tolerable to most of the population, and end with the progressive left, who were mostly excluded from the *Exposition universelle* of 1889. The first chapter analyzes the revolutionary imagery the Opportunists cultivated to showcase their political heritage. In the place of marches and guillotines, the Decennial jury chose the idealistic journalist Camille Desmoulins (Fig. 1.1), painted by Félix-Joseph Barrias, the only featured artist who was on the Decennial jury, as he rallied a crowd for political reform at the Palais-Royal just two days before the Bastille fell. Though he was scarcely a moderate, a softened vision of Desmoulins enjoyed a revival in the 1880s when other Jacobins were still considered problematic. At a celebration on the July 12th anniversary of Desmoulins' speech in the Palais-Royal, the Opportunists unveiled a Desmoulins statue by Charles Vital-Cornu (1851-1927) (Fig. 0.21, 1.2), forever immobilizing him in 1789 before his contributions to the Terror and role in purging the Girondins. The Opportunists tied themselves explicitly to the early reformist years of the Revolution.²⁰⁶ Nowhere is this clearer than in the *Panorama of the Century* (Fig. 0.22), commissioned from Henri Gervex and Alfred Stevens (1823-1906), which draws a clear compositional line from Rouget de Lisle, the creator of the national anthem *La Marseillaise* and the consensus moment of 1790's Festival of Federation, to the ministers of President Sadi Carnot's cabinet (1.22). The Opportunists encouraged imagery that celebrated the Revolution from 1789 to the fall of the monarchy in 1792 and granted the religious right sympathetic portrayals of the events of 1793.

²⁰⁶ On which, see Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

The second chapter pivots from the center left to the religious right, which connected the Opportunists' fight with the Catholic Church to the suppression of their uprising in the Vendée that began in 1793. One hundred years after the beginning of the Revolution, royalism remained a threat to the stability of the Republic, although its actualization required merging the fervent but small number of royalists isolated in the West and South of France with others discontented with centrist leadership, namely working-class citizens who hadn't been served by the Opportunists' links to the monied classes and rising rent costs in large cities. Republicans had only taken control of the National Assembly in 1878, with full government control following in 1879. Monarchists had the Bourbon pretender Henri, comte de Chambord, to blame for their loss of power as his desire to replace the French tricolor with the white Bourbon flag was divisive, unlike the issue of national security which had led to monarchist gains after *l'année terrible* of 1870-1871.²⁰⁷ Repeated republican electoral victories, encapsulated in the resurgence of revolutionary imagery in the Salons of the 1880s, led to an outpouring of royalist grievance. This is most visible in the many images of the Vendée Wars seen in Paris-based exhibitions. Jean-Clément Martin estimates that between 1850 and 1913, ninety Vendée-themed pictures were submitted to the annual Salon, which amounts to an average of four to nine per year, with an uptick after the consolidation of republican power after 1879.²⁰⁸ These pictures often responded to each other directly, with the conservative-sympathetic work of Julien Le Blant capturing attention in 1880 and 1883 and the rebuttal of the hardline republican François Flameng (1856-1923) appearing at the Salon of 1884.²⁰⁹ The Decennial organizers gave voice to this clamor from the right, accepting the critically-acclaimed painting *The Execution of Charette* (Fig. 2.1)

²⁰⁷ Hutton, "The Clown at the Ball," 84.

²⁰⁸ Jean-Clément Martin, *La Vendée de la mémoire: 1800-2018* (Paris: Perrin, 2019), 195.

²⁰⁹ These pictures are Le Blant's *The Square Battalion* and *The Execution of Charette*, respectively, and Flameng's *The Massacre of Machecoul*, all of which are discussed in this study.

by Julien Le Blant into their final selection, as well as eight other scenes from the counterrevolutionary revolt in the Vendée. There are more sympathetic scenes of Vendéen cult heroes than of Jacobin leaders, which supports the idea that the Opportunists saw the greatest threat from the right.

Like the second chapter, the third also concerns rightwing grievance, but stemming from the militant and anticlerical faction of the electorate. Though General Boulanger fled to Belgium in April 1889, revanchist sentiment remained high, and the Decennial organizers found a way to incorporate these dreams of a strongman into their display. The incongruous histories of the French Revolution present in the Decennial were a sign, not only that there were a multitude of interpretations of the legacy of the 1790s, but also that the event organizers understood the importance of acknowledging conservative readings of the same events. The Decennial's multiple visions of the French Revolution were as ideologically heterogenous as they were bloodless, binding fragmented factions together in the pro-parliamentary, republican coalition whilst splitting most conservative voters from their antidemocratic, counterrevolutionary comrades.

In effect, a centrist, non-polarizing vision of the Revolution minimized the impact of electoral gains made by rightwing politicians amongst minoritarian voters, especially after the monarchist leadership began financially supporting the populist General Boulanger in secret, in the hopes that he would destroy the parliamentary system for them. Only when hardline monarchists in the West of France, called Legitimists, did not rally to Boulanger due to his previous purge of royalists in the military when serving as Minister of War in an Opportunist cabinet, was it clear that republicanism would carry the day.²¹⁰ The General's weak

²¹⁰ Edward J. Woell, "Counterrevolutionary Catholicism in Western France: The Battle of Belief at Machecoul, 1777-1914" (Ph.D diss., Marquette University, 1997), 605.

adherence to any one ideology and willingness to speak in broad terms made him appealing to industrial workers, ex-Bonapartists seeking an authoritarian leader after Napoleon III's defeat at Sedan, and monarchists tired of losing to the republicans since the late 1870s.²¹¹ The rhetoric of national decline was rampant in the decades following the defeat to Prussia in 1871. Not unlike the contemporary right in Hungary and the United States, bad faith political actors promised that France's solution lay in electing a strongman who would lead the country out of its period of "degeneracy," a term loaded with ethnonationalism, homophobia, misogyny, and antisemitism.²¹²

General Boulanger fit this bill but was understandably barred in person from the centennial festivities and excluded from its images. However, revanchism was present at the Decennial, most famously in the form of Detaille's *The Dream* (Fig. 3.17), explained as either a Boulangist fantasy or a republican image equating the spirit of France's dwindled military with the heroic example of 1792.²¹³ In fact, Detaille's Boulanger-tinted canvas was an ideal image for the Opportunists to show their support for the military, whose officer corps skewed conservative.²¹⁴ Maurice Réalier-Dumas' little-known canvas of *Bonaparte at the Tuileries—10 August 1792* (Fig. 3.5) in the Decennial provided a strongman substitute for the general in exile, obliquely addressing the desire for a military leader on horseback.²¹⁵ The Opportunists looked to

²¹¹ Michael Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics: Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair, 1886-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 58.

²¹² Richard M. Berrong, "Pierre Loti's Response to Maurice Barrès and France's Growing Nationalist Movement: *Ramuntcho*," *Modern and Contemporary France* 17, no. 1 (2009): 36.

²¹³ See for example Fae Brauer, "Contesting 'Le corps militaire': Antimilitarism, Pacifism, Anarcho-Communism and 'Le Douanier' Rousseau's *La Guerre*," *RIHA Journal*, no. 48 (2012): <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2012.1>; Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*, 169-74.

²¹⁴ Elizabeth Macknight's research into French aristocrats in the *fin-de-siècle* shows that they were disproportionately represented in the military as it helped them maintain status and they were largely conservative Catholics. Elizabeth C. Macknight, "Honor and the Military Formation of French Noblemen, 1870-1920," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 35, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 95-114.

²¹⁵ For more on the early-nineteenth century's incarnations of mounted leaders, including Bonaparte, see David Bell, *Men on Horseback: The Power of Charisma in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2020).

blunt the damage Bonapartists and Boulangists could deal to their electoral hopes by supporting militaristic imagery that would appeal to them.

In the final chapter of this thesis, the discussion leaves the Palace of Fine Arts to highlight the revolutionary works of art that were rejected from the Decennial, those rapidly interjected into the catalogue with an ellipsis rather than a number. These images suggest which figures and periods of the French Revolution remained taboo at the time of the centennial year; representations of Marat and Charlotte Corday still caused consternation in 1889 but remained present to some extent, unlike Robespierre. This chapter focuses on Jean-Joseph Weerts, whose multifigure revolutionary canvases were rejected in favor of his portrait practice. The Jacobin martyrs Marat and Bara, both immortalized by David a century earlier, polarized Salon critics and historians alike. Weerts' *Marat Assassinated!* (Fig. 4.1) and *The Death of Bara* (Fig. 4.2) received ominous ellipses in the catalogue, but they open a rich conversation about the memory-holing of problematic histories. The French Revolution was commemorated selectively in 1889, bringing together incongruous memories of peaceful legislative victories and the civil war in the Vendée, emphasizing that the Opportunists believed the center and right needed reassurance ahead of the elections.

The artists chosen for official representation in government-sponsored events like the *Exposition universelle* needed to soften their political works for inclusion. This way, no single special interest could predominate. The four chapters in this dissertation focus on artworks that speak to different blocs of voters, three of which were welcomed (centrist republicanism, royalism, and the clerical right) and one which was cast aside (the socialist left). Each of these groups had a distinct view of France's political legacy stemming from the French Revolution of 1789, with each embracing only some of the events of 1789-1815. The official centennial of the

Revolution on the Champ de Mars could not encapsulate all these views since they were, at their core, diametrically opposed. However, in sanitized form, a Vendéen icon of the religious right and a Jacobin rallying a rapt crowd could coexist within a building as temporary as the coalition of voters needed to keep authoritarianism at bay.

Historical Echoes

Contemporary French politics, currently dominated by the struggle between center-left and progressive blocs against reactionary populism, do not provide an exact parallel for the electoral race of 1889. It is undeniable that both historical moments share grievance, Christian nationalism, and the rise of a demagogic figurehead. However, one of the defining differences between then and now is the broad consensus that the legacies of the Revolution of 1789 are settled—in political terms at least, if not within the period's historiography. In 1889 these legacies were still contested, and critically for this study, such debates about the present meaning of French history were disputed in the arts, resulting in canvases and sculptures that melded contemporaneous style with content from the distant past. The echoes of these debates and images may be discerned in our present moment. Most importantly, however, the artists featured in this dissertation, highly regarded in their day and reflective of the institutionalized acceptance of political difference, offer new insights into revolutionary commemoration in Salon painting under the Third Republic.

CHAPTER ONE

A ‘young, enthusiastic man, throwing green leaves to the wind’: Jacobinism at the

Decennial Exhibition of 1889

At the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, there hung a single painting dedicated to the Jacobin legacy which the fair’s organizers wished to embrace. Félix-Joseph Barrias’ (1822-1907) painting of *Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal* (Fig. 1.1) exemplified the sanitized version of revolutionary history accepted within state-sponsored spaces. Given that 1789 elicited both positive and negative responses even as the nineteenth century neared its end, interpretations of the Revolution’s legacies remained capable of splintering the tenuous political alliances that held the young Third Republic together. Amongst the relevant images at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, there are relatively few representations of Marianne, red caps, and bundled fasces at the end of a decade that saw such emblems bloom across the republican landscape.²¹⁶ This study seeks to remedy the dearth of analysis of individual revolution-themed artworks in the 1889 display. The multiple discordant visions of the Revolution within a state-sponsored exhibition threaded the needle between embracing various political ideologies and holding together a flimsy voting bloc broad enough to overcome an extremist onslaught from the right. This dissertation seeks to understand what is gained politically from subsuming differing approaches to a national founding myth into an event premised on unity and asks what role artistic representations of this myth may have played in such processes.

²¹⁶ See Jacques Tardi, *Quand Paris dansait avec Marianne: 1879-1889*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions Paris-musées, 1989). Maurice Agulhon’s *Marianne into Battle* ends just as the Opportunists take power, but his writing is critical to understanding the long history of Marianne, phrygian caps, and other Greco-Roman influences in French republican visual culture. Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*; Maurice Agulhon, “Marianne, Réflexions sur une histoire,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 289 (July-September 1992): 313–22.

Certainly, the organizers of the Centennial of 1889 hoped to energize voters into sustaining republicanism at the ballot box in the autumn to blunt conservative gains. In this effort, there were many events on the Centennial calendar that revolved around republican allegorical monuments, such as the sculptor Jules Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic* (1879, Place de la Nation, Paris), which Jennifer Getson and Cheryl K. Snay have analyzed fully from conception to installation, offering biographical and socio-historical reappraisals of one of the Third Republic's most prominent monuments and its creator.²¹⁷ Dalou's work played an integral role in the *Exposition's* events calendar and will round out this study both thematically and chronologically in the conclusion, marking a transition from the cloistered Palace of Fine Arts to a site infamous for barricades and social unrest. At its center, however, this dissertation is a study of painting revolutionary history in the late-nineteenth century and the political purpose of such works. While sculptural monuments were the most prominent signs that a new order had arisen, they were less visible at the fairgrounds proper. This chapter looks at one such monument, that of the journalist Camille Desmoulins rallying a crowd at the Palais-Royal, and its relative outsider status compared to the painting of the same subject.

The vision of the revolutionary Camille Desmoulins (1760-1794) presented by Félix-Joseph Barrias, first at the Salon of 1888 and then at the *Exposition universelle* the following year, depicts its protagonist on a makeshift dais above a rapturous crowd in the courtyard of the Palais-Royal. This vertically oriented history painting was the only Jacobin-centric work amongst almost two thousand paintings in the Decennial and it showed a young Desmoulins leading what appears to be a religious revival rather than the prelude to a march soon to turn violent. The narrative Desmoulins dictates in Barrias' version of events is not a call to arms so

²¹⁷ Snay, "Politics by Another Name"; Getson, "Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration."

much as a rally around a new green cockade, foreshadowing the eventual adoption of the tricolor in opposition to the Bourbon white standard. There are hints at events to come, but Barrias' protagonist remains physically and spiritually above the fray. Desmoulins' sword is grasped somewhat clunkily in one hand along with his pistol and points downwards while his other gun lies impotent on the table. By rendering him unable to employ either weapon adeptly, Barrias defanged the young speaker and dissociated him from the crowd violence to come. The only member of the crowd who is visibly armed besides Desmoulins is the well-heeled gentlemen immediately before the viewer, whose ecstatic gesture suggests wholesale agreement with the Revolution. His frock coat, powdered wig, sword, and tricorn hat are meant to embody the aristocratic figures frequently brutalized within the Palais-Royal and in time, by the Revolution itself, but that sense of danger and violence is nowhere present in Barrias' scene.

The main event presented here is the distribution of chestnut leaves from the tree-lined arcade in the Palais-Royal gardens as cockades for supporters. Though green would come in time to be associated with the King's ultraroyalist, reactionary youngest brother, in this moment it was a progenitor of the tricolor cockades and a sign that the reformist push would continue.²¹⁸ Barrias' Desmoulins leaps from the pages of the Opportunists' favorite historian Jules Michelet (1798-1877), where upon taking to his little stage, "He tore down a leaf from a tree, and stuck it in his hat: everybody followed his example; and the trees were stripped of their leaves."²¹⁹ Behind the speaker, it is children who scramble up the trees to fetch the leaves, adding an element of play and innocence to the act. In the foreground, the brawny man and drummer boy are the most visible holders of the newly fashioned ribbons, which they readily offer up to

²¹⁸ Nina Rattner Gelbart, "The Blonding of Charlotte Corday," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 204.

²¹⁹ Jules Michelet, *Historical View of the French Revolution*, trans. C. Cocks (London: George Bell and Sons, 1888), 133.

Desmoulins in a gesture of unity and peace, a literal olive branch as it were. The misgivings apparent on the face of the well-to-do gentleman in red to the left, who clutches his greenery delicately as though holding a quill, are diluted by the swirl of exuberant, affirming gestures in support of Desmoulins' message.

Revolution in the Eye of the Beholder

Criticism from the 1888 Salon makes clear that audiences in the Third Republic were primed to see Camille Desmoulins as a young man caught up in a feverish moment rather than as a Jacobin ideologue or instigator of the Terror. Reviews of Barrias' work were mixed, with one reviewer pointing out the chalky paint application, which appeared abnormal alongside the slick glazed surfaces of his fellow Naturalist artists.²²⁰ The yellowish coloration and soft brushwork serve to make the scene's action less emphatic. The outstretched arms of the crowd echo, to some degree, those in David's 1784 painting of the Horatii swearing an oath, but quite unlike the bare, muscular forearms of the Horatii brothers evoked only by the brawny, unarmed man in front, Desmoulins' proposition is met with slimmer arms in light-colored, expensive sleeves. There are no sobbing wives and sisters here to foreshadow a tragic outcome; there is no sense of impending bloodshed, which is a testament to Barrias' internalization of the Desmoulins narrative passed down to Michelet and exported into the Opportunists' reformed national curricula. That art critics saved their column inches to reiterate Michelet's history of July 12th, 1789 was less a mark against Barrias' artistic efforts than it was a sign of how well established the republican portrait of the Revolution had become.

²²⁰ William Garcias De Marsange, the militant editor of the Bonapartist paper *La Jeune Garde*, gave the work the backhanded compliment of having "character despite the dryness of the color." W.G. De Marsange, "Le Salon de 1888," *La Jeune garde*, no. 263 (June 10, 1888): unpaginated.

As could be expected in such a politically polarized time, not all were so captivated by history according to Michelet, and by extension, Desmoulins. In particular, the hardline Catholic newspaper *La Croix* rebutted the narrative that had taken hold by the time of the Centennial. After the July 12th, 1889 re-unveiling of Charles Vital-Cornu's (Fig. 1.2) sculpture of Desmoulins in the gardens of the Palais-Royal, *La Croix* reminded their readers on Bastille Day that Desmoulins had "sent his adversaries to the guillotine" and that he had blasphemously quipped that, at 33 years of age, he was "the age of the sans-culotte Jesus before he died."²²¹ *La Croix* reinstated Desmoulins' prominence during the Terror which, despite Michelet's efforts to emphasize his "moments of sentimentality," included his participation in revolutionary tribunals until they consumed him too when his comrade Georges Danton (1759-1794) fell. The author of the piece in *La Croix* had little sympathy for the romanticized republican vision of Desmoulins, aligning him with Judas rather than Jesus in a blatant reference to the New Testament's central moment of betrayal: "When one works for the scoundrel, one is paid in scoundrel money." The most damning part of the clerical rejection of the Centennial's elevation of Desmoulins was its reconfiguration of the journalist as both a Dantoniste ideologue, which made him distinctly less sympathetic, and a Judas-like figure. By associating Desmoulins with "his old comrade from the college of Louis-le-Grand, Robespierre," Danton, who in Michelet's own estimation was rather cold-blooded, and Jesus' betrayer, the outlets of rightwing power threatened the patina of Desmoulins' idealistic image.

A Centrist Revolution

²²¹ Le Moine, "Fête," *La Croix*, no. 1877 (July 14, 1889): unpaginated.

Keen to keep their version of events from withering under the scrutiny of their political opponents, the Opportunists' Decennial offered a reconstitution of the Revolution as one where a cohabitation of leftist and conservative narratives was possible. This presented a neutered, centrist vision of 1789 in perfect alignment with the Opportunists' core message of domestic stability brought about by an imagined end to political stratification. On the eve of the first round of elections, the candidate for Paris' 18th arrondissement summarized the Opportunist *modus operandi* as "the politics of the status quo," which in its blandness was to blame for the current danger to the Republic from the right.²²² But for the Opportunists, a perception that they showed their leadership inaugurated an "era of peace" with the display on the Champ de Mars was the point.²²³ The Decennial Exhibition, which contained thousands of paintings by the most recognizable artists of the 1880s, of which only a few represented revolutionary events directly, presented visitors to the Champ de Mars with a surplus of French creative achievements. One could leave the Palace of Fine Arts firmly believing that the wars of the *bleus* and the *blancs* were but a distant memory, their wounds healed by time and by a new administration that avoided salting the barely healed scars. The relative lack of revolutionary pictures in the Decennial emphasizes how concerned the organizers were with promoting a historical narrative that was so fiercely contested. It is understandable that to date, this small sample size has yet to be examined within the context of the Centennial or beyond their use as illustrations in modern texts discussing revolutionary and counterrevolutionary ideologies. On the other hand, these sixteen paintings enable deep reading and analysis of the specific works without losing the common thread between them, which is the insight they provide into the Opportunists'

²²² Clemenceau's journal *La Justice* carried the messages of leftist candidates. L. Rollet, "Chronique Electorale (Seine; Paris): Dix-huitième arrondissement," *La Justice*, no. 3536 (September 19, 1889): 3.

²²³ "Partie non officielle: Paris, 29 septembre 1889," 4852.

incongruously polysemous vision of French revolutionary history and its relevance to contemporary politics.

The alignment of the *Exposition universelle* and the centre-left Opportunist republicans' electoral messaging is evidenced by the dates chosen for the event. The first article of the July 10th, 1886 decree promulgated by Minister of Public Instruction René Goblet (1828-1905) stated that the fair would open to coincide with the centenary of the opening of the Estates General on May 5, 1889 and would close on All Hallows' Eve. The latter date contained the inauspicious legacy of the execution of the twenty-one Girondin leaders, sentenced only the day before by the Revolutionary Tribunal. In 1889, that bloody day of 1793 was refashioned into a celebration of the final round of the legislative elections, marking what the Opportunists hoped would be an end to an election cycle marred by Boulanger's union with rightwing forces, when the outcome of this tense period would be the preservation of the Republic.²²⁴ The Centennial's opening day recalled the early period of legislative reforms that the Opportunists' embraced wholeheartedly, while the closing day overwrote a violent purge with the honoring of the franchise. In the selection of these two days, the Opportunists' established their approach to the Revolution, upholding its democratic reforms and negating its violence. The Centennial site on the Champ de Mars was the most prominent of the Opportunists' reframings of the Revolution, having played host previously to pageants under Jacobin rule.²²⁵ Michelet had called this "empty space" "the only monument that the Revolution has left" in the preface to his *History of the French*

²²⁴ "Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts. 1889. Projet de Règlement. Le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts, Vu le décret du 10 juillet 1886," 1. "Bâtiments civils. Travaux d'art, musées, expositions, manufactures, bâtiments civils, théâtres et musique: Expositions des Beaux-Arts aux Expositions universelles., 1855-1889: Expositions de 1867 et 1889." AN F/21/523, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

²²⁵ The Champ de Mars' hosting of the 1790 Fête de la Fédération and the 1794 Fête de l'Être Suprême was an element of site selection for the Opportunists. Brown, "Eiffel's Tower," 7-24.

Revolution, treating it with a quasi-sacred reverence.²²⁶ President Sadi Carnot leading France's government through the Champ de Mars mirrored his grandfather's famous oration on the same site at the Festival of Gratitude and Victory held on May 29, 1796, which likewise refreshed the meaning of this venue associated with the height of revolutionary extremism.²²⁷

My account here is largely constrained by the boundaries of the Centennial's central plaza, with the Eiffel Tower on the northwest end and the École Militaire to the southeast, both monuments to the *Exposition's* twin themes of industry and militarism. Geographical space remade to comport with new regimes and ideologies is an overarching theme of this study and serves as an organizing principle. However, we will journey too beyond the fairgrounds, to the pious western Vendée, to the cabarets of Montmartre, and to cities that served as receptacles for revolutionary paintings deemed too controversial for exhibition in Paris. In this chapter, a detour from the Champ de Mars will bring us to the very spot where, in the summer of 1789, Desmoulins leapt onto a café table. In 1889, this site was marked by Vital-Cornu's sculpture of the event, unveiled on July 12th. This examination of the Decennial's "revolutions" begins with the manifestation of the organizers themselves, embodied in a romantic rendition of Camille Desmoulins.

It is well established that Opportunist Republicans sponsored visual culture that paid homage to an idealized vision of the Revolution, and that this formed a key part of messaging regarding peace and stability that aimed to shore up their own political legitimacy.²²⁸ The

²²⁶ Jules Michelet, *History of the French Revolution; Book II: July 14 to October 6, 1789*, ed. Gordon Wright (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), 4.

²²⁷ Caleb Bingham, "Oration Delivered at Paris, by Citizen Carnot, President of the Executive Directory, at the Festival of Gratitude, and Victory, Celebrated at the Champ de Mars, May 29, 1796: Carnot," in *The Columbian Orator*, ed. David W. Blight (New York: NYU Press, 1998), 70-73.

²²⁸ There are many studies that describe the Opportunists' use of visual culture to support their account of domestic stability, see for example: Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*; Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789*; Martin, *La Vendée de la Mémoire*; Agulhon, *Marianne Into Battle*; Ory, *Une nation pour mémoire*.

period's *statuomanie*, a term used at the time to describe the 1880s' craze for republican monuments, was one of many outward manifestations of republican politicians reimagining historical figures as unifying symbols and remaking the landscape into a republican shrine.²²⁹ In 1887, an anticlerical journal pronounced, "It is said that we are now fully in a period of *statuomanie*," and many others bemoaned the need to populate every town square with political leaders (although many artists and intellectuals were honored in these spaces as well).²³⁰ Not to be outdone, conservative groups sponsored monuments of their own and the Western rural regions of France, namely the Vendée and Brittany, maintained counterrevolutionary statues built in response to a nascent parliamentary democracy that saw its roots in the Revolution.²³¹ In 1887, a statue of Saint Michael the Archangel was erected in Legé near a chapel dedicated to the royalist hero François-Athanese Charette de la Contrie (1763-1796), whose largescale, counterrevolutionary commemoration is the focus of Chapter Two.²³² In this sense, the Western memorials, which often honored prominent figures who fought on behalf of the monarchy and feigned harmony between peasant farmer and feudal landowner, have much in common with the Confederate statuary prominent in the American South. The ongoing debate over the presence of such sculpture in the American landscape of the twenty-first century further emphasizes how the oversimplified teaching of national founding myths becomes embedded and how such

²²⁹ The term appears in various publications from the 1880s through the 1920s. June Hargrove on the cult of "great men" in stone, Hargrove "Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic," *Studies in the History of Art* 29 (1991): 48-63.

²³⁰ Milord P..., "Hurbain II," *La Semaine anticléricale dans le diocèse de Nevers*, no. 63 (July 24, 1887): 236. The author cites important issues of the day, such as Boulanger's rise, that were being overlooked in favor of building these new republican shrines.

²³¹ In the 1890s, for the centenary of the Vendéen civil wars, royalist *statuomanie* emerged to counter that subsidized by the republicans. The Vendéen leaders Henri de la Rochejaquelein (1772-94) and Jacques Cathelineau (1759-93) were remembered with statues in the Vendée. Gareth Oakland, "Royalist Memorials of the Civil War in the Vendée during the Early Third Republic," *French History* (2024): <https://doi-org.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/10.1093/fh/crad059>. Oakland's 2020 dissertation looks at the ways the West resisted the Third Republic via monuments to the civil war. Gareth Oakland, "Resisting the Republic: The Politics of Commemoration in the Vendée, 1870-1918" (Ph.D diss., University of London, Royal Holloway College, 2020).

²³² Woell, "Counterrevolutionary Catholicism in Western France," 603.

monuments become sites of struggle where the meaning and memory of national identity is configured.

Statues changed the French landscape in the early Third Republic and were the most visible way in which these narratives were contested, and in the case of Barrias, his Desmoulins was explicitly drawing upon the era's sculptures of the same figure. The role of monuments in forming such transhistorical connections is exemplified by an episode from McWilliam's examination of the ethnonationalistic sculptor Jean Baffier (1851-1920). Baffier's sculpture of Jean-Paul Marat (Fig. 1.3) showed how depictions of revolutionary icons in plaster, stone, and bronze still had the power to provoke, to enrage, and to polarize by their positioning in widely trafficked urban space. With his weathered face and sinewy limbs, Baffier's work is scarcely the idealized vision immortalized by Jacques-Louis David shortly after the Jacobin journalist's assassination in 1793. Putting pen to paper in Paris' Parc Montsouris, Baffier's Marat faced significant backlash from conservative politicians, such as the hardline monarchist Senator Armand Fresneau, aghast at the left-leaning Paris Municipal Council's audacity in placing the statue in this public space in the 14th arrondissement.²³³ Its multiple relocations following its first appearance at the Salon of 1883 saw it traverse Paris from the Parc Montsouris outside the city to a depot in Auteuil, back to the Musée Carnavalet, to the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont, only to be melted down by the Nazi-aligned Vichy regime.²³⁴ The politics of the Revolution were always up for reinterpretation.

²³³ McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance*, 33.

²³⁴ "Monument à Marat," *À nos grands hommes: Musée d'Orsay* (accessed November 19, 2022), <https://anosgrandshommes.musee-orsay.fr/index.php/Detail/objects/3222>; Tom Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris c. 1790-1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 215, 230; Richard Wrigley, "Revolutionary Relics: Survival and Consecration," *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 2 (June 2002): 145-89.

Painting Within the Lines: Félix-Joseph Barrias at the Salon

Félix-Joseph Barrias, who is perhaps best-known today as a footnote in Degas' biography, was only a step removed from the period's *statuomanie* as the elder brother to the sculptor Louis-Ernest Barrias (1841-1905). Barrias the younger made the family's first foray into patriotic monuments. His sculptural group *The Defense of Paris* (Fig. 1.4) was chosen over submissions by Rodin and Carrier-Belleuse in an 1881 competition to commemorate the last Parisian attempt to break the Prussian siege of their city in January 1871.²³⁵ Barrias' female allegory of Paris, dressed in the uniform of the National Guard and crowned with the city walls, strongly resembles a militarized version of Marianne. Its intent is to inspire the populace, represented in the bodies of the weeping woman and the man loading a cannon, to keep fighting and finding solace in grieving as a nation. The Barrias brothers were nineteen years apart in age. While the younger sculptor won the Prix de Rome sixteen years after his elder brother and had many successes at the Salons of the Second Empire, it appears that Louis-Ernest Barrias' service in the National Guard, which interrupted his studies in Rome after he received the Prix de Rome in 1865, transformed his style into the muscular, monumental form expected under the Third Republic.²³⁶ His successful *Defense of Paris* led to further commissions for the state, often for monuments to famous men and Franco-Prussian War memorials.²³⁷

²³⁵ Barrias is cited as the laureate of the concours to decorate the suburb of Courbevoie here: "Conseil général de la Seine," *Le XIX siècle*, no. 3351 (March 2, 1881): unpaginated. It was a standout at the Salon of 1881 and was erected at the traffic circle of Courbevoie in 1884. A.E., "Au Salon: La Sculpture," *La Lanterne*, no. 1504 (May 23, 1881): unpaginated.

²³⁶ His *Foundation of Marseille* (École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts) which won the Prix de Rome in 1865, featured a lithe female figure and even his muscular male figures do not overwhelm. Prior to that, he exhibited some busts that do not have the heft of his post-1870 works. Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs. I. A-C* (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1939), 381. Barrias, like other military artists Detaille and de Neuville, served in 1870. John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-1871* (New Haven: Yale University, 2000), 31.

²³⁷ Bénézit, *Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs. I. A-C*, 381.

Barrias the painter was not a member of the Third Republic's stable of gainfully employed prodigies like his brother or Jean-Paul Laurens. By the time of the Centennial, the elder Barrias was a beloved teacher frequently confused with his brother, including after a bad fall in his studio left him with a broken leg, prompting a series of breathless headlines concerned about the health of "the sculptor Ernest Barrias," which later had to be corrected.²³⁸ At the Salon of 1885, his firm style of facture was compared favorably to the sculptural masses of his younger brother, only to also be chastised for his old-fashioned style. When approaching his first attempt at revolutionary painting at the age of sixty-six, Félix-Joseph Barrias was deemed "one who sent beautiful canvases other times" but was now over-the-hill and "absorbed by his atelier of students."²³⁹ Though cherished by those he taught and a known quantity in the art world, Félix-Joseph did not have the same impact as his brother, having not received the exposure granted by the production of highly visible republican monuments that dotted the French landscape from 1879. Instead, he had made his name in the Salons of the July Monarchy with a painting of *Cincinnatus Receiving the Deputies of the Senate Charged to Bring to Him the Insignia of the Dictatorship* (Fig. 1.5), for which he received the 1844 Prix de Rome. He showed the Roman statesman not, as often described, clothed in blue, but wrapped in a maroon loincloth and shirtless, in contrast to the togaed senators beseeching him to return to power to crush a coup in Rome. Some forty years later, when painting Desmoulins for the 1888 Salon, perhaps Barrias recalled Desmoulins' allusion to Cincinnatus in his speech before the crowd at the Palais-Royal. Atop a table in the Café de Foy, one of hundreds available to patrons of the cafés, shops, and gambling dens within the site's colonnaded walls, Desmoulins asked the assembled crowd if they

²³⁸ "Échos de partout," *Le Petit journal*, no. 9564 (March 3, 1889): 1; "Les Beaux-Arts," *Le Parisien*, no. 365 (May 25, 1889): unpaginated.

²³⁹ Louis Hadolff, "Salon de 1884," *Paris-touriste*, no. 22 (June 1, 1884): unpaginated.

would prefer to be represented by the blue of Cincinnatus to reflect the spiritual inspiration of the American Revolution or the green of hope.²⁴⁰

Desmoulins was an outlier within the Decennial and within Barrias' display, where it was surrounded by his specialties: religious and history painting. With his position on the admission jury of the fine arts section, Barrias was likely less restricted than some younger artists in terms of selection and he curated an eclectic bunch of scenes from his most recent Salon outings. This odd mix of paintings flanking *Desmoulins* ranged from the melodramatic *Death of Chopin* (1885) (Fig. 1.6) to a generic *Triumph of Venus* (1886). Unlike *Chopin*, which gives plenty of space to the small grouping of mourners gathered at the composer's bedside in a landscape format, *Desmoulins* presents an upward surge of bodies pressed against the café table-turned-stage mounted by the central figure. It seems highly likely that Barrias was familiar with Jacques-Louis David's *Tennis Court Oath* (1791, Palace of Versailles) and Antoine-Jean Gros' *Bonaparte Visiting the Plague Victims of Jaffa* (1804, Louvre), where extended arms make unbreakable promises and beg for salvation.

Desmoulins hung rather oddly next to Barrias' morbid *Death of a Pilgrim* (Fig. 1.7), first exhibited at the Salon of 1887, in which the corpse of a pilgrim recently collapsed in the doorway is about to be food for the crows in the tree above. The rendering of pilgrimage shells, staff, and an illuminated manuscript on the low wall beyond the wasted body are the scene's only contextual clues, adding an element of religiosity to the otherwise unidentified figure. By proximity to the painting of *Desmoulins*, which as noted already absorbed something of the character of a religious icon, *Death of a Pilgrim* added another unexpected clerical note to the scene at the Palais-Royal, recasting *Desmoulins* as the scene's high priest. Barrias had never

²⁴⁰ René Héron de Villefosse, *L'Anti Versailles ou Le Palais-Royal de Philippe Égalité* (Paris: Jean Dullis Éditeur, 1974), 236.

undertaken a revolutionary subject on canvas in his forty years at the Salon, but his reliance on the trademarks of religious painting show that he changed little about his order of operations in his unconventional late-career pivot to painting a revolutionary. The painting also stands out amongst revolutionary paintings in the Decennial for its distinct lack of Naturalism, a style associated with veracity, knowledge production, and republican ideals, of which Barrias was not a practitioner. The dream-like, light-infused paint application, which in parts looks as diffuse as pastel, prettifies a subject often made incisive and strident, which were not the descriptors desired for the centrist world's fair that would open the following year.

Painting the Revolution for the State

Some of the most frequent Salon critiques of Barrias' work were that his canvases appeared stylistically to be "thirty years too late," as though "exhumed from a romantic Salon," which could be explained by the artist coming of age under the leading tutors of the 1840s.²⁴¹ Long before most of the artists featured in the Centennial had even been born, Barrias' teacher Léon Cogniet (1794-1880) had created the standard for naturalistic revolutionary paintings in his commissions for King Louis-Philippe (r. 1830-1848) and defined the visual vernacular of history painting that his many of his students made synonymous with the politics and art of the Third Republic.²⁴² King Louis-Philippe I (1773-1850), a member of the more liberal Orléans branch of the French monarchy, "fostered a revolutionary revival" in the narrowest terms. Cogniet's *The Paris National Guard on its way to the Army, September 1792* (Fig. 1.8) elides the traumas the

²⁴¹ Henry Houssaye, *L'art français depuis dix ans (2e édition)* (Paris: Didier, 1883), 97; C. Guymon, "Salon de 1885: Salle VII," *La Lanterne*, no. 2936 (May 5, 1885): unpaginated. Barrias' 1885 Salon submission, *The Death of Chopin*, would not have been out of place amongst troubadour paintings. His rigid figures were often compared to the dense, monumental sculptures of his brother.

²⁴² For documentation of trends Cogniet began in painting politics for the state, see Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 45-46, 99-101, 114-17.

capital was experiencing at that time, including the September Massacres and the previous month's assault on the Tuileries Palace that resulted in the fall of the monarchy. As Michael Marrinan notes, the real removal of the King and Queen from power is replaced by the symbolic supplanting of a royal statue by the tricolor flag atop a plinth in the background.²⁴³ For all his expressions of liberalism, Louis-Philippe feared the popular aspects of the Revolution and Cogniet's paintings showed regimented military leadership and carefully choreographed the significant scenes of the revolutionary era. Cogniet's contemporary Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) understood the unwritten brief that state commissions could not represent the more controversial aspects of history that even a self-proclaimed republican leader could not countenance. In *The conquerors of the Bastille in front of the Hôtel de Ville 14 July 1789* (Fig. 1.9), commissioned in 1839 for the Throne Room in Paris' Hôtel de Ville, Delaroche represented that day's signature events in the figure holding a key and a signed letter from the Bastille's governor, Bernard-René Jourdan de Launay (1740-1789). These items meticulously overwrite the governor's lynching by this same crowd earlier that day.²⁴⁴

Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921), Barrias' peer from Cogniet's atelier, succeeded his teacher as the preeminent history painter for the state under the Third Republic.²⁴⁵ Once firmly in control of the government, the Opportunist Republicans affirmed their "republican Republic" with an even more significant investment in revolutionary imagery than their predecessors.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*, 117.

²⁴⁴ M.A.P., "Paul Delaroche, *The Conquerors of the Bastille in front of the Hôtel de Ville 14 July 1789*," *19th-Century Collections: Musée du Petit Palais* (accessed November 6, 2022), <https://www.petitpalais.paris.fr/en/oeuvre/conquerors-bastille-front-city-hall-14-july-1789>.

²⁴⁵ Laurens and other leading academic artists of the period have received significant attention in dissertation projects of the 1990s and 2000s, see Samuel Harwell Howell, Jr., "The Dilemma of the French History Painter, 1870-1914: Jean-Paul Laurens, Paul-Albert Besnard, Georges-Antoine Rochegrosse" (Ph.D diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1994); Jones, "Resurrecting History: Jean-Paul Laurens and the Politics of History Painting During the French Third Republic, 1871-1914" (Ph.D diss., University of Maryland, 1996); Snay, "Politics by Another Name"; Getson, "Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration."

²⁴⁶ Sérié, *La Peinture d'histoire en France, 1860-1900*, 23-24.

During the Second Empire, Laurens had carved a niche for himself specializing in French history, which earned him laudatory reviews at Salons.²⁴⁷ The republican administrations of the 1880s chose him for major projects, including the Centennial redecoration of the Hôtel de Ville, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, and the Panthéon. The republicans' desire to connect their own governance to the bureaucratic reforms of 1789 is summarized by the scene selection for the redecoration of the Hôtel de Ville, the seat of municipal power in Paris. Laurens initially planned to paint a scene from August 10, 1792 in which he showed the invasion of the Tuileries Palace, however the initial sketch was scrapped in favor of the less incendiary welcoming of King Louis XVI (1753-1793) to the Hôtel de Ville by Mayor Jean-Sylvain Bailly (1736-1793) (Fig. 1.10).²⁴⁸ Though the "steel vault" salute, as described by Michelet, presaged the eventual death of the King by guillotine and by extension that of Bailly ten months later, the crux of the picture is the superseding of monarchic power by civic power channeled by elected government.²⁴⁹ Though Barrias may not have seen Laurens' contemporaneous preparatory work for the Hôtel de Ville while drafting his own revolutionary scene, the gentleman in the frock coat presenting arms in Barrias' painting evokes this "steel vault" salute, suggesting that both men understood the need to neutralize the violence of the period to earn the Opportunists' approval.

Camille Desmoulins, Witness to the Revolution

Despite his centrality in Barrias' canvas, Camille Desmoulins does not appear to be acting of his own accord in the painting. A comedic take on the painting (Fig. 1.11) from a sheet of Salon caricatures, in which the cartoonist Stop proposes that the wispy, legless Desmoulins has been

²⁴⁷ Kimberly A. Jones, "Jean-Paul Laurens, the Gobelins Manufactory, and the Tapestry Revival of the Third Republic," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 4, no. 1 (October 1996): 2-40.

²⁴⁸ Jones, "Resurrecting History," 452.

²⁴⁹ Jones, "Resurrecting History," 452-53.

“kidnapped” by the muscular man below, accords with the narrative constructed about the young pamphleteer over the course of a century, one in which he was less of an instigator than Marat, Robespierre, or Danton.²⁵⁰ A retrospective distinction between Camille Desmoulins and his revolutionary cohort that absolved him of blame for many of the Revolution’s excesses was abetted by Desmoulins’ own writing and enabled his posthumous incorporation into the Decennial. Desmoulins was savvy in his self-fashioning as witness and bystander to the tumult in Paris, writing about the events of the day as though conscious of how others would write about him in the future.²⁵¹ On July 12, 1789, the Guise-born lawyer had not managed to establish himself at the bar in Paris and paused to consider returning home to practice the law, as his school friend Maximilien Robespierre (1758-1794) had done in his hometown of Arras.²⁵² In the summer of 1789, he spent his time listening to speakers in the courtyard of the Palais-Royal, thus his was a small role when compared to the representatives meeting at the Estates General in Versailles and his letters suggest as much. Desmoulins was simultaneously drawn into the chaos of that hot summer and conveniently outside of the circle of blame for some of its bloodier moments, despite his frequentation of the Palais-Royal, which was a hotbed of “conspirators” against Versailles.²⁵³

Desmoulins’ letters to his father explain in gory detail how pro-royalist figures were treated in the Paris *pied-à-terre* of the king’s more liberal cousin, Louis Philippe II (1747-1793), duc d’Orléans, soon to be nicknamed Philippe-Égalité for his support of the initial phase of the

²⁵⁰ Stop, “Le Salon de 1888,” *Journal amusant*, no. 1652 (April 28, 1888): 4.

²⁵¹ Drawing upon Camille’s own correspondence in Jules Claretie, *Œuvres des Camille Desmoulins*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1874).

²⁵² Desmoulins’ attempt at the legal profession had been, as Marisa Linton puts it, “a hand-to-mouth existence until the coming of the Revolution brought him sudden fame for his skill as a journalist, and the dramatic role he had played before the storming of the Bastille.” Marisa Linton, “Friends, Enemies, and the Role of the Individual,” in *A Companion to the French Revolution*, ed. Peter McPhee (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2012), 267.

²⁵³ Jacques Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins: Le premier républicain de France* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1973), 93.

Revolution. His palace near the Louvre played host to an excruciating stretch of corporal punishment carried out in late June 1789 that evoked the infamous tarring and feathering wrought upon Loyalists to Great Britain at the outset of the American Revolution. The Viennese ambassador escaped relatively unscathed when rushed out of the courtyard, while others received canings, whippings, brandings, and had their eyes put out for criticism of the reforms underway at Versailles.²⁵⁴ Desmoulins would recount on July 11th that “there were 10,000 executioners” present, a sentiment echoed by his biographer Jules Claretie (1840-1913) in 1874, who wrote of a man “overcome by the frenzy...to the point that he does not feel.”²⁵⁵ By the early years of the Third Republic, Desmoulins was understood to be an impetuous, passionate, and immature supporter of the Republic, forever frozen in memory as “the personification of the nascent Revolution,” a “young, enthusiastic man, throwing green leaves [and caution] to the wind.”²⁵⁶

A passage from a June 24th, 1789 letter to his father reads, “All Paris is in combustion, the Palais-Royal is full as an egg. The Duke of Orléans is applauded everywhere...At the Palais-Royal, those who have the voice of a star take turns every evening. They go up on a table...They read the strongest writing of the day on the affairs of the time.”²⁵⁷ Written somewhat presciently two weeks before his own speech of July 12th, the text reads like a third-person omniscient guidebook to the scenes which took place in the French capital while the Estates General met at Versailles. Every oration given in the Palais-Royal held sway over miscellaneous anti-royalist agitators, sex workers, gamblers, and passersby that utilized the central pavilion lined with chestnut trees in the heart of Paris. Desmoulins painted vivid tales for his father back in the

²⁵⁴ Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 119

²⁵⁵ Jules Claretie, *Camille Desmoulins, Lucile Desmoulins: étude sur les Dantonistes, d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits* (Paris: E. Plon et Cie, 1875), 52.

²⁵⁶ Claretie, *Œuvres des Camille Desmoulins*, vol. 1, 10.

²⁵⁷ Héron de Villefosse, *L'Anti Versailles*, 235.

northern Picardy town of Guise, often emphasizing the violence and danger that befell overt royalists in the city, but always positioning himself as an observer and narrator rather than aggressor.

Writing of the insurrection of June 30th, 1789 Desmoulins described “a column,” that “marched to the Prison de L’Abbaye and, with blows of axe and club, broke down the doors and brought the fourteen guards [who had refused to fire upon the people of Paris and were imprisoned for their impudence] back triumphantly...we put them under the protection of the nation: they were lodged at the Palais-Royal and a deputation was immediately sent to the National Assembly to obtain their pardon.”²⁵⁸ Desmoulins’ deployment of “they” when describing axe blows and the breaking of prison doors and “we” when narrating acts of clemency and bureaucracy intentionally drew a line between the orators operating from within the bounds of the Palais-Royal and the crowd marching on armories and prisons, where they engaged in bloody clashes with the King’s German and Swiss mercenaries. As René Héron de Villefosse points out in his account of the Palais-Royal as the “Anti-Versailles,” Desmoulins inflated the number of guards freed from the Prison de L’Abbaye in his letter.²⁵⁹ One reading of this exaggeration emphasizes the extent to which Desmoulins understood the importance of his moment and wanted to convey its scale to family and friends outside of Paris. Another more cynical reading perhaps, is that such an error makes clear that Desmoulins, aware of the sporadic violence that marked this period of the Revolution and contemporaneous fears of it, did not follow the crowd across the Seine and instead listened to the hearsay percolating around the place he deemed “the camp of the Revolution.”²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Héron de Villefosse, *L’Anti Versailles*, 234.

²⁵⁹ Héron de Villefosse, *L’Anti Versailles*, 234.

²⁶⁰ Héron de Villefosse, *L’Anti Versailles*, 235.

Jules Michelet, beloved historian of late-nineteenth-century republicans, would write in his *Historical View of the French Revolution* (1847) of the journalist's uncanny ability to inspire action without taking ownership of the consequences: "A Camille Desmoulins might start the game and begin the hunt; a Danton hunted it to the death."²⁶¹ Marisa Linton likewise describes Desmoulins as a "reckless" one who "liked to play with his own public image," often backing down from his outlandish statements "like a child that knows he has said something shocking in front of the grown-ups."²⁶² Michelet wrote vividly of the emotions involved in the central actions of the Revolution, often placing himself in the scene.²⁶³ Michelet latched on to Desmoulins' characterization of the Palais-Royal as a combustion engine, "the burning focus of the furnace," where "all men forgot themselves."²⁶⁴ He does not single out a specific person as the instigator of the events of July 14th, stating succinctly, "Nobody, I repeat, gave the impulse," further emphasizing that none amongst the "orators of the Palais-Royal" were present for the attack on the Bastille prison.²⁶⁵ Desmoulins' biographer Édouard Fleury latched onto the description of the Palais-Royal as a cauldron, citing Desmoulins' own *La Lanterne aux Parisiens*, written two months after the Bastille fell: "It has been from the Palais-Royal that, for the past six months, France has been inundated with pamphlets that have made everyone, including soldiers, philosophical."²⁶⁶ This was the place that empowered Desmoulins—whose family questioned his life in Paris due to his lack of advantageous employment—to write home: "I am now busy with a

²⁶¹ Michelet, *Historical View of the French Revolution*, 181.

²⁶² Linton, "Friends, Enemies, and the Role of the Individual," 269.

²⁶³ See Roland Barthes, *Michelet*, trans. Richard Howard (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Michèle Hannoosh, *Jules Michelet: Writing Art and History in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2019), 28.

²⁶⁴ Michelet, *Historical View of the French Revolution*, 122.

²⁶⁵ Michelet, *Historical View of the French Revolution*, 143.

²⁶⁶ Édouard Fleury, *Biographie de Camille Desmoulins: Études révolutionnaires* (Laon: Imprimerie de Éd. Fleury et Ad. Chevergny, 1850), 45.

patriotic work. The pleasure I have of hearing the admirable plans of our zealous citizens, at the club and in some cafés, drives me.”²⁶⁷

This patriotic work entitled *Free France* (*La France libre*) would remain unpublished until the attack on the Bastille made printers less skittish about producing anti-royalist pamphlets. Though Desmoulins had ceased solely “hearing” in the lead up to July 12th and had begun preparing for his own oration with practice runs at other cafés, he never described himself as a man of action.²⁶⁸ He wrote home as though he were stuck in a holding pattern, held back by wary publishers and his own apprehensions regarding his own ability to speak without “the voice of Stentor,” a reference to antiquity in line with his famous reference to Cincinnatus as well as a sign of anxiety over his stutter.²⁶⁹ When he did speak on July 12th, it was to warn the crowd of “a Saint Bartholomew’s [Day Massacre] of patriots” and it is not clear where he went following what was a very incendiary speech by his own description.²⁷⁰ Desmoulins’ biographer Jacques Janssens asserts it would have been easy to lose yourself in the aftermath and that there is no evidence Desmoulins went with the armed crowd.²⁷¹ However, there is no question that he inflamed his audience. The first opportunity Desmoulins had to write home about the experience was four days later, when the Bastille had been taken and news was likely making its way back to Guise. After describing his own speech, Desmoulins became the narrator of the following days’ uproar, employing the third person and removing himself from the ensuing clashes with the King’s guards and the murder of Governor de Launay. Michelet too argued that “the Palais-

²⁶⁷ Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 122.

²⁶⁸ Janssens writes that Desmoulins, who was afflicted with a stammer that made public speaking onerous, practiced at Café Procope on the Fossés-Saint-Germain. Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 122.

²⁶⁹ Stentor was the herald of the Trojan Army and Desmoulins likened the Palais-Royal’s regular speakers to him. Desmoulins’ stutter hampered his career in litigation and made him hesitant to speak publicly. Camille Desmoulins, *Œuvres des Camille Desmoulins* (Paris: Librairie de la Bibliothèque nationale, 1871), 86.

²⁷⁰ Claretie, ed., *Œuvres des Camille Desmoulins*, vol. 2, 91.

²⁷¹ Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 141-42.

Royal was not the starting-point, neither was it to the Palais-Royal that the conquerors brought back the spoils and prisoners,” thereby reconfiguring the space of Desmoulins’ speech, which was much associated with human vices, into one that “became pure for an instant” when imbued with revolutionary ideals.²⁷²

The speech of July 12th is the pregnant moment of denouement chosen by Barrias in 1888. It is notably a moment from which the events of the Revolution unfurl rapidly, but do not logically follow from, as it comprised one speech amongst many in the Palais-Royal and elsewhere.²⁷³ Accounts from Michelet to Centennial-year newspapers to Janssens all share the peaceful chestnut leaf episode of this day that, with enough repetition, became indispensable shorthand for recalling the story in its entirety.²⁷⁴ The “Cincinnatus” allusion via the new green emblem was a hallmark of Desmoulins storytelling, and in this sense Barrias’ painting is no different. In one hand, Barrias’ Desmoulins holds up his hat festooned with the green leaves of the chestnut tree arcades visible behind him, in the other, he grips his pistol and saber together tightly. By rotating Desmoulins’ shoulders ever so slightly to position the hat decorated with leaves further forward than the weapons, Barrias has identified Desmoulins with a symbolic Revolution rather than the violent overthrow of established power. Much like the centrist Opportunist government who had been in power for almost a decade when Barrias embarked

²⁷² Michelet, *Historical View of the French Revolution*, 122, 143.

²⁷³ Donald Sutherland points out that the Palais-Royal was just one venue where a call to arms occurred. Simultaneously at the Hôtel de Ville, the “Electors distributed arms.” Donald Sutherland, “Urban Crowds, Riot, Utopia, and Massacres, 1789-92,” in *A Companion to the French Revolution*, ed. McPhee, 235.

²⁷⁴ This episode where Desmoulins invokes Cincinnatus is repeated by Michelet, whose work set the foundation for the centrist Opportunist republicans of the Third Republic to connect themselves to revolutionary emblems. On July 12th, 1889, the Opportunist government commemorated Desmoulins’ speech with the unveiling of a monument to the young pamphleteer’s early optimism in the Palais-Royal gardens. The ceremony was well-documented in newspapers of the time, most of which recalled the legend of Desmoulins in their columns. See for some examples: “Gazette du Jour,” *La Justice*, no. 3466 (July 11, 1889): 2; “Camille Desmoulins au Palais-Royal,” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9697 (July 14, 1889): 1; “Les Fêtes du Centenaire: L’Anniversaire du 12 juillet,” *Le Rappel*, no. 7065 (July 14, 1889): unpaginated; “La Quinzaine,” *Gazette anecdotique*, no. 14 (July 31, 1889): 33-38. Lastly, in his biography of Desmoulins, Janssens paints a more complicated figure than Michelet and nineteenth-century journalists but retains the principal story. Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 119-44.

upon painting Desmoulins, the artist seemingly embraced the symbolism of the Revolution in his mythmaking while renouncing 1789's still controversial and unresolved legacies.

Barrias' retelling of Desmoulins' speech at Café de Foy in the Palais-Royal on July 12th in the aftermath of the popular finance minister Jacques Necker's (1732-1803) firing by Louis XVI recast the courtyard as a place of patriotic virtue. From its economic rehabilitation under the auspices of Philippe-Égalité, who was chronically short of funds, the Palais-Royal was a hub of hundreds of cafés, illegal gambling establishments, and solicitation.²⁷⁵ The site was so associated with prostitution that sometime after the August 1789 publication of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, a parody appeared claiming to speak on behalf of the Palais-Royal's *citoyennes*, with articles requesting freedom to promenade the gardens, an end to fines from the police, and "provided however that their actions aren't contrary to law and that they don't trouble the social order...if men are free to go to women's homes, women must therefore be free to receive them."²⁷⁶ None of this is present in Barrias' painting, which recontextualizes this space more palatably for a prudish Salon audience. The two women depicted in the painting, while overshadowed by the throng of men, are absorbed in the speech, and noticeably lacking in conventional signs of promiscuity. In the many sculptural versions of the same scene, all exhibited at the Salon of 1882 during a peak of electoral success for the political left, artists did

²⁷⁵ Louis-Philippe sought to turn his city palace into a financial success by reaping rent payments from cafés, gambling dens, and tenants in the apartments of the upper floors. These funds were then used on the duc d'Orléans' lofty renovation projects in his own apartments. His refurbishments were not completed when, like his cousin whom Philippe-Égalité had voted to condemn to death, the duc d'Orléans mounted the scaffold to the guillotine in November 1793. Émile Dupeyard, *Le Palais-Royal de Paris: Architecture et Décoration de Louis XV à nos jours* (Paris: Librairie centrale d'art et d'architecture, 1911), 15. Though gambling was illegal in France, these laws were scarcely enforced, and the police were not likely to infiltrate a royal palace to ensure adherence. The following article provides a wealth of information on the Palais-Royal's centrality within Europe as a gambler's delight. Russell T. Barnhart, "Gambling in revolutionary Paris — The Palais Royal: 1789–1838," *Journal of Gambling Studies* 8 (2005): 151-166.

²⁷⁶ "Déclaration des Droits des citoyennes du Palais-Royal," [1789?], 1-7. British Library, Rare Books Collection, 935.h.23.(6.).

not take up the challenge of representing the Palais-Royal, choosing instead to isolate Desmoulins on his plinth. Barrias, however, recontextualizes his speaker in an inoffensive reimagining of the crucible of the Revolution. By presenting a crowd of mixed social classes all huddled around the same small table and removing all reference to vice, Barrias softens both the speaker and his environment, presenting a cohesive vision of the Palais-Royal on the eve of the Bastille's storming.

The vertiginous arrangement of the canvas, made even more claustrophobic by the press of bodies and upward momentum of weapons and limbs, further reinforces the conceit of a Revolution of the masses, united in their goals. Desmoulins becomes, in Barrias' framing, a man coerced to act by the pressures of the moment rather than an ideologue capable of premeditation or acting to realise preconceived notions. By the time Desmoulins clambered onto one of the Café de Foy tables to speak to the crowd around three o'clock in the afternoon on July 12th—the prevailing episode of Desmoulins' biography and the one transmitted through many Salon offerings—his own historical record suggests that he had been watching his peers incite crowds for some time. However, Barrias' brush erases both the perceived flaws of the environment and Desmoulins' culpability in making it seem as though he was lifted onto the table by the muscled *ouvrier* below. This 1888 reconstruction of Desmoulins offered a vision in line with the idealized Jacobin presented by republican writers of the past century, beginning with Desmoulins himself.

Ideologues By Contrast: Robespierre, Danton, and Marat

The following section, which focuses on Desmoulins' Jacobin associates, serves a dual purpose. Firstly, it establishes the contrast that enabled Desmoulins to be embraced by the centre-left of

the late nineteenth century while Robespierre, Danton, and Marat remained tarred with the brush of “terroriste” (I will have more to say about this too in Chapter Four). Secondly, it further underscores the act of artistic transcription and mediation central to the creation of every work of art in this dissertation, by showing the artist’s “work” as it were, revealing his textual sources like a mathematical proof. Naturalist artists did not frequently flaunt bravura brushwork, rather their labor showed in their research done before putting brush to canvas. Each canvas in the Decennial sought to make a convincing historical case to its audience one hundred years after the events they depicted and, though they are necessarily colored by the experiences of both artist and viewer, they subsume the source material within a unifying composition. The more unifying vision of the Revolution according to Michelet was critical to inter-republican cohesion during the 1880s and diametrically opposed histories, be they royalist or Jacobin, endangered this veneer. Marxist historians’ dismissal of Michelet stems from his overlooking of economic and class factors in favor of state actions during the Revolution, issues which remained polarizing in the 1880s.²⁷⁷ Michelet wrote in totalizing, broad language, defining the events beginning in 1789 as “The advent of the Law, the resurrection of Right, and the reaction of Justice”; sweeping phrases that boiled a series of complex events to buzzwords.²⁷⁸ In Alfred Loudet’s (1836-1898) painting of the three most controversial revolutionaries (Fig. 1.12), the distinct layers of translation from “original history” to the Salon of 1882 remain exposed, and it is worth turning away from Desmoulins for a moment to prize these strands apart.

For many on the right and in the center, Jacobin ideology was associated with the national bloodletting during the Terror of 1793-1794. Even in 1882, which was, as we shall discuss, the highwater mark for the political left who raced to acquire revolutionary canvases

²⁷⁷ Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*; Book II, xiv.

²⁷⁸ Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*; Book II, 17.

from the Salon, the state did not dare acquire Loudet's large painting of Desmoulins' colleagues most associated with the bloodshed of the guillotine: Robespierre, Danton, and Marat.

Assembled in a musty chamber engaged in a debate of ideas, Robespierre and Danton watch stony-faced as a heavily caricatured Marat rants and flails his limbs. Stop's lampoon of the painting Loudet submitted to the Salon of 1882 in the *Journal amusant* suggested that Marat was presently engaged in teaching choreography of the latest can-can craze (Fig. 1.13), making an unfavorable comparison between this attempt at grand history painting and the cabaret culture of Montmartre.²⁷⁹

At best, the painting was seen as outlandish to the point of humor; at worst, it "evoked a fury against this painter" amongst partisans of left and right.²⁸⁰ Loudet defended his picture of "a very particular history" depicting "the three characters in whom the French Revolution was incarnated."²⁸¹ Loudet's expansion of "history" to include François Ponsard's five-act play *Charlotte Corday*, which triggered protests during its first run in 1850 and which journalists recognized as the painting's source material, exemplifies the multilayered approach *fin-de-siècle* artists took to depict a Revolution that occurred a century prior.²⁸² Without firsthand experience, the artists featured throughout this study gathered their documentation piecemeal, drawing from diverse historical, theatrical, and literary sources in pursuit of historical veracity. However, the final works were also marked by their contemporary political and cultural framing, and by the experience of a succession of cataclysmic historical events that roiled nineteenth-century France, including the Franco-Prussian War, German occupation, successive *bourse* crashes, and the rapid

²⁷⁹ Stop, "Le Salon de 1882—Par Stop," *Journal amusant*, no. 1343 (May 27, 1882): 4.

²⁸⁰ These words appear in Edmond Jacques' Salon review in *L'Intransigeant*, a journal which began as an outlet of the opposition left. Edmond Jacques, "Le Salon," *L'Intransigeant*, no. 670 (May 15, 1882): 2.

²⁸¹ Sérié, *La Peinture d'histoire en France, 1860-1900*, 24.

²⁸² Jacques De Cock, "'The Collection of Marat's Bibliographer' at the British Library," *The British Library Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 51; "The Salon," *The American Register for Paris and the Continent*, no. 737 (May 20, 1882): 5.

shift between divergent forms of government. Adding personal aesthetic choices, academic training, and any number of inspirations for which there is no documentation, the Decennial œuvres presented here capture national, regional, and personal histories simultaneously. Here the theatrical work of Ponsard, himself born in 1814 at the beginning of the Bourbon Restoration's royalist revival and whose understanding of the Revolution was itself secondhand, is filtered again through Loudet's visual reading of an imagined conversation between the Revolution's prominent ideologues.

Pierre Sérié's interpretation of Loudet's painting is that the artist "confronted different attitudes aroused by revolutionary turmoil, reunited them, and did not privilege one approach to the detriment of the other," thereby giving equal weight to "all possible postures from the vantage point of the upheaval caused by the abolition of the monarchy."²⁸³ This analysis echoes the purported approach of the playwright Ponsard, who did not uphold the sanctity of translating the original text as was expected, choosing instead to draw together elements with the most significant emotional payoff for his audience. Ponsard defended his use of more recent sources in the creation of his play *Ulysse* (1852), remarking that instead of translating the original ancient text "as a way of showing Homer to spectators...as a translator...I feel bound to explain in what light the poet I translate has appeared to me."²⁸⁴ His is a "multidimensional act of 'translation'" equivalent to the appropriation of revolutionary imagery filtered through generations of interpretation for Third Republic Salon success.²⁸⁵ Ponsard's *Corday* too sought to hook audiences primed for Romantic era melodrama with a fictionalized, ill-fated love story between Corday and the Girondin deputy Barbaroux, in addition to the philosophical debate presented in

²⁸³ Sérié, *La Peinture d'histoire en France, 1860-1900*, 24.

²⁸⁴ Cécile Dudouyt, "Sacrilegious Translation," in *Epic Performances from the Middle Ages into the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Fiona Macintosh et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 494.

²⁸⁵ Dudouyt, "Sacrilegious Translation," 494.

Act Four that provided a climactic confrontation on stage and in Loudet's canvas. By the end of this act, Corday will have assassinated Marat, granting this sequence a sense of denouement. Act Four, scene seven of Ponsard's play takes place in Marat's ramshackle home, identifiable by the shadow of the Panthéon just visible in the sliver of window, identifying the doctor-turned-journalist with the intellectual left bank of Paris and, potentially, foreshadowing his impending murder and interment in the newly secular monument beyond his window.²⁸⁶ He imagined a conversation between the three men after their suppression of the Girondin faction and immediately preceding Marat's assassination by Corday in July 1793.

Loudet took up the role of prop master, capturing Marat's state of mind by draping still-wet newspapers across furniture and peeling yellow wallpaper from the stone to convey the frenetic nature and feigned humility of the Friend of the People.²⁸⁷ The painting is almost a direct transcription of Ponsard's stage directions onto canvas, attempting to show in oil paint what Loudet had perhaps witnessed in the flesh during the play's 1880 run at the Odéon Theatre in Paris.²⁸⁸ The painted stage is occupied by a bedraggled Marat ranting about how the Jacobins should proceed following the August 1792 collapse of the monarchy and Danton standing rigidly between Marat and the seated Robespierre. With the action recessed into the background of the room and the figures all facing front, the whole painting has the effect of a theatrical set. The placement of Danton between Robespierre and Marat emphasizes that Ponsard's play addressed the modern interpretation of their respective ideologies and reflected their posthumous legacies.

The rhyming couplets of Ponsard's verse further serve to elevate the scene beyond "objective" history; here we encounter the three men staged to dramatize their mythic personae,

²⁸⁶ François Ponsard, *Charlotte Corday: A Tragedy* (London: Trübner and Company, 1867), 101-17.

²⁸⁷ See the stage notes. Ponsard, *Charlotte Corday*, 101.

²⁸⁸ There are a number of periodicals that reviewed the Odéon staging in November 1880.

and the play reveals them making it clear how they wish to be remembered. Robespierre's desire for an "austere patriotism" guided by "virtue," garners the response of moving Danton, physically and politically, "towards the left."²⁸⁹ The exchange barbs back and forth until Marat, finally invited to speak by Danton, spits out "so you stoop to me, ungrateful brother? And Marat is thus not any more this acerbic maniac who compromises the plans of Danton the superb?"²⁹⁰ Unlike his compatriots, Marat speaks succinctly of his "simple and luminous idea" that they need to name "a dictator...surrounded by lictors who will seek out and put to death all the conspirators."²⁹¹ It is surely this moment, where the lines are drawn most sharply between the three men, where Marat calls for "heads to fall under the axe" while indicting Robespierre as a "sanctimonious hypocrite" and Danton as a "speechifier," that Loudet painted for the Salon of 1882. Marat's outlandish posture and expression creates an unsettling atmosphere for the viewer, especially in its diametrical opposition to the coolly nonchalant postures of Robespierre and Danton; the artist's view of their three distinct approaches is expressed most succinctly in their physiognomic representation.

Sérié makes the point that Loudet's painting honors three distinct Jacobin approaches in one space and that the painting does not champion one ideology over another.²⁹² Certainly, Marat's criticisms of his colleagues are not without merit. However, with Marat's grotesquely exaggerated expression, designed to denote the character within and heightened by Robespierre's physical recoil, the painting elicits the least sympathy for the journalist's point of view. An American reviewer saw in Loudet's Marat "a tigerish thirst for blood upon his face" as he called for incitement of the populace, while remarking upon Danton's "robust scorn and disgust" and

²⁸⁹ Ponsard, *Charlotte Corday*, 103.

²⁹⁰ Ponsard, *Charlotte Corday*, 106.

²⁹¹ Ponsard, *Charlotte Corday*, 106.

²⁹² Pierre Sérié, *La Peinture d'histoire en France, 1860-1900: La Lyre ou le poignard* (Paris: Arthéna, 2014), 24.

Robespierre's "Jesuitical hatred and alarm."²⁹³ The feelings engendered about revolutionary ideology by Loudet's canvas were distinctly unsettling and scarcely fit the brief for works favored by the state, freshly optimistic about their hard-fought Republic inspired by Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.

It was not solely that Loudet chose polarizing characters, though it certainly didn't help; as Chapter Four in this thesis explores, images of Marat were widespread in the Salons of the 1880s, as much as any other revolutionary, and yet they were overwhelmingly rejected from the Decennial for their provocative content that threatened a clean narrative of progress begun in 1789. Sérié makes the case that Room Twenty-Two of the Salon of 1880 might have been named the "Marat Room," given the prevalence of depictions of his murder by Corday nearly a century after the event. By portraying Robespierre, Danton, and Marat together, fiercely debating the course of the Revolution to come and what it should represent, Loudet's painting shattered any semblance of unity the Opportunist Republicans could feign regarding the nation's founding myths. Instead, by pitting the three most prominent and feared ideologues of the Revolution on the cusp of the Terror, declaiming against one another, Loudet exposed the fragmentation of the contemporary left rather than celebrating a more unifying vision. It comes as no surprise then, given that artists craved public commissions, that it was Desmoulins, unassociated with the ideologies framed by Ponsard and Loudet, and whose romantic connotations elevated his position in the same Salon of 1882, who was identified as a figurehead for a non-partisan republican history.

²⁹³ "The Salon," *The American Register for Paris and the Continent*, 5. Marat's claim to be *L'Ami du Peuple* rested upon his support for the popular unrest that had initially brought the Jacobins to power. On the tension between the more bourgeois Jacobins and the populist wing, see Tom Grettton, "Marat, *L'Ami du Peuple*, David," in *David's 'The Death of Marat'*, eds. William Vaughan and Helen Weston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 34-55.

To further underscore which figures of the revolutionary left were allowable within the bounds of the *Exposition universelle*, the Bordeaux-born Edmond-Louis Dupain (1847-1933) exhibited a canvas (Fig. 1.14) honoring the faction made up largely of deputies from his native Gironde region in the southwest of France. The *Exposition* made space for figures such as these who could reasonably be cast as victims of the Terror. The graying corpses of the Girondin leaders Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve (1756-1794) and François Buzot (1760-1794) lie motionless in a field in Saint-Émilion, outside Bordeaux, where they took refuge in their final days after an insurrection against the Jacobins failed to materialize. After being marked for execution by the National Convention in the spring of 1794, Pétion and Buzot ultimately took their own lives and, as their legend would have it, their bodies were found some weeks later, grotesquely mangled by dogs that had feasted on them.²⁹⁴ Perhaps because of its gruesome subject matter, this was the most durable aspect of the final hours of the Girondins. “This rather horrible subject” was documented in the reviews of the 1880 Salon where Dupain first exhibited the work. The artist was hailed for his bold draughtsmanship, strengthened by the “science of drawing,” and a thick paint application denoting the painter’s “valiant temperament.”²⁹⁵ The prominent critic cited here, Ernest Chesneau, emphasized that the most critical aspect of Dupain’s work was its successful embrace of Naturalist style, based on rationality and science without lacking in painterly idiosyncrasies. Note the symbiosis of painterly effect with the subject matter; Dupain’s

²⁹⁴ This passage is taken from the historical addendum to François Buzot’s memoirs by the historian Joseph Gaudet (1795-1880): “Two days later, the bodies of Pétion and Buzot were found in a wheat field, half eaten by dogs. The crowd they had seen was attracted by the local festival of the village near which they were, and a few days later the 9th of Thermidor was to put an end to the power of the anarchists and the misfortune of the proscribed.” François Buzot and Joseph Gaudet, *Mémoires sur la Révolution française, Par Buzot, Député à la Convention Nationale; Précédés d’un Précis de sa Vie et de Recherches historiques sur les Girondins, Par M. Gaudet* (Paris: Chez Béchetainé, 1823), 103.

²⁹⁵ Ernest Chesneau, “Le Moniteur Universel, 10 juin 1880,” *Le Salon*, no. 8 (1880): 127.

brush, loaded with hues ranging from light gold to ochre, leaves its trace throughout the foreground in the striated, multidirectional stems of wheat.

In mid-June when Pétion and Buzot took their own lives, the wheat would have been long and ripening and the artist embraced the symbolism of two dead or dying bodies contrasted with wheat ready to be harvested. Pétion and Buzot are dressed in dark, earthy tones that harmonize with the field surrounding them, as well as with the dogs gnawing at their corpses. Blame for their deaths is softened somewhat by attributing the killing to wild animals, though these can be read quite easily as an allegory for the Jacobins. While the dogs chewing on Pétion and Buzot add an element of revolting horror and momentary action, there's an inevitability to the scene's finale that brings closure and resolution. Additionally, the artist chose to assuage his audience further, by ridding his protagonists of the societal stigma of suicide. Though the figure splayed across the ground is undoubtedly deceased, Dupain's retelling makes it appear as though his comrade shot him in the chest to spare him the pain of mauling and he fell backwards into the dirt. On a first reading, and I admit this is macabre, the extreme foreshortening on the right arm of the still-breathing figure looked like the exposed bones of a radius and ulna. Upon closer examination, there is a wisp of gun smoke arising from the triple-barreled pistol he holds in his hand, which undercuts the original reading but shores up the artist's desire to cultivate more sympathy for Pétion and Buzot by showing them fighting to the death inflicted upon them. While the stems of wheat growing up around the bodies envelop them like a natural shroud, Dupain's figures struggle against their outcome, rendering them more heroic in the eyes of the public.

While scarcely conservative figures, as they had voted for the end of the French monarchy, Pétion and Buzot, like Desmoulins, were seen as victims of the Jacobin Terror. Similarly to Desmoulins, who was recast as a young and impetuous character forever frozen in

1789 on a table at the Café de Foy, Pétion and Buzot were removed from their actions in the National Convention. Unlike Desmoulins, however, they were depicted in a sorry state that could not but elicit the sympathy of an audience. The works by Félix-Joseph Barrias and Edmond-Louis Dupain would not have been far from one another in the Palace of Fine Arts, seeing as it was organized alphabetically by last name, which supports the assertion that the Decennial display did not elevate one present ideology over another, no matter how unsuited Desmoulins, Pétion, Buzot, and the scenes from the Vendée analyzed in Chapter Two were to be bound together in the same space. The curation of the Revolution in the Decennial, as well as individual works, demonstrates how the Opportunists wished to smooth down distinctions and disagreements by presenting an ideologically heterodox display, unified by the rational structure of the alphabet rather than any explicit political principle.

Desmoulinsmanie: The Salon of 1882

In the body of Camille Desmoulins, the disparate factions of the republican bloc ultimately found agreement. Initially, however, Desmoulins achieved the zenith of his posthumous popularity in visual culture in 1882 after the Radical Republican left made gains in the National Assembly, to the chagrin of the Opportunists, whose moderation they loathed.²⁹⁶ The sheer number of “Desmoulins” in plaster shown delivering fiery speeches at the Salon of 1882 can be read as a sign of the left’s ascendance in the early 1880s.²⁹⁷ Even though this surge from the left did not last into the latter half of the 1880s, it would have been an oversight for the Decennial Exhibition not to reflect the sentiments of the early republican years with a portrayal of Desmoulins.

²⁹⁶ As with the term “Opportunism,” I am employing the terminology used by the leftwing of the republican coalition.

²⁹⁷ Joseph Dijan “Oran, le 24 août 1881: Élections en France,” *Le Progrès: journal républicain radical*, no. 6 (August 25, 1881): unpaginated.

Ubiquity was not a strong enough word to describe the dominance of Desmoulins at the Salon of 1882, which boasted six likenesses of him. Of these, four positioned Desmoulins squarely in the gardens of the Palais-Royal on a café table. The poet Emile Blémont, who felt the six different renditions of Desmoulins to be a bit much, quipped of the Salon's sculpture display: "But how is it after losing his head, he has found five all at once? It's the multiplication of skulls. Of these Camille Desmoulins which is the real one?"²⁹⁸ In a punny effort to refute the Salon's surfeit of the same scene, Blémont further joked that his priority had been "escaping from the many Camille Desmoulins who are *milling* all around," playing on the appearance of "moulin" in the Jacobin's name.²⁹⁹ It is likely that Blémont hoped his rhetorical riposte would differentiate his critique from the outpouring of commentary on Desmoulins' omnipresence in 1882, an issue which subsumed discussions of each artwork's relative merits. Instead of the quick dismissals of aesthetic matters present in other Salon reviews, Blémont opted to capture the feeling of suffocation brought on by the presence of multiple Desmoulins performing in the same fashion.³⁰⁰

From the many Salon reviews on offer, one can begin to reconstruct the outsize impact this single theme—Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal on July 12th, 1789—had on the viewing public. Many art critics divided their reporting into several separate columns, with sections dedicated to different media, as was also the case in the physical exhibition space. Hence, because one of the Desmoulins appeared in the painted form of François Flameng's maudlin tribute to the Desmoulins family dining together shortly before their patriarch's execution (Fig.

²⁹⁸ Emile Blémont, "Le Salon de 1882 (Suite)," *Beaumarchais*, no. 84 (May 14, 1882): 3.

²⁹⁹ The reviewer wrote "desmoulinent", a verbization of Desmoulins' name that can be loosely translated as "to mill about." Blémont, "Le Salon de 1882 (Suite)," 3.

³⁰⁰ Blémont's exact turn of phrase regarding the sheer presence of Desmoulins' sculptures was "They surround me, they envelop me, they press me." Blémont, "Le Salon de 1882 (Suite)," 3.

1.15), readers did not get the complete picture until the exhibition closed. However, because the six Desmoulins were extensively covered, it was possible for readers to understand that if there was one takeaway from the Salon of 1882, it was that there was broad enthusiasm for a political coalition that took an idealistic pamphleteer and journalist as their spiritual figurehead. As one reviewer put it succinctly, “Camille Desmoulins is in the air this year.”³⁰¹ At the municipal level, the northern city of Guise was the engine behind many of these artworks. Desmoulins had been born in the city in 1760 and, by the early 1880s, the Guise municipal council was governed by republicans who were key to the national government’s desire to connect disparate regions of France to the emblems of the party in power.

Half of the 1882 iterations of Desmoulins were state commissions in honor of Guise and ranged from a staid, Baroque bust for the meeting room of the local Hôtel de Ville to a dynamic statue for the town square mimicking the call to arms of July 12th. Alexandre Lequien’s (1822-1905) (Fig. 1.16) stately bust, his face carved with deep expressive lines more befitting of a much older man, survives in a corner of the Guise Hôtel de Ville; the full-length statues of Desmoulins do not. The plaster version of Amédée Doublemard’s (1826-1900) (Fig. 1.17) vision for a bronze statue destined for Guise’s place d’Armes appeared in 1882 after the municipal council selected the artist from neighboring Beaurain in 1881. The sculpture contains all the elements essential to a retelling of the central story of Desmoulins mythology, including the chestnut branch from the trees surrounding the Palais-Royal used to fashion green political cockades, a gun brandished in hand, and a chair or café table for him to stand on to command the crowd. The era’s tumultuous politics were such that seven years passed before Guise erected Doublemard’s finished bronze statue onsite, even though President Jules Grévy had authorized a

³⁰¹ Edmond Jacques, “Le Salon: XV,” *L’Intransigeant*, no. 696 (June 10, 1882): 3.

national subscription for the monument in March 1881.³⁰² The statue endured for less than thirty years, for it was melted down by the German army during the First World War.³⁰³ In retrospect, *Desmoulinisme* came in fits and starts, such as in 1886 when the left-leaning Paris Municipal Council named a street after him in Paris not far from the working-class “Faubourg de Gloire,” or the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where he had been popular even after his execution, and which the Opportunists would use for their final campaign stop of 1889 (discussed in my Conclusion).³⁰⁴ But its highpoint was undeniably 1882, when municipal councils and national republicans alike felt empowered to pay homage to Desmoulin’s memory with the era of monarchism, they thought, firmly behind them.

François Flameng’s painting was also a state commission for Desmoulin’s hometown, and, like Doublemard’s statue, it too was destroyed during the First World War, due to Guise’s proximity to major battles beginning in 1914. Contemporaneous Salon reviews of 1882 preserve Flameng’s creation in printed reproductions, as well as recording the debate it inspired within republican circles. Flameng made his own republican leanings known when, as historical evidence for his composition, he cited the scholar Louis Blanc’s *History of the French Revolution* (1847-62) in the Salon *livret*.³⁰⁵ In Blanc’s retelling, Desmoulin, seen in Flameng’s composition holding his son Horace in the air above his lap, shrugs off warnings from his friend,

³⁰² Félix Godart, *Camille Desmoulin d’après ses oeuvres (2e édition)* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1889), 156-57.

³⁰³ Like many other public monuments, including the statues featured in this chapter, Doublemard’s sculpture was melted down for scrap metal in 1918. It was replaced in 1922 by a replica created by Félix Charpentier (1858-1924). G.L., “Aisne: La nouvelle statue de Camille Desmoulin à Guise,” *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française* 15, no. 43 (July-September 1923): 351. Charpentier’s first replica was then removed during the Nazi Occupation of France in the 1940s. The version currently displayed was erected in 1949.

³⁰⁴ On June 18, 1886, the Paris Municipal Council held a debate and in November, named three streets in the 11th arrondissement after revolutionaries associated with the working class Faubourg Saint-Antoine: rue de Pache, rue de Pétion, and rue de Camille Desmoulin. Godart, *Camille Desmoulin d’après ses oeuvres (2e édition)*, 158.

³⁰⁵ Most of the reviews repeat Blanc’s history as fact, while *Le Monde illustré* states explicitly that Blanc was the source of Flameng’s scene. “Camille Desmoulin: Tableau de M. François Flameng,” *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1338 (November 18, 1882): 314-15.

the future Marshal Brune, of political machinations afoot against him. In a quasi-biblical premonition, Desmoulins tells his wife, toddler son, and compatriot, “Edamus et bibemus, eras enim moriemur [let us eat, drink, and be merry for tomorrow we will die].”³⁰⁶ Reviewers inclined to support the centrist manifestation of republicanism were absorbed by this representation of Desmoulins’ doomed family, with his child, who would later die in the colonies, and his pink-clad wife Lucile, who would follow her husband to the guillotine.³⁰⁷

This image pulled at the heartstrings for some, as intended. The excitable unnamed reviewer for *L’Estafette-Lorraine* crooned that Flameng’s painting “of good friends two steps from death is like an idyll in the middle of the Terror,” replete with an “adorably pretty” wife and chubby toddler, soon to be orphaned.³⁰⁸ If not for references to Lucile’s pink dress in reviews, Flameng’s color palette might be lost to history. We can infer that the Rococo pink donned by women in surviving Flameng paintings, namely his *Massacre of Machecoul* (1884) (Fig. 1.18), which will be discussed in more detail when this study turns to representations of the Vendée Wars, and *Bathing of Court Ladies in the 18th Century* (1888) (Fig. 1.19), is the same color worn by Lucile. Flameng’s sentimentality had the effect of making tragic events even more maudlin and it was not considered appropriate for the obstinate, powerful Desmoulins desired by Radical republicans. *L’Intransigeant*, which was from its founding in 1880 the organ of the leftwing opposition before adopting tenets of rightwing Boulangism, was so bold as to declare that Flameng’s Desmoulins had “the melodramatic head of a ham” and looked very little like the

³⁰⁶ This phrase is transcribed into the extended analyses of Flameng’s work: Jacques, “Le Salon: XV,” 3; “Camille Desmoulins: Tableau de M. François Flameng,” *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1338 (November 18, 1882): 315; “Notre Gravure: Camille Desmoulins, Tableau de M. Flameng,” *L’Estafette lorraine. Supplément-album*, no. 124 (1883): 1.

³⁰⁷ Jacques, “Le Salon: XV,” 3; “Notre Gravure: Camille Desmoulins, Tableau de M. Flameng,” 1.

³⁰⁸ “Notre Gravure: Camille Desmoulins, Tableau de M. Flameng,” 1.

“heroic and fiery” figure passed down by history.³⁰⁹ It would not be until the late 1880s, when monarchism found new allies in the Boulangist movement, that counterrevolutionary criticism would have more impact on the forms Desmoulins took in the centenary *Exposition universelle*. For now, discussions about the appropriate representation of Desmoulins took place amongst republicans and were informed by the period’s heated debates over the status and form of history painting in the Third Republic.

Even *L’Intransigeant*, which railed against what it saw as a shrunken, insipid depiction of the revolutionary, declared that the painting wasn’t “devoid of value.” The newspaper praised the painting’s airiness, provided by the dining room’s window, which introduced a feeling of “youth and poetry,” if not the vigor it hoped for.³¹⁰ The *L’Estafette-Lorraine* review refuted the idea that Flameng had not captured the reality of the situation, which was for many the goal of history painting. In this review, the unnamed critic offers up Flameng’s painting as the antidote to the *genre historique* style of painting closely associated with artists of a previous generation such as Delaroche and Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), and still practiced by Barrias. The reviewer wrote that:

The painters who are contented with the *crumbs* and to work *under the eye*, as they say, deny one of the most incontestable forces in art: evocation. M. Flameng evoked, animated, brought to life, this souvenir of 1794, which was one of the successes of the

³⁰⁹ Jacques, “Le Salon: XV,” 3. Founded in 1880 by the yellow journalist Henri Rochefort, *L’Intransigeant*’s politics, like those of Rochefort himself, would eventually veer towards General Boulanger’s cause in the late 1880s, but it was a leftwing populist publication at its founding.

³¹⁰ Jacques, “Le Salon: XV,” 3.

1882 Salon, and which remains and will remain one of the titles of its author to the sympathetic attention and esteem of connoisseurs.³¹¹

In his praise of Flameng's focus on emotion and overall narrative rather than "crumbs" (*morceaux*) of historical details such as Desmoulins' pistol, café table, and green leaves, the critic compared the artist favorably with the attributes of the large-scale history painting that would have been familiar to Salon visitors during the *ancien régime* or the First Empire. In other words, Flameng received praise for reviving a form of history painting long declared dead in critical circles. The critic of *L'Estafette-Lorrain* seemed pleasantly surprised by the presence of an artistic Desmoulins removed from his makeshift dais in the Palais-Royal gardens, engaged in the quotidian human activity of a family meal, albeit one with the overtones of a Last Supper. In this way, the critic was engaged with the same tension between "crumbs" and humanizing narrative at the heart of debates over the merits of Naturalist history painting in the Third Republic. Naturalist history painters were encouraged to satisfy the disparate goals of providing evidence of their research while simultaneously rendering all the parts into a cohesive story that captured the imagination, or risk scathing column inches dedicated to their shortcomings. In painting, Flameng had the benefit of a large expanse of canvas on which to sketch the Desmoulins family at lunch. The choice to show a father playing with his son, with childhood toys on the floor, while a concerned mother and maid look on, makes Desmoulins appear more mortal than the icon at the Palais-Royal. In 1882 at least, the repetitive "crumbs" of pistol, platform, and branch grated on critics forced to distinguish between images of the same historical moment. If they had not been made by an artist with declared republican values with a

³¹¹ "Notre Gravure: Camille Desmoulins, Tableau de M. Flameng," unpaginated.

penchant for polemical works, such as those depicting republicans slain in the Vendée at Machecoul and silly aristocratic women bathing in a fountain, Flameng's *Desmoulins* might have passed the Decennial's muster. But the organizers opted instead for the established and eternal vision of the younger Desmoulins, before his consequential votes in the Convention; standing on a table in a café, he is as yet untarnished in reputation, which enabled plausible deniability of the violence occurring around him.

Beyond the three Desmoulins works of 1882 already mentioned, which had been commissioned for placement in Guise, there were three more sculptures of the revolutionary present in that year's Salon. Charles Vital-Cornu created the one with the most lasting impact beyond the highpoint of *Desmoulinsmanie* when his statue was chosen to celebrate Desmoulins' speech in the 1889 *Exposition's* calendar of events. Vital-Cornu was of a younger generation than Étienne-Henry Dumaige (1830-1888) and Albert Ernest Carrier-Belleuse (1824-1887) and the only one who lived to see the Centennial of 1889. Thus, he was available for the festivities seven years after the 1882 Salon and saw his work erected in the gardens of the Palais-Royal. Reviews of these three sculptures were mixed; Doublemard's monument for Guise was the most lauded, possibly because it already bore the imprimatur and gravitas of the state. To some reviewers, it appeared that Dumaige, Carrier-Belleuse, and Vital-Cornu were in a tussle to create the most dynamic rendition. In this effort, the winner was undoubtedly Carrier-Belleuse (Fig. 1.20), whose figure contorts himself into a pose akin to a baseball pitcher atop the mound. His arms and legs extend diagonally from the body, and the effect is of a frantic man inciting a crowd in desperation, in contrast to the calm stability of Doublemard's monument. The critics reached separate conclusions regarding the sculpture. Depending on who you asked, it was either

“a magisterial work, full of fire” that the President took time to observe or “melodramatic,” “forced,” and “a little loud.”³¹²

In a ranking of the four representations of Desmoulins in sculpture from best to worst, the journalist Alfred Bonsergent had only one word for Dumaige’s sculpture (Fig. 1.21):

“detestable.”³¹³ A criticism Henry Houssaye made of Vital-Cornu’s work, that “he looks like a tenor giving his C-Sharp,” applies to Dumaige’s as well.³¹⁴ Dumaige’s Desmoulins has the appearance of a slight choir boy rather than a grown man and the straight-backed chair seems to be a makeshift solution for a structural issue rather than an integrated storytelling device.

Desmoulins’ attributes are scattered around him, his hat overturned inexplicably between his legs, which makes the composition appear less coherent than it could be. This leaves the work of Vital-Cornu, which evidently was the Desmoulins preferred by the Salon jury as it was awarded a third-class medal. Presumably, the “insane” glut of Desmoulins works made each seem less original than the last and third-class was the highest honor any one of them could hope to attain. It was likely this award that kept Vital-Cornu’s work in contention to play a critical role during the Centennial, but for the seven years from 1882, *Desmoulinsmanie* waned as the republicans became increasingly concerned with holding the political center. After the Salon of 1882, which opened amidst a revival of the French left in politics, the momentum behind the surge of artistic images of Camille Desmoulins abated with a resurgence of the right in the late 1880s.

Desmoulins at 100: Vital-Cornu and Barrias at the Center

³¹² “La Presse-Salon,” *La Presse*, no. 119 (May 1, 1882): unpaginated; Émile Desbeaux, “Salon de 1882: II.--Sculpture,” *La Presse illustrée*, no. 738 (May 21, 1882): 3; Armand D’Epirey, “Salon de 1882: La Sculpture,” *Officiel-Artiste*, no. 25 (June 18, 1882): 2-3.

³¹³ Alfred Bonsergent, “Le Salon de 1882, Troisième article: La Sculpture,” *La Jeune France* 5 (May 1882-May 1883): 178.

³¹⁴ Houssaye, *L’art français depuis dix ans*, 299

On Friday, July 12th, 1889 at three o'clock in the afternoon, the hour when the Palais-Royal speech had etched Camille Desmoulins' name in the historical record, Charles Vital-Cornu's statue emerged from under a tarpaulin on the grounds of the Palais-Royal. Media coverage of public events was published on a tight deadline and followed a pattern that was half historical repetition—easy enough to recreate from memory or prepare in advance—and half description of the ceremony. The basic beats of the historical narrative were followed to the letter, from the inciting dismissal of Necker to the green leaves invoking Cincinnatus, and the prefiguration of revolutionary cockades.³¹⁵ The Radical newspaper *Le Rappel*, founded by Victor Hugo's sons on their father's initiative towards the end of the Second Empire, was jubilant in its write up published two days later, on Bastille Day. *Le Rappel's* readership, whose visions of the Revolution were not folded into the official Centennial art exhibitions on the Champ de Mars, could participate more fully here at the Palais-Royal. In common with other public festivities held on significant days in French history, this one was presided over by representatives of government. However, instead of the Opportunist President of the Republic, Sadi Carnot (1837-1894), the Vice-President of the Paris Municipal Council, Émile Richard, presided over the ceremony, finding a way to both embrace a leftist figure and maintain distance between Carnot and the politically divisive Radicals on Paris' council.³¹⁶ Carnot's absence did not go unnoticed by the Centennial's fervent critics at *La Croix*, who as previously mentioned used the ceremony at the Palais-Royal to remind their readership of Desmoulins' role in the Terror. The critic Le Moine referred to Richard derisively as "the unknown municipal councilor of Montparnasse."³¹⁷

³¹⁵ "Les Fêtes du Centenaire: L'Anniversaire du 12 juillet," *Le Rappel*, no. 7065 (July 14, 1889): unpaginated.

³¹⁶ "Les Fêtes du Centenaire," unpaginated.

³¹⁷ Le Moine, "Fête," unpaginated.

The ceremony honoring Desmoulins, even in its attenuated form, was a potentially divisive moment and did not fit Carnot's brand as the unity candidate.

Carnot, the grandson of revolutionary general Lazare Carnot, was elected after the scandalous collapse of President Jules Grévy's administration in December 1887 as an uncontroversial figurehead.³¹⁸ The eighty-year-old Grévy had been head of the Opportunist bloc since it took power in 1879 and before his resignation, he had survived various political crises, including diplomatic tensions with Bismarck's Germany, unpopular incursions into Southeast Asia, and his son-in-law trading state honors for money. Grévy's cabinets dissolved repeatedly after mere months and, after the dismissal of the popular Minister of War General Boulanger, the Opportunists incurred the ire of his rural supporters. Carnot was chosen largely because, unlike Jules Ferry whom he had bested within the party caucus vote, he had maintained a low profile as cabinet minister, avoiding contentious public statements about controversial policy programs.³¹⁹ His most appealing attribute was his hereditary republicanism, discussed in a laudatory and premature biography that ended just as Carnot ascended to the presidency late in 1887. He was, the biographer wrote, "the candidate of national integrity," with "a superb name, doubly blessed by victory and the Revolution."³²⁰

Carnot's appearances at the Centennial were meant to emphasize that he represented the whole of France; he was the first president since Gambetta to make official visits around the countryside a key aspect of the Opportunist platform and he did not undo that unifying

³¹⁸ Due to the Schnaebelé incident on the Alsatian border that threatened renewed hostilities with Bismarck's Germany and his son-in-law selling state honors, Grévy was forced to step down.

³¹⁹ "Nos Dépêches, Service Spécial, Le Nouveau Président: M. Sadi Carnot," *Le Journal du Midi* (December 5, 1887): unpaginated.

³²⁰ Robert Py, *Sadi Carnot, sa vie, ses œuvres, sa politique (1837-1887) d'après des documents officiels et des notes inédites* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1888), 207.

messaging by wading into unnecessary debates.³²¹ Carnot's presence at the Centennial is summarized neatly in Henri Gervex's (1852-1929) depiction of him in the *Panorama of the Century* (Fig. 1.22), shown in the Tuileries during the Centennial. As in his early biography, the panorama touts Carnot as the heir to the Revolution, positioning him directly across the rotunda from the *oeuvre*'s first panel, set in 1789. Gervex worked on the series of panels that make up the panorama with Alfred Stevens (1823-1906), who painted the female figures and details while Gervex was tasked with the portraits of men.³²² The overall effect, which was likely inescapable given the difficult task of incorporating more than six hundred figures and representing one hundred years of history, was that of a conglomeration of portraits fighting for visibility in a cluttered whole.³²³ But in the person of Carnot, presented on the steps of the Paris Opéra House painted by Stevens, Gervex had captured the President's desired image.

Though Carnot is placed on a lower step than his cabinet ministers, and highlighted with a white boutonniere and red sash, the array of men in white tie has a homogenizing effect. How much of this was visible from the ground level is unclear, but his positioning was the most significant aspect. Not only was Carnot standing across the rotunda from the spirit of 1789, but he also stood at the clerestory level of a temporary rotunda in the Tuileries Gardens, which had witnessed the trauma of civil unrest less than twenty years prior. Where there was once a royal palace, besieged in 1792, burned by the Commune in 1871, and demolished in 1883, now there was an ephemeral monument to the purported steady, progressive narrative of a century bookended by the Revolution and by the leadership of Sadi Carnot. As one who was figuratively

³²¹ From his election in 1887 to his assassination in 1894, Carnot made official visits to forty-one departments and seventy-three towns and commissioned works of art to celebrate his reorientation of Opportunism towards the French population outside Paris, something that had been a hallmark of Gambetta's leadership. Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 58.

³²² Jean de France, "L'Histoire du siècle," *Le Petit presse*, no. 8414 (June 18, 1889): unpaginated.

³²³ Jean de France, "L'Histoire du siècle," unpaginated.

above it all, Carnot was not present for the commemoration of Desmoulins' fiery speech at the Palais-Royal on July 12th, 1889.

There was some irony in the fact that Émile Richard, whose "sanitation" report on prostitution in Paris had been submitted for review on May 18, 1889, stood on a dais two months later in a garden strongly associated with the oldest profession.³²⁴ Richard's primary solution for tempering Paris' *demi-monde* was heightened police scrutiny, which was emblemized by the presence of the Police Prefect Lozé on the stage next to him.³²⁵ Symbolically, the ceremony of July 12th was meant to celebrate the Revolution of the masses; in practice, police surveillance and a rigid schedule imposed an order that had not been present in 1789. As related by Desmoulins' biographer Janssens, the direct outcome of the Palais-Royal speech was a march through the streets that resulted in a melee with the King's dragoons at the contemporary Place de la Concorde, then called the Place Louis XV (and from 1792 to 1795 Place de la Révolution), the site of Desmoulins' execution in 1794. Afterwards, according to Janssens' evocative prose, "The noise of the massacre of innocents echoed throughout the city. The faubourgs sent their underworld: vagabonds, people without guilt, thieves... They plundered the armories. They invaded the Hôtel de Ville."³²⁶ But Janssens is clear to distinguish between these denizens of Paris' working-class communities, associated with the early bloodshed of the Revolution, and his Desmoulins who "must have been afraid to have unleashed such a storm" and "must have felt out of place in the crowd."³²⁷ Janssens, like Fleury and Michelet before him, removes agency from Desmoulins via omission; he was "known to the crowd" and simultaneously not of it.³²⁸ The

³²⁴ The report formed the basis of Richard's book on this topic. Émile Richard, *La Prostitution à Paris* (Paris: J.-B. Ballière et fils, 1890), 6.

³²⁵ Jean de France, "L'Histoire du siècle," unpaginated.

³²⁶ Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 237.

³²⁷ Janssens, *Camille Desmoulins*, 237.

³²⁸ Fleury, *Biographie de Camille Desmoulins*, 31.

Palais-Royal, acting as an eighteenth-century Roman forum, stands in for the crowd mentality that somewhat absolves any one instigator.³²⁹ Barrias' selection of the July 12th speech at the Café de Foy as his subject develops quite naturally the historiographic consensus around Desmoulins' naivety. Musings on Desmoulins' state of mind leave much to the imagination and, furthermore, the association between Desmoulins and the faubourgs likely kept representatives of the national government far from the ceremony.

Richard's speech was introduced by a march of infantry soldiers and followed by young children from the scholar battalions handing out chestnut leaves, calling to mind the young ones in trees depicted by Barrias' in his painting of Desmoulins' speech. While in 1789 the bearers of green cockades and troops clashed violently, in 1889 civilians and the military functioned in harmony, guided by the state, diluting civic tensions. When Émile Richard took to the podium, he gave a rousing campaign speech asking the crowd if they wanted "to see France become enslaved" by "repudiating the legacy of Camille?"³³⁰ Richard's Desmoulins, like Michelet's and Janssens', was the author of *Discours de la lanterne* and *Le Vieux Cordelier* and the spiritual guide of both Napoleonic troops on the "battlefields of Europe" and the citizens "behind the barricades."³³¹ He was a man of conviction who was simultaneously malleable to the needs of different eras since he lacked the baggage of his Jacobin colleagues. Here again, the disruptive upheavals of France's long nineteenth century were recast as a steady march forward "carrying the immortal principles of the Revolution in the folds of the tricolor flag."³³² To serve this

³²⁹ Fleury calls the Palais-Royal "a veritable *forum*, where popular orators came periodically to elicit the passions of a crowd very easy to rile up." Fleury, *Biographie de Camille Desmoulins*, 31.

³³⁰ "Les Fêtes du Centenaire," unpaginated.

³³¹ "Les Fêtes du Centenaire," unpaginated.

³³² "Les Fêtes du Centenaire," unpaginated.

purpose, the Desmoulins of 1889 was less a full-bodied human, as apt to err as any other, than an allegory like Marianne, functioning to simplify a complex and often disturbing history.

In the representations of Desmoulins, most of which immortalize the scene at the Palais-Royal on July 12th, 1789, the harbingers of future bloodshed are erased in service to the modern political goals of the Opportunist Republicans. The latter group saw their roots in the spirit of 1789, though not in its more disturbing outcomes. The *Exposition universelle* was at risk of ignoring the clamor of leftist voices altogether, except in its incorporation of Desmoulins into both the Decennial Exhibition and the unveiling at the Palais-Royal. Barrias' painting was loaned, not from any state repository, but from a private collection in Châlons-sur-Marne in the Grand Est near Reims; any hope that the state might acquire an image of Desmoulins in 1888 would have been foolhardy.³³³ His star had risen and fallen rapidly along with the left's political fortunes. In 1882, the consolidation of leftist power had led to a surplus of Camilles at the Salon, fueled by the promise of municipal and national support for his image. By 1888, when Barrias undertook his canvas, he painted a revolutionary for the first time in his long career. His soft, pastel-like Desmoulins lacked the hardness and conviction of its sculptural kin. Its appearance in the Decennial was the most outreach to the left that was deemed possible to counterbalance the counterrevolutionary works accepted by the jury, without angering the growing chorus of rightwing naysayers. Rather than a Naturalist Desmoulins, the sole Jacobin work of art in the Decennial fit more neatly into the Rococo revival of the last two decades of the nineteenth

³³³ It was purchased by a collector, M. Chevalier, from Châlons-sur-Marne, which is now called Châlons-en-Champagne. "Échos: À travers Paris," *Le Figaro*, no. 224 (August 11, 1888): 1. Chevalier's name is in the *Exposition catalogue. Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, 3.

century, out of step with the republicanism of the content, and deliberately overwriting radical politics in the name of national unity.³³⁴

Conclusion

Today, a visitor to the gardens of the Palais-Royal will not encounter Vital-Cornu's sculpture or any commemorative plaque to the events of July 12th, 1789. Other than the allée of manicured chestnut trees (Fig. 1.23) that still harkens back to Desmoulins' speech, one is more likely to encounter visitors taking pictures with the contemporary art installations of Pol Bury and Daniel Buren rather than learning about the early months of the French Revolution. The Paris of today is no less vulnerable to the erasure of the revolutionary past and the traces that do exist, such as the Expiation Chapel and the Cemetery of Picpus, tell a story more sympathetic to France's royalist history. Tom Stammers' analysis of the Revolution's "homeless heritage" points to the rapid reputational decline of Jacobin ideology as the source of the country's scattered *patrimoine*, whether preserved in private collections or international ones.³³⁵ It is in collections such as those of the Musée Carnavalet and the Musée de la Révolution française that the refuse of the Revolution, for so long considered "embarrassing evidence" of excess, that one can begin to appreciate how the events beginning in 1789 were understood in everyday items.³³⁶ These items include tricolor cockades and red bonnets lovingly preserved amongst other delicate clothing

³³⁴ Barrias had been painting in this vein long before the Rococo had another moment, but it seemed to appeal to him more so than the Naturalism that dominated the Salons of the later decades of his creative output. For more on the Rococo revival of the fin-de-siècle co-existing with Naturalism, see Meredith Martin, "Remembrance of Things Past: Robert de Montesquiou, Emile Gallé and Rococo Revival During the *fin de siècle*," in *Rococo Echo: Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, ed. Melissa Lee Hyde and Katie Scott (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 129-48.

³³⁵ Tom Stammers, "The Homeless Heritage of the French Revolution, c. 1789-1889," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25 (2019): 478-90.

³³⁶ Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2013), 1.

items and English earthenware that pronounces the King's beheading in gory detail. These, along with numerous written accounts and periodicals, are the scraps left over that shape our contemporaneous understanding of the Revolution down to the minutiae of the very hour a young pamphleteer stepped onto a café table in the Palais-Royal.

Understanding the world's fair context of revolutionary commemoration is also an exercise in rummaging through fragments. In Sara Pappas' work on the temporary structures of Paris' many *Expositions universelles*, she pieces together the less obvious remnants of those events, privileging the statues of soldiers once decorating the Pont d'Alma leading to the Eiffel Tower; the Tower is France's most visited landmark, the soldiers now offer a measure of how much the Seine is at risk of flooding on any given day.³³⁷ Unlike immense structures that must either remain in place or be demolished depending upon the political necessities of those with the power to design the urban landscape, paintings are more readily concealed in storage rooms, which is itself a form of *damnatio memoriae*. It is that purposeful, political forgetting, the *oubli* the Opportunists practiced so deftly to stabilize the French Republic, in which I am most interested, and which the political and aesthetic choices of the 1880s regarding the representation of revolutionary figures such as Desmoulins reveal. National mythmaking requires incorporating some aspects of history and discarding others. It is a process constantly in flux, guided by the political exigencies of the era.

In 1889 the Opportunists' chosen jury for the Decennial Exhibition made the choice to accept a limited array of revolutionary pictures and half of them can easily be read as counterrevolutionary. The "republican Republic" was not in the political position in 1889 to celebrate the Revolution as fully as it had in 1882, when the Radical Republicans surged in the

³³⁷ Pappas, "Fragments of the Past," 256.

Chamber of Deputies and Camille Desmoulins was “in the air” at the Salon. In some sense, the late-nineteenth century tentativeness surrounding revolutionary commemoration is still the state of things. As centrist democracies continue to fight off rightwing populist challengers, they presently usurp the law-and-order messaging of the right rather than reaching out to the populist left. By looking at the revolutionary paintings of the Decennial Exhibition, we can better understand the immense and ultimately fruitless task of promoting a national history to a deeply divided electorate. The canvases of 1889 constructed and altered historical realities and how those realities continue to be contested. Barrias’ painting of Camille Desmoulins, owned by the Musées de Châlons-en-Champagne, is currently not on view and has not been since 2009.³³⁸ In that sense, it is not dissimilar from several other central works of art in this study, most of which were celebrated with their acceptance into the Decennial Exhibition of 1889 and which then swiftly retreated from public view. Even Edouard Detaille’s *The Dream* in room fifty-five at the heavily trafficked Musée d’Orsay, to be discussed in Chapter Three, scarcely enjoys the reputation today that it did when the artist was speaking directly to the revanchist sentiments of his time. I say this not to argue that these works of art are worth researching by virtue of being less studied, although that mystery certainly makes them intriguing, but because they offer a valuable lesson in the political sacrifices made in the teaching of history and the creation of national narratives over time.

Questions of temporality are key here, and in this dissertation as a whole. This is natural to the study of a Decennial art exhibition within a Centennial celebration held in 1889 that nominally commemorated 1789 by looking ahead to the end of the nineteenth century and to the future of an industrialized imperial Republic. Cataclysmic periods such as the Franco-Prussian

³³⁸ See email from Himber Gauthier, Adjoint du Patrimoine de 2^{ème} classe, Musées des Châlons-en-Champagne, to the author, May 5, 2021.

War, the Commune, the civil wars in the Vendée, and the Napoleonic Wars shaped the interpretation of histories in France and encouraged forms of anachronism or deferral. For example, persistent fears of popular violence and upheaval were often emblemized by pikes and guillotines, but these symbols of the past frequently articulated the more recent trauma of the war with Prussia and the civil strife of the Commune, which artists processed through allegory and by seeking answers in the past.

In 1889, Parisians over the age of twenty had endured some hardship related to the war or the barricades in the streets. Félix-Joseph Barrias was old enough to have lived through more tumult than most of the Decennial's artists, including the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, in addition to the war and the Commune. When he set down to paint a revolutionary in 1888 and erased hints of violence to come from the scene of Camille Desmoulins, he carried out an act of deliberate forgetting, employing the past in service of the present. Barrias' Desmoulins appears less militaristic; we associate him more with the romantic Salons of Cogniet and Delaroche, whose revolutionary paintings were firmer in facture than Barrias' but similar in their eliminations of problematic pasts in service to a new regime. However, Barrias' choice to depict a radical like Camille Desmoulins for the first time in a long career of avoiding such subjects remains perplexing. It is possibly explained by the proximity of the Centennial to the Salon of 1888, but the artist could not have known the painting would be accepted by the jury. In 1889, though, his softened Desmoulins intersected with the goals of the Centennial in minimizing the Jacobin legacy of the Revolution altogether, creating an apt image of the Revolution for a centrist event.

CHAPTER TWO

‘In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday’: Royalism at the 1889 Decennial Exhibition

Speaking to a journalist one day in October 1969, the Baroness Madeleine Charette de la Contrie remarked, “The same slight rain is falling as did on the morning of the execution.”³³⁹ Not incidentally, that execution was the subject of a painting (Fig. 2.1) taking up an entire wall in the Baroness’ nostalgic Louis XV-style living room in Nantes, the largest city in the modern département of the Loire-Atlantique, which had built its wealth on the transatlantic slave trade and until four years before the interview, had been under the mayorship of a former Vichy collaborator. In the 1960s, her conservative politics echoed those of a city and a nation in transition. More centrally for the Baroness, the city had been a revolutionary bastion in a largely royalist region in the 1790s and one which her ancestor, seen in the painting, had tried, and failed, to conquer before being dragged there for his execution by the revolutionary army. These multiple layers of Nantes’ history coalesced in such a way that a light misty rain beyond the windowpane recalled for the Baroness that which was rumored to have fallen on the execution site of the Place Viarmes in 1796. In the painting, completed in 1883 by the Parisian artist Julien Le Blant and presented at both that year’s Salon and the Decennial of 1889, François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie (1763-1796), a naval lieutenant made commander of the royalist forces, stands with his back to us in a white coat, awaiting his fate. Over one-hundred and fifty years after the first French Revolution, and the ensuing civil war of the 1790s in the Vendée that set republicans and counterrevolutionary monarchists against one another, the Baroness’ language spoke to residual grievance that palpitates into the present day.

³³⁹ Jean-Loup Dariel, “Les Pays de la Loire: ‘Monsieur Charette commence à mourir’ m’a confié le marquis de Goulaine,” *Paris-presse. L’Intransigeant* (October 21, 1969): 8D.

Within the western regions of France, bound by the Loire and Layon Rivers, the part of Maine-et-Loire west of the Layon, and Deux-Sèvres west of the River Thouet, this narrative of “us” vs. “them” remains a live issue, as evidenced by the polarized nature of Vendéen historiography, the interpretation at cultural sites in the countryside, and the estimated two million visitors drawn every year to the royalist revisionist history theme park Le Puy de Fou.³⁴⁰ The journalist who interviewed the Baroness in 1969 chose the subtitle, “In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday,” which encapsulates the counterrevolutionary ethos of conservatives in the region.³⁴¹ The Baroness continued, “Those who massacred us are branded with a red-hot iron. Those who made their fortune with the property of the Church and the nobility will never enter in my living room.”³⁴² Her attitude towards inheritors of French revolutionary history was enmeshed in the changes underway in Nantes in her lifetime; the Vichyiste leader was replaced in 1965 by a leading member of the Radical bloc, André Morice. Today’s Nantes is evenly split between supporters of the Socialist alliance NUPES and President Macron’s centre-left party, La République en marche.³⁴³ As in the United States, where so-called swing districts that decide elections encourage the most ardent partisans to take to the polls, a city in transition like Nantes, where electoral outcomes sit on a knife’s edge, becomes a crucible for hyperpartisanship. The Baroness’ comments collapsed the distance between the revolutionary years of the 1790s and those of the late 1960s. Amongst conservatives in France’s west, however, the Vendée Wars maintain first rank in importance and are recounted in a deliberately

³⁴⁰ Le Puy de Fou, founded by the far-right politician Philippe de Villiers (b. 1949), is best-known for its live theatrical production of the history of the Vendée, as told from the conservative perspective. Jean-Clément Martin and Charles Suaud, “Le Puy du Fou: L’interminable reinvention du paysan vendéen,” *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 93 (June 1992): 21-37.

³⁴¹ Dariel, “Les Pays de la Loire,” 8D.

³⁴² Dariel, “Les Pays de la Loire,” 8D.

³⁴³ In the most recent elections in 2022, the NUPES (New Ecological and Social People’s Union) candidate in Nantes received 47.92% of the vote to La République en marche’s 58.07%. “Nantes-44000: Résultats des élections législatives 2022,” *Le Monde* (June 2022): <https://www.lemonde.fr/resultats-elections/nantes-44109/>.

revisionist fashion with immense implications for the politics of memory in France. These issues were concentrated in paintings representing the wars of the Vendée made for the 1889 Centennial, where such questions of memory were crucial.

The Parisian “Painter of the Vendée” and the Centennial of 1889

Julien Le Blant’s *Charette*, first exhibited at the Salon of 1883, was part of a significant revival of Vendéen scenes in Salon painting in the late nineteenth century. The rate of Vendéen pictures at the Salons increased between 1880 and 1883, which Jean-Clément Martin posits was the direct result of opposite reactions from right and left partisans to the Gambetta-led Republicans’ enactment of a law pronouncing Bastille Day as the national holiday and *La Marseillaise* as the national anthem.³⁴⁴ These direct invocations of 1789, the year a Parisian crowd stormed the Bastille prison, and 1792, the year Rouget de Lisle wrote the song that became the national anthem, reinforced the monarchists’ perception of lost status in society.³⁴⁵

The back-to-back conservative losses of the Chamber of Deputies in 1877 and the Senate in 1879 led to legislative efforts to remove the Catholic Church from its role in public education and the symbolic enshrining of a national song featuring lyrics about “traitors and conspiring kings” with “impure blood.”³⁴⁶ The Republicans’ unapologetic embrace of the first French Revolution in the early years of the 1880s triggered a monarchist political counterreaction that drew upon the right’s deepest well of grievance—the Vendéen civil wars.³⁴⁷ As previously

³⁴⁴ Martin, *La Vendée de la mémoire*, 195.

³⁴⁵ Adam Augustyn, ed., “Bastille Day,” *Britannica.com*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Bastille-Day>; Michael Ray, ed., “La Marseillaise,” *Britannica.com*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/La-Marseillaise>.

³⁴⁶ According to Odile Rudelle, “on January 5, 1879, the senatorial elections confirmed the triumph of the moderate Republic.” Rudelle, *La république absolue: 1870-1889*, 41-64. The Seize-Mai crisis had led to a resounding republican victory in the Chamber of Deputies in the autumn 1877 elections. John Rothney, *Bonapartism after Sedan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 7.

³⁴⁷ Martin, *La Vendée de la mémoire*, 195.

noted, in the estimation of Richard Thomson, Vendéen imagery was also a way for artists who had lived through the Commune of 1871, or who like Le Blant served in the Franco-Prussian War, to come to grips with that trauma without having their work removed from display, as happened to many paintings over the course of the 1870s, when the conservative French government negotiated terms with the victorious Prussians and diplomatic tensions were high.³⁴⁸ As the paintings of Alexandre Bloch and François Flameng will show, painters also engaged with the republican telling of Vendéen history, perhaps so as not to cede ground to their political opponents. Le Blant's own politics remain unknown, despite suggestions of his Vendéen ancestry without source on Wikipedia, which is likely linked to the similarity between his last name and the color most associated with royalism, *blanc*.³⁴⁹ Le Blant, however, was from Paris, where he trained amongst fellow urban artists and exhibited at the Salon from the late 1870s, and there is no documentation to suggest that his Vendée scenes were motivated by his personal politics.³⁵⁰ The era's polarization created a market for pictures that latched onto polemical subject matter. Le Blant's pictures also have elements that would appeal to the Parisian audiences at the annual Salons, such as a lack of overt religiosity. The result for the Decennial Exhibition of 1889, which was intended to celebrate the best academic works of the 1880s, was an image of the Revolution of 1789 that combined disparate political philosophies into a single display.

Le Blant's painting of Charette, purchased at the close of the Salon for the royalist leader's great nephew, was last seen in Paris in 1889 for the Centennial, when the painting had

³⁴⁸ "Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant," *Lectures pour tous* (May 15, 1917): 1106; Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 65; Lethbridge, "'Painting Out' (and 'Reading In') the Franco-Prussian War," 52-59.

³⁴⁹ See Le Blant's Wikipedia entry for the unverified claim that he was descended from Vendéen soldiers of the Catholic and Royal Army, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julien_Le_Blant.

³⁵⁰ Georges Vapereau, *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains: contenant toutes les personnes notables de la France et des pays étrangers* (Paris: L. Hachette, 1893), 944.

been praised across the political spectrum.³⁵¹ Key to the Opportunists' endeavor of maintaining power was reducing the risk of being overtaken at the polls by the revanchist right, whose efforts had been rekindled by General Boulanger's willingness to unite with the monarchists, who had financial resources but limited popularity outside of the West and South. Much like today's centre-left parties, who have absorbed and softened right-wing policies to draw in new voters, the Opportunists' Decennial jury pulled from the deep well of paintings of the Vendée Wars to make conservatives feel welcome on the Champ de Mars. This is critical to understand: Le Blant's *Execution of Charette* did not initially live in a conservative echo chamber and the Centennial of the French Revolution embraced counterhistories to that promoted by the state. It is far too simple to explain the works of Le Blant as the pure product of a hardline royalist mindset.

What precisely Le Blant intended is difficult to glean as unlike some other notable history painters of the time, there are no contemporaneous biographies and no collections of his papers. Le Blant married but had no children and therefore no direct descendants to preserve an account of this work. Additionally, his Vendée pictures are in private collections or have been deaccessioned as tastes shifted rapidly away from Salon pictures. Le Blant's *The Square Battalion Fougères Affair 1793* (Fig. 2.2) was a second-class medalist on its debut in 1880 and gold medalist at the 1889 Exposition, leading to its immediate purchase by the National Gallery

³⁵¹ Camille Debans, *Les Coulisses de l'Exposition: guide pratique et anecdotique, avec dessins, plans, etc.* (Paris: E. Kolb, 1889), 181; Olivier Merson, "Les Beaux-Arts au Champ-de-Mars: La Décennale," *Le Monde illustré* 65, no. 1691 (August 24, 1889): 122-23; *Paris-exposition: Exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: A. Colin, 1889). Le Blant was also praised for his watercolor contributions to the Cercle Volney exhibition in 1889 and exhibited in a one-man show early in 1889 at Galerie des Artistes modernes. Pierre Borel, "Chronique Parisienne: Les petits salons.—Les peintres-graveurs, les aquarellistes, le cercle Volney," *La Nouvelle revue* 57 (March-April 1889): 215-19; "Concours et Expositions," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 5 (February 4, 1905): 40. His acclaim in Paris was widespread.

of Australia in Canberra, who no longer own it.³⁵² It shows the peasant army of the Vendée taking on their counterparts in blue coats and now hangs unresplendently over the entrance to the Social Sciences department at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Even in the West of France, Le Blant's paintings are known through digital images and history books, which flatten the experience of them, both visually in that one cannot appreciate the painterly qualities of Le Blant's work and historically in the sense that they are never far from a particularly stringent revisionist re-reading.³⁵³

Anyone hoping to reconstruct the trajectory of Le Blant's now forgotten career must sift through the numerous Salon art reviews in newspapers representing disparate political views. While combing through personal effects is illustrative in a biographical sense, it can also lead to the reduction of an artist's oeuvre to a mirror of their state of mind and the chronology of their life, bio-essentializing their creative output. A focus on the works themselves within a broader socio-political framework is not negated by the lack of correspondence left by an individual and their contemporaries. The incorporation of Le Blant's Vendée paintings into the fine arts display in 1889 reflected both the artist's reputation in the capital and the centrist Opportunist Republicans' need to ameliorate conservative voters ahead of their autumn elections.

³⁵² Information about the National Gallery of Australia accessioning and deaccessioning the painting comes from its current owners, Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. "Art in the Library," *art.lib.byu.edu* (accessed March 11, 2024), <https://art.lib.byu.edu/collection/le-bataillon-carre-affaire-de-fougeres-1793-square-battalion/>. On Le Blant's medals, see also: "Les Récompenses du Salon," *La Justice*, no. 141 (June 4, 1880): 2; "Les Récompenses de l'Exposition universelle," *La Vie artistique*, no. 27 (July 7, 1889): 209-10.

³⁵³ Jean-Clément Martin is not a revisionist historian but his chronology of the Wars in the Vendée presents paintings of Vendéen leaders from the nineteenth century as illustrations of the history of the Vendéen Wars. Jean-Clément Martin, *Blancs et Bleus dans la Vendée déchirée* (Paris: Gallimard, collection Découvertes, 1986). Le Blant's paintings are read as somewhat documentary on the website prepared by Dominique Formaz, although I am grateful for his kind assistance. Dominique Formaz, "Julien Le Blant: Un petit maître à redécouvrir," <https://leblant.com/blog/>. In the Vendée, Le Blant's painting is the source material for the theme park Le Puy du Fou's "re-enactment" of the Vendéen Wars. Laura Cappelle, "Some of France's Only Live Theater Right Now Is a Historical Affront," *New York Times* (June 25, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/25/theater/puy-du-fou-theater-history.html>. Lastly, at Logis de la Chabotterie, where Charette was held under arrest on his way to being executed in Nantes, the painting (in enlarged, reproduction form) has a sort of shrine in the museum.

As described in the Introduction and Chapter One, the centre-left faced their first difficult re-election fight in some time against the combined forces of monarchism and the revanchist General Boulanger, which threatened to dismantle a Republic that was only a decade old. The festivities held to honor the legacy of the French Revolution reflected this political situation. Pictures such as Le Blant's *Charette*, which cast a sympathetic eye on the foremost martyr of the royalist version of the Vendée Wars, troubled the idea of a universal republic.³⁵⁴ As has been shown, the events of the 1790s were not wholly absent from the Decennial Exhibition of 1889, even as the event's incongruous approach to revolutionary histories, a blend of leftist and conservative narratives, showed that the political establishment remained ill-at-ease with the legacy of the events they sought to commemorate. No representation of the Revolution could fully serve the interests of any one of their potential constituencies, but to avoid it as a whole would contradict the entire rationale for the *Exposition universelle*.

Charette vs. the *buveurs de sang*: The Complexities of Recounting the History of the Vendée Wars

The frenzied debate over Vendéen history that continues to this day, as evidenced by right-wing revisionist histories like that of Reynald Secher, makes concrete numbers difficult to determine, but the estimated 200,000 lives lost or displaced between 1792 and 1802 took an immense toll in a sparsely populated region.³⁵⁵ A 2009-2010 archaeological dig at a mass grave in Le Mans, the

³⁵⁴ From their embrace of Michelet's vision of revolutionary history to the use of Ernest Lavisse's textbooks dedicated to French heroes, it is evident that the Third Republic saw itself as inheritor of the legislative reforms of 1789. The secular republic inaugurated by the Revolution remains the benchmark by which the modern republic is measured as well.

³⁵⁵ Jean-Clément Martin states that the toll at the height of the fighting was at least 170,000. Martin, "The Vendée, the *Chouannerie*, and the State, 1791–99," in *A Companion to the French Revolution*, ed., McPhee, 254. Martin estimates that between 200,000–250,000 people in the region "disappeared" during the wars. See Martin, *La Vendée et la Révolution*, 67.

site of a December 1793 battle, uncovered the civilian impact of this conflict, begun by the Revolutionary Army and the Catholic and Royal Army of the Vendée. They found that 31% of the bodies were sexed female and a further 13% were teens or children, evidence that this conflict engulfed the whole of France's western regions; this is remarkable in a mass grave related to armed conflict. For example, in the Vilnius mass grave containing bodies from Napoleon's Grand Armée, nearly all the bodies (97%) are morphologically male.³⁵⁶ The wars in the West were unmistakably brutal in their blend of pitched battles, guerrilla tactics, and revenge missions undertaken within local communities. It is important to note here, regardless of what conservative texts argue, that these battles had victims of every political stripe.³⁵⁷ Though distinguishing features did not last in a mass grave like the one at Le Mans, the residues of the political mixture that characterized the region remain in other ways.

Charette himself, who met his end by revolutionary firing squad, entrusted the safekeeping of his own sister to a republican family in Nantes and she was the only Charette of her generation to survive the hostilities.³⁵⁸ For a sum of money from the royalist leader, a Mme. Collinet kept Marie-Anne Charette de la Contrie in her Nantes home and, from there, Marie-Anne sent her brother color-coded maps of republican troop movements. Still, on a personal level, Marie-Anne felt guilt over the danger she put Mme. Collinet in and soon began traveling

³⁵⁶ Catherine Thèves, Elodie Cabot, Caroline Bouakaze, Pierre Chevet, Éric Crubézy, and Patricia Balaesque, "About 42% of 154 remains from the 'Battle of Le Mans', France (1793) belong to women and children: Morphological and genetic evidence," *Forensic Science International* 262 (May 2016): 30–36.

³⁵⁷ See for example: Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le général Charette*, pt. 1 (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1809); Alfred Lallié, *Le district de Machecoul: 1788-1793. Etudes sur les origines et les débuts de l'insurrection vendéenne dans le pays de Retz* (Ingrandes-sur-Loire: D. Lambert de la Douasnerie, 2012) [first published in 1869]; Secher, *A French Genocide*. David Bell and Jean-Clément Martin have also written about the role the Vendée continues to play in culture wars. See Martin and Suaud, "Le Puy du Fou: L'interminable reinvention du paysan vendéen," 21-37; Martin, "Histoire et polémique, le massacre de Machecoul," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 29, no. 1 (1993): 33-60; David A. Bell, "The French Revolution, the Vendée, and Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* 22, no. 1 (2020): 19-25.

³⁵⁸ On Marie-Anne Charette, see Jacques-Marie Suard, "Marie-Anne Charette," in *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, eds. Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau (Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996), 149.

under a pseudonym to protect her republican friend. This was a conflict that tore friendships and families apart; it was an internecine struggle between *bleu* and *blanc*. Tensions in the Vendée simmered beneath the surface during the early years of the Revolution. In 1791, a new Constitution was drawn up inaugurating male suffrage, although it was limited to those who could pay a poll tax, which excluded five-sixths of the French population.³⁵⁹ Restrictions on the Catholic Church were especially controversial in the West. The enforcement of 1790's Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which subordinated the Church to the state, a new system of taxation that burdened the urban and rural poor disproportionately, and the mass conscription effort decreed in August 1793 all contributed to the outbreak of war.³⁶⁰ The Parisian Jacobin response was swift and resulted in both pitched battles and mass executions that turned the largely republican city of Nantes against the orders coming from Paris. The National Convention's decrees led to group drownings on the Loire River once the Parisian emissary Jean-Baptiste Carrier determined firing squads and guillotines were too slow to contain the local prisons he had filled to overflowing.³⁶¹ It is estimated that Carrier's "reign of Terror" in Nantes in the fall of 1793 resulted in 4,000 deaths.³⁶²

The protagonist of Le Blant's painting, François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie, was born at his family's château in Couffé in the Loire-Atlantique département in 1763. He was initially reluctant to get involved in the insurgency, but by April 1793, he had taken up a

³⁵⁹ Edward J. Woell, *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France, 1774–1914* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2006), 103; Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 152. Woell and Schechter differ on how many days' work would be sufficient to pay for active citizenship, with the discrepancy stemming from the fact that Woell focuses on the agrarian labor that dominated in the West and Schechter draws from a broader set of contemporaneous French labor statistics.

³⁶⁰ Woell, *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers*, 95-144; Bell, "The French Revolution, the Vendée, and Genocide," 19.

³⁶¹ James Schmidt, "Cabbage Heads and Gulps of Water: Hegel on the Terror," *Political Theory* 26, no. 1 (February 1998): 10.

³⁶² Stanley Loomis, *Paris in the Terror* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1964), 289.

leadership position at the urging of local lay leaders and clerics.³⁶³ He had served briefly as a lieutenant during the American Revolutionary War and was named general of the rebel forces with some haste. However, he soon had to abandon pitched battles that sought to conquer land and strategic supply lines in favor of the guerrilla tactics that characterized this conflict.³⁶⁴ The Jacobin General Louis Turreau, whose “infernal columns” spent the early months of 1794 burning Vendéen territory and executing civilians, called Charette “an invisible enemy.”³⁶⁵ In the late-nineteenth century monarchist push to counterprogram the Centennial, figures like Turreau and Carrier made for excellent villains to rebut the positive narrative of the Revolution that had become entrenched. Turreau’s fighters appear in a late-nineteenth-century stained-glass work in the Chapelle de Petit-Luc (Fig. 2.3) at Les Lucs-sur-Boulogne.³⁶⁶

In both medium and composition, this work of an unnamed artist befits the strident clericalism of *fin-de-siècle* counterrevolutionaries, a phenomenon to be discussed in more depth later in the chapter. In one segment, a blue-coated soldier drives the point of his bayonet into the stomach of a small boy, an act of cruelty contrasted directly with the vision of women at prayer beneath an icon of the Virgin in a church on fire. What the artist lacked in technical proficiency—the scale of several figures appears awkward—they made up for in blunt impact: the scroll along the bottom reads, “28th February 1794, at Grand Luc and at Petit Luc, 563 people from 15 to 84 years old were massacred.” In the 1890s, as the Centennial of the Execution of Charette neared, such memories inspired the conservative faithful to sponsor reactionary projects

³⁶³ The royalist comité of the Vendéen town of Legé wrote to Charette on April 13, 1793, asking him to lead the peasant forces. Abbé Alain Chantreau, “Charette et Legé,” in *Charette, l’itinéraire singulier d’un chef vendéen héroïque*, eds. Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau (Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996), 36.

³⁶⁴ Jean-Pierre Bois, “Charette et la guerre,” in *Charette, l’itinéraire singulier d’un chef vendéen héroïque*, eds. Martin and Chantreau, 49.

³⁶⁵ Bois, “Charette et la guerre,” 53.

³⁶⁶ The current chapel was constructed after 1866, having been destroyed in 1794.

and artworks such as these, all in the name of restoring the Catholic Church to its prior prominence, the best-known of which is the Basilica of Sacré-Cœur in Montmartre.³⁶⁷ In 1793 too, the terror campaign of the infernal columns helped Charette's recruitment efforts, but poor communication with his fellow royalist generals and one broken treaty later, and Charette was a hunted man.³⁶⁸ After his small party's campfire was spotted in the brush, Charette was captured by a revolutionary search party, which brought him to Nantes for a quick sentencing and execution.³⁶⁹ His execution by firing squad on March 29th, 1796, was a definitive coda to the Vendéen revolt, and it is that scene that Le Blant captured nearly a century after the fact.

On that evening in March 1796, the leader of the Vendéen forces was brought to the Place Viarmes in Nantes and shot in front of a large crowd.³⁷⁰ The site reeks of death in Le Blant's image. Three years prior to Charette's execution there, another royalist military leader, Jacques Cathelineau (1759-1793), had been shot by a sniper upon entering the square. Adding insult to royalist injury, he succumbed to his wound on July 14th. Le Blant highlights the site's ominousness with his placement of a sewer drain in the foreground. It recalls the watery deaths Carrier inflicted upon the populace of Nantes, who were drowned in the river at the heart of the

³⁶⁷ Among other clerical projects, Charette's grand-nephew Athanase de Charette was involved in fundraising for the Sacré-Cœur basilica in Montmatre in Paris. "Letter from A. Prat to Baron Général de Charette, Paris, June 5, 1889," C Mss/A/C472 Folder 75, Charette De La Contrie Family Papers-Susanne De Charette Van Stockum Collection, 1856-2000, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY. Sacré-Cœur's construction was paid for by private donations from wealthy Legitimists like Athanase de Charette and smaller donations from rural pilgrims. The politics of the basilica's construction has been explored in Raymond A. Jonas, "Monument as Ex-Voto, Monument as Historiosophy: Thae Basilica of Sacre-Cœur," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 482-502; Raymond A. Jonas, "Sacred Tourism and Secular Pilgrimage: and the Basilica of Sacré-Coeur," in *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 94-119.

³⁶⁸ Gabriel Thibaud, "Les combats de Charette de décembre 1793 à la fin 1794"; Jean-Clément Martin, "Charette et le traité de La Jaunaie. La dimension politique d'un chef de guerre"; Xavier du Boisrouvray, "Des Thermidoriens en mission Vendée Militaire: étude de mentalité," in *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, eds. Martin and Chantreau, 73-79, 81-83, 89-94; Anne Bernet, *Charette* (Paris: Perrin, 2005), 440-49.

³⁶⁹ Bernet, *Charette*, 447-56.

³⁷⁰ Bernet, *Charette*, 462. Bernet's historical biography is based on a mixture of royalist and revolutionary sources from the early nineteenth century.

city. Carrier's ruthless rumored execution style, which involved tying his victims together after stripping them of their clothes and sinking the boat rowed deep into the river, received the euphemistic moniker of "republican marriage." It is not clear if Carrier enacted this barbaric rite in exactly this fashion, but at the proceedings of his own Revolutionary Tribunal hearing, the rumor's power was unmistakable and legitimized his execution as a "drinker of blood" (*buveur de sang*).³⁷¹ Beginning during the Tribunals, revolutionaries applied this name to fellow revolutionaries involved in sending hordes to the guillotine, ostensibly "to make the crime blush, if the crime could be blushed," in the hopes of blackening the most notorious names into historical oblivion.³⁷²

But the overzealousness of figures like Carrier would not be swiftly forgotten, not least because it made for dramatic paintings throughout the nineteenth century, including in the decade of the Decennial. In October 1793, the Jacobin Committee of Public Safety in Paris had sent Carrier to Nantes to protect the city from the antirevolutionary insurgency expanding out of the Vendée and he managed to turn the revolutionary-friendly city of Nantes against the Convention when he used the city as a staging ground for public executions.³⁷³ The backlash to Carrier, especially his incitement of Vendéen counterrevolutionary activities led by Charette, led to his recall to Paris in early 1794.³⁷⁴ His viciousness remained a potent symbol of Jacobin excess late into the nineteenth century. Joseph Aubert's (1849-1924) depiction of the drownings (Fig. 2.4), presented at the Salon of 1882, speaks to the city's history of violence in a multiplicity

³⁷¹ Schmidt, "Cabbage Heads and Gulps of Water," 10.

³⁷² Philippe-Joseph-Benjamin Buchez and Pierre-Célestin Roux-Lavergne, *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française, ou Journal des assemblées nationales depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815*, vol. 34 (Paris: Paulin, 1834-38), 487.

³⁷³ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Jean-Baptiste Carrier," published March 12, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jean-Baptiste-Carrier>.

³⁷⁴ Carrier designated Nantes as "the national bathtub" amidst his macabre and short-lived occupation of the city. Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, *Nantes: Histoire et géographie contemporaine* (Plomelin: Éditions Palantines, 2008), 106.

of ways. It shows the impending drowning of the townspeople, dragged nearly nude beyond the imposing medieval walls of Nantes's château of the Dukes of Brittany. In the figures of the women, both porcelain-skinned without a visible scar in the academic tradition, their grotesquely exposed breasts nonetheless elicit fears of the sexual violence Carrier and his men were accused of in 1794.

Finally, there is a blatant reference to the city's foundation of racialized violence in the figure of the enslaved Black man forced to hold the boat to its mooring. His balding pate suggests that he is aged and that his engagement in hard labor has been ongoing for some decades, and his continued servitude is a damning critique of the boundaries of the Revolution's narrow vision of *liberté*. The strain of his bare muscular back is visible despite the artist's use of deep browns and blacks to paint skin and hair and the contemporary viewer is forced to reckon with the cruelty of this person forced to participate in executions against his will, though in the nineteenth century, his subservient position would not have been so striking. His presence in a boat built to sink in the hub of France's transatlantic slave trade activity likens his plight, however inappropriately, to that of Carrier's white victims. Those who drowned in the Middle Passage are emblemized in his body as well, a connection that is difficult to overlook given the source of Nantes' wealth.

Beneath him, white manacled hands thrust upwards from the hull of the boat, later to be unplugged in the center of the Loire to facilitate the drownings. In the 1880s, this imagery bound the plight of the enslaved man with that of Carrier's victims, an equation of the genocidal act of slavery with the actions of the National Convention in a mode which, stomach churningly, is not dissimilar from inapt comparisons between the Vendée Wars and the Shoah. The red sash slung low on the enslaved man's hips echoes that worn by Carrier, seen overseeing the proceedings,

and the Jacobin's crisp red, white, and blue ensemble contrasted with that of the Black man in tatters emphasizes the perceived hollowness of a Revolution begun in the name of *Liberté*. In two senses here, Nantes' source of life and wealth in the Loire is associated with the atrocity of the transatlantic slave trade and the human toll of the Vendéen Wars.

In December 1793, Carrier set up a guillotine in the more central Place du Bouffay in Nantes and that device soon made victims of Charette's cousins. In an 1838 painting of the grisly scene (Fig. 2.5) by Auguste-Hyacinthe Debay (1804-1865), the four girls cling to their maid, Jeanne Roy, as their executioner looms from the scaffold.³⁷⁵ Above them, an unsubtle darkening sky threatens rain, though not the misty, elegiac kind that Le Blant would depict several decades later. Ahead of the focal family, several jaundiced figures ascend the steps of the scaffold and one has already fainted in fear. Debay's mixture of yellow, white, and grey in the victim palette contrasts sharply with the blues, reds, and earthy tones of their executioners. Though less macabre than Debay's work, which was unable to be shown until the Salon of 1850 when an Orléanist was no longer on the throne, Le Blant likewise employed reddish-brown touches of paint evoking rivulets of blood flowing into the drain, which foreshadowed the execution to come. The silvery stream that will flow into the deadly Loire connects Charette to his final resting place in addition to compositionally dividing the royalist from his republican counterpart. The ground water in Le Blant's scene, as in the works of Aubert and Debay, is an omen of death, guiding the eye back to the watching crowd that had witnessed hundreds of aqueous deaths by this time, effectively connecting the royalist leader and the people of Nantes.

The Political Usefulness of Reviving Charette and the Vendée

³⁷⁵ The girls' mother died in 1789, thus the la Métairie sisters were accompanied by their maid, Jeanne Roy. Edmond Biré, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris pendant la Terreur* (Tours and Mayenne: Imprimeries E. Soudée, 1794), 260.

Charette has had an afterlife far longer than his thirty-two years on Earth. The battle over his memory began shortly after his death, with contradictory royalist memoirs penned both by supportive former soldiers and other adversarial royalist leaders and their families.³⁷⁶ The positive image won out, likely as a result of the Charette family's marriage into the House of Bourbon, and took shape during the Bourbon Restoration.³⁷⁷ Paulin Guérin created a posthumous 1819 portrait of Charette as part of a cycle of Vendéen generals for King Louis XVIII's château at Saint-Cloud (Fig. 2.6). The Restoration sanctified Charette's memory; in 1826, the duchesse de Berry, mother of the Bourbon heir, donated funds for a perpetual mass to be said in Charette's name in eighty Vendéen parishes south of the Loire River, "for the cause of religion and the monarchy," in a direct evocation of the Charette family motto 'God and King.'³⁷⁸ These twin goals of restoring the Church and the monarchy are the most enduring part of Charette's legacy. Even when chances of a royal restoration were dimmed, the *ancien régime* and its feudal lords like Charette remained symbols for the staunchest conservatives, who now pressed on single-mindedly towards re-entrenching their faith in culture and public education.

François-Athanase's great-nephew, Athanase Charette de la Contrie (1832-1911), exemplified the nineteenth-century monarchist's approach to fighting the forces of revolution in the present. In the most literal sense, Athanase fled France in 1846 for the Military Academy of Turin to avoid military service under the Orléanist Louis-Philippe, whom Legitimists loyal to the

³⁷⁶ See Bois, "Charette et la guerre" and Thérèse Rouchette, "Charette sous le regard des siens," in *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, eds. Martin and Chantreau, 45, 135–43.

³⁷⁷ These traits were set down in writing by Charette's first biographer, Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, in coordination with the royalist leader's sister Anne-Marie. M. Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le general Charette*, pt. 1 (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1809), 18. The same physical descriptors also appeared in a mid-nineteenth century mass given by the Bishop of Montpellier. The Catholic Church's role in perpetuating Charette's story and those of other Vendéen generals is a crucial part of Vendéen memory. Monseigneur de Cabrières, Bishop of Montpellier, "Éloge de Monsieur Francois-Athanase de Charette de la Contrie, 1846," Folder 44, Mss/A/C472, Charette De La Contrie Family Papers-Susanne De Charette Van Stockum Collection, 1856-2000, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

³⁷⁸ Woell, "Counterrevolutionary Catholicism in Western France," 206.

Bourbons considered illegitimate.³⁷⁹ In 1848, sensing the revolutionary fervor building around him in Piedmont, Athanase left and ultimately found himself fighting for the Pope against revolutionary forces in Italy during the 1860s. Upon returning to France, he reorganized his forces into the “Volunteers of the West” to assist Léon Gambetta’s forces against Prussia before offering the same men to President Thiers to suppress the Paris Commune in 1871.³⁸⁰ For fear of the Communard propaganda that could be created from the resurrection of the Vendéen army, Thiers barred the western troops from participating in the destruction of the Commune.³⁸¹ However, he could not stop reporting on Charette’s intentions to attack Paris, nor the Communard press from invoking the memories of 1793 as a recruiting tool.³⁸²

What began as a painfully divisive moment in French revolutionary history quickly became a weapon to be employed exclusively by the French right against their left-leaning opponents, who, as noted, celebrate the French Revolution as the beginning of the modern French Republic. As with the Centennial of 1889, which monarchists countered with commemorations of their own in 1896, replete with white cockades and banners, the Bicentennial of 1989 opened a floodgate of revisionist histories, some of which had the imprimatur of France’s institutions of higher learning. This is most evident in Reynald Secher’s polarizing book of 1986 entitled *A French Genocide: The Vendée*, which began as his Sorbonne dissertation, and which likens the actions of the National Convention to those of the totalitarian mass murderers of the twentieth century, erasing the internecine nature of the Vendéen wars. A

³⁷⁹ For biographical information on Athanase see Pierre-Louis-Théophile-Georges Goyau, “Baron Athanase-Charles-Marie Charette de la Contrie,” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (accessed May 23, 2023): [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Baron_Athanase-Charles-Marie_Charette_de_la_Contrie](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Baron_Athanase-Charles-Marie_Charette_de_la_Contrie).

³⁸⁰ Raymond A. Jonas, “Anxiety, Identity, and the Displacement of Violence during the *Année Terrible*: The Sacred Heart and the Diocese of Nantes, 1870-1871,” *French Historical Studies* 21, no.1 (Winter 1998): 60–61.

³⁸¹ Robert Tombs, “Paris and the Rural Hordes: An Exploration of Myth and Reality in the French Civil War of 1871,” *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 4 (December 1986): 801.

³⁸² Tombs, “Paris and the Rural Hordes,” 795, 801.

member of his dissertation committee, the right-wing polemicist Pierre Chaunu, compared the actions of republican troops to the savagery of SS officers.³⁸³ This argument was echoed within broader conservative circles; in 1987, the editor of the conservative *Le Figaro* wrote, “Let us be done with the French Revolution.”³⁸⁴ A republican voice could just as easily have asked Vendéens, who held a tribute exhibition to Louis XVI in Cholet to coincide with the 1989 bicentennial of the Revolution, if they were ready to relinquish the Vendéen Wars.

Painting History: Julien Le Blant Creates a Royalist Icon for Republican Paris

Le Blant’s manipulation of light and rain—the same light misty rain remarked upon by the future owner of the painting in that 1969 interview—draws sharp distinctions between the royalist and his republican executioners. These are his sole nods to the religiosity royalists ascribed to the Vendée conflicts, seen in an increasingly negative fashion as the Opportunists systematically removed the Catholic Church from public utilities like education. In direct opposition to the danger posed by the waters of the Loire, this rain carries connotations of holy water and absolution in its promise to wash away the blood of Charette’s execution, which in that sense takes on the mantle of Christ-like sacrifice. The light from above too is a trademark of the artist. Le Blant often employed apothecic light sources in his work to divide the warring factions whose representation he specialized in, as in his Napoleonic battle scene, *The Battle of Fère-Champenoise* (Fig. 2.7). In the *Charette* canvas, Le Blant adapts his motif by eliminating the parting clouds above, so the effect of providential light is reduced somewhat, granting plausible

³⁸³ Stanley Meisler, “As 200th Anniversary Nears, French Still Fret Over Revolution,” *Los Angeles Times* (October 13, 1987): C12.

³⁸⁴ Meisler, “As 200th Anniversary Nears, French Still Fret Over Revolution,” C12.

deniability in the artist's *bleu* milieu, though the painting's first owner Athanase de Charette was evidently charmed by the work's clear homage to his ancestor.

Unlike Le Blant's other paintings, *Charette* marked a fresh, if not lasting, attempt at painterly bravura. Naturalist paintings often relied upon carefully applied media that masked their messy origins inside industrially manufactured tubes squeezed onto palettes and blended quickly by a vigorous brush or palette knife. Many of these canvases sought to recreate the effect of the single horse-hair brushes that granted a glassy, licked finish to the works of David and his retinue. Revolutionary and Napoleonic painters, however, had not been in competition with photography, to which a documentary, evidentiary role was ascribed, and which offered a range of new "reality effects" and, for critics and audiences, a pretense at "la verité" through representation that mimicked reality closely.³⁸⁵ By the late 1870s, great strides had been made in creating instantaneous photographs thanks to the development of the gelatin dry plate process, which democratized photography's proliferation.³⁸⁶ But by creating clearly delineated forms with thinly applied layers of paint from foreground to background, keeping everything in focus, Naturalist artists manufactured on canvas that which could not be accomplished in either photography or with the human eye, making the case to critics seeking the "verité" that painting retained an edge over photography in the level of detail it could show.

What then to make of the eye-catching, blindingly white brushwork in the center of Le Blant's canvas? In one sense, it seeks to capture the illusion of falling rain as it strikes the ground, pooling and dispersing, blanketing the ground in a reflective film. In another sense, the

³⁸⁵ Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Truth and Lies: Vernet, Vaudeville, and Photography," in *Horace Vernet and the Thresholds of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, eds. Daniel Harkett and Katie Hornstein (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2017), 208.

³⁸⁶ Phillip Prodger, "Instantaneous Photography," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 749; Colin Harding, "Snapshot Photography," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1277.

application appears disarmingly experimental and dynamic, blanching the space between the core trio of Charette, his republican counterpart, and the sobbing man as though the paving stones are momentarily blinded by the burst of a flashbulb. To the practitioners of a mechanized form of creation, the painter answers that observation of the natural world maintains the potential to stun. Momentarily stopping his journey back in time to the Revolution, quite physically with a compositional element that breaks up the Place Viarmes, Le Blant responds to the needs of painters in his own moment in this direct confrontation with the rapidly developing technologies of the present. Then behind the light, the illusion of 1796 begins anew, with the undifferentiated mass of republican soldiers crowding behind the lashings of silvery white paint. Charette is readily identifiable, the gunmen huddled together behind the arc of light are indistinct, setting up the binary distinction between *bleus* and *blancs* expected in any depiction of the Vendée Wars.

The homogeneity of the matching set of gunmen was such that a caricaturist for *Le Charivari* likened their duplicative forms to bowling pins about to be mowed down by Charette in a satirical review of the Salon of 1883 (Fig. 2.8), highlighting the compositional strength of Charette's figure relative to the faceless firing squad. Charette's noble depiction and foregrounding had obvious appeal for those who had already bought in to the Charette myth. And yet, probably because of the artist's efforts at expressive painterly experimentalism on top of his historical research, *Charette* had cross-party appeal. The strong reviews Le Blant's painting received from critics of varying political persuasions clinched its later inclusion in the 1889 Decennial.

The most significant concession Le Blant's *Charette* makes to secular members of the viewing public in Paris was its distinct lack of clerical content. 1883 was a notable year for Le Blant's Salon career and the royalist movement as well. In August, Henri, comte de Chambord,

the last French Bourbon, died childless at age sixty-two, which left the Orléanist pretender, Philippe, comte de Paris, as the next logical choice for royalists, now denied a hereditary monarchy.³⁸⁷ Despite historical tension between the Bourbons and Orléanists, monarchism had evolved into a social movement with the restoration of the Catholic Church to pre-eminence as its main goal rather than the crowning of a specific individual.³⁸⁸ Athanase de Charette, who was a prominent Bourbon supporter descended from King Charles X, understood this political goal. After Thiers refused to put his troops into action against the Commune, Athanase de Charette retreated to his ancestral château in Couffé, where he coordinated projects for the church. As previously mentioned, the Charette family motto was ‘God and King’; a phrase which, according to a list of the royalist leader’s personal effects from the final years of his life, was sown into the very fabric of François-Athanase’s clothing on the reverse flaps of his gray coat; the white coat painted by Le Blant is a pure fiction, which makes him appear a literal embodiment of the Bourbon white flag, complete with fleur de lys in the lining of his coat.³⁸⁹ Le Blant did not paint the embroidered family motto, which would not have been legible in any case, but its exclusion reduced the overt religiosity of his version of the scene.

The artist’s lack of clericalism was plain for at least one critic in a Salon review for *Révue de la Révolution*, a nationalistic and anti-clerical journal with Bonapartist leanings. Writing about the figure crying on Charette’s shoulder, Elie de Mont noted, “It is evidently a character introduced there by M. Le Blant who, out of a scruple that I highly approve of, did not

³⁸⁷ Following the death of the comte de Chambord, some Legitimists did look to the Spanish Bourbons and their leader Don Carlos for leadership. The ‘blancs d’Espagne’ were small in number however. Martin Simpson, ‘The Death of Henri V: Legitimists Without the Bourbons,’ *French History* 15, no. 4 (2001): 378.

³⁸⁸ Steven Kale, *Legitimism and the Reconstruction of French Society, 1852–1883* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

³⁸⁹ “Costume du Général Charette dans les Années 1793–1794,” C Mss/A/C472 Folder 16, Charette De La Contrie Family Papers-Susanne De Charette Van Stockum Collection, 1856-2000, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

want to place, at the side of the intrepid Catholic fighter, the sworn priest whose presence had been imposed on him and who had, moreover, put himself aside, as soon as he arrived at the Place Viarmes.”³⁹⁰ Le Blant’s picture enables this kind of reading because it eliminates the priest, abbé Guibert, who prayed with Charette before his death. Both Anne Bernet, Charette’s most recent biographer, and his devoted soldier Le Bouvier-Desmortiers identified abbé Guibert as the last person Charette saw before reportedly giving the signal for his own execution.³⁹¹ In Le Blant’s painting, we can imagine that Charette is giving his republican equivalent this directive, becoming a co-author of sorts in the depiction of his end. Charette alone was such a clerical signifier that Le Blant likely felt that the addition of the priest wasn’t necessary. His rendering of the sobbing layperson, likely the royalist army’s tailor Boetz who helped Charette before his execution, emphasizes the loyalty of Charette’s followers. It further made the picture appealing to a non-clerical audience in addition to those who were already adherents to Charette’s story.

Charette vs the Vendéen “Race”

In addition to reducing the clericalism that was out of fashion in the Paris of the 1880s, Le Blant’s paintings chosen for the Decennial Exhibition have a connection to the ethnographic and physiognomic interests of the time, usually discussed in conjunction with the colonial pavilions beyond the four walls of the Palace of Fine Arts. Charette made a robust anatomical contrast with the hunched peasant army of the Vendée and Brittany in Le Blant’s *The Square Battalion, Fougères Affair 1793*. Charette’s physical beauty played a key role in both the royalist retellings of his story and in the painting’s positive reviews in 1883 and 1889. Having removed any hint of grime from his figure in the pristine white coat, Le Blant was surely pleased by the attention his

³⁹⁰ Elie De Mont, “Salon de 1883,” *Revue de la Révolution* 1 (1883): 506.

³⁹¹ Bernet, *Charette*, 464; Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies*, pt. 1, 469.

Charette received for his stoic beauty. In his 1809 memoir *Refutation of the Slander Published Against General Charette*, written in conjunction with Charette's sister, Le Bouvier-Desmortiers described his commander as having "an oval-shaped face, a good nose that is a little upturned, a flat mouth, and a strong chin."³⁹² In 1896, during the centennial of Charette's execution, a statue was erected in his memory in Couffé (Fig. 2.9) and the Bishop of Montpellier gave a sermon at the unveiling. To the crowd that included Charette's descendants, who were wearing the white cockades that can now be seen in La Logis de la Chabotterie's permanent exhibition (Fig. 2.10), the bishop emphasized Charette's "wide and pensive forehead," "nose with dilated nostrils, the better to smell gunpowder," and "sparkling eyes, protected by thick eyebrows, revealing a will that is both bold and stubborn."³⁹³ On the other side of the spectrum, despite finding fault in the "royalist" painter's vision of history, the republican critic Edmond About, whose journal *Le XIXe siècle* was intimately tied to the Opportunists' administration, found Charette "truly beautiful."³⁹⁴

While divided in political ideology, monarchists and republicans alike viewed the aquiline nose, high forehead, and light skin of western European faces as desirable. What constituted "beautiful" in France in 1889 was indebted to the pseudoscience of physiognomy, which had grown in popularity since the late-eighteenth century and promoted the superiority of European facial features in direct support of imperialist enterprise. Note the similarity of Charette's bone structure to models of the European "facial angle" (Fig. 2.11), advocated by eighteenth-century naturalists like Petrus Camper, who associated African "types" with caprice

³⁹² Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies*, pt. 1, 18.

³⁹³ "Eloge de Monsieur Francois-Athanase de Charette de la Contrie prononcé par Monseigneur de Cabrières, Évêque de Montpellier a Couffé (La Contrie), Le XXVII Aout MDCCCXCVI avant l'inauguration de la statue du généralissime de l'armée catholique et royale," C Mss/A/C472 Folder 44, Charette De La Contrie Family Papers-Susanne De Charette Van Stockum Collection, 1856-2000, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.

³⁹⁴ Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 126; [Edmond] About, "Salon de 1883," *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 4153 (May 17, 1883): unpaginated.

and the Apollo-like European “type” with the capacity to build civilizations.³⁹⁵ In Le Blant’s depiction of Charette, the royalist has a straight, upturned nose and strong jutting chin, not to mention his noticeably lighter complexion, in keeping with the period’s heavily racialized definition of beauty and the good character denoted by outward appearance. The use of these tropes should not be conflated with monarchist sentiments on the part of Le Blant. Instead, it was keeping with the dominant attitudes of the time and made the royalist leader appear more positive and heroic in the eyes of Salon visitors. Other military martyrs on display in the same Salons had similar appearances, for example the clean-shaven, strong-jawed face of the republican General Beaupuy (Fig. 2.12) as painted by Alexandre Bloch, also on view in the Decennial. Le Blant was scarcely alone in creating protagonists that comported with European beauty standards.

It is worth remembering, furthermore, that Charette had been living in the woods in soiled clothes for months by the time he was captured, and his revolutionary jailers refused to lend him a razor for fear of losing their prize to suicide.³⁹⁶ In her biography, Bernet speaks to Charette’s desire to avoid looking disheveled when brought before the firing squad.³⁹⁷ In prison, Charette requested to see the royalist tailor Boetz so he could cover up the worst of his beard and lanky hair with white muslin.³⁹⁸ This request is not visible in Le Blant’s painting, but the frontispiece for Le Bouvier-Desmortiers’ 1809 memoir (Fig. 2.13) gives us some idea of what Charette’s makeshift solution looked like, though even here Charette is beardless and clean. Le Blant’s figure is remarkably upright. Save for the bandage wrapped around Charette’s head,

³⁹⁵ Martin S. Staum, “The Facial Angle, Physiognomy, and Racial Theory,” in *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815–1848* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 23–48; David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002).

³⁹⁶ Bernet, *Charette*, 452.

³⁹⁷ Bernet, *Charette*, 452, 455–57.

³⁹⁸ Bernet, *Charette*, 460.

soaked through with black blood, and the traces of blood under his impaired arm, the general does not look as though he has been living rough. His white coat, which would have been impossible to keep clean when Charette incurred multiple bullet wounds, has a stark quality to it that suggests that Boetz also brought him a new coat, an assertion also supported by the fact that the royalist leaders wore dark gray not white, the color of the Bourbon flag.³⁹⁹ This is another striking compositional element devised by Le Blant. Charette, who was barely recognized when he was captured due to the brokenness of his limbs and the disfigurement of gunshot wounds, is recast by Le Blant as a classically handsome figure.

Le Blant's presentation of the upright, pale, and handsome Charette was made clearer by its juxtaposition with *The Square Battalion* in his Decennial display. Here is one point where the racialized violence that underscores this colonial exhibition coincides with the representation of Western France, regarded as "other" by those in the capital. The "otherness" of Bretons was nothing new in the academic art world of the 1880s, where the painter Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret (1852-1929) received praise for his paintings (Fig. 2.14) of "Holbein-like" women, "the handsome ones whose race is inscribed on their faces..."⁴⁰⁰ In this period, the term "race" was used rather loosely, and we would not now refer to Bretons as racially distinct from Parisians. But this exoticization of Bretons was part of a broader phenomenon connected to this mass migration of Bretons to Paris in the 1870s.⁴⁰¹ At the Salon of 1880, Fernand Cormon's (1845-1924) Biblical history painting entitled *Cain* (Fig. 2.15) and Le Blant's *The Square Battalion*, both of which would join Dagnan-Bouveret's scenes of Bretons at prayer in the

³⁹⁹ Bernet, *Charette*, 446-48, 452.

⁴⁰⁰ Edmond Jacques, "Le Salon," *L'Intransigeant*, no. 3213 (May 1, 1889): 2.

⁴⁰¹ Leslie Page Moch, *The Pariahs of Yesterday: Breton Migrants in Paris* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

Decennial of 1889, bolstered this overarching interest in presenting Paris as a cosmopolitan, evolved global center via contrasts of “racialized” others.

Despite ethnic contiguity with French people in the capital, Bretons were seen as a distinct grouping both at home and once in they arrived in larger cities. The religious Bretons, stereotyped by their dress and faith, further underscored French fears over depopulation and decline with their sizeable families that were considerably larger than Parisian ones. Some observers believed Breton immigration was the solution, that “they would found a solid race, rooted to the soil, strong as the rocks of Brittany.”⁴⁰² Western French people too considered themselves to form a distinctive group; even today at Le Puy de Fou, there is an old-fashioned ethnographic museum presenting Vendéens and Bretons as a separate people, using the terminology of “race” in a loose nineteenth-century fashion.⁴⁰³ The far-right politician Philippe de Villiers who founded Le Puy de Fou in the late 1970s has hailed the site’s “historical” shows as “ethnographic” testaments to the “Vendéen people.” In 1978, in an unintentional echo of the 1889 Centennial’s History of Habitation exhibit designed to place contemporary Europeans at the most evolved end of a Darwinian spectrum, Le Puy de Fou opened its eco-museum featuring historical peoples in replica habitats. An art critic for *Le XIXe siècle* wrote of Dagnan-Bouveret’s painting that the figures in his Breton religious processions were all of a piece with “backward and believing Brittany,” which he further called a “savage land.”⁴⁰⁴ Amidst the Third Republic’s push for *laïcité*, the piety of his Breton figures was enough to convey that these figures should be read as “backwards,” thus Dagnan-Bouveret merely clothed his friends and family in regional

⁴⁰² Moch, *The Pariahs of Yesterday*, 83.

⁴⁰³ Martin and Suaud, “Le Puy du Fou,” 21-22.

⁴⁰⁴ Marcel Fouquier, “Le Salon de 1887,” *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 5644 (June 26, 1887): unpaginated.

clothing sourced from Brittany secondhand.⁴⁰⁵ Le Blant's images of Bretons and Vendéens went beyond mere costuming, taking the rugged associations of the agricultural west further, ascribing heavy brows and coarse bone structure to the anatomy of the peasantry, recalling depictions of Neanderthals that had gained currency via popular science journals and paintings in the Salons of the late nineteenth century.

Archaeological finds of Neanderthal skeletons, beginning in 1856 in the Neander Valley near Düsseldorf, showed that prehistoric skulls had protruding brow bones above the eye sockets.⁴⁰⁶ Darwin's ideas on "mutability," published in 1859 in *On the Origin of Species*, were slow to catch on in France, which, in keeping with the hypernationalistic approach to scientific knowledge dissemination in the imperial age, preferred the older concept of "inheritance of acquired characteristics" proposed by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck in 1809.⁴⁰⁷ Lamarck had proposed, without direct observation, that life came into existence through a spontaneous force and, unlike in Mendelian genetics where genetic matter passes from generation to generation regardless of environment, was heavily shaped by environment and prehistoric and modern man were anatomically the same until acted upon by the force of their surroundings.⁴⁰⁸ By this logic, now understood to be faulty, the deserts of Biblical stories and the rocky landscape of the West would shape different bodies than the urban core of Paris. Darwin, for his part, determined that "the bodily structure of man shows traces, more or less plain, of his descent from some lower

⁴⁰⁵ In Dagnan-Bouveret's *The Pardon in Brittany*, which shown at the *Exposition universelle* of 1889, the figures are identified by notes on the reverse of the painting as "Jeanne Claude Jobard, mother of my friend Gustave Courtois," while the younger woman at center left was his wife, Maria Walter. Orwicz, "The Representation of the Breton," 85.

⁴⁰⁶ Martha Lucy, "Cormon's "Cain" and the Problem of the Prehistoric Body," *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 2 (2002): 112.

⁴⁰⁷ Gustav Jahoda, "Intra-European Racism in Nineteenth-Century Anthropology," *History and Anthropology* 20, no. 1 (2009): 50; Fabiola López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden: Transatlantic Architecture and the Crafting of Modernity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 3.

⁴⁰⁸ López-Durán, *Eugenics in the Garden*, 3; Lucy, "Cormon's "Cain" and the Problem of the Prehistoric Body," 112.

form.”⁴⁰⁹ The Darwinian and Lamarckian models merged in Fernand Cormon’s (1845-1924) *Cain* (Fig. 2.15), and Le Blant’s *The Square Battalion*.

Cain, which drew upon recent studies of the Neanderthal musculoskeletal system to add scientific heft to Cormon’s portrayal of the first murderer fleeing God’s anger and especially upon the 1879 cave painting discoveries at Altamira, was the standout at the Salon of 1880.⁴¹⁰ In a testament to the era’s demand for veristic details in Naturalist painting, critics praised the artist for his research and simultaneously found the figures “more beast than man.”⁴¹¹ Cormon didn’t simply adorn his figures with animal pelts and handmade tools, he painted his Neanderthal bodies with curved spines, overbent knees, and permanently furrowed brows. These bodies were seen as somewhere between human and animal; in *Le XIXe siècle*, Edmond About wrote that “he [Cormon] was free to make an old primate of him [Cain], stamped with the fangs of bestiality.”⁴¹² This critic’s assertion, connecting the Neanderthal body to subhuman acts, reflects *fin-de-siècle* society’s physiognomic association of anatomical difference with crudeness and incivility. Cormon took this understanding of the Neanderthal body as less-than-human to its eugenicist conclusion in his ceiling painting *The Human Races* (Fig. 2.16), made for the New Galleries of Comparative Anatomy, Paleontology, and Anthropology at the National Museum of Natural History in Paris. It was not enough to depict prehistoric bodies within their epoch; he transposed prehistoric bodies onto the purported yellow, black, and red races, as described in the pamphlet the artist wrote to accompany the picture.⁴¹³ Studies on Cormon by Maria Gindhart and Martha Lucy, supported by evidence of the artist’s thorough research of the sources available to

⁴⁰⁹ Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and selection in relation to sex*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1874), 6.

⁴¹⁰ Lucy, “Cormon’s “Cain” and the Problem of the Prehistoric Body,” 109.

⁴¹¹ Charles Clément, “Exposition de 1880,” *Journal des débats* (May 1, 1880): unpaginated. Additionally, one critic found that the artist “had certainly read more than one book about the prehistoric epoch.” Edmond About, “Salon de 1880,” *XIXe siècle*, no. 3066 (May 18, 1880): unpaginated.

⁴¹² About, “Salon de 1880,” unpaginated.

⁴¹³ Maria P. Gindhart, “Allegorizing Aryanism: Fernand Cormon’s *The Human Races*,” *Aurora* 9 (2008): 78.

him including the ethnographic display at the Trocadéro, point to his ardent belief in the pseudoscience of race burgeoning at the time in western Europe and the United States.⁴¹⁴

Such an archive scarcely exists for Le Blant's *The Square Battalion*, but his lunging, crouching peasant army of the Vendée likewise imposes prehistoric features on "others," thus appearing to draw from the same font of Darwinian-Lamarckian ideas. Armed with scythes and pitchforks (Fig. 2.17), the army of the West surges up as though from the primordial gunk beneath their feet, wholly one with their rugged surroundings as they come upon the unsuspecting revolutionary soldiers in a guerrilla-style ambush. Le Blant likely looked at the same sources as Cormon and he was evidently still drawing upon them when invited to illustrate the new Centennial edition of Honoré de Balzac's novel *The Chouans*. Balzac's 1829 romance refers repeatedly to the Chouans, a synonym for the anti-revolutionary peasants of the West, as "savages" and gives them demeaning names like Plunder-the-Loaf (*Pille-miche*) and Gallop-to-the-Pint (*Galope-chopine*), associating them with the base impulses of theft and gluttony, bodily desires rather than those connected to the mind.

It is perhaps not surprising that the main inspiration for Balzac's story was James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, which had been translated into French by the time Balzac was writing his novel, and has indigenous American characters named Hawk-Eye and Chingachgook.⁴¹⁵ The American "Wild West" myth was popular in *fin-de-siècle* France, judging by the reception of Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show at the 1889 *Exposition*. In the Paris suburb of Neuilly, Cody staged full-scale battle scenes against American Indians brought from

⁴¹⁴ Gindhart, "Allegorizing Aryanism," 74-100 and Lucy, "Cormon's 'Cain' and the Problem of the Prehistoric Body," 107-26.

⁴¹⁵ Allan H. Pasco, "Personalizing Violence in Balzac's 'Les Chouans,'" *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 41, no. 3/4 (Spring-Summer 2013): 196-97.

the United States.⁴¹⁶ Every show, Cody triumphed over the indigenous Americans, who were further dehumanized by the availability of their makeshift “camp” to world’s fair visitors, not unlike the peoples on display in the colonial “human zoos” on the Champ de Mars. Swapping the American West for the French West, Le Blant’s illustrations for Balzac’s story (figs. 2.18 and 2.19), depict shaggy-coated, lank-haired men accosting passersby and receiving Mass in the untamed Breton landscape. In one illustration (Fig. 2.20), a man in animal skins tucks into a meal above the demeaning caption, “He began to eat with a stupid indifference.”⁴¹⁷ The physical coarseness of the figure affirms the mental incapacity attributed to him in both text and image. In all Le Blant’s images of Chouans, heavy brows and bone structure contrast with the refined faces of upper-class characters like his *Charette*, whose features derive from classical, Euro-centric models. His depiction of the foot soldiers of the Catholic and Royal Army is not particularly sympathetic when seen through this lens and rather positions Le Blant more within his Parisian milieu than as someone creating fundamentally different pictures of the Vendée.

These images foreshadow a later body of work by Le Blant, a series of works on paper depicting men serving on the front lines in the trenches of the First World War (Fig. 2.21), largely working-class men whose bodies were wracked daily with the threat of waterborne illness, trenchfoot, and exposure, all before incurring the onslaught of enemy artillery and gunfire. For their trouble, they received the nickname *poilus*—literally the hairy people. These figures, which postdate Le Blant’s Chouans illustrations by almost three decades are remarkable for the similar roughness in their facture. This was not ameliorated by reproduction, for Le

⁴¹⁶ Susanne Berthier-Foglar, “The 1889 World Exhibition in Paris: The French, the Age of Machines, and the *Wild West*,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 31, no. 2 (2009): 137-38; Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut, “The Afterlife of the 1889 Exposition Universelle: Imagining and Fashioning the Filipino in Fin-de-Siècle Paris,” Paper presented at The Paris World Fairs—(Re-) Productions of Art and Fashion conference, November 12-13, 2020.

⁴¹⁷ Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), 10.

Blant's Chouans illustrations had been wood engraved by Auguste Leveillé (1840-1900). Le Blant's representations of lower socioeconomic classes, both Chouans and the infantrymen of the First World War, is looser and more open to experimentation than his paintings of Vendéen aristocrats such as Charette. Watercolor and ink in particular offered him a fluidity of expression in media, but this lack of structure was not applied to upper-class bodies. In comparison to Charette, the working-class men conscripted into months-long stints in the trenches are bowed under rucksacks and exhausted by their labor; such bodily consequences were not visible on Charette's aristocratic body even after he had been dragged on a forced procession through the city of Nantes. One reviewer made astounding remarks about the *poilus'* spines that suggest a continued interest in physiognomy: "And backs! One would not believe the nuances of feeling expressed by a back drawn by a great artist! Round and good-natured backs, sneering backs, bewildered backs, "I don't care" backs. And above all, a certain slimmed down back, in a hood that is too large."⁴¹⁸

To make his meaning more plain, upon the exhibition of these drawings in 1917, the critic further asserted that Le Blant was the perfect artist for the task of depicting the men of the trenches as he himself was a "savage" who lacked the foundation of an education at either the École des Beaux-Arts or the Académie Julien, which was surely also a reference to his reputation as "a painter of the Vendée" and the "backwards and believing" West.⁴¹⁹ This lack of a formal artistic education is evident in the 1889 *Exposition* catalogue where Le Blant's name is listed alone, whereas his peers are listed with their teachers, flaunting their artistic pedigree, or perhaps

⁴¹⁸ "Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant," 1110; for one example of phrenological writing from the period, see William Windsor, *Phrenology: the science of character* (Big Rapids: Ferris-Windsor Company, 1921), 158, where the author writes, "All of the functions of the body are represented in the form of the head and the face...a beautiful, well-formed person is sufficient evidence of the perfection of this function."

⁴¹⁹ "Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant," 1103

their evolution, to reference the preoccupations of the time. Different styles of facture, evidently, befitted different classes and racial groups, real or imagined. Certain bodies were subject to more clinical scrutiny, their every gesture associated with less-than-positive characteristics.

Counterbalancing the Royalist View: Alexandre Bloch's *Beaupuy*

Even in the muted form of non-clerical royalism proposed by Le Blant, melded with the eugenicist debates over evolutionary forms, the effectiveness of his sympathetic appraisal of the Vendée leadership did not go unanswered by his contemporaries. While creating space for royalist-tinged imagery such as Le Blant's, the state also rebutted such pictures with the republican Vendée drama of Alexandre Bloch, *The Death of General Beaupuy* (Fig. 2.12).⁴²⁰ In both composition and content, *Beaupuy* provides an alternative to *Charette*. Le Blant's painting of Charette conveyed the sobriety of the moment with sharp, static orthogonal lines dividing the firing squad from the royalist leader. The wide illuminated space dividing the captured Vendéen leader from his executioners creates a visual through-line from the drain back to the Nantais crowd. The picture planes do not intersect or near one another; even the republican officer who comes over to speak to Charette is separated from him by the stream in the paving stones. The compositional strategies Le Blant employed keep revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces safely apart. In contrast, Bloch's paintings revel in displaying the overlapping bodies resulting from hand-to-hand combat. Unlike in Le Blant's *The Square Battalion*, where the two armies are mostly divided by a crescent of green grass, *Beaupuy* and the Vendéen comrade of Charette, Henri de la Rochejaquelein, meet in close proximity. Their soldiers crash into one another, a mass of limbs, bayonets, and guns.

⁴²⁰ The painting was at that time and still is in the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes and was lent by the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts to the Decennial Exhibition.

Bloch set himself the unique challenge of having Rochejaquelein's troops funnel through a small doorway into the courtyard Beaupuy defended with his men. Temporarily halted by the hastily constructed barricade in front of the doorway, the Vendéen leader, whom I have determined to be Rochejaquelein himself from the gray jacket, blond hair, and documented history of his presence at this battle, pulls himself forward on the wood plank in his way, takes out his pistol, and fires directly at Beaupuy. Upon the impact of the bullet, Beaupuy reels backwards, which draws the eye to his arched-back posture, where he remains frozen in a pose that must have been created in studio by artist and model. Bloch reprised this backbend pose from an earlier work, *The Defense of Rochefort-en-Terre* (Fig. 2.22), which also appeared in the 1889 Decennial Exhibition. In this 1885 canvas, a Vendéen soldier careens backwards, grasping onto the plinth of a stone monument for support.

In *The Defense of Rochefort-en-Terre* there is a tentativeness in the falling figure's stiff right arm, extended out towards the viewer, bracing for impact in the village courtyard in a final attempt at preventing the inevitable. This first attempt was less than successful, but Bloch was not finished with this composition just yet, and I suggest that he used photography to continue meditating on the pose. The creation of *Beaupuy* in 1888 coincided with the introduction of the Kodak camera, sold ready with film for one-hundred exposures, as though developed for the studio practitioner seeking out the perfect pose for a composition.⁴²¹ The advent of the Kodak cannot definitively be said to have impacted the Beaupuy backbend by capturing the stages of his falling motion, but the experiments in recording motion via chronophotography by Étienne-Jules Marey and Eadweard Muybridge beginning in 1872 had enjoyed more time to disseminate

⁴²¹ Colin Harding, "Kodak," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 803-804.

through the channels of popular science.⁴²² One piece of evidence for the presence of photography in Bloch's studio, beyond the repeated poses, is the extremism of the main model's pose: one hopes they did not have to hold such a taxing pose for long before dropping backwards blindly. Bloch's nameless Vendéen stands in the middleground; Beaupuy is centred, showcasing the confidence of this feat. Knees knocked and standing with his back almost parallel to the ground, Bloch's Beaupuy will doubtless tumble in the next few seconds, but the painting, much like Le Blant with the flashbulb light effect in *Charette*, shows its value in being able to stop time, both real and historical, for visual analysis, and it exploits effects that might, in one way or another, be considered "photographic." In *Beaupuy*, created only one year before the Decennial Exhibition, the organizers had an aesthetically dense transmedial rebuttal to neutralize the impact of displaying royalism in a republican event.

Another aspect of Beaupuy's story that made him the ideal republican contrast to Charette was the ability to distance him from the Jacobin *buveurs de sang* like Turreau and Carrier discussed earlier who were deputized by the National Convention to suppress the insurgency in the West. General Thoumas' late-nineteenth century account of Beaupuy made a point of distinguishing between the general and his comrade Turreau, whose "infernal columns" were condemned by royalists and republicans alike.⁴²³ In a show of contrast, after mentioning the "infernal columns," Thoumas cites a letter Beaupuy wrote on December 23, 1793 to the Convention member Merlin de Thionville (1762-1833), which said, "I don't know if I'm mistaken, but this war of peasants and brigands, on which so much ridicule has been heaped, and

⁴²² Mark Paterson, "'The Neuro-Motor Unconscious': Étienne-Jules Marey, Eadweard Muybridge, and Motion Capture," in *How We Became Sensorimotor: Movement, Measurement, Sensation* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2021), 155-202.

⁴²³ In August and October 1793, the National Convention passed laws with the express purpose of clearing the area south of the Loire River (the Vendée) of "brigands". Turreau was sent to carry out the orders of the Convention with twelve army columns. Their vicious conduct underpins pro-royalist accounts of republican brutality.

which we used to regard as contemptible, has always seemed to me to be the Republic's main concern, and it seems to me now that with our other enemies we'll be doing nothing more than skirmishing."⁴²⁴ In representing Beaupuy as someone who did not dismiss the Catholic and Royal Army outright, who did not see them as "less-than," the author distanced Beaupuy from bloodthirsty figures such as Turreau and Carrier who were repulsive to the majority of pro-republican writers. Separated from the cruelest aspects of the republican suppression of the Vendée, Beaupuy provided republicans with a saint-like hero to counter Charette and also to distance themselves from the worst of Jacobin violence. In a similar vein, in choosing Bloch's pictures as well as Le Blant's to showcase the history of the Vendée wars, the organizers of the Decennial Exhibition curated paintings that functioned together to lessen the trauma of this fiercely disputed civil war.

Earlier in its public life, Le Blant's *Charette* had drawn a much sharper rebuke from the republican-aligned painter François Flameng, whose rendition of Charette showed him traipsing past the bodies of slain republicans with a haughty indifference. Flameng appeared in the previous chapter via his depictions of the Jacobin journalist Camille Desmoulins and the rather silly canvas he dedicated to the representation of aristocratic women in a sort of Versailles harem, indulging themselves with a bath in a fountain. Flameng's *The Massacre at Machechoul—10 March 1793* (Fig. 2.23), shown at the Salon of 1884 directly following *Charette*'s debut in 1883, interpreted the aftermath of a slaughter of republican civilians and political leaders outside the town of Machecoul. Jean-Clément Martin has estimated that twelve republican administrators were killed the first day, with another twelve killed the next day.⁴²⁵ The Vendée conflict was defined by these acts of retribution, striking fear into local republicans

⁴²⁴ General Charles Thoumas, *Causeries militaires. Cinquième série* (Paris: E. Kolb, 1913), 394.

⁴²⁵ Martin, *Révolution et contre-révolution en France 1789-1989*, 36-37.

and royalists in equal measure. In republican accounts from the nineteenth century, the number ranges as high as five hundred killed, with royalist accounts stating that it was one-hundred and fifty after six weeks of bloodshed during the insurgent occupation.⁴²⁶

Without access to hard numbers, pro-royalist accounts of the twentieth century like Secher's and that of Alain Gérard justify Machecoul by explaining that the condescending tone of local republican administrators led to the violent outburst.⁴²⁷ Their defensiveness emphasizes the difficulty of acknowledging wrongdoing within a broader victimhood narrative, a theme on which I will conclude this chapter. In 1884, Flameng's garish picture enraged conservative outlets and received a lukewarm appraisal from his fellow republicans. The Legitimist *La Liberté*, rankled by the foppish depiction of their hero with his comically-wide white sash, wrote, that it was "not Charette who captured Machecoul; it was another bourgeois, no gentleman, a former tax collector, a profession that doesn't make the heart tender—it was Souchu."⁴²⁸ In the royalist worldview, the judge René François Souchu took the place of Robespierre or Carrier in republican narratives as the scapegoat for allegations of royalist excess. Whether because of the backlash or an unwillingness to engage with such controversial themes, the state had to be pushed into purchasing Flameng's picture by the artist himself.⁴²⁹ It was not amongst the pro-revolutionary Vendée scenes on view at the Decennial Exhibition and Flameng was represented

⁴²⁶ Woell, *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers*, 149. For a republican account, see Germain Bethuis, *Les massacres de Machecoul et considérations générales sur la guerre de la Vendée* (Nantes: Imprimerie Mangin et Giraud, 1873). Bethuis had been six when the fighting erupted and lost his father in the killings at Machecoul. For a royalist account, see that of the Orléanist supporter Alfred Laillé, *Le district de Machecoul 1788-1793: études sur les origines et les débuts de l'insurrection vendéenne dans le pays de Retz* (Nantes: Vincent Forest et Émile Grimaud, 1869).

⁴²⁷ Gérard makes the argument that the town's republican officials were unduly condescending towards local nobles and clergy and therefore had a haughty attitude towards the region they newly commanded, as though this is an adequate explanation for the brutality that followed. Alain Gérard, *La Vendée 1789-1793* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1992), 129-31.

⁴²⁸ Y..., "A Travers Champs," *La Liberté* (June 13, 1884): 3.

⁴²⁹ It was quickly deposited at the small Musée d'Agén. It is now in the Cholet museum, alongside the Bourbon Restoration-era images of Vendéen generals. Martin, "Histoire et polémique, le massacre de Machecoul," 53.

instead in 1889 by a relatively innocuous picture of men playing boules rather than by any of his revolutionary paintings.

Conclusion

Information on Le Blant in newspaper reports of the 1880s was inevitably inflected by the strong political slants of the day's media. The leading Catholic newspaper, *L'Univers*, normally wrote about Le Blant in a celebratory fashion, although one reviewer in 1889 identified the Parisian artist as a "bleu," one of "them" associated with the troop colors of the Revolution.⁴³⁰ The revolutionary dividers of *bleu* and *blanc* were still in common parlance in 1889, much in the vitriolic way that "patriot," a term born during the American Revolutionary War, is frequently levelled in contemporary American political discourse. Perhaps because of Le Blant's facility with painting the experiences of the *blancs*, this slight did not do anything to mute conservative press coverage of the so-called "painter of the Vendée."⁴³¹ *L'Univers* printed a large engraving of *Charette* in 1883, accompanied by two paragraphs retelling his story.⁴³² Another review on the front page of the conservative *Le Gaulois* proclaimed that "This episode, one of the most terrible of the Wars in the Vendée...is the subject of a daily pilgrimage...where the descendants of the illustrious royalist come for a pious *rendez-vous*."⁴³³ Though Athanase de Charette's letters do not show that he went to the 1883 Salon, we know that a group of fellow royalists purchased the

⁴³⁰ Père Lafabrie, "Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1889," *L'Univers*, no. 7828 (June 6, 1889): unpaginated.

⁴³¹ For mentions of Le Blant as the "painter of the Vendée" or "painter of the Chouannerie," see Emile Blémont, "Le Salon de 1883," *Beaumarchais*, no. 135 (May 6, 1883): 2; Le Masque de fer, "Échos: A travers Paris," *Le Figaro*, no. 44 (February 13, 1891): 1; Souriceau, "La Quinzaine: Les œuvres de Dumas père," *Gazette anecdotique, littéraire, artistique et bibliographique*, no. 22 (November 30, 1893): 304.

⁴³² Janillon, "Le Salon de 1883," *L'Univers illustré*, no. 1470 (May 26, 1883): 324–27, 408.

⁴³³ Jean Raymond, "Un Hommage au général de Charrette," *Le Gaulois*, no. 302 (May 14, 1883): 1.

painting on his behalf that year.⁴³⁴ Athanase de Charette also exhibited the painting in that year's Triennial Salon, the 1885 *Exposition universelle* in Antwerp, and sent it to Paris again in time for selection by the 1889 jury.⁴³⁵ Regardless of his own stance on republican politics, to which his actions suggest he was patently opposed, it is evident that Athanase de Charette wanted the painting exhibited on the biggest stages, beyond the heartland of royalism in the West.⁴³⁶

Today, the painting can be seen in harshly lit replica form (Fig. 2.24) at the Charette permanent exhibition at La Logis de la Chabotterie château, which was used as a rest stop on the journey to bring Charette to Nantes for execution after he was found in the bush. The image's isolation in a dark room, where it acts as both illustration of history and an eerie, quasi-religious light source, gives the opposite effect of the crowded 1889 display, where Le Blant's painting was swamped by thousands of other works that minimized its individual impact. A journey to Western France is a study in contrasts in the telling of history. In the city of Nantes, on the site of Charette's execution, and near my accommodation for research, a busy farmers' market draws large crowds seven days a week. In the 1890s, a stone cross was erected on the Place Viarmes to mark the place on which Charette met the firing squad, but it has either been relocated away from the site that gave it meaning, or it cannot be seen locally at all. The latter would be in keeping with the city's recent reappraisal of the past and commitment to historical veracity, especially in the interpretation of Nantes' central role in the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans and the collaborationist participation with the Nazi and Vichy regimes, in the form of

⁴³⁴ The purchase of Le Blant's painting for Charette's descendent was widely reported on in print media of various political stripes. The group that purchased the painting was made up of the comte de Tournon, the marquis de La Rochejacquelin, the duc de Cars, the comte de Durfort Civrac, the duc de Sabran, the baron de Rochetaillée, and the comte d'Antioche. Le Masque de fer, "Échos de Paris: A travers Paris," *Le Figaro*, no. 139 (May 19, 1883): 1.

⁴³⁵ J.S., "Au Salon Triennal [sic]," *La Justice*, no. 1340 (September 16, 1883): 2; Paul De Charry, "Beaux-Arts: Exposition Triennale," *Le Pays* (November 4, 1883): unpaginated; T.J., "Chronique des Expositions: Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts d'Anvers," *Courrier de l'art*, no. 33 (August 14, 1885): 397–99.

⁴³⁶ Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past*, 222.

the city's Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery and the curation of the museum in the Château of the Dukes of Brittany. The reader may find this leap jarring, if not for the coalescence of these disparate events in the minds of France's most reactionary figureheads. Philippe de Villiers, the founder of Le Puy du Fou and former Secretary of State for Culture under Mitterrand, simultaneously receives a warm welcome amongst center-left politicians and demands that the state equate the civil wars in the Vendée with acts of genocide.⁴³⁷ Marine Le Pen's father, a noted Holocaust denier whom she threw out of their party to begin the detoxifying process of "*de-diabolization*," also latched onto the arguments of Secher's book to claim that the Jacobins were "*Nazis avant la lettre*" in the hope of reclassifying his supporters as victims instead of more recent perpetrators.⁴³⁸

An SNCF train-ride south beyond Nantes to the diminutive Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon, a town of around one-thousand people recently merged with the new commune of Montréverd, brings you to the Charette shrine of La Logis de la Chabotterie. In a late 2010s update, the château has added an Escape Room to offer visitors the puzzle of helping Charette outflank his republican captors once more. The château museum is broken into two portions, the permanent exhibition, which mostly lays out the chronology of the Vendéen conflict with Charette as protagonist, culminating in the replica of Le Blant's painting, and the preserved period rooms, which represent multiple centuries of style. In 1796, ahead of his execution in Nantes, Charette was brought to La Chabotterie in the heart of insurgent country for safekeeping.⁴³⁹ The manor in the countryside was comfortable, scarcely a prison cell such as the ones Carrier held his Nantais

⁴³⁷ Bell, "The French Revolution, the Vendée, and Genocide," 24. For an example of Villiers' acceptance by the center-left, I suggest the video of Emmanuel Macron with Villiers at Le Puy du Fou, enjoying a chariot ride in the replica Coliseum in the summer of 2016 before announcing his first run for the French presidency. "Emmanuel Macron au Puy du Fou," *Ouest-France* (August 19, 2016), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XANSa3bpb-Q>.

⁴³⁸ Bell, "The French Revolution, the Vendée, and Genocide," 22; Dimitri Almeida, "Cultural retaliation: the cultural policies of the 'new' Front National," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 25, no. 3 (2019): 271.

⁴³⁹ Bernet, *Charette*, 450.

prisoners in on place du Bouffay. Upstairs in the period rooms, there is a modest private chapel, decorated plainly, suggesting the piety of the original owners. But the stained-glass windows in this chapel (figs. 2.25 and 2.26) are a late-nineteenth century repurposing of this space away from Christian devotion and towards Charette instead.

Above the altar, where one would expect scenes from the life of a saint or of Jesus Christ in multicolored panels, the life of the martyr Charette is presented. It evokes an 1887 sermon given at the Vendéen chapel of nearby Legé, originally dedicated to Charette in 1826, where the curé told those assembled around a new statue of the avenging Archangel Michael that it would “show that we [too] are worthy.”⁴⁴⁰ Like the Lucs-sur-Boulogne work detailing the atrocities of Turreau for an audience aggrieved by the Church’s loss of status under Opportunist rule, here in La Logis de la Chabotterie, the propagandistic desires of the Legitimist social movement are physically flush with the château’s original walls. As Jean-Clément Martin and Charles Suaud state, the “debate around the Vendée never ceases, each era reinterprets the Vendéen question according to its urgency: the dynastic problem in the 1840s, rivalries between the republic and monarchy during the 1880s, religious conflicts between 1890 and 1930, and cultural clashes 1960-1970.”⁴⁴¹ In the figure of Charette, the supporters of contemporary culture wars have a martyr who can become a cudgel as needed when pressed on divisive issues. In incorporating him into the Decennial, the organizers hoped to send a message of acceptance to the right with a sympathetic stance on their central story of martyrdom.

Historical martyrdom is central to sociopsychological studies on “competitive victimhood,” the foundational studies on which are those of the social psychologist Daniel Bar-Tal. They are illuminating on issues of entrenched conflicts, such as the culture wars of memory

⁴⁴⁰ Woell, *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers*, 208.

⁴⁴¹ Martin and Suaud, “Le Puy du Fou: L’interminable reinvention du paysan vendéen,” 23.

waged in France over Vendéen history that have been discussed in this chapter. Looking at “intractable conflicts,” specifically ethnic struggles in Sri Lanka and the religious strife of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, Bar-Tal does not deny the initial harm done but focuses instead on the further harm inflicted by the imposition of a “sociopsychological infrastructure” that deepens the divide in modern-day societies.⁴⁴² One of the most powerful components of this infrastructure, powered by a sense of one’s own society’s self-righteousness, is the repetition of a version of the past that reiterates that an end to the conflict would be ruinous.⁴⁴³ Under this self-defence rationale, any actions against the out-group—including violence—are justified.⁴⁴⁴ This mindset forged during “intractable conflicts” calcifies, making it difficult for those subject to it to differentiate between “victim” and “perpetrator.” In internecine conflicts, most individuals exist in a “gray zone,” seeking to explain why people who have been harmed in the past and enacted harm in the present cannot help but present themselves as the “veritable victim.”⁴⁴⁵ The cases of Serbia and Israel, both nations which justify recent human rights violations through the evocation of past suffering, are frequent in these analyses.⁴⁴⁶ It is under the threat of “victimhood rivalry” that French conservatives rebut accusations of Vichy collaborationism with the memories of the Vendéen conflict. For those of us in an out-group this is a broad, incomprehensible stretch given the gulf between the genocide of the Shoah and the civil wars in the Vendée. However, for those raised in the “west of traditions,” in the shadow of the legends of

⁴⁴² Daniel Bar-Tal, “Sociopsychological Foundations of Intractable Conflicts,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, no. 11 (2007): 1430-34.

⁴⁴³ Bar-Tal, “Sociopsychological Foundations of Intractable Conflicts,” 1433, 1438.

⁴⁴⁴ Bar-Tal, “Sociopsychological Foundations of Intractable Conflicts,” 1441.

⁴⁴⁵ Hirschberger uses examples from Rwanda to the Québécois FLQ to contemporary Israel in his study. Gilad Hirschberger, “Collective Trauma and the Social Construction of Meaning,” *Frontiers in psychology* 9 (2018): 1-14; Williams points to Serbia and Israel. Garreth Williams, “Dangerous Victims: On Some Political Dangers of Vicarious Claims to Victimhood,” *Disktinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 2 (2008): 77-95.

⁴⁴⁶ Williams, “Dangerous Victims,” 77-95; Adam Lerner, “The uses and abuses of victimhood nationalism in international politics,” *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 1 (2020): 62-87.

the region, this “veritable victim” mindset clouds any attempts at reunification with their perceived oppressors.⁴⁴⁷

Charette and the other eight paintings of Vendée scenes in the 1889 Decennial are scarcely as explicit as Le Puy du Fou’s vision of events. Inflammatory images, like the François Flameng painting of the massacre of Machecoul which pinned revolutionary deaths on Charette in a rebuttal of royalist narratives, were assiduously avoided by the Centennial organizers. The Decennial, by assimilating tempered royalist narratives into their campaign messaging, reflected a centrist government’s attempt to mitigate right-wing outrage. Whilst the Baroness Madeleine Charette de la Contrie refused republicans entry to her living room lest they be “branded with a red-hot iron,” it is evident that the *Exposition* jurors sought images like *Charette* that would welcome a broad spectrum of the electorate with a cohesive memory of the Revolution, shorn of its most polemical elements. The *Exposition universelle*, which gave more space to Vendée scenes than pictures of revolutionary icons, provides a case-study in how “centrist” compromise often means granting significant concessions to the right while hoping the left will hold.

⁴⁴⁷ Hirschberger, “Collective Trauma and the Social Construction of Meaning,” 2.

CHAPTER THREE

‘The only one amongst us who has been a republican’: Bonapartism at the 1889 Decennial

Exhibition

In 1880, nearly a decade before the Decennial Exhibition, the jury’s president Ernest Meissonier had begun a small watercolor of Napoleon Bonaparte on horseback overseeing his troops assembled at Jena in 1806 (Fig. 3.1). With a muted palette of greens and browns, accentuated here and there by the touches of red, blue, and white in the French uniforms, Meissonier drew the basic elements that would be present in the final version. In the never-finished canvas (Fig. 3.2) now in the Frick Pittsburgh, Napoleon’s small Arab mount Marengo becomes the focus of attention through the eye-catching use of silvery-white paint applied to render his gray coat. Despite standing just fourteen hands high, or four-foot-eight at the withers, Marengo stands proudly ahead of the other bay and dapple warhorses, acting as a symbolic stand-in for his rider whose own height was frequently derided.⁴⁴⁸

Napoleon is shown to be fully in control of the battle occurring below. The hand closest to the viewer chokes up slightly on the reins to pull Marengo’s head higher, allowing the artist to flaunt his skill in rendering white-on-white contrast as the horse’s muscles flex. There is something academic in Meissonier’s need in his late career to prove that he can draw horse anatomy from any angle; but in Marengo in particular, who stands with all four legs apart and firmly planted on the ground, the effect is that of a figurine placed on a mock battlefield. Compositionally, many elements feel like a work in progress, with varying levels of artistic

⁴⁴⁸ The National Army Museum in London has conserved Marengo’s skeleton. “Skeleton of Napoleon’s horse ‘Marengo,’” *National Army Museum Collection* (April 4, 2023): <https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1963-09-89-1>.

finish, especially in the dead body in the foreground, suggesting that in 1890, the physical human toll of the First Empire had still not been reckoned with. Nine years after *Jena* began in watercolor, the painting on canvas was still incomplete and Meissonier's vision of the First Empire with an authoritarian leader on horseback, which was so incompatible with the imagery promoted by republican leadership, was absent from the Decennial.

Napoleon had been etched into the Parisian landscape in many ways before the Opportunists took power in the late 1870s. Jena-Auerstedt alone, where Bonaparte had decisively defeated the Prussian Army on German soil, had several celebratory monuments in the city, including the Pont d'Iéna constructed to overlook the École Militaire and the Avenue d'Iéna reaching from the Arc de Triomphe to the Trocadéro. The bridge had been constructed immediately following the battle—the tree-lined boulevard inaugurated in 1864 was part of Baron Haussmann's redesign of Paris.⁴⁴⁹ Under Napoleon III's Second Empire, which lasted from 1852 until his capture on the battlefield at Sedan in 1870, the many references to his uncle's achievements were a symbolic attempt to link the new Emperor with the old. This period gave Meissonier several commissions through which he could hone his representation of Napoleon I.

There were plenty of painted and printed representations of Jena featuring an officious-looking Bonaparte on horseback for Meissonier to draw upon. He could easily have visited Versailles to look at Horace Vernet's version of events (Fig. 3.3), commissioned in 1835 for King Louis-Philippe's cycle of French history paintings.⁴⁵⁰ Vernet showed Bonaparte simultaneously controlling a straining horse and reprimanding an eager foot soldier, supremely

⁴⁴⁹ Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 93; Maurice Demaison and Henri de Régner, eds., "Le pont d'Iéna" in *Croquis de Paris* (Belgium: Ligarán Éditions, 2016), 66.

⁴⁵⁰ "Bataille d'Iéna, 14 octobre 1806," *Les Collections: Château de Versailles* (accessed March 12, 2024), <https://collections.chateauversailles.fr/#09126168-6331-40d6-96a4-694eacd71980>

confident in his position. But when Meissonier set down to paint Bonaparte in 1880, the scars of the Second Empire remained, and unlike Vernet who was working on commission, it is unclear why Meissonier began painting *Jena*. France's ongoing diplomatic efforts with Germany, especially in the form of recent treaty negotiations and the continued severance of Alsace-Lorraine, may have been front of mind.⁴⁵¹ The presentation of Bonaparte on horseback at the peak of his imperial expansion felt less secure in an era where political Bonapartism was in steep decline. There were no powerful patrons for Bonaparte pictures amongst the inner circle of Opportunist leaders such as Léon Gambetta and Jules Ferry.

1880 was a year which, as noted in the previous two chapters, pulsated with the excitement of new republican leadership. The end of monarchist control in the National Assembly was feted with tricolors, officially sanctioned Bastille Day celebrations, and the return of *La Marseillaise* as a national hymn. In juxtaposition, Meissonier revived the First Empire at its zenith in this moment, long after the heyday of the Second Empire. *Jena* fit within his œuvre; Napoleon III, Napoleon I's nephew, had commissioned triumphalist scenes of his uncle's victories from Meissonier. One of the two paintings completed from this imperial order before the Second Empire ended abruptly, *The Campaign of France—1814* (Fig. 3.4), was something of an *a priori* bookend for *Jena* in that it showed Napoleon leading his *Grand Armée* back towards security following defeat at the hands of the Prussians and Russians at the Battle of Laon in northeastern France. Yet even in defeat, there's a jauntiness to Marengo trotting lightly across the frozen farmland and the figure of Bonaparte hardly seems chastened by the experience, which is unsurprising given the painting's Bonapartist commission.

⁴⁵¹ Lethbridge, "'Painting Out' (and 'Reading In') the Franco-Prussian War," 52-59.

This 1864 painting was chosen for the Centennial Exhibition of 1889, presented across the rotunda from the Decennial in the Palace of Fine Arts. The Centennial curator Antonin Proust, who had the freedom to draw upon the entirety of French art history from 1789 to the present, incorporated plenty of Napoleonic propaganda paintings into his display, including Jacques-Louis David's *Coronation of Napoleon* (Musée du Louvre). Limited to the bounds of the past decade, the Decennial organizers had few Bonaparte-centric options to select from that comported with the republican celebration of 1789, which was particularly concerned with reducing references to the current man on horseback plaguing the Opportunists' electoral chances. Unlike the republican imagery supported by the Opportunists, and the counterrevolutionary Vendéen memorials created in response, Bonapartist imagery did not have a sudden surge from 1878 to 1888, when its political support was on the wane. When the *Exposition universelle* opened in May 1889, Meissonier's *Jena* appeared in the final Decennial catalogue without its physical version hanging in the Palace of Fine Arts.⁴⁵² No stranger to Napoleonic nostalgia, Meissonier very possibly wanted the Decennial he oversaw to honor that inaugurated by Napoleon I himself at the outset of his Empire in 1804, to encapsulate art made between 1799-1810, but his new Bonaparte painting was not finished in time to pay homage to the art created between the Expositions universelles of 1878 and 1889.⁴⁵³ Using some of the license accorded to him as President of the Decennial jury, *Jena* was numbered in the catalogue, unlike many works which were eligible for awards but never hung on the walls in the state-sanctioned display. Some of these pictures, denoted in the catalogue by an ellipsis, featured revolutionary subjects that remained too polarizing even for the Centenary of the French

⁴⁵² For a list of Meissonier's 1889 Decennial paintings, see *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Catalogue officiel. Tome Ier. Groupe I, Oeuvres d'art* (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), 40.

⁴⁵³ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "Classicism, Nationalism and History: The Prix Decennaux of 1810 and the Politics of Art Under Post-Revolutionary Empire" (Ph.D diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 2.

Revolution. These “rejects” of the Decennial’s revolutionary programme will be discussed in Chapter Four, to round out this exploration of revolutionary memory in 1889. Meissonier’s rejection had been self-imposed and likely stemmed from the painting’s incoherence within a republican display.

Meissonier often struggled to finish projects on time and *Jena* was no exception; he labored over the composition for over a decade.⁴⁵⁴ When it was exhibited posthumously in 1891, a critic remarked on the unfinished passages but avoided commenting on the unmodeled corpse placed in the foreground ditch and left matte and roughly sketched.⁴⁵⁵ Over the course of his long life, Meissonier had witnessed several periods of upheaval in France, including the Revolution of 1848, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Commune. As Constance Cain Hungerford noted in her essay on his representation of a barricade in 1848, representing death and destruction were disquieting themes for Meissonier, who, despite power on Salon juries, chose not to display works out of step with their moment.⁴⁵⁶ *Jena*, though not as visceral as the barricade painting Meissonier created in 1849, was likewise a poor fit ten years into a republican administration. In any case, the artist grew increasingly busy as the *Exposition universelle* approached. In the latter half of the 1880s, Meissonier had Decennial jury duties and dealt with ongoing tensions over the relevance of the academic Salon.

Adding a scene of Napoleon I in his imperial robes *à la* François Gérard would have underlined that the outcome of the French Revolution of 1789 was the rise of a new autocratic leader, instead of positing that 1789 had led directly to the republican, elected government of the

⁴⁵⁴ At the time of his death in 1891, Meissonier had a litany of unfinished projects, including *Jena*. Michelle C. Montgomery, “The Modernisation of the Salon of the Societe Nationale: Creating a Sympathetic Exhibition Venue.” *Apollo* 158, no. 500 (October 2003): 14.

⁴⁵⁵ “Meissonier’s Last Work,” *The Graphic* (March 14, 1891): 290.

⁴⁵⁶ Hungerford, “Meissonier’s *Souvenir de guerre civile*,” 277-88.

Opportunists. Rather than a continual build up towards more civic freedoms, the installation of a picture of Emperor Napoleon I would have been an acknowledgment of the cyclical ruptures in France's uneven nineteenth century. And yet, as with the paintings of the Vendée, there was recognition that absolute silence could cause an uproar.

Maurice Réalier-Dumas Republicanizes Bonaparte

The republican Bonaparte first presented by Maurice Réalier-Dumas (1860-1928) (Fig. 3.5) at the Salon of 1888 introduces the third solitary figure of a man into this discussion of revolutionary imagery at the Decennial of 1889. Unlike the statues of allegorical women that cropped up at the same time across France, and which begin and end this study, the revolutionary paintings in the Decennial featured men, and specifically lone men. For all the Third Republic's nominal devotion to *fraternité*, the Decennial's discordant representations of the Revolution all have one thing in common: an emphasis on individualism over the collective. In Chapter One, Camille Desmoulins appeared in 1789 atop a café table at the Palais-Royal; his inclusion elided the need to show the Bastille's storming by a crowd two days later. In Chapter Two, the royalist leader Charette, now separated from his peasant army, was mere moments from the volley of gunfire that ended the royalist insurgency in the Vendée of 1796. The factions given voice in these chapters are problematic for their representation of the Revolution, posited as a Nation "one and indivisible," as "singular and sovereign."⁴⁵⁷ As T.J. Clark discusses in "Painting in the Year Two," his analysis of Jacques-Louis David's *The Death of Marat* of 1793 (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique), there is an inherent contradiction in representing the "People" and the "Nation" in the body of one man. And yet, each of the central paintings discussed here,

⁴⁵⁷ Clark, "Painting in the Year Two," 26.

which were created long after the tumultuous Year II of the new French Republican calendar, still struggle with the issue of where power should reside and default to a solitary figure positioned against a crowd.

In this chapter's central image, Bonaparte is positioned alone gazing down into the folds of royal regalia, corporealizing the tension between "People" and "Crown" just before the declaration of Year I of the Republic. Réalier-Dumas' Napoleon Bonaparte sits at the crossroads between different systems of government, proffering a unique take on revolutionary events before Napoleon ascended the throne or was even promoted to general. The scene, set during the attack on the Tuileries Palace of August 10th, 1792, centers Bonaparte on a day most remarkable for the end of the French monarchy, where the future emperor was rather peripheral. His canvas is scarcely subtle in its linking of the crowd, the future emperor, and the dethroned king to create an allegory for the politics of the 1880s. While the crowd destroying the Tuileries is the most explicit nod to recent cultural memory in its evocation of the Commune, the promise of a strongman leader to come surely brought General Boulanger to mind. Napoleon standing apart from an unruly crowd is a consistent image in the widely popular *Memorial of Saint-Helena* written in conjunction with the exiled former emperor, though Réalier-Dumas' final picture is hardly an illustration of a specific historical moment. Rather, in its triangulation of monarchist, popular, and strongman rule, Réalier-Dumas' painting invokes the unsettling power struggle of his own moment through the guise of the past. Napoleonic imagery was scarce within the Decennial Exhibition of 1889, reflecting the nadir of such pictures during the republican ascendancy. But where Napoleon was present, as in the work of Réalier-Dumas, his body stood in for the stability commensurate with the ideals of the Revolution of 1789 promised by the Opportunist leadership.

That Napoleon Bonaparte could become a republican within the walls of the Palace of Fine Arts also points to a lack of political fixity surrounding his memory. This ambiguity cut both ways and also enabled an ethnonationalist vision of Bonaparte that would become more potent in the 1890s, but which emerged in this moment. It was, surprisingly, cabaret culture rather than the Salon that revived the image of the emperor. The silhouette performance of Caran d'Ache (1858-1909), to be discussed later in this chapter, employed novel technologies and exhibition spaces to welcome a more raucous crowd than the one seeking out the refined canvases of Salons, still indebted to the visual cues of a past era. The nebulous nature of Bonapartist politics in the 1880s, which failed to capture the votes of the majority, underpins the lack of research into the cult of Napoleon in France's first republican decade. But this chapter, homing in on the presentation of Bonaparte's body at the Decennial, examines how the elasticity of Bonaparte's memory could make for a republican infantryman within a space which softened the boundaries between political ideologies, or a bombastic ode to the continental domination of Europe beyond the boundaries of the Champ de Mars. The republican Bonaparte at the Tuileries Palace, the Decennial's sole nod to a predominant figure in nineteenth-century French culture, offers another view onto the centrist approach to revolutionary memory in 1889.

Considering his bureaucratic duties curating the Decennial and initiating the new SNBA from 1889 until his death in 1891, it is wholly conceivable that Meissonier ran out of time to finish *Jena*, however it is also highly plausible that a decade into the Opportunists' administration, imperialist nostalgia now seemed inapt. The Empire's absence from the Decennial suggests that, like the Terror, the rise of Napoleon I was an unforeseen outcome of the Revolution that was not easily folded into the flourishing of republican symbolism that characterized the 1880s. Instead of Napoleon astride Marengo overseeing his troops, the

Decennial's only canvas dedicated to Bonaparte himself showed the future emperor in 1792, linking him to the fall of the Bourbon monarchy and choosing not to usurp that power in that moment. Réalier-Dumas seemed to be drawing upon Napoleon's own estimation of himself on the *journée* of August 10th, 1792. In exile on Saint-Helena, reminiscing about that period with his remaining coterie, smugly proud of their distance from the Revolution's sporadic mob violence, Napoleon was recorded by his biographer as saying, "Why, then, it seems, gentlemen that I am the only one amongst us who has been a republican."⁴⁵⁸

Réalier-Dumas' painting, first presented at the Salon of 1888, removed Napoleon from horseback and the far-off battlefield and placed him in the center of the Revolution in Paris. The previous year, he had presented another painting (Fig. 3.6) of the young Napoleon, awkwardly glancing around the École de Brienne in 1779, which only reappeared at auction in September 2023 and passed with little notice in the Salon world.⁴⁵⁹ It would be another seven years after 1792 before Bonaparte acquired Marengo after a sequence of victories leading the Army of Italy gave him opportunities in Egypt. At this point just twenty-two years old and mostly engaged in the unglamorous work of suppressing violence in Corsica, Napoleon stands by as a witness to the events of August 10th, when the post-Varennes residence of the King and Queen was ransacked. As imagined by a painter born into the Paris of Napoleon III, the future Napoleon I casts his eyes down towards the king's regalia left on the ground by the crowd of *sans-culottes*, visible through the open door into the hallway, who rampage through the royal residence. During the painter's childhood, the Communards had set the Tuileries Palace ablaze before their six-

⁴⁵⁸ Emmanuel-Augustin-Dieudonné-Joseph, Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène: Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at Saint Helena*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1823), 349.

⁴⁵⁹ Exposition des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1887* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1887), 35.

week standoff with the government in Versailles came to a violent end in May 1871.⁴⁶⁰

Everything leading to the tragic events of the Bloody Week was saturated with revolutionary symbolism, including a Paris crowd fighting against a Versailles-based conservative government, the storming of a palace, and violent suppression by the military. After the Commune, the history of the palace was told not via the names of monarchs who began its construction in the sixteenth century, but under the subheadings of its first storming by the revolutionaries and its last by the Communards: August 10th, 1792, and March 23rd, 1871. These dates seem to have both been very present in Réalier-Dumas' mind as he sat at an easel in the late 1880s to paint the Tuileries Palace in 1792.

The conservative paper *Le Gaulois* used the parameters of 1871 and 1792 to retell the “Dramas of the Tuileries Palace” in seven chapters over three entire pages in the August 11th, 1879 issue.⁴⁶¹ This was not simply a conservative counter-commemoration of August 10th, 1792, but also captured the monarchist-Bonapartist bloc's discontent with their new minority in the Senate, as of earlier that year, following their loss of the Chamber of Deputies in 1877.⁴⁶² The special issue opened and closed with a rebuttal to Antonin Proust, the current Opportunist Deputy for Deux-Sèvres and future Centennial curator, who proposed selling off the “charred rubble” of the former palace walls and turning the site into a public park following demolition. These contemporary concerns over the Opportunists' push to minimize the royalist history of

⁴⁶⁰ The Tuileries were destroyed in May 1871. See, Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 78. At that time, the artist was 11 years old.

⁴⁶¹ Émile Villemot, “Les Drames des Tuileries,” *Le Gaulois*, no. 3941 (August 11, 1879): unpaginated.

⁴⁶² Hanson, *Post-Imperial Democracies*, 89. In the elections of October 14 and 28, 1877, Bonapartists won 104 seats to the combined 313 of the republican bloc in the Chamber of Deputies. “Roi et Président: Élections législatives 1877,” (accessed March 12, 2024), https://web.archive.org/web/20110927024748/http://www.roi-president.com/elections_legislatives/legislatives_1877.php. In the 1879 Senate elections, Bonapartists won just 3 seats. The outcome was 174 seats out of 300 for the republican bloc and a combined 126 for the monarchist-Bonapartist bloc. Fabien Conord, *Les élections sénatoriales en France: 1875-2015* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016), 18-45.

France quickly segued into a history of onslaughts against the Tuileries, in a similar fashion to the dredging up of past wrongs in the Vendée explored in Chapter Two. However, unlike the Vendée case where royalist counter-commemoration was limited to small pockets in the West and South, anti-Communard sentiment was widespread after their destruction of Paris, even amongst the spectrum of republicans. The amnesty of ex-Communards was a splintering issue for the Opportunists and the Radical Republicans; only the most left leaning favored full amnesty. The impact of the ruins that stood in central Paris “as a scar...warning of the dangers of insurrection” until the winter of 1882-1883 had a long-lasting resonance in the psyche of Paris as a whole, no matter one’s political affiliation.⁴⁶³

The Musée Carnavalet and Victoria and Albert Museum hold hundreds of photographs from 1871 documenting and romanticizing the heaps of crumbling stones in the city center, from albums with titles like *Paris Burned: May 1871* by the former Second Empire *artiste-photographe* Charles Soulier (1840-1875).⁴⁶⁴ Rendering the site both grand and haunting, the photographs recuperate the effect of eighteenth-century ruins paintings by Hubert Robert, in that they are less about cataloguing damage for conservation purposes than capitalizing on sentiments of loss within a picturesque *mise-en-scène*. Alisa Luxenberg has argued that the mass market for post-Commune ruins photographs was a site of conflict amongst partisans both for and against the events of the *année terrible*.⁴⁶⁵ They showed a generic form of loss, but like images of Vendéen or republican martyrs, their power lay in their appeal to specific political constituencies. Their very presentation in an album for sale represents a powerful market for the

⁴⁶³ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 78.

⁴⁶⁴ For more on Soulier’s album, see Colette Wilson, “The Politics and Aesthetics of a Phantom Palace: Le Palais Des Tuileries in Charles Soulier’s *Paris Incendié, Mai 1871*,” *Romance Studies* 22, no. 3 (2004): 197-207.

⁴⁶⁵ Alisa Luxenberg, “Creating Désastres: Andrieu’s Photographs of Urban Ruins in the Paris of 1871,” *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998): 113–37.

consumption of nostalgia, which was likewise a potent political tool. The rubble of the Tuileries Palace remained in the center of the first arrondissement for several years after the Opportunists came to power, emblemizing in fragments of stone and mortar the staying power of France's tumultuous past.

Within the Decennial, the paintings of the Revolution offered historical perspectives on these current debates over the form of government France should adopt. Réalier-Dumas' painting triangulates between the different options provided by the Revolution, which ended France's absolutist monarchy for the time being. It was also unique in its decision to show Bonaparte's body in direct relation to that of the king and the people, grappling with issues of where power should reside. The destruction of Louis XVI's reign echoes around the painting; the detritus of the *ancien régime* can be seen in the remnants of the blue-and-white ermine-lined robe embroidered with gold fleurs-de-lys, in Antoine-François Callet's slashed painting of Louis XVI (Fig. 3.7), and the damage done to the royal palace. All this destruction presages the literal beheading of the king to come in January 1793. Yet, for all the overtones of violence and mayhem, Réalier-Dumas' painting is as still as the other revolutionary images already analyzed in this study. Compared with the dynamism of Caran d'Ache's proto-silent film, made up of hundreds of zinc silhouettes of Napoleon and his *Grand Armée* that pulsate with popular energy and nationalistic fervor, Réalier-Dumas' painting pushes the extremes of right and left to the fringes of the scene, the artist choosing instead to organize his composition around the most stable figure, and confining the chaos to the periphery.

This republicanized Napoleon Bonaparte was made distinct from contemporaneous political Bonapartism, associated by the late 1880s with despotism, corruption, foolhardy warmongering, and most worrisomely for most of the population, civic upheaval. The fluidity of

Bonapartist cultural memory made it possible for republicans to reimagine Bonaparte as a military strategist empowered by the transformation of the French military under the Revolution into one who valued skill over inheritance. The failure of Bonapartist candidates to capture an antidemocratic majority in 1889 in tandem with monarchist and Boulangist politicians in autumn's elections should not be mistaken for popular acclaim for the center left. The republican infantryman Bonaparte, painted in the Tuileries by Réalier-Dumas, was an anomaly in visual culture and contrasted with the paunchy, dictatorial Emperor Napoleon presented more often. By the centennial year, the center left had been in power for a decade, and they wanted to appear to voters as careful administrators and tacticians. Given how anti-Bonapartist Opportunist rhetoric often was, dissociating Napoleon from the despotism and hubris that led to the fall of his empire represented a clever twist on his story. The First Empire was not mentioned at all within the Decennial Exhibition and instead, the event effectively republicanized a figure who still captivated the French imagination far beyond the small bloc of remaining Bonapartists.

Two compositional triangles within the painting articulate Réalier-Dumas' inquiry into political hierarchy and order. The first triangle draws Napoleon, the crowd, and the trappings of monarchy together. The absence of Louis XVI's corporeal form recalls Louis Marin's meditation on the portrait of Louis XVI's great-grandfather, Louis XIV, where Marin argues that monarchic symbols stood in for the royal body itself under an absolutist leader. With the King's body absent and his image now destroyed, Napoleon looking down into the robes acts as the only remaining possibility for the "king contemplating his own portrait," which Louis Marin describes as a Eucharistic act, dissolving the real body in favor of the salvational power its image represents.⁴⁶⁶ This Eucharist-like relationship imbues royal power in all portraits, regalia, and lavish palaces;

⁴⁶⁶ Louis Marin, *Food for Thought*, trans. M. Hjort (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), xvii, 189; See also Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

all the political power of the monarch likewise resides in these extensions of the royal body, as in the Catholic rite of transubstantiation. In the Marin explanation, the representation of the monarch and the real power of the monarch are inseparable.⁴⁶⁷ Réalier-Dumas' painting raises the question of whether the artist is attempting to show the moment where Napoleon Bonaparte, eyeing the trappings of power in the absence of its beholder, saw himself in the guise of king and started on the path towards dictatorship. The painting represents the literal end of the reign of Louis XVI and the transfer of power from the monarchy to the Revolution on August 10, 1792. While the image of the king and the king's body were one and the same, however, the Revolution presented a disquieting power vacuum without a definable leader.

What is clear in this painting, as in history, is the illegitimacy of Louis XVI's leadership after August 10, 1792. This is made even more clear in a second triangle drawn from Napoleon's body to the king's slashed portrait, and then to the broken door behind him, as this is another diagram of the king's fall and the ascendance of the Revolution. The internal door leading to the palace's private spaces is riddled with bullet holes and, it would appear from the mangled locking mechanism, has been the victim of sheer brute force. On the surface, both doors to the antechamber have suffered physical damage, one literally hangs from its hinges. The broken locks on the inner door are a reference not only to noted lock aficionado, Louis XVI, but potentially also a harbinger of the *Armoire de fer* affair of November 20th, 1792, in which the king's letters to Mirabeau and his brother-in-law, the Austrian Emperor, undermining the Revolution were discovered.⁴⁶⁸ In a painting already teeming with symbolism alluding to

⁴⁶⁷ Alain Cantillon and Nigel Saint, "Louis Marin: An Introduction," *Early Modern French Studies* 38, no. 1 (2016): 3.

⁴⁶⁸ Andrew Freeman, *The Compromising of Louis XVI: the armoire de fer and the French Revolution* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1989); Susan Dunn, "Michelet and Lamartine: Regicide, Passion, and Compassion," *History and Theory* 28, no. 3 (October 1989): 275.

political legitimacy, or the lack thereof, the king's duplicitous letters bursting forth from a secret cabinet in the Tuileries may have been excessive if painted in, but Réalier-Dumas hints at this last deception mere months before the king's execution, and therefore to the illegitimacy of his leadership.

These compositional triangles, then, leave no space for Louis XVI's return to power, though they do not condemn strongman leadership outright. In fact, the presentation of Napoleon Bonaparte in the red, white, and blue uniform of the republican army seems to support his future claim to power by cloaking him in the garb of the Nation. His ascent through the newly meritocratic ranks of the French army was a more intentional product of the Revolution than the carousing crowd behind him. The previous *journée* of June 20th, 1792 at the Tuileries, in which a crowd had demanded that Louis XVI drop his opposition to the National Assembly's reforms, had disgusted Napoleon's biographer Emmanuel-Augustin-Dieudonné-Joseph (1766-1842), comte de Las Cases, who described "a mere disorderly mob, whose language and dress proved them to belong to the very lowest class of society."⁴⁶⁹ In Las Cases' narrative, Napoleon remained above the fray on August 10th; his self-styled role in insurgencies was one of passive "witness," not unlike the Camille Desmoulins illustrated by Jules Michelet and Félix-Joseph Barrias.⁴⁷⁰ Even if this bystander posturing had to be weighed against General Bonaparte's firing on a very similar crowd on October 5, 1795 (13 vendémiaire Year IV in the revolutionary calendar), Réalier-Dumas overwrites that history and appears to agree with Las Cases' estimation, creating a clear contrast of types between Bonaparte and the nearest *sans-culotte*, who plods barefoot across the parquet floor.⁴⁷¹ The outright condemnation of the revolutionaries

⁴⁶⁹ Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, 1:134.

⁴⁷⁰ Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, 1:134-35.

⁴⁷¹ The 1795 episode in which the National Convention called upon Bonaparte to suppress a crowd is often referred to as the "whiff of grapeshot" moment, though there is no historical grounding for this euphemism.

in Las Cases' anecdote comes not from Napoleon, but from the Grand Marshal of his household Henri Gatien Bertrand, who sniffed that "he had never been a republican; but a very warm constitutional, until the 10th of August, the horrors of which day had cured him of all illusion."⁴⁷² Napoleon insisted that "he had been very warm and sincere at the commencement of the Revolution," and he blamed the National Assembly and the Directory more so than the people.⁴⁷³ It was in response to Bertrand's outright disavowal of the Revolution, that Napoleon responded, as cited earlier, that he was "the only one amongst us who has been a republican."⁴⁷⁴

Like Las Cases, Réalier-Dumas is careful to present Napoleon as part of the Revolution even as he is distanced from the *sans-culottes*; infantryman Bonaparte wears the tricolor uniform of the revolutionary army instead of the gray trench coat and black bicorne he favored during his imperial campaigns. Seeing as Napoleon Bonaparte was on leave in Corsica for much of the historical period the painter chose and would not be promoted to major general until 1795, August 10th, 1792 was a blip in his story and yet here it has become something much more portentous. It seems that the violent change of one form of government in favor of another was the crucial point here rather than the history of the main character, which is understandable given the political reality of the artist's present. Réalier-Dumas and Las Cases' Napoleons, who stand apart from the crowd, are simultaneously heirs to France's revolutionary heritage and protectors of stability. Réalier-Dumas' does not make the case, however, that Napoleon is the only claimant to French power; all potential leaders are tied together by their red, white, and blue costumes.

The composition acknowledges the inevitable fall of the monarchy, exemplified by the damaged portrait, the dying Swiss Guard, and the ruined royal costume, leaving Napoleon and

⁴⁷² Las Cases, *Mémoires de Sainte Hélène*, 2:349.

⁴⁷³ Las Cases, *Mémoires de Sainte Hélène*, 2:349.

⁴⁷⁴ Las Cases, *Mémoires de Sainte Hélène*, 2:349.

the *sans-culottes* as the remaining options. A shaft of light in an otherwise dim space guides the eye from Napoleon to the royal garb. Unlike the crowd in red bonnets—or in one case a helmet looted from a Swiss Guard—Napoleon appears hesitant to act. The phrase “I found the crown of France lying in the gutter” often attributed to Bonaparte comes to mind, and the Salon of 1888 catalogue published through the SAF captioned Réalier-Dumas’ submission with this quote, though here he shows an almost reverential restraint.⁴⁷⁵ Months before General Boulanger had the chance to lead a *coup d’état* in January 1889, Réalier-Dumas exhibited a version of Napoleon Bonaparte holding back with the crown at his feet. In 1888, when the threat of upheaval from General Boulanger’s campaign was a present danger to the preservation of the Republic, Réalier-Dumas depicted Bonaparte as a sober-minded symbol of stability, which showed insight into popular political desire, or lack of other options, at that point. In the legislative elections of September and October 1889, French voters opted for the status quo in considerable numbers, with significant help from undemocratic means and a skillful tarring of the monarchist-Bonapartist bloc as “reactionary”.⁴⁷⁶

Bonaparte in Painting and Politics After the *Année Terrible*

Following Napoleon III’s humiliating battlefield capture at Sedan in September 1870, Napoleon I returned to Salon paintings in a subdued fashion, the antithesis of his gilded nephew whose tastes skewed neo-Baroque. Without a viable Bonaparte, the political hopes of his supporters declined sharply after Prussia’s victory; their chances at maintaining seats in the National Assembly were effectively naught after 1876.⁴⁷⁷ However, cultural Bonapartism had more

⁴⁷⁵ F.G. Dumas and Société des artistes français, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1888* (Paris: L. Baschet, 1888), 212.

⁴⁷⁶ Fulton, “The Boulanger Affair Revisited,” 310-29; Ferry, “Discours de Lyon, du 9 août 1885,” 15.

⁴⁷⁷ John Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 230.

staying power, aided by the “protean” nature of Bonapartism. It was no longer possible to convey a consistent message to voters, with representatives at every level of government, but this amorphousness also made it possible for Bonapartist memory to be embraced by both left- and rightwing populists. Edouard Detaille, a leading painter of military scenes under the Third Republic and a student of Meissonier, was an example of the latter. Unlike many of the artists in this study, whose political beliefs remain untraceable, Detaille was an advocate for anti-Prussian revanchism and was drawn to the politics of Boulanger’s faux populism. He famously kept uniforms, flags, and an arsenal of weaponry in his studio to grant his paintings the authenticity demanded of Naturalism by critics.⁴⁷⁸ His collection was a toast to the “memories of the Revolution and the Empire,” as touted by the Hôtel Drouot on the coverlet of his posthumous sale in 1913.⁴⁷⁹ By virtue of owning an engraving after Gros’ *Jaffa* or a portrait of Napoleon I attributed to Robert Lefèvre, it was evident that Detaille was steeped in the vernacular of imperial propaganda.

His 1878 painting *Napoleon in Egypt* (Fig. 3.8), created in the shadow of the *Seize-Mai* crisis’ fallout, incorporated the hallmarks of First Empire imagery into a pre-imperial campaign scene. Compared to the media furor surrounding Detaille’s rejection from the 1878 *Exposition universelle*, led by esteemed critics Charles Blanc and Albert Wolff, due to the anti-Prussian vitriol of his canvases that risked hindering ongoing diplomatic negotiations still underway seven years after the cessation of hostilities, *Napoleon in Egypt* passed without much notice at the

⁴⁷⁸ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 57.

⁴⁷⁹ His posthumous sale revealed a love of Meissonier, as well as Antoine-Jean Gros and Horace Vernet. *Catalogue des tableaux, aquarelles, gouaches, dessins par Andrieux (J.), Bellangé (H.), Boucher (F.), Caran d’Ache, Cazin (J.-Ch.), Charlet (N.-T.), Gérôme (J.-L.), Giacomelli (H.), Herkomer (H.), Hesse (H.-J.), Jacquet (G.), Jambon (M.), Lavée (J.), Leloir (L.), Lemaire (Madeleine), Meissonier (E.), Raffet (D.-A.-M.), Regnault (H.), Scott (G.), Tiepolo (D.), Vibert (J.-G.), Vièrge (D.), Vollon (A.), etc. Œuvres importantes de Raffet, estampes anciennes et modernes, Imprimées en noir et en couleurs, objets d’art et d’ameublement, objets de vitrine, Souvenirs de la Révolution et de l’Empire, Argenterie—Sculptures—Bronzes—Cuivres—Objets variés, meubles et sièges, étoffes et sièges le tout dépendant de la succession de M. Édouard Detaille : deuxième vente* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, April 3-5, 1913).

comparatively low-key Salon of 1878.⁴⁸⁰ The image of Napoleon on horseback in his bicorne hat was nothing novel; it conveyed calm through its repetition of old tropes linked to military success. For his Salon submission that year, the artist presented General Napoleon in the Gros mold, receiving the standards of the defeated Mamluks after the 1798 Battle of the Pyramids. But if Gros depicted Napoleon in Egypt in the guise of a benevolent deity-like leader, bringing a halt to the fighting with one raised arm, Detaille showed no such mercy to the defeated. The Great Pyramids of Giza are significant markers in the landscape in Gros' 1810 *Battle of the Pyramids* (Fig. 3.9) and Lejeune's 1806 version of events (Fig. 3.10) as well. The artists make the claim that Napoleon sought to conquer territory, symbolized by its topography; the defeated peoples seeking mercy adopt relatively interchangeable poses whether they are in the deserts of North Africa or the Polish hinterlands. In the estimation of Susan Siegfried, while both artists reformed military history painting by melding the genre with that of landscape, Lejeune granted viewers "documentary" knowledge, clarifying order, while Gros' more affective works pressed the action into the foreground and elicited the sentiments of his audience.⁴⁸¹

In contrast, beyond the sand beneath the horses' hooves and the camels in the backdrop, Detaille's picture makes scant reference to place. The signature architectural achievements of the ancient Egyptians are not present and instead, the viewer is faced with the human toll of war. The slain horses in the foreground and the French soldiers seated on camelback pen in a mass of huddled Mamluks dressed in a variety of white burnous, assorted pieces of armor, or nearly nude

⁴⁸⁰ The critic, professor, and member of the Académie Charles Blanc wrote of 1878 *Exposition*, that even if the Germans had been tacky enough to submit military artworks, they "would not have been superior, one can believe it, to those which would have been exhibited by de Neuville, Detaille, if a reciprocity had not excluded their works from the French exhibition." Charles Blanc, *Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition universelle de 1878* (Paris: H. Loones, 1878), 357. Wolff wrote "M. Edouard Detaille occupies the first tier in the group of M. Meissonier [Meissonier taught Detaille]; he's not here, alas! Not at the *Exposition universelle* due to motifs of international politics." Albert Wolff, "Les Beaux-Arts au Champ de Mars: L'Art français," *Supplément au Figaro*, no. 149 (May 29, 1878): 1.

⁴⁸¹ Siegfried, "Naked History," 235-36.

in the case of the Sub-Saharan African man seated towards the front of the group. Even in the reduced form available to a present-day viewer—*Napoleon in Egypt* now exists only in as a photogravure published by Detaille’s dealer Goupil et Cie—the sheen on the Black man’s skin and the glints off the Arab leaders’ helmets document the stifling heat Detaille wished to convey. *Napoleon in Egypt* channels the vengeance of Detaille’s nullified Franco-Prussian War pictures in its presentation of defeated adversaries abroad in North Africa, which at the time of the *Exposition universelle* of 1878 remained largely under French control.

After military defeat, post-1871 paintings highlighted France’s past military glory and brief successes in imperialist expansion, embodied in the figure of Napoleon Bonaparte, who unlike his nephew, was renowned for his military strategy. They did not suggest that Bonapartist sentiment dissolved after 1871; instead, they raised the prospect that the trauma of military loss increased the urge to project national strength and stability. This was borne out in the National Assembly election results of February 1871, when monarchist factions who favored an end to the war won a large legislative majority, buoyed by inhabitants of rural France who had previously been Napoleon III’s base of support and suffered considerably during the Prussian onslaught and occupation.⁴⁸² The top-down Bonapartist regime of the Second Empire had crumbled with the Prussian army’s capture of Napoleon III at Sedan, but support for a government of “order and security” remained.⁴⁸³

In Napoleonic painting after 1871, the resurrected Bonaparte could simultaneously take on republican and populist hues, as seen in the canvases of Réalier-Dumas and Detaille,

⁴⁸² Smith, “Republicans, Catholics and Social Reform,” 251; Varley, “National Identity, Local Memory and the ‘Cult’ of Belfort,” 38.

⁴⁸³ This had been a promise made by Napoleon III that remained enticing well after the collapse of his government. Sudhir Hazareesingh, *From Subject to Citizen: The Second Empire and the Emergence of Modern French Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1998), 27.

respectively. The mutability of Napoleon's representation was aided by the unstructured nature of political Bonapartism after the Bonapartes. Some members of the Bonapartist political leadership, described by the historian John Rothney as "Coblence" Bonapartists in a reference to the German enclave popular amongst royalist émigrés from revolutionary France including, briefly, Charette, were similar in outlook to strongly Catholic, hierarchical Legitimists.⁴⁸⁴ On the other hand, there were also anticlerical "Hébertiste" Bonapartists, named for the radical revolutionary journalist Jacques Hébert (1757-1794) and best represented by the polemical Marcus Allart at the *fin de siècle*. Allart advocated for stripping the Catholic Church of its wealth and property or, as he put it, France would be best off if "the Bonapartes could do for France what Henry VIII had done for England."⁴⁸⁵

The various Bonapartist factions all believed they spoke for "the august exile of Chislehurst," a nickname bestowed upon the former Napoleon III, since ultimately, they divined their position from association with a singular leader.⁴⁸⁶ Most men who gained power and prestige during the Second Empire, however, existed between these two poles and had the malleability necessary to achieve political currency no matter the politics of the moment. Napoleon III's advisors Eugène Rouher (1814-1884) and Émile Ollivier (1825-1913) both believed that the hereditary empire needed to be blended with the legacies of the Revolution of 1789, in keeping with the public's general acceptance of France's revolutionary legacy, and in politics both outlasted the exiled emperor in some capacity. Each Bonapartist faction understood the public's craving for "order" after recent upheavals and believed their candidates were best

⁴⁸⁴ Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan*, 25.

⁴⁸⁵ Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan*, 25.

⁴⁸⁶ Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan*, 33.

suited to maintaining it.⁴⁸⁷ What they could not account for was the skill with which their republican opponents would cast Bonapartism as a destabilizing force in society.

The Opportunists: Party of Law and Order

Léon Gambetta's yoking of the Bonapartist-monarchist-conservative wing of the National Assembly to pejorative associations with reaction and upheaval was discussed in Chapter One, but it is worth reviving his party's approach here to add more specificity regarding the special role the Bonapartes played in this discourse as foils for the Opportunists. After the republicans took full control of the French government at the end of the 1870s, imperialist Bonapartists under Baron Armand de Mackau built the Conservative Union (*Union des Droites*) to counteract the electoral successes of the moderate and radical republican coalition in the 1880s. Newly reconstituted with the funding of the monarchist and future Boulanger supporter, Anne de Rochechouart de Mortemart, Duchesse d'Uzès (1847-1933), Mackau's Bonapartists appeared poised to build a base of supporters outside of their stronghold of the Charente-Maritime département on the southwest coast of France.⁴⁸⁸ However, this new conservative alliance under Mackau's leadership betrayed the message of stability promised throughout the Second Empire which had, along with Napoleon III's support for universal male suffrage, endeared rural French voters to Bonapartism.

Shortly after the passage of universal male suffrage in 1848 in the wake of revolution, rural voters came out decisively for Louis-Napoléon, the future Napoleon III.⁴⁸⁹ Meissonier's *The Barricade, also called Memory of Civil War* (Fig. 3.11), and the impossibility of displaying

⁴⁸⁷ Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan*, 27, 33.

⁴⁸⁸ Rothney explores the local support for and financing of Bonapartism. Rothney, *Bonapartism After Sedan*, 280.

⁴⁸⁹ Chloé Gaboriaux, *La République en quête de citoyens : Les républicains français face au bonapartisme rural (1848-1880)* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 2010), 13.

such a picture contemporaneously, captured the harrowing effect of this conflict.⁴⁹⁰ Like the Commune that tore up Paris' streets some twenty years later and the Terror of the 1790s, the strife of the June Days of 1848 was silenced shortly after its occurrence.⁴⁹¹ Meissonier's own experience as a National Guardsman in 1848 had inspired the ghastly tangle of bodies he painted on a barricade, attempting to render his observations while they were still fresh in the mind.⁴⁹² Nothing in Meissonier's Napoleonic oeuvre shocks as much as the Géricault-esque body lying atop the barricade in *Souvenir*, with its graying foot pressing towards the viewer, but rather than forcing this subject upon the public so soon after the conflict, Meissonier held back. Meissonier's painting of 1848 was attempting to reckon with historical events that were still very present. In contrast, Maximilien Luce's later engagement with a similar subject, set in 1871 in the aftermath of the Commune but likewise inspired by Géricault and Daumier, as well as by Meissonier, was not, as Alastair Wright explains, exhibited publicly until 1905.⁴⁹³ His work informed by his own leftist politics and contemporaneous debates over communism, Luce's painting was impossibly belated, both politically and stylistically. Describing the political climate surrounding Meissonier's picture, Constance Cain Hungerford has suggested that the painter must have met with colleagues or friends before the opening of the Salon of 1849, because despite being an *hors concours* artist—meaning he was exempt from the jury process—and a member of the selection jury, Meissonier decided his painting dredged up too many traumatic memories and he withheld it until the following Salon.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁰ The difficulty of displaying such a work after a civil war is explored in more depth in Hungerford, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," 277-88, as well as in T.J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 24-29.

⁴⁹¹ Hungerford, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," 277-88; Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois*, 24-29.

⁴⁹² Hungerford, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," 277-88.

⁴⁹³ Alastair Wright, "Mourning, Painting, and the Commune: Maximilien Luce's *A Paris Street in 1871*," *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 2 (2009): 225, 227, 241.

⁴⁹⁴ Hungerford, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," 277, 282.

This urban upheaval of 1848, spurred on by opposition to the July Monarchy of King Louis-Philippe I, ended the latest iteration of the Bourbon-Orléanist monopoly on the French throne. However, just as the direct electoral outcome of the Commune had been the election of an anti-war, monarchist legislative majority in 1871, the voters of 1848 reached back to a familiar name in search of national homeostasis. In the estimation of Chloé Gaboriaux, “the birth of democracy in France was marked with the iron branding of Bonapartism”; the promise of a renewed empire and its connotations of power and prestige brought voters out in droves in the hopes of stability.⁴⁹⁵ After Sedan, however, the Bonapartist leadership had lost its sheen and, requiring a broader base of support, it leaned into monarchism and populism. Eventually, by the late 1880s, they threw in their lot with General Boulanger, looking more revolutionary and reactionary than the entrenched Opportunist Republicans. Gaboriaux analyzes the way the Opportunists’ built support amongst the rural population by snatching the message of order and stability away from the Bonapartists and wielding it as an effective cudgel against the combined forces of Mackau’s Conservative Union.⁴⁹⁶ Rather than dwelling on the philosophical incompatibility of authoritarianism and democracy, issues that were too esoteric for the average citizen, the republican opposition to the Second Empire focused on more pressing issues such as security and the economy while waiting for Napoleon III and his allies to overplay their hand.

As explored in the Introduction and Chapter One, Opportunist leaders like Gambetta and Ferry, who had begun building their careers under the Second Empire, stressed that “Opportunism” was a method rather than a strict political ideology, privileging flexibility and coalition-building over dogma. Rightwing opponents characterized their approach as “Double [Two-Faced], Practical, Lucrative, and Contagious,” in a more strident echo of the leftist

⁴⁹⁵ Chloé Gaboriaux, “Le spectre du bonapartisme,” *Commentaire*, no. 136 (2011) : 965.

⁴⁹⁶ Gaboriaux, *La République en quête de citoyens*, 7.

argument that the Opportunists were not brave enough to be “outright republican.”⁴⁹⁷ Instead of the usual metaphorical connections republican politicians made between contemporary peasants and the *quarante-huitards* of the Revolution of 1848, Ferry argued that the peasantry needed concrete guarantees of security in order to “make it [liberty] big enough for them to embrace.”⁴⁹⁸ Rather than condemning the everyday needs of the rural population as materialistic, Ferry pronounced modern France as the manifestation of their labor, proclaiming that the former Bonaparte voters merely needed to know that their representatives were engaged in work on their behalf so that the rural population could focus on their labor.⁴⁹⁹ Thus, the Opportunists made the case that representative leadership made it possible for French people to largely ignore the minutia of National Assembly legislative sessions.

The monarchist leaders joining up with Boulanger to back him financially—even though they did not trust him to lead their desired *coup d'état* or plebiscitary takeover—was a sign of their relative political weakness and that their regular voters were drawn in by Boulanger's militancy. The royalist leadership fervently disagreed with revanchist sentiment in principle, seeing military engagement as the “handmaiden to revolution.”⁵⁰⁰ They also knew that Boulanger appealed to many with republican sentiments, something the comte de Paris tried to paper over.⁵⁰¹ In by-elections throughout 1888, Boulanger won seats in western royalist strongholds like Angers, Cholet, and Saumur and the southwestern Bonapartist hub of Dordogne.⁵⁰² Gaining significant votes outside of the *blanc*-friendly west was contingent on

⁴⁹⁷ “Catéchisme républicain du Diocèse de la Libre-Pensée publié sous la surveillance et la direction de Nos-Seigneurs les Opportunistes,” *La Royaliste Béarnais*, no. 13 (July 4, 1885) : unpaginated ; Bepmale, “Saint-Gaudens, le 19 mai 1888,” unpaginated.

⁴⁹⁸ Gaboriaux, *La République en quête de citoyens*, 13.

⁴⁹⁹ Gaboriaux, “Le spectre du bonapartisme,” 969.

⁵⁰⁰ Irvine, *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered*, 78.

⁵⁰¹ Irvine, *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered*, 97.

⁵⁰² Irvine, *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered*, 79

partnering with a candidate that appealed to socially-conservative republicans; the traditional, clerical right needed to appear, at the very least, open to revolutionary symbolism to draw the militant, anti-clerical right into a bloc that shared only a passion for strongman politics and a disdain for the current republican parliamentary system.

As far as the hardline Legitimist monarchists were concerned, “the line separating the Bonapartist from the Jacobin tradition was extremely fine.”⁵⁰³ Both had achieved power via the changes of the Revolution, however, having lost the last Legitimist claimant to power in 1883, the more malleable Orléanist branch led by the comte de Paris and his former Bonapartist advisors now oversaw the conservatives. The Bonapartists too were short a leader; Napoleon III died in 1873 and his son in 1879. Plon-Plon, né Prince Napoleon-Jérôme Bonaparte, the Jacobin cousin of Napoleon I, was deeply unpopular amongst conservatives and the Prince Imperial had named Plon-Plon’s son Victor as his heir.⁵⁰⁴ But the conservative Victor was only seventeen years old when the Prince Imperial died in 1879. That the Bonapartist succession plan was adapted to remove a liberal republican in favor of a conservative is further evidence that they were not beholden to bloodlines like the Legitimists they aligned with ahead of the 1889 elections. The tents of the Conservative Union and the broader republican movement were broad and unwieldy.

When Réalier-Dumas’ painted Napoleon Bonaparte looking down his nose at the royal regalia on the floor of the Tuileries, he crafted a republican persona at odds with the man who would seize power from the Directory in the coup of 18 brumaire just seven years later. With the hindsight granted to an artist working in 1888, as Boulanger began allying himself with counter-republican forces, Réalier-Dumas knew of Bonaparte’s trajectory but resolved to show France in

⁵⁰³ Irvine, *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered*, 24.

⁵⁰⁴ Irvine, *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered*, 24.

a moment of transition, where the outcome was indeterminate. While August 10th, 1792 was the last day of the French monarchy, Louis XVI had not yet been beheaded, and the painted Napoleon is not depicted grabbing the crown for himself. This is not an exultant pro-Bonapartist picture in the style of Detaille, nor a celebratory image of the Revolution, nor an utter condemnation of the monarchy. The slashed Callet portrait and mangled robe have a pitiable quality to them, as does as the injured Swiss Guard pulling himself across the floor. The destruction, in addition to evoking the Palace's final act during the Commune, nods to the human toll of this political upheaval. The painting cannot be read as conveying the ideology of any one group and perhaps that is why it did not accumulate the same level of commentary as paintings like *The Execution of Charette*, whose vociferous embrace by the clerical right led to engagement by partisans of all kinds with the painting's meaning. Napoleon Bonaparte does not fit comfortably in the costume of a republican and yet that is what Réalier-Dumas attempted in 1888 ahead of an election where the republican bloc needed to hold off a new manifestation of the authoritarian leader.

The Long History of Bonaparte the Revolutionary

In the nineteenth century, biographies of Napoleon were evergreen; he was the most discussed historical figure in France until the advent of Charles de Gaulle.⁵⁰⁵ However, in the direct aftermath of the 1870 collapse of Napoleon III's Second Empire, Bonapartist imagery entered a period of decline without official support from the administrators of the new Third Republic. As such, the first two decades of the Third Republic have not been fertile ground for contemporary

⁵⁰⁵ Hazareesingh argues that no single figure was more discussed between 1814 and the First World War. Sudhir Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France: The Making of a Liberal Legend," *MLN* 120, no. 4 (September 2005): 773.

historians of Napoleonic culture. Studies on the cult of the First Empire and its revivals have focused on the Bonapartist resistance to Bourbon rule after 1815, the open support for the First Empire's heritage during the Second Empire, and the assumption of Napoleon I into the pantheon of French ethnonationalist folk heroes after 1890. Sudhir Hazareesingh's work on the Napoleonic legend in the nineteenth century focuses on the official resurrection of Bonapartism under the Second Empire regime of Napoleon III from 1852-1870 and also on the popular revivals during low points for Bonapartist political leaders, such as during the Bourbon Restoration.⁵⁰⁶ This latter aspect of Napoleonic memory married the ideals of the Revolution with the recently exiled leader, conveniently obviating the more despotic aspects of his rule when faced with the advent of King Louis XVIII's retributive regime. The brother of the beheaded Louis XVI wasted little time criminalizing public displays of revolutionary and Napoleonic memory, which led to a nostalgic popular "fusion of the Napoleonic heritage into the tradition of 1789" that survived long after the restrictions of Bourbon rule had ended.⁵⁰⁷ The republican Bonaparte present in the painting of Réalier-Dumas was a figure created shortly after Napoleon's exile, both by popular demand and the aggrandizing memoirs published by Las Cases.⁵⁰⁸ The impact of Las Cases' *Memorial of Saint Helena* on Napoleonic mythmaking is widely acknowledged; by mid-century, his portrayal of a soft-spoken, pitiable Napoleon in exile had sold 40,000 copies and had been reprinted in four editions.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁶ See for example Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004); Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France," 747–773; and Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics: Napoleonic Patriotism in the Restoration Era," *European Journal of Political Theory* 5, no. 1 (2006): 71–84.

⁵⁰⁷ Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics," 75.

⁵⁰⁸ Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics," 74.

⁵⁰⁹ Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France," 757; Datta, *Heroes and Legends of Fin-de-Siècle*, 111.

Like Hazareesingh, Rob Alexander's analyses of nineteenth-century Bonapartism end before the height of the "anti-Napoleonic" Third Republic; consequently, attempts to negotiate his memory within the Decennial are particularly worthy of study.⁵¹⁰ Hazareesingh made the case that a political nadir for a movement is not determinative of its cultural persistence and resonance; there were long periods of the nineteenth century when republican politicians were largely in the wilderness and yet memories of the Revolution persisted even without state approval.⁵¹¹ These manifestations of the past by a large and pluralistic society were inventive and piecemeal, thus it should not be a leap to see the very different works of Réalier-Dumas, Meissonier, and even a cartoonist such as Caran d'Ache, who brought Bonaparte into the popular sphere of café culture, in this vein. The desire to remake Napoleon during a perilous moment for centrist republicanism was more about the present moment and the future than the past, conceived of in a variety of media by artists with unique perspectives. Their representations of Bonaparte are less about historic verisimilitude than the multitude of popular conceptions about power in an uncertain political moment. The sheer multiplicity of Napoleonic memory was abetted by the "elasticity" of Bonaparte's legend, as discussed by Venita Datta, which enabled the multifaceted survival of his image, sustained by not by distinct political groups in the National Assembly, but capitalizing nonetheless on ideas across the political spectrum and sustaining the cultural cachet of Bonaparte despite the politics of the day.⁵¹²

Commemoration of Napoleon I began shortly after his final exile to Saint Helena and the return of the Bourbon monarchy just over twenty years after the Tuileries breach of 1792 had

⁵¹⁰ R.S. Alexander, "The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th-Century Bonapartism," *Modern & Contemporary France* 8, no. 4 (2000): 465.

⁵¹¹ Sudhir Hazareesingh, "Conflicts of Memory: Republicanism and the Commemoration of the Past in Modern France," *French History* 23, no. 2 (June 2009): 196.

⁵¹² Datta, *Heroes and Legends of Fin-de-Siècle*, 111.

dealt them a significant, though impermanent, blow. As early as 1815, royalist celebrations such as the feast day of Saint-Louis were opportunities for Bonapartists and Jacobins, who were both victims of Bourbon repression under the White Terror, to disrupt royal commemorations and sport tricolor rosettes, caps, and banners in defiance of the royalist white flag's return.⁵¹³

Throughout the nineteenth century, Hazareesingh argues, aspects of Jacobinism and Bonapartism blended to create the idea of a French "nation."⁵¹⁴ Critically for the development of the populist Bonaparte, throughout Las Cases' *Memorial*, Napoleon tied himself retroactively to the "people," enabling his posthumous resurrection as a product of the Revolution of 1789, minus the instability, and a bridge between old and new worlds.⁵¹⁵ The return of an absolute monarch made several liberals, including former anti-Napoleon intellectuals like Benjamin Constant (1767-1830), yearn for the days of the First Empire.⁵¹⁶ As the Bourbon Restoration gave way to the July Monarchy and eventually the Second Empire, Napoleon entered the realm of official memory, with the inauguration of the Arc de Triomphe in 1836 and the return and subsequent enshrinement of his remains at the Invalides in 1840, effectively canonizing him by the state.⁵¹⁷ Under the Second Empire, Napoleon III restored August 15th—his uncle's birthday—to its position as the national holiday, as it had been from 1806 to 1813.⁵¹⁸ Throughout France from 1851 until Napoleon III was defeated at Sedan, Saint-Napoleon's Day was a celebration of both imperial power and revolutionary heritage.

In tandem with this shift away from a purely authoritarian image, Bonapartist imagery moved away from pictures of Emperor Napoleon on a throne or in ermine robes towards a fusion

⁵¹³ Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics," 74, 79.

⁵¹⁴ Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics," 82.

⁵¹⁵ Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France," 760-61, citing Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, 2: 233.

⁵¹⁶ Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics," 748, 752-53.

⁵¹⁷ Hazareesingh, "Memory, Legend and Politics," 762.

⁵¹⁸ Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon*, 3-4, 10.

of imperial and republican traditions. The painting by Réalier-Dumas chosen for the 1889 Decennial connects Bonaparte's career in the French Army firmly to the ideals of the Revolution, whilst also dividing Napoleon from the destructive crowd. However, this vision of Napoleon removed from the battlefields of Egypt, the Alps, Spain, or Russia, and especially removed from his instantly recognizable uniform did not capture the popular imagination the way a bicorned, imperialistic Bonaparte could. The image of a conflicted Napoleon who leaves the crown behind in 1792 spoke to the Decennial organizers looking to pull together a fragmentary and unifying rendition of the Revolution using the recognizable format of history painting on canvas. However, the technological advances of the late-nineteenth century unseated the primacy of painting, enabling new formats through which to process history.⁵¹⁹ A survey of his works shows that Réalier-Dumas only painted two Napoleonic paintings and turned to poster design after a brief Salon career that lasted less than a decade.⁵²⁰ In these designs, the artist acknowledged the primacy of the imperialist image in Bonapartist memory when he restored Napoleon to the battlefield. The cartoonist Caran d'Ache, too, brought the First Empire to the masses by channeling a latent desire for strongman leadership into a spectral silhouette show

⁵¹⁹ See Laura Anne Kalba, *Color in the Age of Impressionism: Commerce, Technology, and Art* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017), especially Chapter Five, "Chromolithography: Posters, Trade Cards, and the Politics of Ephemera Collecting in Fin-de-Siècle France," 149-81; Ruth E. Iskin, "The Janus-Faced Modernity of Toulouse-Lautrec and Jules Chéret," *Visual Resources* 29, no. 4 (2013): 276-306.

⁵²⁰ A search of Réalier-Dumas on *Gallica.bnf.fr* reveals many posters held in the collection of the BnF. He first exhibited at the Salon in 1887 with a painting of a young Napoleon arriving at the school at Brienne in 1779, then with his Napoleon at the Tuileries in 1888, then submitted a genre scene called *Naked Children in a Boat* in 1890, *Young Girls on the Banks of the River* in 1891, followed by *Lunch on the Grass* to the Salon of 1892, and a similar painting called *Tennis* in 1893. 1895's submission, his last of the nineteenth century, was entitled *Days of Summer*. Exposition des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1887* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1887), 35; Dumas and SAF, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1888*, 212; F.G. Dumas and Société des artistes français, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1890* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1890), 35; F.G. Dumas and Société des artistes français, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1891* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1891), 135; F.G. Dumas and Société des artistes français, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1892* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1892), 254; F.G. Dumas and Société des artistes français, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1893* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1893), 198; F.G. Dumas and Société des artistes français, *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1895* (Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1895), unpaginated. He then reappeared in catalogues in 1909 and 1910, 1912-13, each time with one genre painting.

featuring hundreds of cut outs of Napoleon and his *Grand Armée*.⁵²¹ Réalier-Dumas' muted, pre-imperial Bonaparte merited few mentions in the popular press in its day and its current location in rural southwest France is both appropriate, given the region's political history, while further relegating it and its painter to anonymity because of the difficulty of traveling to Villeneuve-sur-Lot. The engine of Bonapartist memory in the 1880s was, instead, the bawdy cabaret culture centered in Montmartre, outside the strict format of traditional Salon spaces.

The Modern Empire: Poster Culture and the *Chat-Noir*'s Imperial Ambition

Even amongst Salon watchers, Réalier-Dumas' *Bonaparte at the Tuileries* garnered little attention in either 1888 or 1889. It is reasonable to assume, given that the 1889 *Exposition universelle* did not elevate his platform as a painter, that Réalier-Dumas embarked shortly thereafter on his commercial poster design career. As a student of the highly successful Gérôme, Réalier-Dumas knew what Salon success could look like; yet even today, Réalier-Dumas' holdings within French museums are minimal. He turned his energies towards creating colorful, matte posters more in tune with avant-garde artistic currents, spurning the academic tradition entirely.

In 1895, Réalier-Dumas attempted to merge his interest in the Napoleonic legend with his new interest in color lithography, the same painterly method of printmaking Chéret had popularized. The opportunity to illustrate the serialized *History of Napoleon I* by William Milligan Sloan seemed well suited to Réalier-Dumas' talents, but his efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. His image of Emperor Napoleon I on campaign (Fig. 3.12), reduced to the essentials of a black bicorne and gray coat, did not take advantage of the medium's potential for

⁵²¹ Jérémie Bernard et al. *Napoléon au Chat Noir: L'Épopée vue par Caran d'Ache*, exh. cat. (Paris: Société nouvelle Adam Biro, 1999).

deep, saturated tones and light washes. Instead of the swirls of varied hues Chéret employed to simulate the heady atmosphere of an absinthe-drenched night, Réalier-Dumas' Napoleon forwent modeling and tonal shifts entirely in contrast with his painting set in the Tuileries of a few years prior. Instead, the page is suffused with the haziness of early morning light, represented by the butter-yellow sky behind the emperor, yet this unnatural light casts no shadows. The beam of light across the floor in the Tuileries painting enabled the artist to show off his skills of perspective and tone, as well as draw a severing line through the destroyed ermine robes through to the broken door, foreshadowing the King's violent end. This is not the divine light often engaged by Julien Le Blant in his Vendée paintings, which promised a kind of absolution, rather it almost acts as the light some see before death. The uniform light of his poster has an eerie quality to it, but, unlike Réalier-Dumas' painting style, which took a Gérôme-like interest in incorporating the *crumbs* (morceaux) of history expected in Naturalist painting, his poster design revels in anti-naturalism. Chéret had translated the minute gradations of color possible in both painting and lithography to his poster design; the darkest hues were saved for elements that had to be visible from far away, like the text of an advertisement or the red silhouette of the Moulin Rouge. In contrast, Réalier-Dumas' posters displayed an interest in the flattening experiments underway within the Nabis circle; he employed wide zones of single, unmodulated colors likewise prominent in marketing campaigns.

His Napoleon poster is divided into three thick bands of color representing grass, muddy terrain, and sky. But the artist chooses a light sickly green and peachy tone rather than the emerald and earthy brown one might expect, as in Meissonier's painting of *Jena*. In the flick of smoke rising into the yellow atmosphere, the artist gives some hint of his academic training; in a small touch of painterly bravado in an otherwise linear work, the remnants of some distant fire

set by the *Grand Armée* are made wispy and delicate, as well as contiguous with the pink river flowing behind Napoleon. The figure is obviously Napoleon, although it is the iconic bicorne and trench coat, in addition to the subject of the contest, rather than his nondescript face that identify him. The painting set in the Tuileries featured a portrait of Napoleon's distinctive nose and chin; in the poster Napoleon's features are demarcated by quick, simple lines, centered around determined, icy blue eyes. It is unclear where in the Napoleonic campaigns Réalier-Dumas has set the scene, although the solitary figure of Bonaparte always evokes his eventual exile. However, Réalier-Dumas' hints at events to come did not service the brief of encapsulating a multivolume biography of Napoleon in one image. The winning design by Lucien Métivet (1863-1930) (Fig. 3.13) was unambiguous in its incorporation of Napoleon's full narrative. Little rondels at the base of the poster convey clearly that Napoleon's success at Austerlitz in 1805 was short-lived in the scope of history. If the first rondel shows Napoleon and Marengo pressing on through a headwind, its counterpart on the other side of an imperial eagle's wings is the defeat after Waterloo in 1815.

The rest of the design, set against the same yellow tone as Réalier-Dumas' attempt, which suggests some combination of competition parameters and limitations on this medium, is effectively a collage of Bonapartist iconography. The ermine-robed emperor stands on a dais before a skyline of monuments associated with his campaigns and his legacy. Bonaparte himself only ever saw the Pyramids, shown to the left of his body, and the Vendôme Column to the right, erected in 1810 and famously torn down by the Commune. As noted, the Arc de Triomphe and les Invalides were the product of the July Monarchy, hungry to associate themselves with the imperial successes of the First Empire. In one image, Métivet collapsed the historical basics of Napoleon's story with hints at its legacy. Réalier-Dumas displayed a willingness to adapt his

media to suit the market of the 1890s, but his illustrated Napoleon was as tentative as his painted figure, unsure of his next move in a fashion out of step with the emboldened imperialist Napoleon so popular in the café-cabaret.

In the corner of his poster, Réalier-Dumas drew silhouetted soldiers advancing towards Bonaparte. This direct nod to the period's most-talked about vision of the First Empire, the silhouette performance of the cartoonist Caran d'Ache, can be read as personal anxiety regarding the sufficiency of his Bonaparte. In the first act of Caran d'Ache's *The Era* (3.14a and b), the emperor plants his foot atop a mound towering above an adoring crowd waving hands and hats vigorously towards the central figure. When viewed from the back, the structural engineering of this single scene reveals itself. Napoleon, in his bicorne hat and long coat emerged from below the zinc proscenium, not unlike contemporary musicians beginning a concert via a trapdoor in the stage. The emperor slid up a mound of earth at the center, elevated high above both the zinc crowd and that of the *Chat Noir*, through the channel-like groove in the back of the hill that serves as his dais. This Napoleon does not sit a throne, his legitimacy is connected to military conquest; he is bound to the earth as a representation of the blood-and-soil nationalism supported by Caran d'Ache and his cohort in the *Chat Noir*.⁵²² After reaching his maximum height, a string was pulled and Napoleon's movable arm, which would have been tucked in during the ascent through the groove, was elevated to show the beginning of an oration. Unlike Réalier-Dumas, Caran d'Ache created a gulf between Bonaparte and his subjects; facing away from the crowd, coat whipping in the wind, Bonaparte appears from the beginning as a prophetic and decisive figure.

⁵²² Caran d'Ache was friends with the virulent antisemite Henri de Rochefort and made a number of racist and antisemitic cartoons. *Caran d'Ache: Histoires en images* (Paris: Pierre Horay, 1979), 10.

In contrast Réalier-Dumas' Napoleons are ponderous and slow to act, pausing to think about the impact of their actions. While he shifted his style, his interest in probing the legacy of Bonapartism rather than representing a decisive strongman leader demanded close-looking and further interrogation rather than an emblematic Napoleon who, in his lack of interiority, could be refashioned into a populist icon. Within the same "republican" decade, the "elasticity" of Bonaparte enabled the representations of both Réalier-Dumas and Caran d'Ache, one afraid to absorb the power on offer, the other casting a literal shadow over the audiences of the *fin-de-siècle*. But Réalier-Dumas' Bonaparte had considerably less pull than the Napoleon of the streets. Caran d'Ache was hailed as a "celebrity of the Boulevards...pursued by his own success," and the popularity of his performance of *The Era (L'Épopée)* at the *Chat-Noir* cabaret proved that the energy of Bonapartists and the militant right lay outside of the established halls of artistic merit and political power.⁵²³

No artist earned as much acclaim blending Napoleonic history with the technologies and venues of the period as the Russian-born Caran d'Ache, whose nom de plume was a Frenchified rendition of the Russian word for pencil (*karandach*). Raised outside of France's borders due to his own family history with Napoleon's conquests, the artist's father had whetted his appetite to move to Paris with grandiose stories about the Bonaparte campaigns. His father conveniently overlooked the first-hand trauma of the artist's grandfather, who had suffered wounds during the 1812 Battle of Borodino and been left for dead when the *Grand Armée* retreated from the Russian Empire. The man born Emmanuel Poiré in Moscow moved to France and soon enlisted. His father's myths about Napoleon had given him a chivalric notion of service and he cited military painters like Detaille worthy of his "veneration" and emulation, though he would not try

⁵²³ "Caran d'Ache and His Art," *Illustrated London News* 15, no. 189 (September 9, 1896): 281.

his hand at Salon painting.⁵²⁴ Throughout his time in the army, Caran d'Ache drew soldiers in moments of repose and action and, over the course of the 1880s, *La Caricature* published seventy-six of his cartoons about the customs and costumes of the French, German, and Russian armies.⁵²⁵

In 1883, after leaving military service, he began to spend his time at *Le Chat-Noir*. For a young man with a romanticized vision of the Napoleonic era that tinted his view of the contemporary French army, the nationalism at the cabaret fit him quite well and he soon began working on the zinc cutout designs for a “shadow theatre” performance he would title *The Era*, which was the first significant artistic work presented at the venue in 1886.⁵²⁶ This work spoke to an undercurrent of French populism based in ethnonationalism that was gaining traction in the decade before the Dreyfus Affair and barely contained in the years leading up to it. Beyond Caran d'Ache, whose nationalism had been fueled by the stories of the *Grand Armée* told to him in childhood, there were other artists associated with *Le Chat Noir* who surpassed him in ethnonationalism. The politics at the *Chat Noir* varied and can broadly be described by “non-conformism.”⁵²⁷ For example Théophile Steinlen (1859-1923) was a Marxist who would later become an avowed Dreyfusard, and the singer Aristide Bruant was a leftist but firm anti-Dreyfusard; they coexisted with Caran d'Ache and Adolphe Willette (1857-1926).⁵²⁸ Willette, one of the founding artists of *Le Chat-Noir*, ran in the legislative elections of 1889 as an “antisemitic” and “anticapitalist” candidate for Paris’ ninth arrondissement.⁵²⁹ His campaign

⁵²⁴ Bernard, et al. *Napoléon au Chat Noir*, 11.

⁵²⁵ Bernard, et al. *Napoléon au Chat Noir*, 13.

⁵²⁶ The cabaret emphasized anti-British sentiments, which were common at the time. Nicholas Hewitt, “The Artistic Cabarets,” in *Montmartre: A Cultural History*, eds, Nicholas Hewitt, Edmund Smythe, and Charles Forsdick, 45.

⁵²⁷ Hewitt, “The Artistic Cabarets,” 50.

⁵²⁸ On Steinlen’s politics, see Susan Gill, “Théophile Steinlen: A Study of His Graphic Art, 1881-1900” (Ph.D diss., City University of New York, 1982), 139-210; Hewitt, “The Artistic Cabarets,” 50.

⁵²⁹ Guillaume Doizy, “À l’origine de la caricature antisémite en France: le dessinateur Adolphe Willette (1857-1926),” *Archives Juives* 50, no. 1 (2017): 103-124.

poster (Fig. 3.15) proudly proclaimed “Electors: the Jews are only tall because we are on our knees! Rise up!...Judaism, here is the enemy!” Caran d’Ache too had a virulently antisemitic streak that would come out more fully in his work after the period of focus here.

Because the artist’s antisemitic cartoons postdate the production of *The Era*, there has been some effort to distinguish between Caran d’Ache’s militaristic spectacle of 1886 and his xenophobic views in contemporary exhibitions and compiled volumes of his oeuvre.⁵³⁰ In the first full display of *The Era* since the nineteenth century at the Musée de l’Armée in 1999, the curators went to some length to isolate the zinc cutouts of *La Grand Armée* from the inevitable conclusions that the artist drew from his blind loyalty to the French military. They make the case that the Bonapartist Caran d’Ache was not “political” because he did not appear to be concerned over which pretender took the throne and worked for a venue where politics, especially the elections of 1889, were something to mock.⁵³¹ An edited volume of the artist’s cartoons published in 2017 argued that he was not antisemitic, merely a firm supporter of the military.⁵³²

However, his two-year dedication to the trope of presenting Jews as a threat to France during the Dreyfus Affair did not emerge out of nowhere. Additionally, Caran d’Ache’s time in the French military in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War would not have minimized hatred of history’s most common scapegoat. The officer corps of the French military was largely made up of those with conservative social views who believed Judaism was the antithesis of “Frenchness.”⁵³³ The French military had an over representative sample of aristocrats, primed to

⁵³⁰ See for example, the “Introduction,” in *The Cartoons of Caran D’Ache*, vol. 1 (London: Editions Peirce, 2017), unpaginated, in which the editors deny that Caran d’Ache ever made antisemitic cartoons even if he co-founded the anti-Dreyfus journal *Psst!*.

⁵³¹ Bernard et al., *Napoléon au Chat Noir*, 40.

⁵³² *The Cartoons of Caran D’Ache*, vol. 1, unpaginated.

⁵³³ See for example, Caran d’Ache’s 1898 cartoon *The Last Pin* in which a German officer tells a balding, heavyset Jewish figure to aim a ball inscribed with Zola’s name towards the final bowling pin, carved in the figure of a French soldier. Elizabeth Everton, “Line and Shadow: Envisioning Anti-Dreyfusism in *Psst...!*,” in *Revising Dreyfus*, ed. Maya Balakirsky Katz (Boston: Brill, 2013), 220-23.

believe that the twin pillars of French society were the army and the Catholic Church.⁵³⁴ After military loss, they explained that while they descended from a “warrior race,” the bourgeoisie and Jews had made the once “uncontaminated” army soft and vulnerable.⁵³⁵ Artists born in the 1850s and 1860s came of age as France’s stature on the world stage was one of a formerly great power now brought low by military defeat. A figure like Napoleon had the power to restore national pride in one’s imagined heritage.

The 1880s saw the simultaneous electoral gains of center-left republicanism and the cultural rise of antisemitism. The latter was strengthened by the Paris Bourse crash of 1882 and the Opportunists’ policies that assisted the financial sector rather than the working class, fueling resentment against those seen to be profiting. A political campaign like Willette’s did not emerge from the ether; the 1880s saw the beginnings of a sustained antisemitic movement in France that had a marked impact on artists.⁵³⁶ In this context, Napoleon Bonaparte, along with historical figures like Clovis and Joan of Arc, became a folk hero. In his 1897 novel *The Uprooted: The Novel of National Energy* (*Les Déracinés: Le roman de l’énergie nationale*), the nationalist writer Maurice Barrès (1862-1923) identified Napoleon as a “Professor of Energy” whose past triumphs were evidence of a powerful, uniquely French character; the historical facts of his life were of less importance than the “Napoleon of the Soul” whose achievements were those of all French people.⁵³⁷

Though this novel also postdates the focus of this study, the nationalist republican Barrès won a seat in the Chamber of Deputies in 1889 by running as a Boulangist and was a member of

⁵³⁴ Elizabeth C. Macknight, “Honor and the Military Formation of French Noblemen, 1870-1920,” *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 35, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 95-97.

⁵³⁵ Macknight, “Honor and the Military Formation of French Noblemen,” 95-97.

⁵³⁶ Stephen Wilson, *Ideology and Experience: Anti-Semitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 169.

⁵³⁷ Maurice Barrès, *Les Déracinés: Le roman de l’énergie nationale* (Paris: Émile-Paul, 1911), 221.

Paul Déroulède's hypernationalist *League of Patriots. The Uprooted*, a novel in which students from the politically sensitive territory of Lorraine set out to explore France, was merely an extension of the xenophobic ideologies already percolating in the 1880s. These ideas pulsed under the surface of new Napoleonic histories written and drawn in the 1880s and 1890s.⁵³⁸ It was in this cultural climate that the draughtsman Caran d'Ache garnered such acclaim for *The Era*, which was an unabashedly nationalistic work and the culmination of his own family's complicated relationship with the legacy of the First Empire.

The Era made its debut at the *Chat-Noir* in 1886 and reran for years after, regaling audiences in Montmartre with a history that began in 1804 at the birth of the Empire and ended in Russia.⁵³⁹ Never any rank lower than General and Emperor, the Bonaparte of the cabarets was an eternal hero. While the artist's venal racism is not apparent in *The Era*, his militaristic nationalism is central to this oeuvre of more than forty zinc cutouts with movable limbs and a dynamism impossible to replicate on canvas. The pieces have rarely been shown together since Caran d'Ache trotted thousands of dark cutouts across a white screen to adoring audiences. Though the financial burden of imperialist conquest was a political headache, as the Opportunists learned after the collapse of Ferry's ministry and the 1885 elections, the idea of French military power restoring the country's place on the world stage was culturally popular. As with Bonapartism, which had cultural clout without significant political results, imperialism was more acceptable in its imaginary, phantasmagoric form. During the Centennial year, the zinc cutouts of Bonaparte's *Grand Armée* went dark momentarily and were replaced by Louis Bombled's

⁵³⁸ Some literary examples include Nisard's *Considerations sur la Révolution et sur Napoleon I* (1887), Prince Napoléon's *Napoléon and his Detractors* (1887), and Nauroy's *The Secrets of Bonaparte* (1889). Bernard et al. *Napoléon au Chat Noir*, 40-41.

⁵³⁹ In French, this medium was called "ombres chinoises" because it was believed that the technique was invented in China. Nancy Forgione, "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September 1999): 502.

Conquest of Algeria, described as the “apotheosis of the July Monarchy” in emulation of Caran d’Ache’s “apotheosis of the Empire,” attributing a god-like status to Napoleon far removed from the singular foot soldier seen in Réalier-Dumas’ painting.⁵⁴⁰

L'Épopée’s “scenes” are dominated by masses of soldiers on horseback, differentiated by the helmets and uniforms Caran d’Ache took considerable pride in. The numerous individual pieces of sentries on watch or dragoons on horseback made flexible so they could rear and charge were a laborious undertaking by one who was raised on romantic notions of empire. As we have noted, the “popular” aspects of the French Revolution often recalled violent crowds and social revolution. However in *The Era*, Caran d’Ache attached these individual elements to an authoritarian leader, emphasizing a belief in the submission of civil liberties in return for military glory, creating a parallel to the antidemocratic opposition of the late 1880s. One does not have to surmise that Caran d’Ache and the club’s director Rodolphe Salis intended to make a political statement; shadow theatre performances like this one were often followed by songs mocking all the political parties, none seen as requisitely domineering on the global stage. They laughed at “the ones in the middle” and “the ones who want a king” alike, concluding “they’re all the same.”⁵⁴¹ With voter disaffection so high that it made a large slice of the population believe none of the established options would do, the climate was ripe for a Napoleon-esque figure like Boulanger to destabilize the status quo.

Conclusion: Dreaming of a Savior on Horseback in Red, White, and Blue

⁵⁴⁰ Un Monsieur de l’orchestre, “Au Chat Noir,” *Le Figaro*, no. 16 (January 16, 1889): 6.

⁵⁴¹ See the full lyrics of this political ditty from 1889 transcribed in Camille Debans, *Les plaisirs et les curiosités de Paris: guide humoristique et pratique* (Paris: Ernest Kolb, 1889), 154.

The previous chapters in this study focused on the two poles established by the dichotomous title of this dissertation: the *bleus* and the *blancs*. In reality, the Opportunist republicans, who associated themselves with the blue of the French army that drew upon revolutionary traditions, needed votes from the “red” socialist left, as well as the majority of conservatives who were not married to the idea of a restoration of the white flag of the House of Bourbon. The temporary political alliances made solely in view of the 1889 elections made unhappy bedfellows. The monarchist right, which did not have the numbers to win an election, looked to an ex-republican in General Boulanger to stir up dissatisfaction amongst working-class voters, offering a swashbuckling military man cloaked in the colors of the tricolor. When Ferry swiped at the Bonapartists of 1885 seeking to “cut the throat of the Republic,” he could just as easily have been talking about Boulanger in the lead up to 1889.

An Opportunist campaign broadsheet made the previous year (Fig. 3.16) made clear that the most significant threat to republicanism came in the form of a charismatic figure with republican *bona fides* willing to upend the current political system. The poster employed bright, eye-catching, if crude, color lithography and made plain from the outset of the campaign season that General Boulanger was a second coming of Napoleon Bonaparte at his most despotic and simultaneously Napoleon III at his most unthinking. “The Popular History of General Boulanger” bore a significant amount of text, but the imagery alone conveyed the message. The six vignettes in two columns flank a central send-up of David’s *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (Château de Malmaison) with a rearing black horse more akin to representations of Famine in a Four Horsemen scene than the white Marengo, always represented as under Bonaparte’s control. Although Boulanger is kicking his spurs in, his horse kicks up considerable dust and thrashes as his preening rider in a plumed hat and sash carries on with his charade. Adopting characteristics

of both Bonapartes, this Boulanger promises nothing more than social unrest and pomposity rather than the tedious work of bureaucracy.

The anonymous artist working on behalf of the Opportunists also preyed directly on societal fears of crowd violence, eliciting memories of the Bloody Week in the first vignette, showing Boulanger participating in the execution of Communards against a wall. But at first glance, this is a cartoonist's rendering of Goya's *The Third of May 1808* (Museo del Prado) or Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* (Kunsthalle Mannheim), merging the raised arms of the victims and the cruel proximity of the firing squad from those precedents. The image forces the viewer to engage with both the brutal outcomes of imperial expansion and civil conflict, asking the electorate to think about what an invasion of Germany or a *coup d'état* would entail. The image had the added benefit of offering an olive branch to the Radicals, whose views were marginalized within the official Centennial. As the debate over amnesty had shown, the Radicals were more willing than most to show sympathy to the Communards, but nearly a decade after the official amnesty, the Opportunists needed their votes as well and offered some symbolic overtures.

Elsewhere in the vignettes, Boulanger holds court while the Orléanist faction leader the duc d'Aumale, who once slighted him in a military review during the French invasion of Algeria, now bends the knee to him.⁵⁴² It was an effective tactic to present Boulanger, who purged aristocrats from the military while Minister of War, as willing to have audiences with monarchist spokespeople. Contrary to the *Chat-Noir* crowd's belief that it made no difference whether the centrist Opportunists or monarchists were in power, the broadsheet pointed to Boulanger's very real allyship with a faction that sought the end of parliamentary democracy. For all their gifts,

⁵⁴² In a report, the duc d'Aumale wrote "Boulanger, good, intelligent office, but ill-bred." "Boulanger and D'Aumale," *New York Times* 30, no. 10,894 (August 2, 1886): 5.

failures at imperialism, and economic crises, the Opportunists would maintain the representational system in the National Assembly. In an ornate carriage more characteristic of autocracy, the cartoonist's Boulanger parades past the obelisk at Place de la Concorde, a spoil of Napoleon I's Egypt campaign. In the last image, Boulanger enjoys a coronation of his own featuring a laurel crown so obscenely large it is guaranteed to fall directly to the floor upon placement. Everywhere in this broadsheet, Boulanger's delusions of grandeur are melded with an air of silliness that comports with the Opportunists' desired conflation of Boulanger with both Bonapartes, which conveys how frightened Carnot's government was of his potential to capture the working-class vote. For those who purchased the specialty broadsheet for the modest price of ten centimes, less than the cost of the daily paper, the text further clarified the intent of the images. Writing in a folksy, *entre-nous* tone that any reader could grasp, the author told the reader that, "amongst republicans," this strongman in the tricolor uniform was not one of them. When you are republican, he explained under the masthead:

you must be horrified by dictatorship, that is to say the government of one man, the domination of a master. General Boulanger, this is a dictator, and what a dictator! That of the saber, the most degraded of all and the most dangerous, because they are ordinarily the harbingers of invasion. When the dictator was named Napoleon I, it was Waterloo. When his name was Napoleon III, it was Sedan....Louis-Napoléon also called himself a republican before fomenting the *coup d'état* of December 2nd and re-establishing the Empire.

The Opportunists had been warning of the “most dangerous” republicans, the secret Bonapartists who likewise waved the tricolor and blended their militaristic posturing with respect for the Revolution of 1789, since this threat first arose in 1885. Previously, their concerns had been largely confined to drawing distinctions between themselves and the anti-revolutionary, clerical right. Now the figurehead of their opposition had served in an Opportunist cabinet and knew better than to make his royalist Faustian bargain public.

One might presume, given Edouard Detaille’s Boulangist politics, that his painting submissions for the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 would privilege a standalone leader. However, in his best-known work lent by the state to the Decennial, republican *fraternité* is rather improbably grafted onto the revolutionary, Napoleonic, and Bourbon Restoration armies alike; a singular leader is nowhere in sight. In *The Dream* (Fig. 3.17), a gold medalist recipient at the Salon of 1888, France’s long-nineteenth century is a seamless progression protected by the civilian army under strongmen leaders rather than a tumultuous era of shifting leadership and civil unrest. The painting builds an unbroken line from the revolutionary army to the soldiers of 1870, having no quarrel with the white Bourbon flag in the middle, though that segment of the army is placed on a lower cloud than those brandishing the tricolor. The flesh-and-bone soldiers conscripted to fight against Prussia sleep on the ground of Champagne while the ghosts of their military forebears float above, inspiring them onward.⁵⁴³ In *Picturing War in France*, Katie Hornstein notes that the placement of Detaille’s painting within the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 enhanced its republicanism, while its reproduction across media including photography, print, postcards, and even *trompe l’oeil* painting up to the end of the First World War further

⁵⁴³ The Dream’s notice on the Musée d’Orsay’s website posits that they are likely in Champagne in the Northeast. “Edouard Detaille, *Le Rêve*,” *Musée-orsay.fr* (accessed April 11, 2023), <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/oeuvres/le-reve-9171>.

popularized the image.⁵⁴⁴ It exemplifies populism not only in its composition and display in a republican-organized event for the masses, but also in its embrace of the multimedia environment of the late-nineteenth century. While Detaille did not leave Salon painting behind entirely like Réalier-Dumas, they are both characteristic of their time in their support for new media that allowed for wider dissemination. As we have already seen with the replication of artworks and current events in engravings in the illustrated press, the democratization of the image was eagerly cultivated across political divides, even if the party disdained the masses.

The representations of Napoleon Bonaparte within the 1889 Decennial were created by young artists whose main reference points were likely the trauma of military loss, civil conflict, and Napoleonic histories that drew upon the former emperor's sympathetic, revisionist memoirs penned by Las Cases. In the Centennial exhibition across the rotunda, where curator Antonin Proust had fought for the controversial loan of David's purely despotic *Coronation* scene, and *Le Chat-Noir* in Montmartre, the Bonapartism of the 1880s defied easy categorization. The Napoleon of the Decennial struck a vastly different tone from both the imperial Bonaparte and the populist Bonaparte laden with nationalistic and xenophobic overtones. Inside the Palace of Fine Arts, Bonaparte promised political stability without threatening the civil liberties created in 1789, in a fusion of Jacobin and Bonapartist sentiments, such as France had not seen over the course of the century between the Revolution and its centennial.

⁵⁴⁴ Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*, 169-74.

CHAPTER FOUR

‘Nothing at the Champ de Mars or the Trocadéro’ to recall 1789: Rejecting the Revolution at the 1889 Decennial

Charlotte Corday’s body was a subject of fascination the moment she stabbed Marat in the chest in the summer of 1793. She figured prominently in visual culture during the French Revolution and throughout the next hundred years but appeared only in fragmentary form on the grounds of the Revolution’s centennial.⁵⁴⁵ When she was depicted, the Decennial separated her from the “bathtub of history,” keeping her far away from the man she slayed during the Terror.⁵⁴⁶ The painted representations of Corday and Marat seen in the Decennial of 1889 ignored their fateful meeting on July 13, 1793, altogether. Most famously, David’s Marat had eliminated Corday to create a secular icon out of the assassinated Jacobin. Appearing only in the form of a description in the Decennial catalogue, Corday and Marat’s bloody encounter as represented by Jean-Joseph Weerts (1846-1927) (Fig. 4.1) was too provocative for the Opportunists’ presentation. Weerts had minimized Marat in favor of Corday and his crowd of supporters, but still the presence of a female murderer made for uncomfortable viewing.⁵⁴⁷ Unlike the previous two chapters, which explored the varied ways the Decennial jury welcomed muted forms of opposition to republican orthodoxy, this chapter considers the art that was rejected from the final display. As a sign of the small-c conservative outlook of the governing party and their deputies on the Decennial jury,

⁵⁴⁵ Guillaume Mazeau concludes that Charlotte Corday and Joan of Arc were the most depicted characters of the century. Guillaume Mazeau, *Corday contre Marat. Deux siècles d’images*. exh. cat. (Vizille: Musée de la Révolution française, 2009), 57.

⁵⁴⁶ The term “le bain de l’histoire” was coined by Mazeau. Guillaume Mazeau, *Le bain de l’histoire: Charlotte Corday et l’attentat contre Marat, 1793-2009* (Seyssel: Champ Volland, 2009).

⁵⁴⁷ On the exclusion of Corday from the best-known painting of the scene, see Helen Weston, “The Corday-Marat Affair: No Place for a Woman,” in *David’s The Death of Marat*, eds. Vaughan and Weston, 128-52.

left-leaning factions found themselves on the margins as the latest victims of official French *oubli*. Disgruntled with the few avenues left for their political expression, the ideological leaders of the left curated a counter-exhibition in the Louvre.

The exclusion of Weerts' *Marat assassinated! July 13, 1793, 8 o'clock in the evening*, which shows Marat, Corday, and an angry crowd reacting to the Jacobin's assassination, exemplifies the centennial celebration's commitment to *oubli* regarding France's difficult past. It did not receive a number in the final exhibition catalogue, just an ellipsis like the other omissions from the display; an inconclusive choice of punctuation befitting works of art that were neither included nor fully excluded, the opposite of the definitive exclamation mark highlighting the exact hour of an assassination. It was one of four works by the artist rejected by the jury but, as noted in the Introduction, made eligible for prizes by the fine art section's left-leaning special commissioner, Antonin Proust.⁵⁴⁸ Proust's choice placed many artworks in the liminal space between remembering and forgetting, their appraisal giving rise to more scrutiny rather than less.

Two of Weerts' four rejects were revolutionary scenes, his *Marat* and his *Bara* (Fig. 4.2), both representing revolutionary martyrs, while another was a dramatic image of the Virgin Mary swooning that was likely excluded for its old-fashioned and divisive religiosity, and the last one was painted onto a ceiling in Limoges that could hardly be carved from its architectural support for the trip to Paris. His accepted works included portraits and a scene of a medieval exorcism that carried a critique of Catholic practice. These were more in keeping with the politics of centrist republicanism than two revolutionary murders and the Crucifixion of Jesus. Weerts had studied under Alexandre Cabanel, best known for his idealized female nudes.⁵⁴⁹ Stylistically he

⁵⁴⁸ *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, 55. Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général*, 39.

⁵⁴⁹ In the *Exposition* catalogue, artist names were listed with their teachers. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, 55.

drew upon the natural world but often crafted an eerie, otherworldly space for his characters to occupy, as in the dank chamber of Marat. Theatrical blocking, dramatic lighting, and unnatural poses combined in Weerts' revolutionary works in such a way that they provoked polarized reaction. Some critics did find Weerts garish well before the *Exposition*, so there were issues of personal taste at stake as well as the Opportunists' commitment to avoiding histories that still shocked and angered.⁵⁵⁰

Staging the Murder of Marat on Canvas

Weerts' canvas of Marat and Corday erupts with popular energy. Throughout, the prospect of further violence sparked by the actions of a revolutionary woman lingers. Marat's common-law-wife Simonne Évrard surges forward with a pro-Marat crowd to block Corday's escape. Together with the sword-wielding figure of Laurent Bas calling out to the street that Marat has been killed, the painting conveys a strong premonition that violence will ensue. The sense of suspended animation created by contorted faces and the chair in Évrard's hand which she might be either moving out of harm's way or winding up to throw at Corday heightens the discomforting promise of something destabilizing to come. The orthogonal lines of the painting—the chair, the outstretched arms and weapons, and Marat's dying lurch backwards—give no respite to the viewer. Every element portends a descent into further chaos. It is a carefully arranged theatrical performance, and was displayed complete with director's notes in the form of a historical document, drawn up with the assistance of Évrard's own testimony and affixed to the frame as a

⁵⁵⁰ The critic Henry Fouquier wrote that Weerts was "laughing at" his viewers with his overwrought dramas. He compared the attempts at veracity sought by Alexandre Bloch in *The Death of General Beaupuy* and Félix-Joseph Barrias in his painting of Desmoulins with Weerts, whom he did not find to be serious in his efforts. Henry Fouquier, "Le Salon: III," *Gil Blas*, no. 3108 (May 22, 1888): 2. Another writer for *Gil Blas* likewise felt his figure of a soldier displayed at the Salon of 1888 lacked realism. F.J. "L'Art partout," *Gil Blas*, no. 3002 (February 6, 1888): 2.

cartouche.⁵⁵¹ Elsewhere in the canvas, the exact number of Marat's *L'Ami du Peuple* newsletter falling into the bathtub—678—is legible to the viewer of the painting.⁵⁵² For those Naturalist critics seeking a composition that unified visual *crumbs*, Weerts was making the case for himself as a Naturalist painter *par excellence*. Simultaneously, he overemphasized the disturbing nature of this image, perhaps amping up its theatricality so that his Marat would stand out amongst all the others at the Salon of 1880.

In his use of outstretched arms and vows hinted at by open mouths, Weerts' composition owes more to David's *Oath of the Horatii* (Louvre) than to his *Marat* (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium). That latter canvas showed a martyred secular saint giving the last of his energy to hold his quill.⁵⁵³ Weerts' Marat writhes in pain clutching his wound and the corner of the sheet in his bath, in the antithesis of the heroic deaths modeled by David and his students, and yet because there is so much action elsewhere in the painting, Marat does not draw the eye as much as the frightened face of Corday and the rage-filled one of Évrard. Weert's studies for the painting centered on Corday and Laurent Bas; there are none of Marat's body, suggesting that he was more of an afterthought in his own murder scene. Unlike in David's image, Weerts' depiction of this emaciated figure flailing backwards is pitiable rather than lamentable; his version of Marat's body exhibits a frailty less present in David's icon, but more in keeping with the sickly man known to history. The latest copies of *L'Ami du peuple* sink into the tub on his blood-spattered writing desk, his legacy literally washing away.

⁵⁵¹ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 91-92. Images of Marat have been discussed in the context of their theatricality amidst a growing climate of spectatorship centered on the tribunals, guillotine, and public festivals during the Revolution. See Marie-Hélène Huet, *Rehearsing the Revolution: The Staging of Marat's Death, 1793-1797*, trans. Robert Hurley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

⁵⁵² Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 91-92.

⁵⁵³ Weston, "The Corday-Marat Affair: No Place for a Woman," 135.

David's painting did not treat Corday's body at all, referring to her only by a deceitful letter, the stab wound in Marat's clavicle, and the murder weapon. In Weerts' scene, Corday's hand still holds the knife, dribbling blood onto the wall, and her expression and pose convey fear and guilt. Notably, Weerts did not juxtapose his angry Jacobin crowd to the right with a vengeful Corday inaccurately tied to counterrevolutionaries. Her hair falls in long loose waves rather than the coiffed powdered curls associated with the aristocracy and seen in eighteenth-century images of her, such as Jean-Jacques Hauer's 1794 painting of Corday murdering Marat (Fig. 4.3).⁵⁵⁴ Despite the persistent rumor that Corday had her hair curled and powdered before murdering Marat—an effective means of connecting her to artifice and the *ancien régime*—there was not much evidence beyond hearsay.⁵⁵⁵ The juxtaposition of Corday and the crowd, then, is that of two revolutionary factions: the Girondins and the Jacobin Marat, who was so beloved by the *sans-culottes* crowd disdained by Robespierre. As seen in Chapter One, there was space in the Decennial for an empathetic representation of the Girondins, who were purged by the Jacobins from the National Convention. Jérôme Pétion and François Buzot, shown in painted form by Edmond-Louis Dupain in the Decennial, had taken their lives rather than succumb to mock trials and an inevitable trip to the guillotine. Desmoulins too, despite being a Jacobin, could be seen as one of the Terror's victims in his youth and naivety. Corday though, had taken on the role of political assassin in her attack on Marat, and was less passive; in fact, she essentially courted her own demise. She was not the mirror of the Jacobin Terror with which the Opportunists wished to associate themselves.

⁵⁵⁴ On the creation and presentation of Hauer's painting, see Gerrit Walczak, "Low Art, Popular Imagery and Civic Commitment in the French Revolution," *Art History* 30, no. 2 (2007): 247–277.

⁵⁵⁵ Nina Rattner Gelbart alleges that the source of the Corday hair powder rumor may be the portrait by Hauer. Gelbart, "The Blonding of Charlotte Corday," 202–03.

Oubli: The Art of National Forgetting

A pall of national forgetting, or *oubli*, fell over France shortly after the Thermidorian Reaction removed Robespierre from power in July 1794.⁵⁵⁶ It was, however, in direct tension with a desire to remember and commemorate, often in morbid fashion with spectral phantasmagoria presentations and the production of eerie prints as a means of coming to terms with the Terror.⁵⁵⁷ Repression and representation coexisted after Thermidor brought Robespierre to the scaffold.⁵⁵⁸ Some elements of recent events, though, fell beyond the scope of decency. Within a few months of their executions, Marat and Robespierre were *terroristes*, a term whose usage reflects the politics of the moment more than a complete historical understanding of an individual's actions.⁵⁵⁹ The Thermidorians needed to absolve themselves to legitimize their usurpation of power. Their trials and executions of the *hommes de sang* who had operated under the jurisdiction of the Committee of Public Safety, like the scourge of the Loire-Atlantique Jean-Baptiste Carrier, were the first step towards *oubli*, erasing the actions in which they too were complicit by eradicating the worst culprits.⁵⁶⁰ After Napoleon's final exile in 1815, the Bourbon

⁵⁵⁶ François Furet and Denis Richet, *La Révolution française*, vol. 2, *Du 9 thermidor au 18 brumaire* (Paris: Hachette, 1966), 257-69; Mona Ozouf, *L'École de la France: essais sur la Révolution, l'utopie et l'enseignement* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 91-108; Howard G. Brown, "Robespierre's Tail: The Possibilities of Justice after the Terror," *Canadian Journal of History* 45, no. 3 (2010): 503-35.

⁵⁵⁷ From the 1820s, victims' ball narratives were prevalent, often incorporating fashions and hairstyles mimicking those condemned to die by guillotine, as well as monsters like werewolves and vampires. The garishness of dancing in memory of those who were executed comported with the Gothic desire for the fantastical. Ronald Schechter has noted, however, that the *bals de victimes* do not have strong contemporaneous evidence from the post-Thermidor years. The mythos surrounding them, though, points to a strong impulse to remember, especially amongst anti-revolutionary discontents. See Ronald Schechter, "Gothic Thermidor: The Bals Des Victimes, the Fantastic, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Post-Terror France," *Representations*, no. 61 (Winter 1998): 78-94.

⁵⁵⁸ Ronen Steinberg, "Between Silence and Speech: Spectres and Images in the Aftermath of the Reign of Terror: Special Issue," *Acta academica* 47, no. 1 (2015): 247-265; Richard Taws, "Trompe-l'Oeil and Trauma: Money and Memory after the Terror," *Oxford Art Journal* 30, no. 3 (2007): 353-76.

⁵⁵⁹ Julia V. Douthwaite, "Martyrdom, Terrorism, and the Rhetoric of Sacrifice: The Cases of Marat, Robespierre, and Loiserolles," in Dominic Janes and Alex Houen, *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014), 109-10.

⁵⁶⁰ Jean-Clément Martin, "Sortir de la Terreur ou l'utiliser?" in *Violence et Révolution, essai sur la naissance d'un mythe nationale* (Seuil: Univers historique, 2006), 237-67.

Restoration silenced the Revolution altogether, save for the Vendée victimhood narrative that remains potent in modern western French society, and punished its adherents. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Bonapartist and Jacobin supporters of revolutionary legacies found themselves united for the time being as the return of Louis XVI's brother violently suppressed their political expression. In his Constitutional Charter of June 1814, Louis XVIII demanded national "amnesia" when he declared that he wanted all painful "interruptions" to be "erased from our memory, as we would like them to be erased from history."⁵⁶¹ This mindset promised that, through *oubli*, the French could "live as brothers," feigning national unity through forgetting and without healing. Such a practice is common under autocratic leaders, and extreme pushes towards obliterating memories like book burning or Soviet photographic erasure come to mind, but in republican France as well, the preference for minimizing the history of the Terror inflicted by their symbolic forerunners remained strong well into the *fin-de-siècle*.

Many of the influential historians of the nineteenth century ensured that firebrands like Marat remained controversial as the instigators or polemicists of the Terror. Albert Sorel's (1842-1906) *Europe and the French Revolution*, published in eight volumes between 1885 and 1906, categorized revolutionary leaders as either militarists, like Lazare Carnot, or terrorists, like Marat and Robespierre.⁵⁶² In his estimation, Robespierre determined to kill Danton because "Danton seemed to him capable of making peace, putting an end to the Terror and organizing the Republic."⁵⁶³ For the era's conservatives, nothing good stemmed from having men like Robespierre in control. Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), who like Sorel was a member of the

⁵⁶¹ Bettina Frederking, "'Il ne faut pas être le roi de deux peuples': Strategies of National Reconciliation in Restoration France," *French History* 22, no. 4 (December 2008): 449.

⁵⁶² Michael Kenneth Wilson, "Changing Perspectives: The Historiography of the Reign of Terror" (Ph.D, University of Houston, 1994), 94.

⁵⁶³ Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, vol. 4, *Les limites naturelles*, 1794-95, 59.

conservative French Academy, accused Marat of provoking bloodshed, along with his fellow “demagogues,” with his incessant scribbling in his newspaper.⁵⁶⁴ In general, Robespierre fared worse in these texts than Marat; it is notable that “The Incorruptible” does not appear anywhere in the 1889 *Exposition* despite his importance to revolutionary history. Even Jules Michelet, whose writings had an immeasurable influence on the center-left historians and educators of the Third Republic, described Marat as “the credulous, blind, furious Marat, who will vent accusations dictated at random by his dream, designating one to-day, and to-morrow another to death...”⁵⁶⁵ As debate over Marat’s legacy persisted long after his death, supported only by the farthest left voices in intellectual circles, it was politically safer for the Opportunists to minimize his image within the 1889 Exposition so as not to face accusations from the right that theirs was a party of neo-Jacobins whilst they sought to earn votes from the broad center of the populace.

France’s difficult relationship with the Revolution’s most polarizing figures resulted in an exodus of mementoes of the Terror through auctions and donations to foreign collections around the time of the Centennial. France’s neighbor across the Channel took full advantage of the French impulse to forget. London’s Wellcome Collection boasts the guillotine blade that separated Jean-Baptiste Carrier’s head from his shoulders following his mass drowning campaign in the Vendée. Like David’s *Marat*, the blade had been living in exile in Brussels.⁵⁶⁶ It was not until 1930 that it came up for auction in Paris through Victor Legrance and even then, it was purchased for the Wellcome collection rather than a French institution.⁵⁶⁷ French

⁵⁶⁴ Hippolyte Taine, *Les Origines de la France contemporaine*, vol. 2, *La Révolution*.—*La Conquête jacobin* (Paris: Hachette, 1881), http://www.mediterranee-antique.fr/Fichiers_PdF/TUV/Taine/OCF_2P2.pdf.

⁵⁶⁵ Jules Michelet, *History of the French Revolution; Book II: July 14 to October 6, 1789*, ed. Gordon Wright, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 280.

⁵⁶⁶ It was owned by a “notaire Lepage” before coming up for auction in Paris in May 1930. See object file, A79526/1, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library (WHMM) records. See also email from Rada Vlatkovic, Collections Information Officer, Wellcome Collection, to Glynnis Stevenson, October 13, 2021.

⁵⁶⁷ Given that the last French execution by guillotine took place in 1977, a blade would have been a quaint artifact in Britain in a way that it couldn’t be in France when the item came to auction.

commentators could bemoan the loss of their cultural heritage to Britain and the United States, but it had a negligible impact in terms of keeping revolutionary objects in France. Memories of the Terror helped embolden British conservatism, becoming a ballast of sorts against a tide of social change. From the 1820s, British audiences saw Madame Tussaud's bloody wax heads of Jacobins like Marat and Fouquier-Tinville on display and consumed literature set during the Reign of Terror.⁵⁶⁸

In a win for French national forgetting, the British Museum and Library received a reluctant gift of prints and papers related to Jean-Paul Marat from his self-appointed biographer, François Chèvremont (1824-1907) in 1898.⁵⁶⁹ In January 1885, infuriated by the public sale of a full annotated set of Marat's *L'Ami du Peuple* newspaper, Chèvremont penned a scathing letter to the anti-Opportunist journal *La Justice*. He admonished the nation's "conservative librarians," who he claimed were driven by outright "antipathy to revolutionary Marat," for France's loss of patrimony to England and America.⁵⁷⁰ What really enraged Chèvremont was less the loss of *L'Ami du Peuple*—though thirty years of assiduously collecting Maratabilia likely made this a particularly sore issue—than the indifference French collections had shown to his promised gift. Chèvremont's holdings of Marat's written work and collection of drawings, prints, and newspaper snippets related to the Jacobin were unparalleled. As he relayed to the readers of *La*

⁵⁶⁸ David Bindman wrote that Tussaud exhibited the heads initially in 1822 in Manchester. David Bindman, *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 75-76. Lela Graybill explains that Tussaud and her mentor Curtius began touring the British Isles with her wax heads in 1802. Lela Graybill, "A Proximate Violence: Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 2010), <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn10/a-proximate-violence>. As far as literature goes, Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities* comes to mind first, as does Charlotte West's *Ten Years' Residence in France, during the Severest Part of the Revolution, from the Year 1787 to 1797*, which was one of several action novels that pitted conservative heroines against the Revolution. See, Stephanie Russo, "'My mite for its protection': The Conservative Woman as Action Hero in the Writings of Charlotte West," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (March 2018): 43-60.

⁵⁶⁹ De Cock, "'The Collection of Marat's Bibliographer' at the British Library," 45; Stammers, "The Homeless Heritage of the French Revolution," 478.

⁵⁷⁰ François Chèvremont, "Marat et 'L'Ami du Peuple,'" *La Justice*, no. 1823 (January 10, 1885): 3.

Justice, he had written a form letter to libraries back in 1880 that went unheeded, even as symbolism of the revolution became widespread in the wake of republican political success. In an addendum to Chèvremont's 1885 letter to the editor, one of the paper's staff known only as G.G. took the opportunity to call out the heads of the Paris' collections, stating that "the works of Marat are too important not to have their place in the revolutionary collection of the [Musée] Carnavalet."⁵⁷¹ These calls for a French home for Marat's complete *oeuvre* were dismissed as the French centennial neared and the Jacobin's legacy remained divisive.

The Decennial display was largely representative of the majority republican view that did not want to include Marat in the Revolution's legacy. As noted, the jury incorporated several pictures of the royalist revolt in the Vendée against the French Republic. Their martyr Charette earned a spot in the Decennial in a sanitized, bloodless form that did not directly indict the Revolution. The spirit of 1789 was represented by the body of Camille Desmoulins, a one-time colleague of Marat and Robespierre ultimately consumed by the Terror. Barrias' painting, discussed in Chapter One, takes place in an early, idealistic phase of the Revolution and does not hint at the violence to come. The Terror itself is alluded to obliquely in the deaths of Pétion and Buzot, who would have met the guillotine alongside their fellow Girondins, if not for their flight from Paris and ensuing suicide. Desmoulins, Pétion, and Buzot were insufficient for the Opportunists' Radical allies, who clamored for a fuller appreciation of the French Revolution that incorporated famous scenes such as the death of Louis XVI or for David's *Marat*, still in exile in Belgium as it had been since its regicide creator was sent away by Louis XVIII.

⁵⁷¹ Chèvremont, "Marat et "L'Ami du Peuple"," 3. The identity of G.G. is likely Gustave Geffroy (1855-1926), a defender of Impressionism who contributed to Georges Clemenceau's *La Justice* from January 1880. His connections to leftist art world figures like Antonin Proust earned him a spot on the 1889 *Exposition's* Centennial art jury. Orwicz, "The Representation of the Breton," 280.

However, *oubli* was still the order of the day under the Opportunists and the omissions from the Decennial made clear which parts of the Revolution remained polarizing after a century.⁵⁷²

In 1880, amidst the left's recent electoral successes, Weerts' *Marat* had received the seal of official approval when it was purchased by the state. By 1889, its rejection by the Decennial jury meant that at the time of the *Exposition* Weerts' painting remained on the walls of the Musée d'Évreux, some ninety-eight kilometers from the Champ de Mars, rather than making the journey to Paris. His works onsite were considered a "triumph," and his anti-clerical *Exorcism* won a Decennial medal and was acquired by the State; his revolutionary paintings were not medal recipients.⁵⁷³ Weerts was an acclaimed artist with State recognition, as evidenced by the presence of his *Death of Bara* in the Elysée Palace's Salon of Honor, but his revolutionary scenes remained off-view in the main presentation of contemporary French art in 1889.⁵⁷⁴ The *Exposition* catalogue notes the location of paintings considered nominally eligible for jury prizes, but which could not hang in the Palace of Fine Arts. Ostensibly, visitors could travel to see them, but even voting members of the jury did not do that, which understandably caused outrage amongst artists represented by works beyond the Champ de Mars.

In defense of this choice not to visit off-site works, Ernest Meissonier, the Decennial jury's president, told the press:

No jury of fine arts has worked with more conscientiousness, with more zeal than this one of the Exposition of 1889. For three weeks, we were in the breach constantly for

⁵⁷² Parts of the French Revolution, like the Terror, were not the only cultural memory the Opportunists suppressed. Later revolutionary episodes, such as the Paris Commune, were also deeply repressed. Even after the amnesty of 1880, police surveillance of antigovernment groups on the left and right helped crush shows of dissent. Hazareesingh, "Conflicts of Memory," 193-215.

⁵⁷³ That painting is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux. Firmin Javel, "J.-J. Weerts: L'Exorcisme," *La Revue des musées*, no. 54 (December 1889): 2-3.

⁵⁷⁴ Catalogue général officiel de l'exposition universelle de 1889, 55.

more than ten hours, examining the paintings one by one and attributing to each the award that we judged should be given to him. We are reproached for not having seen the works exhibited outside of the Exposition. Do you suppose that we do not know them? You cite the case of M. [François] Flameng; the fact is correct; but do we need to have gone to the Sorbonne to judge the value of this artist?"⁵⁷⁵

Flameng's 1887 decoration for a staircase at the Sorbonne was not listed in the Decennial catalogue at all and Meissonier's defensive comment stresses the large lacuna of state-sponsored decoration, so present in the public imagination of the 1880s, in the Decennial.⁵⁷⁶ The jury, presided over by Georges Berger, standing in for the government and specifically for Pierre Tirard, the Minister of Commerce and Commissioner of the Exposition, visited the *Exposition* halls, not the off-site works.⁵⁷⁷ The paintings jury alone gave out 712 medals and then adjusted it upwards with honorable mentions since, as it stood, the artists who received nothing were in the minority.⁵⁷⁸ "In a word," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* said, "everyone was recompensed to some degree."⁵⁷⁹ Thus, given that the jury did not travel the short distance from the Champ de Mars to the Sorbonne, the controversy was not over the paintings outside the Champs de Mars not receiving awards but whether the awards even meant anything.. This included Weerts but also acclaimed academic insiders like Puvis de Chavannes, whose artistic output was in the form of murals that could not travel; his decorative cycles for the Sorbonne and

⁵⁷⁵ "Encore les Récompenses," *La Vie artistique*, no. 29 (August 4, 1889): 225-26.

⁵⁷⁶ For more on the Sorbonne and related Grolier Club works by Flameng, see Eve M. Kahn, "François Flameng, Grolier in the House of Aldus, 1889, Grolier Club, New York," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 2021), <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn21/new-discovery-francois-flameng-grolier-in-the-house-of-aldus-1889-grolier-club-new-york>.

⁵⁷⁷ Berger was the Chief Operating Officer of the *Exposition*. "Exposition Universelle," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, no. 27 (August 3, 1889): 211.

⁵⁷⁸ "Exposition Universelle," 211.

⁵⁷⁹ "Exposition Universelle," 211.

the distant museum of fine arts in Lyon were accepted into the Decennial, but like all his “accepted” submissions, they were not on display in the Palace of Fine Arts.⁵⁸⁰

The Left Curates a Counter-Centennial

The leftist vision of the French Revolution was off the table at the Decennial. Neo-Jacobin thinkers such as Alphonse Aulard (1849-1928), who joined the Sorbonne as the first Chair of the Study of the French Revolution in 1885, were on the outskirts of popular opinion with their willingness to discuss the Terror openly. Aulard placed the blame for the Terror on Robespierre and it would not be until his student Albert Mathiez (1874-1932) broke with him definitely in the 1920s that the Overton window of thought on the Revolution pivoted towards the Marxist school and against the resolutely anti-Robespierre view which he argued was carrying water for the Opportunists’ form of government and ignoring class distinctions in the Revolution.⁵⁸¹ This turn post-dates the relevant period, however. Aulard was a positivist who drew connections from the Montagnards to the leaders of the Third Republic, though he downplayed the death toll of the Terror to make this connection less contentious.⁵⁸² His support for the Opportunists likely made the silencing of his Dantoniste ideals more galling. He led a group of like-minded republicans to create the Society of the History of the French Revolution and worked with the left-leaning Paris

⁵⁸⁰ *Catalogue général officiel de l’Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1, 46. Puvis earned many state commissions, including for the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 and the redecoration of the Hôtel de Ville. He had the clout to fight for his place on the 1889 Fine Arts jury along with Edouard Detaille. Jennifer L. Shaw, “Imagining the Motherland: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France,” *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 587; Clark, “A Republic of the Arts,” 122.

⁵⁸¹ Guillaume Lancereau, “De raison et de mémoire. Écrire l’histoire de la Révolution française (1881-1939), vol. 1” (Ph.D diss., Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2020), 32. See Albert Mathiez, “Défense de Robespierre,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 1, no. 2 (March-April 1924): 97–114.; Joseph Tendler, “Alphonse Aulard Revisited,” *European Review of History* 20, no. 4 (2013): 654.

⁵⁸² Wilson, “Changing Perspectives,” 120-30, 117

Municipal Council to curate a counter-centenary in the Louvre. They organized artworks from private lenders depicting major moments of the Revolution in chronological order.

Fueled by their disenchantment with the display on the Champ de Mars, the *Historic Exhibition of the French Revolution* in the Louvre's Salle des États used the Revolution as their guiding principle. The Opportunist Director of Fine Arts Gustave Larroumet (1852-1903) granted them space in the Louvre for this project, which some in the press designated the "Museum of the Revolution."⁵⁸³ The goal, claimed the French historian and literary critic Étienne Charavay (1848-1889) was to present "an era in all sincerity," "a bird's-eye view of the Revolution" that was "indifferent" to the political desires of "royalists and republicans" alike.⁵⁸⁴ That said, the exhibition was decidedly republican, featuring Jules Claretie's collection of documents related to Camille and Lucile Desmoulins, tricolor faïence ceramics loaned by Sèvres, and paintings by François Flameng and Edouard Detaille.

In the preface to the exhibition catalogue, the curators took explicit aim at the *Exposition* organizers, claiming that it was they who "loved the Revolution" and "believed that the best way to make people love it, is to show it in its entirety, without reserve or restriction, without the insult of a systematic apology."⁵⁸⁵ The exhibition started with the French philosophes credited with inspiring the Revolution and ended in 1804 with the advent of the First Empire, during which time, they asserted, "the shapes and patterns of the Revolution, as well as its images, disappeared."⁵⁸⁶ This counter-centenary had the mild support of the Opportunists; the Ministry of Public Instruction allowed them to borrow some plaster casts from the Louvre collection and the

⁵⁸³ "Le Musée de la Révolution," *Journal des artistes*, no. 8 (February 24, 1889): 58.

⁵⁸⁴ "Le Musée de la Révolution," 58.

⁵⁸⁵ F.-A. Aulard, ed. *Célébration historique du Centenaire de 1789: Catalogue des objets formant l'exposition historique de la Révolution française*, exh. cat. (Paris: Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, 1889), vii.

⁵⁸⁶ Aulard, ed. *Célébration historique du Centenaire de 1789*, ix.

aforementioned pieces from Sèvres, but it was the left-leaning Paris Municipal Council who supported them financially.⁵⁸⁷ In a sign of the unofficial nature of the whole affair, the planning committee requested more loans via newspaper advertisements mere weeks before the opening, acknowledging that much of what they sought was in private hands.⁵⁸⁸

In the end, they were not lacking for content, and the official starting point of the Revolution by the catalogue's own standards—May 5th, 1789—did not come until exhibition object number 233, an engraving listing the names of the clergymen present at the convening of the Estates General. The exhibition did not shy away from images of the guillotine; a couple of engravings even showed the executioner presenting King Louis XVI's head to the crowd, something that was deliberately avoided on the Champ de Mars. A studio repetition of David's *Death of Marat*, lent by the museum in Reims, was the crown jewel amongst a slew of portraits of Marat and other Jacobins. The presence of a copy after David's exiled painting in the rooms of the Louvre brought into sharp focus that, in the official centennial, David's revolutionary *œuvre* was represented by just one study for the Tennis Court Oath and overshadowed by his *Coronation of Josephine*. Jacobin, regicidal David did not make an appearance; the display on the Champ de Mars proposed that David's career had transitioned seamlessly from the bureaucratic meeting of the Three Estates to Napoleon's Empire. Aulard, on the other hand, with his penchant for obsessive documentation, wanted his Louvre exhibition to lay out all the evidence to the public.⁵⁸⁹ The Salle des États was crowded with over 2,000 works of art and

⁵⁸⁷ Aulard, ed. *Célébration historique du Centenaire de 1789*, x.

⁵⁸⁸ One newspaper said that any offerings could be sent to "M. Étienne Charavay, treasurer of the committee, and our colleague, M. Adrien Duvand, Secretary of the Commission of the Organization." Mascarille, "Babioles," *Le Moderniste illustré*, no. 1 (April 6, 1889): 6. See Stammers, "The homeless heritage of the French Revolution, c. 1789-1889," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25 (2019): 478-90 and *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris c. 1790-1890*.

⁵⁸⁹ Beginning in the centennial year, the historian began publishing the correspondence of the Committee of Public Safety and archival documents related to the Jacobin club. Alphonse Aulard, ed. *Recueil des Actes du comité de*

artifacts ranging from satirical prints by James Gillray to a fragment of cloth said to have hung in Louis XVI's cell in the Temple, highlighting the quasi-spiritual and affective political power of fabric and clothing in revolutionary France.⁵⁹⁰ More than making the case for Aulard as a curator, since the display likely encouraged museum fatigue, the exhibition espoused his vision of the Revolution and stood out for its unvarnished view of the events.

Elsewhere in Paris, cultural institutions were keen to curate revolutionary exhibitions in conjunction with the official centennial. Charavay had stressed that if audiences wanted a fuller picture of the history of the Revolution, they would be well served by a trip to the Musée Carnavalet or Versailles.⁵⁹¹ The Carnavalet, opened as Paris' city museum in 1880, was like the Louvre counter-centenary the product of private donations, including the generous original gifts of the aristocratic Count Alfred de Liesville (1836-1885). This led to some interesting curatorial choices in the centennial year, including the presentation of portrait busts from the July Monarchy of Louis-Philippe donated by the widow of the sculptor Jean-Pierre Dantan.⁵⁹² Open only on Thursdays and Sundays from eleven am to four pm, the Carnavalet was curating for enthusiasts and diehards rather than the masses, though it used the opportunity of the centennial for a significant expansion of its galleries.⁵⁹³ In 1886, Paris' Musée Grévin wax museum unveiled its first historical scene featuring Marat's bathtub and replicas of the knife and letters;

salut public, 27 vols. (Paris: 1889-1923) and *La Société des Jacobins: Recueil de documents sur l'histoire des club des Jacobins de Paris*, 6 vols. (Paris: 1889-1897). Aulard was an advocate for archival research, which he often used to disprove the assertions of his conservative colleagues. Wilson, "Changing Perspectives," 90.

⁵⁹⁰ Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress In Revolutionary France*, 1st ed. (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), 13-58.

⁵⁹¹ "Le Musée de la Révolution," *Journal des artistes*, 58.

⁵⁹² The Dantan gift of 1888 contained over eight-hundred works in sculpture. See note about the "curious" exhibition choice in the Radical republican journal *La Justice*. "Gazette du Jour," *La Justice*, no. 3521 (September 4, 1889): 3.

⁵⁹³ In 1903, a Paris Municipal Council politician, Maurice Quentin-Bauchart (1857-1910), complained about the Carnavalet's long-standing limited hours in a document on cultural reform. Maurice Quentin-Bauchart, *Rapport au nom de la 4e commission sur la réorganisation du service des beaux-arts et des musées de la ville de Paris*, no. 40 (Paris: Conseil Municipale de Paris, 1903), 115. The hours in 1889 can be found among other places, here: "Au Musée Carnavalet," *La Justice*, no. 3817 (December 9, 1889): 3.

its appearance was inspired in part by Weerts' canvas and by Paul Baudry's 1860 painting of the murder (Fig. 4.4) that was widely reproduced in prints, then on display in a retrospective at the École des Beaux-Arts.⁵⁹⁴ For the centennial year, Marat returned to the Musée Grévin folded into an assembly crafted to please a politically diverse crowd. Beyond Marat and Charlotte Corday, the "Gallery of the French Revolution" included the royal family hearing the news that princesse de Lamballe had been lynched and a tableau of Robespierre and Danton setting the day's political agenda.⁵⁹⁵ As was the case elsewhere, crowd scenes like the Storming of the Bastille and the September Massacres were absent, but Pascale Martinez argues that the Musée Grévin was "the sole institution capable of commemorating the Centenary."⁵⁹⁶ Though Martinez overlooks Aulard's Louvre exhibition commemorating the Centennial, the vivid waxworks of the Musée Grévin certainly took the most polarizing approach by blending the doomed royal family with Marat's assassination in the same space in a "lifelike" format. Near the Champ de Mars, a replica of the Bastille was constructed that featured shops, musicians, and a professional clown who pantomimed a prisoner escape, but historic reenactments of the storming of July 14th were notably never performed.⁵⁹⁷

Beyond the Revolution: The Case of Debat-Ponsan and Boulanger's Looming Absence

Not all the rejected paintings had revolutionary themes, but they spoke to politically thorny issues plaguing the Opportunists in their re-election bid. One such issue was the ongoing tension

⁵⁹⁴ Vanessa R. Schwartz, "Museums and Mass Spectacle: The Musée Grévin as a Monument to Modern Life," *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 15; Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 92.

⁵⁹⁵ Pascale Martinez, *Le temple et les marchands: Une histoire du Musée Grévin (1881-1921)* (Dijon: les presses du réel, 2017), 282.

⁵⁹⁶ Schwartz, "Museums and Mass Spectacle," 26; Martinez, *Le temple et les marchands*, 282; See also Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

⁵⁹⁷ Un parisien au près de clers, *Paris, sa vie et ses plaisirs: guide à l'exposition universelle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Chacornac, 1889), 129.

between the Opportunists' laicization efforts and the Catholic Church. Amongst Édouard Debat-Ponsan's (1847-1913) rejected submissions was a history painting entitled *A Gate of the Louvre, The Day of Saint-Bartholomew* (Fig. 4.5), which took aim at the Catholic Church through a historical reimagining of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572. In the scene, Catherine de Medici looks down her nose at Huguenot corpses strewn around the entrance to the Louvre. Viewers at the Salon of 1880 were confronted with the callousness of the immovable face of the monarch when observing the oddly prettified corpses carpeting the stone entryway to the Louvre, placing them in the discomfiting position of likewise standing by while looking at the aftermath of an atrocity. Debat-Ponsan seems to have reveled in flaunting multiple manipulations of the academic but brutalized male body with some models slumped against walls, others supine with cold toes extending towards the picture plane as in Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (Louvre) or Meissonier's *Souvenir of Civil War*. One ghastly figure is shown to have died with his eyes open and staring, his arm and clawed fingers stiffened by rigor mortis. The explicit violence and unmitigated villainization of the Catholic queen in Debat-Ponsan's work likely kept it far south of Paris, in Clermont-Ferrand in the Puy-de-Dôme department.

It was possible to denounce the Catholic Church within this space. The republican painter often chosen for state commissions, Jean-Paul Laurens, did so in a less baldly incriminating fashion. Laurens critiqued Catholic intolerance through the lens of the Spanish Inquisition and some of these scenes were chosen for the Palace of Fine Arts. Laurens' position on the jury, his esteem within the official art world, and his use of the veil of history to critique the present, as well as his nonviolent imagery, all combined to ensure five of his submissions hung in the Palace of Fine Arts. As noted in Chapter One, Laurens' paintings of functioning bureaucracy, like his Revolution-themed decoration for the Hôtel de Ville, were reflective of the early stages of the

Revolution that the Opportunists supported, hence the opening of the 1889 Exposition to coincide with the May 1789 opening of the Estates General. In *The Pope and the Inquisitor* (Fig. 4.6), Laurens painted not a torture scene with a rack and other implements for inflicting pain, but Pope Sixtus IV and Torquemada seated calmly at a table poring over a mess of papers. It does not have the same emotional immediacy as Debat-Ponsan's use of brutality to stir the senses, where the artist's animosity for the Catholic Church was barely masked by his use of historical allegory. Additionally, the Renaissance theme was deemed tired and outdated in conception.⁵⁹⁸ The same critic rejected Laurens' work according to the same criteria, believing that Naturalism should aspire to more than the minute recording of "archaeological" details; in short, the compositions needed to come together into a unified narrative rather than present merely an array of period costumes and props.⁵⁹⁹

History painting's reliance on anecdote and specificity, rather than allegory and metaphor, and the way that this risked moving it closer to genre painting, had been a subject of debate for over half a century by the time of the *Exposition universelle*. At the height of Neoclassical painting, critics and viewers were fascinated with the details of the ancient world sparked by archaeological re-discovery.⁶⁰⁰ However, unlike Neoclassical canvases with their ultimate narrative unity, Debat-Ponsan's painting draws the eye in many disturbing directions and denies viewers the comfort of a singular visual path. Laurens could also be taken to task for his reliance on minute historical details—the *crumbs* discussed in Chapter One and which are at issue throughout this study—to create ambience, but his paintings rarely shocked audiences. In

⁵⁹⁸ One critic intimated that Debat-Ponsan's outdated style could possibly be attributed to his being from Toulouse, which also likely accounts for his view of Laurens. See Henri Havard, "Le Siècle," *Le Salon*, no. 4 (May 1880): 54-55.

⁵⁹⁹ Havard, "Le Siècle," 54.

⁶⁰⁰ Susan Siegfried has probed the changing relationship in the approach to history painting as seen in the work of Ingres and Delaroche at the Salon of 1824. Susan L. Siegfried, "Ingres and the Theatrics of History Painting," *Word & Image* 16, no. 1 (January-March 2000): 59, 72.

this instance, it is likely a combination of substance and style that stymied Debat-Ponsan in his bid to have several political paintings included in the Decennial.

Debat-Ponsan's rebuke of clericalism paled in comparison to the two public controversies in which he was embroiled during the run of the Centennial. The first was over the well-documented fallout resulting from the superfluous number of medals handed out to French exhibitors, an inflation intended to showcase French cultural supremacy but which cheapened each individual prize.⁶⁰¹ The second was the jury's refusal to consider his painting of General Boulanger's black charger, *Tunis* (Fig. 4.7), for submission.⁶⁰² Even without his rider, *Tunis* drew attention to the *Exposition*'s dearth of Boulangism in a year where the now-exiled general still threatened the Opportunists' electoral prospects with the broad coalition he had charmed. One journalist charged that Debat-Ponsan was angrier over the latter than his third-class medal, writing "he does not console himself for not having exhibited an equestrian portrait of General Boulanger, and, after having waited patiently for the laurels on which he was counting, he declares today, with a casualness that is all Boulangist, that the reward that has fallen to him 'does not suit him'."⁶⁰³

Even with Boulanger in exile, his presence was felt and reinscribed into *Exposition* affairs by newspapers thirsty for controversy. A review of Gervex and Stevens' panorama of the century (described in Chapter One), critiqued the General's deliberate exclusion from the work, noting that "if the portrait of General Boulanger does not appear yet on canvas, it's because Messieurs Stevens and Gervex are deeply embarrassed...about the place which the

⁶⁰¹ Hungerford, "Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts," 71-77.

⁶⁰² Lists of medal winners from the *Exposition universelle* detail that it was more difficult to not receive a medal than to earn one. See "Les Récompenses de l'Exposition universelle," *La Vie artistique*, no. 27 (July 7, 1889): 209-10; "Les Mécontents," *La Vie artistique*, no. 28 (July 21, 1889): 217-18.

⁶⁰³ "Les Mécontents," 217-18.

general will have to occupy in the group of today's celebrities."⁶⁰⁴ There was a comical element to the lengths the *Exposition* juries went to minimize references to Boulanger. The Universal Exposition of Incoherent Art, ribbed them for this avoidance by lampooning Boulanger directly by invoking him in the anteroom of their exhibition.⁶⁰⁵ Like the crowd at the *Chat-Noir* in Montmartre, the Incoherent Movement didn't have a shared political affiliation, but rather a shared interest in caricaturing powerful people, hence their mocking of Boulanger was not necessarily a statement against his campaign.⁶⁰⁶ Matthew Solomon's work on this group cites a caricature entitled "Neither one nor the other" that showed a voter with a sore tooth torn between a painful extraction by Boulanger and a useless treatment offered by the Opportunist Jules Ferry.⁶⁰⁷ Unlike the figures in Montmartre, the Incoherents attempted to have a place at the *Exposition*, and they were denied, according to Solomon, so they held their own event from May to October coinciding with the Decennial.⁶⁰⁸ Its organizers seem to have been responding to the Tunis controversy directly by featuring a red, white, and blue horse wearing Boulanger-esque glasses. The glasses were decorated with red carnations, which were a symbol of Boulangism and simultaneously a reference to the Opportunists' *bête rouge*—socialism—creating the ultimate boogeyman for the centrists in power.⁶⁰⁹ In their efforts at imagined unity, the Opportunists preferred not to mention Boulanger, but his absence was telling.

The Presence of Marat and Corday in the Decennial

⁶⁰⁴ "Échos de partout," *Le Petit journal*, no. 9588 (March 27, 1889): 1.

⁶⁰⁵ Matthew Solomon, "Georges Méliès: Anti-Boulangist Caricature and the Incohérent Movement," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 53, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 311.

⁶⁰⁶ Solomon, "Georges Méliès, 310.

⁶⁰⁷ Solomon, "Georges Méliès, 326.

⁶⁰⁸ Solomon, "Georges Méliès, 310-11.

⁶⁰⁹ Solomon makes the connection between the carnations and Boulanger. Solomon, "Georges Méliès," 311. Sudhir Hazareesingh notes that after the return of Communards to France, socialism was heavily repressed, to the point that red flowers were banned from Père Lachaise cemetery. Hazareesingh, "Conflicts of Memory," 203.

Unlike Boulanger, who was an immediate threat to the stability of the Republic, Charlotte Corday and Marat were not wholly absent from the Palace of Fine Arts. However, they appeared separately in painting, engraving, and plaster busts throughout the pavilion, nowhere close to the bathtub of July 13th, 1793. In the Decennial painting exhibition, however, Corday appeared only in a single canvas by the Venezuelan painter Arturo Michelena (1863-1898) (Fig. 4.8), in the international exhibition. Michelena, whose scenes from the life of Simon Bolívar had won a silver medal at the Great Exhibition of the Centennial of the birth of El Libertador, had come to Paris to study under Jean-Paul Laurens on a stipend from the Venezuelan government.⁶¹⁰ His interest in Venezuelan revolutionaries, whose successful War of Independence was helped by Napoleon's incursion into Spain, extended to the French Revolution as well. Michelena painted Bolívar and Francisco de Miranda, whose service in the American and French Revolutions led to a leadership role during the Spanish American wars of independence; his interest in Venezuelan revolutionary history was consistent throughout his career. It is also possible that Michelena saw an opportunity in having his work shown in the revolutionary centennial and he finished Corday in 1889, in time for submission to the international section. He was rewarded handsomely in 1889 when he won a gold medal for his depiction of Corday.⁶¹¹ Though as noted, the medals were handed out to most artists, golds were still second only to medals of honor.

Michelena's painting of Corday in prison avoided the attributes that had made her infamous: the bathtub, the scaffold, the guillotine, the knife, and Marat. He showed her standing in the open doorway, gazing resolutely forward ahead of her short journey to the scaffold. The

⁶¹⁰ "Michelena, Arturo," *Bénézit Dictionary of Artists* (October 31, 2011): <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00122351>

⁶¹¹. Michelena, Arturo," *Grove Art Online* (May 10, 2022): <https://www-oxfordartonline-com.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/groveart/display/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000057786#oao-9781884446054-e-7000057786>.

scene has more in common with other prefigurations of executions, such as his teacher Laurens' *The Last Moments of Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico* (Fig. 4.9), than Weerts' chaotic mêlée.

The color palette of Sanson the executioner to Corday's left even mimics the earthy tones of the leader of Maximilian's firing squad, down to the brown coats and touch of blood red. In Michelena's case, the red accent is the chemise Corday will wear to the scaffold. Her captors do not hulk in the doorway like Laurens' depiction of a racist stereotype, who dons a sombrero that blocks out the sun, but Corday is lighter-skinned and less haggard than the other figures save for the painter Hauer to the right and therefore, in her adherence to European racialized standards of beauty, is meant to draw the audience's sympathy more than the figures around her.

Hauer, who painted Corday's portrait during her brief imprisonment in the Conciergerie, is ashen faced in Michelena's rendering, a likely stand-in for the viewer in this gloomy scene. Hauer's well-known portrait of Corday (Fig. 4.10) was possibly a source for the sheer white bonnet Michelena placed atop Corday's fine, chestnut hair. Like Le Blant's Charette or Réalier-Dumas's Bonaparte, Corday cuts a sympathetic and pensive figure. Her serene, stoic expression is heightened by the weathered faces around her and her own scraggly tresses, haphazardly shorn to bare her nape for the blade; it bears significant similarities to the melodramatic, romanticized pictures of Marie-Antoinette on her way to scaffold just three months after Corday.⁶¹² On Hauer's palette in Michelena's painting, we can see only the colors of the French tricolor, a nod to Corday's own revolutionary credentials. Weerts likewise distanced his Corday from narratives that wanted to establish her as a counterrevolutionary foil for Marat by placing a prominent tricolor cockade on her white bonnet, which stands in opposition to early representations of her in a tall black hat, reportedly adorned with green ribbons. Early in the Revolution, green recalled

⁶¹² See for example, William Hamilton, *Marie Antoinette being taken to her Execution, October 16, 1793*, oil on canvas, 152 x 197 cm (59.8 x 77.5 in), Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille, Inv. 1994-17.

the leaves Desmoulins' followers made into cockades, but in depictions of Corday, it tied her to the green livery of the King's conservative brother, the comte d'Artois and the Girondin faction more directly.⁶¹³ Instead, by placing a tricolor cockade upon her bonnet atop unkempt locks, Weerts' emphasized that the Revolution spawned inter-factional fighting that was at odds with platitudes about the unity of the republican electoral bloc.

Michelena's Corday also lacks the disturbing overtones of mental instability visible in other depictions of her from this period, which were a sign of a *fin-de-siècle* fascination with the criminal mind and with female hysteria in particular.⁶¹⁴ Michelena's work did not draw upon the recent precedent set by André Brouillet (1857-1914) in his painting (4.11) of the neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893) during one of his weekly lessons at Salpêtrière and his half-dressed patient Marie "Blanche" Wittman (1859-1912), where Wittman's contorted body has gone limp in the arms of Charcot's pupil, Joseph Babinski (1857-1932), following the application of electrotherapy.⁶¹⁵ Wittman is subdued by the men surrounding her; Michelena's Corday too is imprisoned by men but is scarcely restrained, conveying her presence of mind. The jury had no shortage of Corday-specific paintings to choose from going back to Paris' last world's fair of 1878. She was a popular figure from the late-eighteenth century on in France, as a sort of "mirror to the Marat sanctified by David."⁶¹⁶ Yet they chose only one Corday, by a non-French artist, who had not received the scrutiny of the local art critics nor the populace. Although Michelena was a pupil of the sought-after Laurens he was largely unknown to the French media.

⁶¹³ Weston, "The Corday-Marat Affair," 204.

⁶¹⁴ On the aestheticization of hysteria, see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

⁶¹⁵ Francesco Brigo, Albert Balasse, Raffaele Nardone, and Olivier Walusinski, "Jean-Martin Charcot's medical instruments: Electrotherapeutic devices in La Leçon Clinique à la Salpêtrière," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 30, no. 1 (2021): 94-101.

⁶¹⁶ Bruno Gaudichon, "À qui profite le crime? L'"Ami du peuple" et la "petite grisette grincée". À propos de l'assassinat de Marat dans la peinture du XIXe siècle," in *Les Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine*, eds. Acheré, Delcourt, and Massé, 166.

His Corday was poised and inscrutable, never seen in public ahead of the 1889 showing. Her blank expression enabled multiple readings. Yet in reviews of the Decennial, possibly due to the lessened spotlight on the international fine art section and the presence of thousands of paintings, Michelena's Corday received no coverage at all, which likely came as a relief for the event organizers.

Several rooms away from Michelena's Corday in the Decennial, Marat was present in the form of Georges-Jules-Auguste Cain's (1856-1919) painting of a crowd gathered around a sculpture bust of the slain Jacobin in Les Halles (Fig. 4.12), one of several placed around Paris to commemorate him following his assassination in 1793. Today, this painting is known only by its reproduction in the Chèvremont collection, so its original coloration and scale are unknown, leaving the contemporary viewer with a washed-out experience that is not commensurate with the experience of audiences in 1880, when the picture received acclaim even amongst "abounding" Cordays and Marats, all seated in their bathtubs; the critic Philippe Burty was pleasantly surprised to see "l'Ami du Peuple" outside the moment of his assassination with no "frightening" aspects.⁶¹⁷ Additionally, the reviews of the painting were concerned with issues of historical veracity and physiognomy and therefore these, for all their interest in the archaeological details of the work, do not help the contemporary researcher reconstruct what is lost.⁶¹⁸ Cain was highly regarded for his scholarship of the revolutionary period that led to works like this Marat, his Marie-Antoinette in the Conciergerie, and his Bonaparte circa 1802, none of which survive in public collections. His attention to the minute details of costume and historical

⁶¹⁷ Philippe Burty, "L'Art: 30 mai 1880," *Le Salon: journal de l'exposition annuelle des beaux-arts*, no. 8 (June 1880): 125. See also, the critic Albert Wolff in *Le Figaro* who found it interesting, Albert Wolff, "Le Salon de 1880," *Le Figaro*, no. 18 (May 2, 1880): 71. Louis Énault and Charles de Feir said Cain's work was an "amiable surprise," Louis Énault and Charles de Feir, *Guide du Salon* (Paris: A. Chérié, 1880), 26.

⁶¹⁸ Bertall, "Le Salon de 1880," *Paris: ancienne Gazette des étrangers*, no. 123 (1880): unpaginated; "Chronique: Les Ateliers avant Le Salon," *Le Temps*, no. 6915 (March 26, 1880): unpaginated.

setting led to his ultimate appointment as director of the Musée Carnavalet in 1897.⁶¹⁹ But the interest in his personal revolutionary collection, one which remained in France when so many were sold abroad, would not come until the late 1890s.

A half-decade after the *Exposition universelle*, a critic remarked upon visiting Cain's atelier and home, "How can we be surprised that Cain likes to make us relive the past, and in particular the revolutionary period, when we have seen his collection, so remarkable, of this troubled time?"⁶²⁰ The artist's bedroom was described as "a veritable Louis XVI candy shop."⁶²¹ His revolutionary Decennial submissions, the Marat and a painting of the sculptor Pajou creating a bust of Louis XV's Madame Du Barry, established that Cain was not ideologically partisan when it came to representing eighteenth-century France. The direct juxtaposition of Marat's bust and that of Mme. Du Barry—a militant Jacobin next to a symbol of *ancien régime* excess he painted in 1884—likewise gave the exhibitors some cover if the picture of Marat was deemed too radical by counterrevolutionary adherents. Materially as well, the painted rendition of a plaster cast of Marat, intended to be short-lived, was not the equal of a biscuit porcelain bust of Du Barry meant to immortalize her. Plaster, due to its elasticity and everyday usage, was seen as a low-genre medium, suited to replication of extant artworks rather than creating work in and of itself.⁶²² Cain's studied connoisseurship also provided protection against any accusations since this integral part of his renown as a painter of revolutionary history led to reviewers focusing on his aesthetic and historical merit rather than his politics. They remarked upon the "studied physiognomy" in his paintings that was considered necessary to the success of Naturalist

⁶¹⁹ Emmanuel Ducros, "Chronique: Nice en hiver," *La Vie mondaine à Nice*, no. 339 (January 17, 1901): unpaginated.

⁶²⁰ Eugène Guénin, *Les parisiens de Paris: silhouettes artistiques* (Paris: Pairault, 1895), 195.

⁶²¹ Guénin, *Les parisiens de Paris*, 194.

⁶²² Tabea Schindler, "Plaster as a Matter of Memory: Auguste Rodin and George Segal," in *The Aesthetics of Matter*, vol. 3 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 144–157.

canvases.⁶²³ Cain had in his personal collection one of these Marat busts, which in reproduction form is sympathetic to Marat's famously "toad-like" appearance.⁶²⁴ But in 1880, at the time of Cain's first showing of the painting of Marat's bust, this visage was pressed firmly into the backdrop of the scene, which is dominated by onlookers. Before academic interest in the thornier periods of the Revolution revitalized interest in the public presentation of the visual culture of the Terror, Cain's paintings of revolutionaries needed several layers of mitigation and mediation.

Cain's work made its first appearance at the Salon of 1880 alongside three paintings of Corday, including Weerts' bathtub drama; the Salon of 1880 was for Marat and Corday what the Salon of 1882 was for images of Camille Desmoulins, and the surplus did not go unnoticed. Cain had, at least, chosen a scene from Marat's posthumous life that was less obvious than his murder scene. The interest in painting sculpture also likely stemmed from Cain's own family legacy; he was the son and grandson-in-law of the animal sculptors Auguste Cain (1821-1894) and Pierre-Jules Mêne (1810-1879). The critic Philippe Burty remarked upon Cain's choice to avoid Marat's dramatic death and opt instead for a reproduction of Marat's honorific bust by Pierre-Nicolas Beauvallet (1750-1818) in Les Halles, "covered in flowers," surrounded by *incroyables*.⁶²⁵

The wide-lapeled coats and *cadennette* braids of the men in the crowd situate the viewer in the midst of the Thermidorian Reaction. These *Incroyables* terrorized surviving Jacobins into

⁶²³ Abel Mercklein, "Le Salon," *Le Nain jaune*, no. 23 (June 12, 1881): 2. This critic remembered Cain's *Marat* painting favorably a year after its first exhibition.

⁶²⁴ An essay by Arthur Chuquet (1853-1925) of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques in *La Revue hebdomadaire* was dedicated to the visual culture of Marat and Corday, much of which was in the Carnavalet collection overseen by Cain. Arthur Chuquet, "L'Assassinat de Marat," *La Revue hebdomadaire et son supplément illustré*, no. 47 (November 18, 1916): unpaginated. Danton had described Marat as a "toad in stone," the spitting image of Cain (the biblical first murderer) preserved by hatred for 6,000 years. Emile Garet, "Simple hypothèse: L'Action providentielle dans la Révolution française depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours," *Supplément à L'Indépendant des Basses-Pyrénées* (April 11, 1909): 8.

⁶²⁵ Philippe Burty, "L'Art," *Le Salon: journal de l'exposition annuelle des beaux-arts*, no. 8 (June 1880): 125.

hiding and their looming presence in Cain's work, where they huddle with the twisted "Hercules clubs" frequently used to assault Jacobins, suggests that the bust will not remain on its plinth for long. The painting celebrates its own power over that which was set in stone and intended to be permanent. The artist, who was surely in dialogue with the sculptors in his family, often hinted at the precariousness of honorific busts in his paintings.⁶²⁶ Madame du Barry, sculpted by the preeminent sculptor of the aristocracy, would be guillotined just two months after the Queen. The artist notably did not represent the violent removal of Marat's bust and remains from the Panthéon on February 8, 1795 (Fig. 4.13) and their subsequent disposal in the Montmartre sewer, which had been depicted in contemporaneous prints and remained a potent and polarizing revolutionary icon.⁶²⁷ In Cain's works, the theme seems to be the potential for art and specifically Naturalist painting to resurrect those whose lives were cut short.

Marat is not depicted speaking to the Convention nor denouncing counterrevolutionaries from his therapeutic bath. His ossified bust sits safely atop its base (for now), with no nod to his vitriolic writings or calls for executions. He is pushed into the background of the painting and immobilized, separated from the viewer by the crowd and frozen in plaster where he cannot do any harm. Less than two years after his assassination, Marat had become *persona non grata*; he and Robespierre's memories were deemed distasteful and horrific not long after their respective deaths almost exactly one year apart.⁶²⁸ *Terroriste* became a popular buzzword in Thermidorian

⁶²⁶ In a non-revolutionary work simply entitled *The Bust*, Cain represented a *Belle Époque* grande dame welcoming friends into her Salon to gaze upon her new likeness, which is positioned on the artist's narrow work stool, its utilitarian value connoted by the hammer resting on the beams supporting the tripod's legs. The lady's hand resting mere inches from the newly chiseled stone gives an eerie premonition that it will totter off the plinth soon.

⁶²⁷ Information on the cult of Marat and the iconoclastic destruction of his images from: Richard Clay, *Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Paris: the Transformation of Signs* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 228-40; Michael Greenhalgh, "David's 'Marat Assassiné' and Its Sources," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 19 (1989): 168; Tony Halliday, "David's *Marat* as Posthumous Portrait," in *David's The Death of Marat*, eds. Vaughan and Weston, 68-70.

⁶²⁸ Douthwaite, "Martyrdom, Terrorism, and the Rhetoric of Sacrifice," 109-10.

France and a means of distancing oneself from those deemed responsible for the Terror.⁶²⁹ In a sign of how long Marat's pariah status lasted, David's painting of *L'Ami du peuple* would not be permanently displayed in Brussels' Royal Museum of Fine Arts until 1893.⁶³⁰ In a climate of fearful silence surrounding the Terror, the Decennial's only depiction of Marat in painting softened his face, rendered in impermanent plaster, and set it next to the Jacobin's ideological opposite in Madame Du Barry, also immortalized in art, equating both histories in the mind of the audience of 1889.

The Salon of 1880: Weerts Participates in *Maratomanie*

The 1880s, the first decade where France could celebrate its republicanism both politically and aesthetically, opened with a burst of six Marats and Cordays in the Salon, including that of Jean-Joseph Weerts. Upon seeing all the versions of the same bathtub scene in 1880, the art critic and soon to be anti-Naturalist novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans scoffed at the "virgins, nudes, Charlotte Cordays and Marats that abound, each funnier than the last."⁶³¹ His fellow critic Paul Mantz was less disdainful in his appraisal, but still less than impressed, stating plainly: "Three painters wanted to celebrate Charlotte Corday. None of them succeeded completely in this enterprise."⁶³² A triptych by Jacques-François-Camille Clère utilized a religious format to present the three stages of Corday's assassination plan; as might be expected, this shrine to her resolve now sits in a northern French collection, in Clère's home of Anzin, near the former hub of Girondin politics

⁶²⁹ Douthwaite, "Martyrdom, Terrorism, and the Rhetoric of Sacrifice," 113.

⁶³⁰ Halliday, "David's *Marat* as Posthumous Portrait," 69.

⁶³¹ Gaudichon, "À qui profite le crime?," 162.

⁶³² The annual issue of *Le Salon* aggregated all the major opinions on the Salon. Paul Mantz, "Le Temps," *Le Salon*, no. 8 (June 1, 1880): 114.

and Belgium.⁶³³ Corday herself was from Caen, some 378 km down the coast from Anzin, but likewise near the English Channel.

The version of Corday by Jules Aviat (Fig. 4.14), currently in the Museum of the French Révolution in Vizille, embraced the suggestion of mental instability also visible in Weerts' canvas to the exclusion of historical facts. Mantz took care to note that Corday killed Marat at eight o'clock in the evening, something Weerts included in his overlong painting title to stave off accusations that his melodrama was not accurate. Aviat's Corday has plunged the knife into Marat in broad daylight and no one has burst into the room to arrest her. Instead, she stands alone, gripping a curtain tightly, unsure about the act she has just committed. The painting is immense, commanding the viewer's attention. A preliminary version (Fig. 4.15), also in Vizille, granted more visibility to Marat's bookshelf and face, which is turned towards the viewer. The final painting dims the lights on the shelf and further submerges Marat in his tub, leaving Corday and her audience alone with her fearful, pained expression. The study showed Corday with wide doe eyes, looking out at the viewer, giving her a youthful, innocent expression. In the final canvas, Corday glances back at Marat, immersed in the moment, grimacing at what she's done. In composition, Aviat's painting lifted heavily from Baudry, for which Mantz criticized the artist, though Aviat seemed less concerned with reinventing the proper setting for Marat's death than with the state of Corday's mind. He would delve more deeply into this subject in the 1890s as discussions of the criminal mind, especially the female criminal mind, became more frequent amongst scientists and quacks alike.

Corday Controlled by Criminology

⁶³³ It was donated by Charles Mathieu of Douai to the city of Anzin, Clère's hometown, in 1904. "Don à la Ville d'Anzin," *Le Grand écho du Nord de la France*, no. 320 (November 15, 1904): 4.

As might be expected in an event premised upon cultural superiority in science, the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 had a popular section dedicated to the nascent field of criminology in the Anthropology and Ethnography section. Painters like Aviat drew upon the latest studies in psychology; it is no coincidence that Charlotte Corday's messy locks strongly resemble those of patients in asylums like the infamous one at Salpêtrière. Tony Robert-Fleury's painting *Pinel Freeing the Insane from Their Chains* (Fig. 4.16) of 1876 shows the revolutionary physician and zoologist Dr. Pilippe Pinel (1745-1826) leading a patient *en déshabillé* into an open courtyard. Pinel, who cited bettering society's treatment of those afflicted with mental illness as a sign of the "progressive march of Enlightenment," argued that the female patients of the Salpêtrière Asylum should be unchained, a novel idea in an era when patients were frequented confined to their treatment rooms with restraints.⁶³⁴

Unlike the humanizing impulse of Pinel, the women painted by Robert-Fleury in states of delirium betray a contemporaneous anxiety regarding non-normative minds. In 1889, the "how" of Corday's murder of Marat remained off-limits within the fine arts display; its implications for gender roles upended the social order too much. Under the protective umbrella of science performed by men, however, the minds of 1889 believed they could determine the "why" of Corday's impulse to murder, and by extension, come up with a simple answer for controlling this desire. In his anthropology display, Prince Roland Bonaparte (1858-1924) posed a skull he claimed to be that of Charlotte Corday alongside Lapp skulls and ethnographic photographs from his travels to be inspected by other leading anthropologists. Scientific empiricism was here, as elsewhere on the fairgrounds, an avenue to further social control and imperial domination. The debate amongst anthropologists quickly devolved into nationalistic posturing and hinged upon

⁶³⁴ Pinel is most remembered for his stance against iron shackles. Philippe Pinel, *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Chez J. Brosson, 1809), I, 264.

whether there was an anatomical basis to Corday's criminality, a question which depended on the bunk science of physiognomy that also arose in Chapter Two in relation to the representation of Breton and Vendéen bodies.⁶³⁵ As with other aspects of the fair, Corday's skull was drawn into larger inter-European debates over cultural primacy. Rather than focusing on Corday's historical role, or the "how," anthropologists were keen to dismiss the hypotheses of their foreign rivals. English observers, who were disheartened that their government had not sent an official delegation, due to the *Exposition's* nominal connection to the Revolution of 1789, could only commentate on the developing feud between the French and Italian anthropologists.⁶³⁶

The curator of the anthropology display, Dr. Paul Topinard (1830-1911), denied that Corday's skull bore any signs of visible deformity that were read for proof of character. Topinard's interest in the skull was in comparison with other European female skulls, which he claimed were "the classical type" and the most beautiful, drawing explicitly upon the early racial theorists Blumenbach and Camper.⁶³⁷ Topinard was less interested in the provenance of Corday's skull, writing "We do not have to say under what conditions it was collected and how it came to us," which underscored how much this debate deviated from the interests of revolutionary historians.⁶³⁸ None of the essays presented on Corday's skull mentioned her

⁶³⁵ *Catalogue général officiel: exposition rétrospective du travail et des sciences anthropologiques.... Section I. Anthropologie. Ethnographie* (Lille: Imprimerie de L. Danel, 1889), 63; Leslie Dick, "The Skull of Charlotte Corday," in *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, ed. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 187.

⁶³⁶ The English anthropologists who did have displays in 1889 were Francis Galton and Professor Daniel John Cunningham, but this was a small showing considering the British interest in anthropology. One commentator wrote, "we presume that English and French anthropologists will not have another opportunity of comparing notes till the exhibition of 1900 comes round; and as that will not be the centenary of anything more shocking than the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland, we hope that opportunity may not be missed." "Exposition of the Anthropological Sciences at Paris," *The Athenaeum*, no. 3225 (August 17, 1889): 230.

⁶³⁷ Topinard name-checks the race scientists Blumenbach, Camper, and Cloquet as the source of his methodology. Paul Topinard, "Essais de craniométrie à propos du crâne de Charlotte Corday," *L'Anthropologie* 1 (1890): 7, 12.

⁶³⁸ Topinard, "Essais de craniométrie à propos du crâne de Charlotte Corday," 1.

execution, or Marat, or even Charlotte Corday's full name. Within the fairgrounds, Corday, dissected from her historical context, was divorced from the act that made her controversial.

Corday's identity was more central to the Italian Cesare Lombroso's (1835-1909) hypothesis that there was anatomical proof that could predict criminality. However, Lombroso's misguided theories were further colored by his own animosity towards southern Italians, whom he believed were more likely to undertake criminal acts than northern ones such as himself.⁶³⁹ Topinard disagreed strongly with his Italian colleague, who used Corday's skull in his book (Fig. 4.17) *The Delinquent Woman, The Prostitute, and the Normal Woman* to support the thesis that the void of the median occipital fossa he saw in Corday's skull was a sign of "born criminality."⁶⁴⁰ The photograph, in which the skull is positioned so as to give the viewer the most visual information possible, comports with photography's early role as an instrument of repression.⁶⁴¹ Lombroso claimed to have first noticed this void during the autopsy of a thief named Villella and determined then that there was a less-evolved, atavistic criminal type, combining evolutionary biology and physiognomy together.⁶⁴² He told his daughter Gina that once he opened Villella's skull and saw a hollow instead of a ridge, "I seemed to see all at once, standing out clearly illumined as in a vast plain under a flaming sky, the problem of the nature of

⁶³⁹ Cesare Lombroso is considered one of the foundational minds behind eugenics in Italy. Daniel Pick argued that Lombroso's ideas were intended to undergird a new hierarchy in the new Italian nation and helped establish the stereotypes about an industrialized north and backward south. Angelo Matteo Caglioti has drawn a direct line from Lombroso's positivist anthropology, with its clear focus on the orientalization of the south of Italy by the north, to the "Aryan" fantasies of Italian fascism. See Daniel Pick, "The Faces of Anarchy: Lombroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in Post-Unification Italy," *History Workshop*, no. 21 (Spring 1986): 60–86 and Angelo Matteo Caglioti, "Race, Statistics and Italian Eugenics: Alfredo Niceforo's Trajectory from Lombroso to Fascism (1876–1960)," *European History Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (July 2017): 461–89.

⁶⁴⁰ Dick, "The Skull of Charlotte Corday," 189–90.

⁶⁴¹ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3–64.

⁶⁴² Lombroso's first attempt to explain his theory that criminals were akin to primordial man came in his 1878 book *The Delinquent Man* and was expanded upon in some thirty books and hundreds of articles. Paul Knepper, "Laughing at Lombroso: Positivism and Criminal Anthropology in Historical Perspective," in *The Handbook of the History and Philosophy of Criminology*, ed. Ruth Ann Triplet (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2018), 52–55.

the criminal, who reproduces in civilized times characteristics, not only of primitive savages, but of still lower types as far back as the carnivora.”⁶⁴³

French anthropologists rallied to counter Lombroso and his adherence to the “demolished science of phrenology.”⁶⁴⁴ Topinard argued that this cranial marker, “which Mr. Lombroso claims in favor of criminals and which he says exists on this skull,” was not visible on this skull and could not determine character.⁶⁴⁵ But Lombroso’s focus on what skulls might say about individual behavior proved more compelling than Topinard’s insistence on aggregate data that the average layperson could not read. The contemporary criminologist Paul Knepper has argued that, even though Lombroso’s colleagues believed his theories to be nonsense at the time, they elevated him by debating him and the easy answers he offered regarding why someone chose to commit a crime remain influential in modern times, as evidenced by popular thirst for understanding the psyche of those who commit criminal acts.⁶⁴⁶ *Fin-de-siècle* artistic depictions of Charlotte Corday, including Weerts’ canvas, were likewise tempted to paint a picture of Charlotte Corday’s character via physical characteristics.

Weerts Enters the Debate Over Corday’s Criminality

Paul Mantz was shocked by the “extreme violence” of Weerts’ scene, a “pure melodrama” with “facial expressions pushed so far that they were confined to the realm of caricature.”⁶⁴⁷ It is evident from Weerts’ studies for Corday that her legibility as mentally unstable was something

⁶⁴³ Gina Lombroso-Ferrero, *Criminal man, according to the classification of Cesare Lombroso* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1911), 6-7.

⁶⁴⁴ Léonce Manouvrier took his opportunity at the 1889 Second Congress of Criminal Anthropology in Paris to denounce Lombroso. Cited in Knepper, “Laughing at Lombroso,” 51. Lombroso supposedly remarked that his only happy time in Paris was when he got to analyze Corday’s skull because of the French animosity towards him. Dick, “The Skull of Charlotte Corday,” 189.

⁶⁴⁵ Topinard, “Essais de craniométrie à propos du crâne de Charlotte Corday,” 22-23.

⁶⁴⁶ Knepper, “Laughing at Lombroso,” 51-66.

⁶⁴⁷ Paul Mantz, “Le Temps,” *Le Salon*, no. 8 (June 1, 1880): 114.

he debated internally. In both studies for the figure of Charlotte Corday in *Marat Assassinated!*, the artist thought through how to represent her social class and render her either an active or passive participant in the scene. The figure in *Woman Standing with Closed Fists* (Fig. 4.18) is clothed in a simple sheath undergarment with cap sleeves and a blousy waist. Her taut, bare, muscular arms pulse with anxious energy and her balled fists and rigid stance, also seen in the figure of Wittman as painted by Brouillet (4.11), denote that she is prepared to defend herself against the oncoming crowd, who were sketched out rapidly on a separate sheet. Had this figure been placed in the final scene, it would have created not only a dynamic compositional contrast between coiled and outstretched limbs, but also presented a well-dressed Évrard opposite Corday in her underclothes.

Weerts ultimately opted against depicting Corday as though she had recently escaped from Salpêtrière to slay Marat, which would have played into anxiety over the Lombrosian concept of a “born criminal.” Late-nineteenth-century depictions of female psychiatric patients, including the central woman in Robert-Fleury’s painting of Pinel removing chains from those being treated at the asylum, were often represented in their underclothes and rumpled socks, carrying with them connotations of their capacity for violence. In Weerts’ final composition, Corday’s right hand remains wrapped around the knife, but she is pointing it down, in an acceptance of submission to the oncoming crowd. As the spindly fingers of her left-hand graze the wall, she shrinks back into the corner, choosing passivity over further action.

A second study (Fig. 4.19) for the form of Charlotte Corday altered her dress considerably, presenting her not as an asylum patient, but as a bourgeois gentlewoman. While her right hand remained tightly curled around the invisible knife, she has relaxed the fingers of her left hand, and her ensemble of a three-piece riding habit has replaced the shift. The outline of

dainty shoes is visible under the hem of her dress rather than a single, disheveled sock. The high-collar and bustled skirt seem more appropriate to Weerts' time—the later Corday sketch donned a two-piece skirt and jacket with a lace shawl like Évrard's, as would have been more in keeping with eighteenth-century dress—but the artist chose to depict Corday as a well-to-do figure rather than drawing upon asylum imagery. Guillaume Mazeau has documented the significant number of paintings of Corday that drew upon the depictions of the Salpêtrière psychiatric hospital, but Weerts has reduced the similarities between Corday and digestible signs of psychosis, limiting her unnerving characteristics to her anxious eyes and the blood on the wall.⁶⁴⁸

Studies for the figure of Laurent Bas (figs. 4.20a and b, 4.21a and b, 4.22) absorbed the role of aggressor from Corday as Weerts' composition changed, transferring the threat of popular violence from a woman to a man. Weerts rendered Bas' outstretched, X-shaped body in jagged, quick marks of graphite as opposed to the smooth, clean lines befitting Corday's body in the clinical interest of diagnosing her via purported anatomical accuracy. The studies of Bas are complemented by Weerts' sketches of the crowd cramped in the doorway on the sheets' versos. They pulse with a frenetic energy that is lacking in his studies for Corday. She is neatly contained; Bas' body extends dramatically into space. In all three studies, Bas was described as "brandishing his sabre," whereas Corday's knife was added only in the final canvas. Weerts transposed the sense of danger and violence onto the bodies of the pro-Marat crowd. In the versos of the Bas studies, roughly sketched heads peek in from behind a door that is barely ajar. In the final canvas, Weerts threw the door wide open to accommodate the seven bodies lunging toward Corday. The threat from the *sans-culottes*, represented in Réalier-Dumas' canvas of *Bonaparte at the Tuileries* but cordoned off compositionally, erupts from the canvas in *Marat*

⁶⁴⁸ Weerts' contemporary Aviat was much more keen about depicting Corday as mentally disturbed, for example. Gaudichon, "À qui profite le crime?," 168.

Assassinated! The combination of the Terror and the threat of violence from the crowd in Weerts' painting, despite early approval in 1880, presented the Decennial jury with little choice but to incorporate the painting into the exhibition only on paper.

Weerts around the Margins of the Champ de Mars

As noted, Weerts' *Bara* hung in the Elysée Palace during the Decennial run. If *Marat* had announced Weerts' arrival as an ambitious history painter, *Bara* cemented his status as a state-sanctioned artist. Following his 1880 Salon showing with *Marat*, Weerts received a state commission for *Bara*, though it appears he needed time to think through how to create a standout rendition of the story. As with his *Marat*, Jacques-Louis David had aspired to craft the template for an innocent martyr with his ephebic nude *Bara* (Musée Calvet, Avignon), though it remained unfinished.⁶⁴⁹ They were not so much veristic as religious icons for the new pantheon of the Revolution that eschewed the old martyrs. Naturalist painting of the late-nineteenth century, however, demanded the study of history from its creators. From the studies created in the lead up to the Salon of 1883, it is evident that, though Weerts changed direction midway through his process, he was trying to distinguish himself from David from the outset, especially in the elimination of eroticism, and apply the contents of history books to canvas.

Weerts' *Portrait of Joseph Bara* of 1882 (Fig. 4.23) depicts an upright, pale-faced boy in the costume of a hussar cavalryman rather than a drummer boy costume. In a letter to the National Convention, Jean-Baptiste Desmarres' (1760-1794) described Bara as sporting a

⁶⁴⁹ There is an extensive literature on David's *Bara*, as there is with his *Marat*, and much of it is concerned with his nude youthful body and its meaning in the context of Neoclassicism. See Thomas Crow, *Emulation: David, Drouais, and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 171-88; Alex Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 223-38; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation," *Art History* 16, no. 2 (June 1993): 286-312; Weston, "Jacques-Louis David's 'La Mort de Joseph Bara'," 234-50.

hussar's costume, which gave the Jacobins' latest piece of propaganda the accolades of a higher military status.⁶⁵⁰ Weerts deferred to Desmarres' precedent in his first attempt at depicting Bara and created a somber image of a rosy-cheeked boy, made sweeter by the fact that his grandnephew served as the model.⁶⁵¹ The tomb-like inscription, possibly a nod to that in David's *Marat*, in the upper-right-hand corner, "J^h BARRA (1780-1793)," implied that Weerts did not initially want to show Bara at the moment of death but rather his posthumous secular canonization. With his diminutive, white-gloved hands clasped over the hilt of the sword, swishy capelet tossed over the shoulder, and attempt at a stern expression, Weerts' grandnephew looks every bit a child playing dress up. Without the inscription in the upper-right-hand corner, this picture is scarcely identifiable as an image of Bara and belongs instead to Weerts' robust portrait practice rather than the historical operas he could assemble on canvas. That the costume was something the Weerts family owned, further adds to the sense that this is an intimate family object as opposed to grand manner public history painting.⁶⁵² This picture was never intended to fulfill the commission of the state.⁶⁵³

Shortly thereafter, Weerts put pencil to paper in search of a new rendition of Bara. His studies for *Marat* and *Bara* had engaged with the issue of representing revolutionary violence and what kinds of people were responsible for it, neither of which were issues the Opportunists wished to be prominent in their *Exposition*. In both canvases, Weerts painted popular violence at the Terror's height from 1793-1794. When he was creating these paintings in the early 1880s, the newly elected government led by Léon Gambetta openly embraced the French Revolution and its

⁶⁵⁰ "Notre Gravure: La mort de Joseph Bara; Tableau de M. Weerts," *Le Finistère. Supplément album*, no. 134 (1883): unpaginated.

⁶⁵¹ Chantal Acheré-Lenoir, Amandine Delcourt, and Alice Massé, "Catalogue des Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine," in *Les Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine*, eds. Acheré-Lenoir, Delcourt, and Massé, 184.

⁶⁵² Acheré-Lenoir, Delcourt, and Massé, "Catalogue des Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine," 184.

⁶⁵³ It was purchased privately after the Salon of 1882. Théophile de Lamathière, *Panthéon de la Légion d'honneur*, vol. 16 (Paris: n.p., 1875-1911), 36.

cult of heroes, which was most publicly expressed in the flourishing of republican statues on town squares and major boulevards across France.⁶⁵⁴ Weerts' 1883 version of *Bara* was photomechanically reproduced half a million times over for didactic use in elementary schools.⁶⁵⁵ As discussed the Introduction, in Albert Bettannier's painting (Fig. 0.16) demarcating the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, the cult of martyrdom was inculcated in the French populace beginning at a young age, emphasizing that there was honor in the nation's cycles of loss and trauma. The image of *Bara* disseminated across France further underscored the propagandistic usefulness of the past, repurposing upheaval and pain as fuel for unifying narratives. Its brutal depiction of a child being gored by his Vendéen attackers was intended to start boys from a young age on the path towards willing military sacrifice. By the middle of the 1880s, however, the Opportunists had fragmented their coalition with the left and the right was resurgent. In an effort at pretend unity amongst the whole republican bloc and more liberal conservatives, Weerts' images of the Terror in Paris and the Vendée could not be incorporated into the big tent campaign stop on the Champ de Mars. In his preliminary studies for *Corday* and *Bara*, Weerts demonstrated that he too was conflicted about the extent of the violence his characters should display, reflecting a personal uneasiness with the Revolution's bloodshed commensurate with the majority opinion of his time.

Weert's final scene (Fig. 4.2) showed *Bara* assaulted by no fewer than five Chouans, employing swords, bayonets, and scythes against him as he maintains his grip on the bay horse's reins somewhat improbably as he loses his balance. He is powerless against the

⁶⁵⁴ See articles on republican *statuomanie* and celebration like: McWilliam, "Conflicting Manifestations," 381-418; McWilliam, "Monuments, Martyrdom, and the Politics of Religion in the French Republic," 186-206; McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance*; Rearick, "Festivals in Modern France," 435-60. Also see, Martin, *La Vendée de la Mémoire*, on the rebuttal to the republican support for a cult of heros in the 1880s.

⁶⁵⁵ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 34; Acheré-Lenoir, Delcourt, and Massé, eds., *Les Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine*, 9.

counterrevolutionaries and the warhorses and immediately draws the viewer's sympathy. His killing was less morally complicated for republicans than Marat's, hence why it hung in the President's home during the *Exposition universelle* and Marat remained beyond Paris' city limits. The Vendéens are undoubtedly at fault for the murder of a child, and Weerts knew that the attackers should encircle their victim, trapping him, in the final composition. The clear blame laid at the feet of the western French peasantry in *Bara* was out of step with the unifying message the Opportunists sought for their centennial celebrations. The true partisans could journey across the Seine to the Élysée Palace to take in *Bara*, reflecting the importance of his story to republican lore, but his tragic end in the Vendée was not chosen to provide the Palace of Fine Arts with a tenth canvas set during the counterrevolutionary insurgency in the West.

Reactions to *Bara*'s initial outing at the Salon of 1883 were mixed, which likely also played into its exclusion from the Decennial. The left-wing paper *Le Radical*, which should have been an easy audience for such an image, had found fault with Weerts' "garish" color palette and criticized his choice to show the moment poor Bara was impaled upon a lance.⁶⁵⁶ This was a shift from a study for the composition (Fig. 4.24) towards increased violence. In the study, the threat of being skewered hovers but doesn't occur. Glints of silver metal menace the boy from front and back but do not touch him. Bara's pose is forced by the rearing horses that pull him backwards rather than the final blows of scythes. The critic recognized that the artist intended to show the Chouan killing Bara, but the final composition reads as "garish" not only for the colors but also for the cartoonish violence. The bayonet scarcely grazes Bara before he cries out in pain and his body recoils. With his red-coated belly sticking out so vulnerably, Weerts' Bara becomes a mere pincushion rather than a revolutionary hero.

⁶⁵⁶ Albert Pinard, "Le Salon," *Le Radical*, no. 129 (May 9, 1883): unpaginated.

Weerts' use of a crucifix-like pose for Bara was chastised on the right; the critic Georges Vicaire was none too pleased that the republicans had disseminated so many "insipid" Baras to schools around the country. He likened the proliferation of photographs of Weerts' image to "removing the crucifixes and replacing them with *The Death of Bara*," drawing an implicit connection between the contemporaneous fight over Church and State and the onset of that fight during the Revolution.⁶⁵⁷ This latter point is the most crucial concerning the selection of revolutionary imagery for the Decennial. For conservatives, who believed many contemporaneous issues in France began during the revolutionary period, depictions of the Revolution were sure to ignite controversy if they placed blame on right-leaning forces like the monarchy or the Church. The center-left Opportunists, who believed that ultimately their sometimes allies on the Radical left would return to the fold after Boulanger's exile, made the choice to present the most broadly tolerable image of the French Revolution.

Conclusion: After the Decennial

Despite the mixed responses to his revolutionary paintings in the 1880s, Weerts persisted in making such images decades after the closing of the Centennial. In 1897, Weerts branched out into his first of two paintings of "the Incorruptible," Maximilien Robespierre. In 1889, Alphonse Aulard's defense of Danton had seemed extreme even to his friends in Opportunist circles and it would be another decade before Aulard's student-rival Albert Mathiez would proclaim Robespierre to be the purist without whom the Terror, a positive outcome in his estimation, would not have happened.⁶⁵⁸ Weerts' painting coincided with Mathiez's college graduation. He was a Marxist historian of the French Revolution who would go on to break decisively with the

⁶⁵⁷ Georges Vicaire, "Le Salon triennal," *La Petite presse*, no. 6353 (September 29, 1883): unpaginated.

⁶⁵⁸ Wilson, "Changing Perspectives," 119.

common view that Robespierre was a *terroriste* and found the Société des Études robespierristes in 1907.⁶⁵⁹ Still, the dominant outlook, across the spectrum from Mathiez' Dantoniste mentor Alphonse Aulard to the conservative Hippolyte Taine, was decidedly anti-Robespierre.⁶⁶⁰

Even after the fraught elections of 1889, Weerts' choice of a humanizing moment for Robespierre was destined to provoke a debate. It is unclear why Weerts embarked upon the large canvas of *The Night of 9 to 10 Thermidor* (Fig. 4.25) in 1897, which he submitted to both the Paris Salon, accompanied by Michelet's text describing the moment of Robespierre's fall, and his hometown Exhibition of the Artistic Union of Roubaix-Tourcoing. Contemporaneous Parisian criticism cites the passage verbatim, so one can assume the artist provided the required reading as he had for his *Marat*.⁶⁶¹ The long shadows creeping up the walls of the room in the Tuileries are theatrical, alternatively shrouding some bodies in darkness or bathing them in a bright light. Weerts took Michelet's phrase about Robespierre tossing his pen aside rather literally and showed the figure with his arm outstretched. As his focus, Weerts chose the direct aftermath of Robespierre's refusal to sign his name to overthrow the Convention, which Michelet described as a Rubicon moment.

In the historian's telling, Robespierre wrote the first two letters of his name "but when he reached this point, he threw down his pen, as his conscience demanded it."⁶⁶² This a rare moment where Michelet praises Robespierre for his restraint. The monstrous Robespierre of Victorien Sardou's 1891 play *Thermidor*, the most recent cultural depiction of the character before Weerts

⁶⁵⁹ James Friguglietti, "Rehabilitating Robespierre: Albert Mathiez and Georges Lefebvre as Defenders of the Incorruptible," in *Robespierre*, eds. Colin Hayden and William Doyle (New York, NY and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 214.

⁶⁶⁰ Friguglietti, "Rehabilitating Robespierre," 213-14.

⁶⁶¹ Paul Heusy, "Le Salon du Champ de Mars: La Peinture," *Le Radical*, no. 114 (April 24, 1897): 2; Henry Houssaye, *Le Salon de 1897* (Paris: Goupil et Cie, 1897), 82.

⁶⁶² Michelet's text is reproduced in full in several Salon reviews discussing Weerts' work. See for example, Heusy, "Le Salon du Champ de Mars: La Peinture," 2.

created his painting of 1897, did not evidently interest Weerts, who could have easily seen the play's revival in 1896. Sardou's depiction of Robespierre had led to the threat of riots from the socialist left, who increasingly idolized the Jacobin leader, and subsequently, the play was banned from government-funded theatres.⁶⁶³ However, Weerts' sought not to tar Robespierre as a *terroriste*, but to show him grappling with his actions in the final hours of his life.

This "poetized" reappraisal of Robespierre was, predictably, not popular in many corners; the Catholic paper *L'Univers* declared Michelet's telling of the events, seen in Weerts' canvas, farcical.⁶⁶⁴ Rather than grant Robespierre the agency of a conscience, the art critic Henri Dac insisted that Robespierre's signature remained unfinished only because as he put pen to paper, the gendarme Merda burst into the room and shot Robespierre in the jaw, otherwise he would have joined the other condemned men in one last power grab, though this seems a hefty accusation given the severity of the injury he incurred, which left the letter blood spattered.⁶⁶⁵ Despite Dac's disagreement over Weerts' rendition of revolutionary history, and his distaste for the heightened drama that had "a bit too much of the Gaston Mélingue about it," the critic could not deny Weerts' compositional skills.⁶⁶⁶ Belgian art critic Paul Heusy, writing for the anti-Opportunist, leftist journal *Le Radical*, felt alternately that the painting gave the effect of having been painted from life, planting a seed that would ultimately flourish when Mathiez broke with his former teacher Aulard and intellectualized the Radical-Socialist view of Robespierre. Heusy's review concluded: "The miracle, begun by Michelet, ends with M. Weerts. Doesn't that

⁶⁶³ McWilliam, *Monumental Intolerance*, 42. Sardou's play reopened at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin the year before Weerts exhibited his painting.

⁶⁶⁴ Henri Dac, "Le Salon du Champs de Mars," *L'Univers*, no. 10688 (April 24, 1897): unpaginated.

⁶⁶⁵ Dac, "Le Salon du Champs de Mars," unpaginated.

⁶⁶⁶ Dac, "Le Salon du Champs de Mars," unpaginated. Gaston Mélingue (1840-1914) was a pro-republican history painter with a flair for dramatic compositions. He was represented in the Decennial by a painting of the assassination attempt on the life of General Hoche.

say it all?”⁶⁶⁷ Heusy’s wishful thinking aside, Robespierre’s legacy, like Marat’s, remained an open wound.

Weerts’ canvas size for *Thermidor* was an additional source of scrutiny. The inappropriateness of small canvases for history painting was a common refrain amongst critics of Naturalism, which was ultimately a style of art that could hang on a bourgeois living room wall rather than a palace.⁶⁶⁸ Weerts’ *Thermidor* was noted for the juxtaposition of its “value” as a history painting and dimensions that did not fit the image’s scope; critics nostalgic for “grand” history painting *à la* Jacques-Louis David struggled to find grandeur in something that could be purchased by well-to-do but non-aristocratic Salon viewers.⁶⁶⁹ Revolutionary history scenes had the additional problem of reopening the scabs of unprocessed trauma. Standing in front of *Thermidor*, the controversial yellow journalist Henri Rochefort wrote, “These historical dramas, difficult to tell a hundred years later, are even more difficult to paint.”⁶⁷⁰

Rochefort, who actively promoted conspiracy theories, can be easy to dismiss. But his insight can also be read as a testament to the contemporaneous public’s difficulty in understanding revolutionary scenes except through their modern schisms: laicization, the memories of popular violence of the Paris Commune, and the upheaval of social change. It was not until the *Exposition* of 1900 that one of Weerts’ revolutionary canvases was selected for a world’s fair; *Thermidor*, which centers on a rather bureaucratic issue over whether Robespierre will sign his name, was certainly less problematic than the inherent—indeed amplified—violence

⁶⁶⁷ Heusy, “Le Salon du Champ de Mars: La Peinture,” 2.

⁶⁶⁸ Marc J. Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 9-10.

⁶⁶⁹ A.-E. Guyon-Verax, “Les Salons: Le Peinture au Salon du Champ-de-Mars. (Suite),” *Journal des artistes*, no. 27 (July 4, 1897): 1926. Also see Valensol, “Le Salon du Champ de Mars,” *Le Petit parisien*, no. 7483 (April 23, 1897): 3, and Gaston Schefer, *Le Salon de 1897* (Paris: Manzi, Joyant, et Cie, 1897), 82, who both remarked upon how *Thermidor*’s dimensions clashed with the scene’s historical importance.

⁶⁷⁰ Henri Rochefort, “Le Salon du Champ de Mars,” *The New York Herald*, no. 22159 (April 23, 1897): 3.

of *Marat* and *Bara*.⁶⁷¹ That most critiques of the painting revolved around its scale and scope rather than its politics, as well as the passage of time away from the heightened intensity of the Centennial of the Revolution, likely enabled its selection for the *Exposition* of 1900.

The centennial and the following decade were fruitful for Weerts, who earned several commissions for portraits and the decoration of public buildings. His non-revolutionary work was welcomed into *Exposition universelle*. In 1889, he earned a commission to decorate the ceiling of the Salle Dupré in the Monnaie de Paris, home of the French Mint, with an allegory of French economic and cultural might; a unifying image that stands in stark contrast to his revolutionary oeuvre. Entitled *The Triumph of the Exposition universelle of 1889* (Fig. 4.26), Weerts' completed decoration was presented at the *Exposition nationale Société nationale des beaux-arts* in 1892 alongside several of his portraits in the same venue that had held the Decennial exhibition. The sketch for the Salle Dupré included portraits of the fair organizers along with allegories of the Arts, Trade, Peace, Fortune, and the Spirit of France raining gold down upon them as Paris welcomed the world. In the Salon *livret*, the following poem verses expressed the goals of the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 succinctly: "By joining hands, Work and Peace spread the Fortune in golden dust. Yesterday's setting sun, tomorrow's dawn."⁶⁷² Weerts' portraits of prominent men of the Third Republic and allegories of civic and national success fit the themes of the *Exposition universelle* more neatly than his revolutionary scenes, which laid bare France's history of internal conflict, threatening the broad and unwieldy coalition the Opportunists held together by the slimmest of margins.

⁶⁷¹ *Catalogue officiel illustré de l'exposition décennale des beaux-arts de 1889 à 1900* (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerancier and Ludovic Baschet, 1900), 155.

⁶⁷² The full poem reads: "Au claquement joyeux des bannières de fête, / Devant le monde entier qui l'acclame, Paris, / Sur son sacré vaisseau vainqueur de la tempête Amène au grand Congrès, les arts, ses favoris / Tandis que traversant lentement l'Empyrée / Le travail et la paix en se donnant la main / Epandent la fortune en poussière dorée... / Soleil couchant d'hier: Aurore de demain." Georges Nazim cited in *Les Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine*, eds. Acheré-Lenoir, Delcourt, and Massé, 189.

CONCLUSION

'Triumph of the Republic'

On August 25, 1899, Jules Dalou's (1838-1902) bronze sculptural group *Triumph of the Republic* (Fig. 5.1) appeared under scaffolding on the Place de la Nation. This symbolic ode to the Revolution was meant to convey to the people of France that their parliamentary government was permanent. By placing Dalou's monumental *Triumph of the Republic* at the entrance to the blue-collar Faubourg Saint-Antoine, the *Exposition's* culminating event in late September served to reinforce its overarching goal of proving that the Opportunists' created social cohesion in a fashion their antidemocratic and reactionary opponents could and would not. The centennial of the French Revolution concluded in a fashion that paired well with the multiple political visions of the events of the 1790s on view in the Champ de Mars' Pavilions discussed throughout this dissertation, but in its simple allegorical messaging, *Triumph of the Republic* was emphatic in presenting the legacy of the Revolution as a *fait accompli*. The figure of Marianne balancing on an orb is supreme in her confidence. Many of the paintings presented in the Decennial had offered olive branches to the right, whose outlook was distinctly counterrevolutionary. In the representations of the Wars in the Vendée or a glimpse of the young Bonaparte at the Tuileries Palace, there were inherent critiques of revolutionary immoderation, be it Jacobin ideology or a raging crowd of *sans-culottes*. Dalou's group suggested no such hedging on the positive legacy of 1789.

Indeed, the figures of Marianne and her comrades still stand between the 11th and 12th arrondissements in Paris, unlike so many nineteenth-century monuments which fell prey to political whims. However, when the group was first unveiled in 1889 in plaster, it was evocative

of the impermanence of France's political experiments in a century of upheaval. Intended to be politically useful to the Opportunists as they closed out their campaign, Dalou failed to complete *Triumph* in time for the *Exposition universelle* of 1889 and would not finish it until 1899. A decade later, as the bronze group was finally set inside a fountain basin on the Place de la Nation, a powerful tribute to a Republic now firmly established, the painter Victor Marec (1862-1920) was drawn to the many layers of historical time present in this immense work. In his oil sketch of the *Triumph of the Republic* installation (Fig. 5.2), Marec created a sense of transience impossible in a medium such as bronze. The impastoed buildup of rapid brushstrokes, full of spontaneity and freshness, tell the viewer that the artist was *sur lieu* to witness the monument as it was set in place, but the realism is undercut somewhat by the absence of human presence on a busy public square. Even the human labor has been erased in what appears at first glance like a construction site. Newness and modernity are reduced to paint application and the neat and orderly scaffold. Marec has inscribed the lower corners of the panel not only with his name but also with a marker of history: "Place de la Nation / 25 août 1899."

One almost expects to turn the object over and see a precisely dated timestamp, in the style of John Constable's cloud studies. With so many elements conveying impermanence, from the swiftly moving clouds to the rope that hoisted Marianne into place, there is a very specific temporality to this work; the strong gray light gives the effect of the aftermath of a late summer storm, adding to the mood of a country that continued to face challenges, but not the potential remaking of its parliamentary apparatus. In August 1899, the falsely accused Alfred Dreyfus had been returned to France from life imprisonment on the French Guianan colony of Devil's Island for another trial. The summer trial in Rennes led to vitriolic antisemitism in the press and broke personal relationships apart, even leading to political violence. The clouds gathering over

Marianne in Marec's painting could reflect that France was once again, at the turn of the century, riven into opposed political camps. Rather than creating a courtroom sketch of the trial that began two days after the installation of Dalou's sculptural group, Marec reached for the symbols of the revolutionary past that offered lessons and more solace than contemporary events.

Marec's painting is clearly a document of history, but also makes the forceful case for painting over other media that aim to render the past and present. This study has deliberately focused on the revolutionary history paintings within the Decennial of 1889, which shared space with statuary but made the argument that their medium was the best suited not only to telling history but creating it as well. The canvases discussed were displayed one hundred years after the initial events of the French Revolution and were more indicative of their present moment than that distant past. In a departure from painting, this Conclusion draws my analysis of these paintings to a close, via discussion of Dalou's participation in the Opportunists' final campaign stop. However, beginning with Marec's painting serves as a reminder that history painting in this moment was in fierce competition (and at times collaboration) with sculpture, photography, film, and print, as well as other genres and styles of painting, differentiating these *fin-de-siècle* revolutionary paintings from those created early in the nineteenth century when the Salon was a singular event in the art world.

In 1899, Marec declared in this rapid sketch that his medium of choice could capture several historical moments more effectively and was best suited to the task. Nonetheless, photographs of monuments around Paris, including those of the interior of the Palace of Fine Arts by Hippolyte Blancard discussed in the Introduction, are critical to our understanding of the Decennial's curation as they are the only remaining traces of the temporary structure. In his off-center composition, framing Marianne and the scaffolding at an angle, Marec appears to have

been familiar with photographic techniques and, perhaps more consequentially, with photography's reputation for documentation; his painting takes on the role of disseminator of information. Instead of a head-on look at the installation, the view granted down the tree-lined *allée* juxtaposes Dalou's work with the plain, Doric columns that bore statues of kings and marked a toll gate, designed by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, much loathed during the *ancien régime*.⁶⁷³ This contrast of old and new, of royalist and republican, could have been framed by a photographer, but to this carefully blocked composition, Marec gives over most of the space to his fluffy, silver-white clouds that glow as if backlit, co-opting the dramatic angle popular in photography of landscapes both urban and rural, in for example a Parisian skyline silver print by Charles Marville (1813-1879) (fig 5.3) that gives over two-thirds of the image to sky and clouds.

Lastly, sculpture had shown itself, throughout Dalou's fraught trial creating *Triumph of the Republic*, to be bound by the restrictions of bronze sculpture, as the artist's ambitions were frequently hemmed in by the laws of physics. Dalou had begun *Triumph of the Republic* in 1879, when he was preparing for his homecoming as an exiled Communard pardoned by the amnesty. By 1889, it remained incomplete, a phantom work in plaster at its unveiling during the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution, when its role was to convey to voters that the Opportunists and their allies were the stable option on the ballot of the questionably eternal Republic. In retrospect, its level of finish may be seen to represent the ongoing project of maintaining parliamentary democracy and of the continued resonance of the Revolution's legacy into the present. While the final work came together ultimately, it did so in 1899 during a completely different political moment than at its inception twenty years earlier, and one when the Revolution and the Republic it birthed was much less contested. It is the period

⁶⁷³ King Louis-Philippe had statues of Philip II (1165-1223) by Antoine Etex (1808-1888) and Louis IX (Saint Louis, 1214-1270) by Alexandre Dumont (1801-1884) placed atop the columns in the 1840s.

of contestation, where the Republic could have toppled if not for some strongarm tactics from the party in power, that is of interest, and which is best evoked by the malleable, transient media of paint and plaster.

This study has emphasized works made in paint, a medium that necessitates built up layers for opacity, volume, and composition, with each layer drying before the next one is applied. History painting in particular is an eloquent medium for examining the many layers of time that make up a pinpoint in history. History painting has space for the unrepresented and implied; this analysis of an event in 1889 honoring 1789 has required forays into 1792, 1793, and 1871, which lurked beneath the surface but often did not explicitly state their presence for fear of censure. They are in some way the support underpinning the surface layers. The sculptural project and its associated event to which this study now turns, like the unfinished *Jena* by Meissonier or the multiples of Camille Desmoulins, reached for iconic simplicity, yet failed to capture as effectively the complexity of multiple, contradictory revolutionary histories seen within the Decennial of 1889.

Retaking the Place du Trône

September 21st, 1889 was the anniversary of the Republic's founding in 1792 and, not incidentally, the evening before the first votes were to be cast in that year's legislative elections. Under the auspices of both revolutionary commemoration and political theater, the display on the Place de la Nation on Paris' eastern periphery was a consolidation of pro-republican forces both local and national under Opportunist leadership, with President Sadi Carnot placed firmly at the helm. Rising only to circumnavigate the day's centerpiece with its maker, Dalou, and to elevate him to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honor, Carnot's stately presence on a red velvet

cushion under a canopy for most of the festivities led the rightwing paper *Le Gaulois* to snipe that the presidential perch looked remarkably “like a throne.”⁶⁷⁴

This was a pointed reference to the site’s original name under the *ancien régime*, Place du Trône, goading the centrist faction to consider the optics of supplanting this working-class neighborhood with such a gaudy dais. The name change had been made official in a Municipal Council Decree of June 29, 1880, which simultaneously promised to Dalou a large sum for a sculptural group that would rechristen this space with the figure of the Republic.⁶⁷⁵ Nearly a decade later, Dalou presented a still-unfinished plaster cast of his design to the assembled republican leaders and welcomed guests. Having reclaimed formerly imperial and monarchic spaces in Paris’ west, including the *Exposition universelle*’s focal point of the Champ de Mars, the government made an eleventh-hour claim to the blue-collar east long associated with France’s revolutions on the eve of their most difficult election to date.

Maurice Agulhon and Danielle Tartakowsky’s explorations of Paris’ east-west divide contrast the imperial-militaristic grouping of the Arc de Triomphe, the place Vendôme, and les Invalides in the west with the east’s revolutionary triangle of the Bastille and the squares of La République and La Nation.⁶⁷⁶ To the grouping in the west, this study adds the Champ de Mars, a former military training ground and locus of the revolutionary fête de la Fédération of 1790 (as well as several subsequent revolutionary festivals), and later a site of public pleasure and spectacle for the events of 1889 and after. This act of reclaiming aligns with Mona Ozouf’s foundational work on how spectacles such as the festival of 1790 were both deeply rooted in

⁶⁷⁴ Edmond Le Roy, “Une Triomphe,” *Le Gaulois*, no. 2581 (September 22, 1889): unpaginated.

⁶⁷⁵ Maurice Dreyfous, *Jules Dalou: sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1903), 113.

⁶⁷⁶ Maurice Agulhon, “Paris, la traversée d’Est en Ouest,” in *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol 4, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 4589-624; Danielle Tartakowsky, “La construction sociale de l’espace politique: Les usages politiques de la place de la Concorde des années 1880 à nos jours,” *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 147.

their temporality and created a new sense of history and time.⁶⁷⁷ For the events of 1889, the republicans in power drew from a discordant well of inspiration, negation, trauma, and a desire to look ahead. The *Exposition universelle*, while it made the case for another republican majority to last until 1894, was a centenary that was necessarily backward looking. It also implicitly commemorated other commemorations: while it sought to mark the legislative reforms of 1789, it could not help but also be imbued with the memory of the fêtes of the Revolution, including the Festival of the Supreme Being in 1794 that presaged Robespierre's fall. In addition, it was inflected by the pain of the *année terrible* and the immediate danger to the Republic from a rightwing coalition in 1889.

From the day the monarchist President MacMahon resigned in February 1879, the Opportunists looked to contest spaces formerly associated with empire and monarchy, to recast them in the as-of-yet undefined image of the Republic. Space, as Karen Till and Peter Carrier argue, incorporates embodied memory experienced in very personal ways based on life experience, one's own interpretation of history, and the idiosyncrasies of political bias.⁶⁷⁸ Carrier deems spaces to be "historical prisms" mediating between immediate reception, historical memory, and the passage of time. This memory is not simply relegated to the past, but is active in the present. As they had in the western part of Paris, the Opportunists extended a hand to the east as well. This was not only to curry political favor in this densely populated area, but to show their base in the west that they could rein in the perceived excesses of the faubourgs in the east. In many newspapers, like *Le Matin*, *Le Petit Parisien*, and *Le Monde illustré*, the Faubourg

⁶⁷⁷ Mona Ozouf, "Space and Time in the Festivals of the French Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 3 (July 1975): 372-84.

⁶⁷⁸ Karen E. Till, "Artistic and Activist Memory-Work: Approaching Place-Based Practice," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 99-113; Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989: The Origins and Political Function of the Vel' d'Hiv in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 32.

Saint-Antoine's transition from a neighborhood strongly associated with the initiation of the Revolution to one "brilliantly decked out" for the Opportunists' final campaign stop was a welcome one.⁶⁷⁹ The sight of the President of the Republic traveling down from the Elysée Palace to shouts of "Vive La République!" from women waving from windows was remarked upon in several outlets.⁶⁸⁰ However, only in the leftist journal *Le Radical* was it mentioned that these cheering women of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine were "the wives of laborers," strongly implying that their presence in the windows above the parade route but not at the sculpture unveiling was itself a means of commanding and reconstituting this space.⁶⁸¹

Here on the Place de la Nation, stripped of its monarchist name in 1880 as the new republican government flexed their control over the levers of state, the Opportunists sought an advantageous union of east and west. In their symbolic nods to the Revolution of 1789, it is evident that the government guided by Sadi Carnot and his Prime Minister Pierre Tirard shared the public's concerns that the aftershocks of the Revolution felt in 1830, 1848, and 1871 were destabilizing, even as increased electoral participation and limitations on Church power were welcome changes amongst France's growing urban population. Fears about insurrection and bloodshed were a feature rather than an anomaly in the nineteenth century, and tokens to *Liberté*, *Égalité*, and *Fraternité* took this into account, creatively eliding the bloodier aspects of the revolutionary period. This created inherent tensions between historical veracity, the demand for polarizing images as evidenced by Salons throughout the 1880s, and a republican halo of silence surrounding the less savory portions of the nation's revolutionary past.

⁶⁷⁹ "Le monument du « Triomphe de la République »,» *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1696 (September 28, 1889): 202.

⁶⁸⁰ See "Un Monument: Inauguration du « Triomphe de la République »,» *Le Matin*, no. 2040 (September 22, 1889): 1-2; "Le « Triomphe de la République »,» *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 4713 (September 23, 1889): unpaginated; and the aforementioned "Le monument du « Triomphe de la République »,» *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1696 (September 28, 1889): 202, for some examples.

⁶⁸¹ "Le Triomphe de la République," *Le Radical*, no. 266 (September 23, 1889): unpaginated.

Fragile Media as Metaphor for 1889

This study is bookended by large-scale sculptures, which in their bronze, marble, or stone guises were meant to connote that France's future as a democratic republic was permanent and resilient against the ravages of time. By virtue of their immense presence in the landscape, they drew the eye and determined how the nation could begin to see its nascent parliamentary system as deeply embedded. But in the 1889 *Exposition universelle*, Antonin Mercié's *Quand Même!* In the Palace of Fine Arts sculpture display, discussed in the introduction, and Jules Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic*, both appeared in plaster, which was both malleable and inexpensive but robust enough to withstand the elements.⁶⁸² Its history of use in death masks and the study of antiquity gave a sense of prestige to what was effectively a preliminary stage.⁶⁸³ Such unfinished work only emphasized the project still before the Opportunists as they sought a legislative majority at the end of their first decade in power. Additionally, the work chosen for the final *Exposition* event before polling stations opened their doors was torn between creating a paean to the purported solidarity initiated by the Revolution and realistically appealing both to inhabitants of the neighborhood and the transplanted guests of the Opportunists. The result was a catholic mélange, cloaked in metaphor, that summarized the patchwork effect of the *Exposition universelle*'s tribute to the Revolution, which relitigated historical events to bring together the republicans' large and ultimately untenable tent.

At the heart of this dissertation are paintings that have been marginal in the increasing number of studies on academic nineteenth-century French art or, more commonly, used to

⁶⁸² For more on the medium of plaster in honorific monuments, see Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional*, 110-12, 129.

⁶⁸³ Schindler, "Plaster as a Matter of Memory," 145.

illustrate history texts. Yet we begin and end with well-documented participants in the *statuomanie* of the period to stress that the role of national mythmaking affected both significant commissions that garnered numerous newspaper columns dedicated solely to them and paintings whose fortunes rose and fell with the passing of each Salon. As Katie Hornstein has observed, representing history to the masses in the long nineteenth century was a multimedia affair, and this analysis has stressed the impact of illustrated newspapers and satirical caricature in particular on the dissemination and interpretation of Salon painting.⁶⁸⁴ Though the present study focuses on the continued centrality of history painting to the representation and creation of national narratives, sculpture was also critical to the popularity of these histories, reinforcing the emblems and messages set down on canvas on a grander scale with everyday visibility. Dalou's monument to the French Republic rounds out this discussion of the *Exposition universelle's* cautious approach to revolutionary imagery both chronologically and thematically. Dalou, who was both an ex-Communard and a favorite for Opportunist commissions, weaves a summative thread into this study of the political usefulness of art in the project of building a centrist coalition.

Jules Dalou's Marianne atop the Republic

Triumph of the Republic was a reduction of the Revolution to a series of universal themes. Dalou, whose work began as part of a concours, followed protocol with his statue of Marianne. In a diaphanous Roman toga, full-figured and striding forward atop the globe, she grasps the bundled fasces representing state power under her left hand like a walking stick. Sitting behind the primary mass of her body engulfed in a whirl of fabric, the threat of corporal violence

⁶⁸⁴ Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*, 44, 68-77, 88-90, 100.

symbolized by the fasces bundled around an axe, an Ancient Roman staple, is minimized. She is serene in her position, no longer required to act as the warrior figure discussed in Maurice Agulhon's *Marianne into Battle*, which concludes as the Opportunists cemented their position in the government leadership of the Third Republic in 1880.⁶⁸⁵ Her hair is pulled back neatly into a bun and held in place by the iconic revolutionary red cap, which like the toga, appears to flap in the headwind that also affects the forward momentum of Marianne's lion-powered chariot. The lions, surely a nod to the Lion of Belfort war memorial (Fig. 5.4) sculpted by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (1834-1904) for a town besieged by the Prussians in 1870, strain under the weight of the triumphal march but push onward.⁶⁸⁶ The pace suggested by the lion bowed by the task is slow, but steady, in concordance with the reforms promised by Opportunism, ever conscious of sprinting into the unknown.

The lions weren't Dalou's only nod to Bartholdi, who was best known for his design for the Statue of Liberty, initially known as *Liberty Lighting the World*. Though not moored on Bedloe Island in New York Harbor until 1886, while Dalou had begun conceiving of his Marianne in 1879, Bartholdi's design was rolled out to the public in incremental stages, beginning with the appearance of her fragmentary torch-bearing arm at the 1876 American Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Bartholdi's sculpture appears static from the front, though she is gently lifting her right foot to take a step forward over the broken chain lying on the pedestal. In contrast, Dalou's group is emphatic in its dynamism, creating the effect of a Roman triumphal march. In the round, Dalou's figures of Work, Justice, Liberty, and Abundance ensure

⁶⁸⁵ Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle*.

⁶⁸⁶ See, Katie Hornstein, "The Lion of Belfort, Max Ernst's *Une Semaine de Bonté*, and the Uses of the Past," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 49, no. 3 (Spring-Summer 2021): 282–304.

that no side of the pedestal is without visual interest.⁶⁸⁷ Labor and Justice function as a pair to the right and left of the Republic, each accompanied by a putto holding identifying attributes.

Notably, the sleepy putto under the hammer-wielding Labor holds parchment scrolls, a paintbrush, and a book in his arms as though to clarify that while industrious manual workers emblemize the laboring class, artists too have a role to play in the continuation of the Republic.

Justice appears to buckle from the difficulty of her task and steadies herself against the central mass, nestling the Hand of Justice scepter in the crook of her elbow. Her steely gaze inspires the putto holding scales to continue forward. Abundance, also sometimes identified as Peace, is a predictably voluptuous nude scattering nourishment to fuel the nation in tow, the strenuousness of agrarian labor only hinted at sweetly by her putto balancing a cornucopia on his head. Ahead of all the other figures, kneeling astride the lions while holding a torch aloft, Liberty urges the beasts onward while simultaneously looking behind his shoulder to gaze up at the placid face of Marianne in search of inspiration. This fixed eye contact between Liberty and the Republic emphasizes the significant role played by the Revolution's primary universal theme in maintaining the current system of government, which distinguished itself from the more autocratic regimes that preceded it. It also functions, perhaps subliminally, as a cautionary tale regarding the relationship between artists and the Republic to which their livelihoods were tethered. Far below Marianne physically, Liberty is dependent on her guidance while she in turn needs him to fuel her march and spread her message.

Dalou's commission for *Triumph of the Republic* was an anxiety-inducing travail that came in fits and starts. On September 20th, 1889, Dalou's monument to republicanism remained uncast; the plaster model was coated in a bronze-colored substance to feign completion for its

⁶⁸⁷ Figure attributions made by Dalou's earliest biographer, Maurice Dreyfous. Dreyfous, *Dalou: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1903), 249.

commemoration, just one veneer amongst the many present on the unveiling day.⁶⁸⁸ Though he was meant to deliver the final monument on July 1st, it remained a work in progress until 1899, twenty years after its initial conception.⁶⁸⁹ In a sense, the final bronze work's trajectory of completion traces that of the Republic itself; newborn in 1879, vulnerable in 1889, and set firmly in place a decade after in bureaucratic form even if still riven by cultural divisions. That moment of vulnerability, when the Republic was not yet safeguarded as France's political system, is the *mise-en-scène* for this entire study. Functioning in tandem with the other focal works of art in this dissertation, Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic* offers a fitting coda to this discussion of the precarious position of centrist politics during the 1889 election season and writ large.

Double Amnesty: The Taming of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine

In the final weeks where the *Exposition* could be employed in the service of electoral gain, the Opportunists looked at last to make outreach to the left by decorating a neighborhood of workers with the creation of a former Communard. After trying to receive a service exemption due to his “flat feet” in 1870, Dalou reluctantly took up arms during the Siege of Paris.⁶⁹⁰ According to his earliest biographer, Dalou had no political role in the Commune, solely an artistic one within Gustave Courbet's Federation of Artists, which is likely why he was indicted of the relatively minor charge of “usurpation of a civil employment” and had the option of exile to England.⁶⁹¹

When Dalou returned after the amnesty, the leftist Paris Municipal Council granted him the immense sum of 70,000 francs for *Triumph*'s large statues, not including the cost of the

⁶⁸⁸ Dreyfous, *Dalou*, 129.

⁶⁸⁹ Dreyfous, *Dalou*, 130-31, 135.

⁶⁹⁰ Dreyfous, *Dalou*, 42-43.

⁶⁹¹ Dreyfous, *Dalou*, v, 44-45.

foundry, the pedestal, and the eventual installation.⁶⁹² Dalou's hope for *Triumph* was that his figure of Labor near the base, a blacksmith standing in for all craftsmen and laborers, would inspire the crowd he believed it was honoring. He had not understood though, it seems, that the crowd would be full of wealthy onlookers, stating bluntly after the fact, "Where were the people? We did not see them. Cavalry, uniforms, and cannons were everywhere... Where in this outmoded gala was the army of labor hidden?"⁶⁹³ The whole experience left Dalou, a participant in both the Revolution of 1848 and the Commune of 1871, conflicted about his relationship with the Opportunist government that had granted him amnesty and now welcomed him to assist with their electoral outreach campaign.⁶⁹⁴

Initially designed in 1879 at the end of his exile in England, Dalou's *Triumph of the Republic* had lost out in a state competition to the brothers Léopold (1846-1919) and Charles (1848-1908) Morice's vision of the same subject (Fig. 5.5). The basic elements of Marianne, resting lion, and allegories of bounty, work, justice, and freedom in both versions speak to the broad outlines of the initial competition. Unlike Dalou's multigure ensemble, which was deemed an impossible task to complete, the Morice brothers' Marianne had the columnar simplicity Dalou's work lacked. Writing of the initial reactions to the submissions, the critic Philibert Bréban stated that "The crowd had stopped astonished in front of the project of M. Dalou (no. 38)...who made an artistic work of uncontestable valor," but it had to be said, "this project was inexecutable" on the necessary scale.⁶⁹⁵ The Morice icon was instantly legible at any

⁶⁹² Dreyfous, *Dalou*, 109-10.

⁶⁹³ Andrew Eschelbacher, "Gendering Modernity/Modernizing the Worker: Jules Dalou's Monument to Labourers and Industrial Virility," *Sculpture Journal* 23, no. 3 (2014): 332-33.

⁶⁹⁴ Eschelbacher, "Gendering Modernity/Modernizing the Worker," 334. It was usually rightwing outlets that mentioned Dalou's former Communard status, but it was true nonetheless. See Tout-Paris, "Bloc-Notes Parisien: Dalou," *Le Gaulois*, no. 310 (May 23, 1883): 1; "La Journée: Paris le 21 septembre," *La Croix*, no. 1937 (September 22, 1889): unpaginated.

⁶⁹⁵ Philibert Bréban, "Le Concours: Pour la statue monumentale de la République," *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 2850 (October 12, 1879): unpaginated.

size; here was a new column to replace the Napoleonic one torn down by the Communards on the Place Vendôme in 1871. It reclaimed the space of the working class with the visual language of imperial Rome, which is something that Dalou assiduously avoided in his own work for this very connotation.⁶⁹⁶ Dalou strove to render the spirit of revolutionary France in an energetic Baroque mode that utilized deep carving, dynamism, and a surplus of details on all surfaces. In his September 1889 speech at the unveiling, Prime Minister Tirard would liken Dalou's vigorous style to that of François Rude (1784-1855), famous for his relief of a fierce winged Marianne as the goddess Athena on the Arc de Triomphe.⁶⁹⁷ The Morice brothers' work was placid by comparison and perhaps because it was a clear corollary to the desecrated Vendôme, the Municipal Council chose their Marianne instead as a sign that Paris could rebuild, silencing the uncomfortable history of the Commune.

As though responsive to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine's reputation for uprisings, Charles Morice's base for the statue elevated this Marianne high above the ground to safety. The neoclassical, column-like figure of the Republic also strongly resembles Bartholdi's in-progress Statue of Liberty, especially in the heavy drapes of fabric and olive branch held aloft like a torch.⁶⁹⁸ Léopold Morice's figure emerges from his brother's tall pedestal like a wedding figurine atop a cake. In the final composition, she appears somewhat diminutive, in contrast to the weighty, dynamic presence created by Dalou that was favored by the left. The Radical Republicans on the Paris Municipal Council pressed for Dalou's Baroque version, which a favorable critic had compared to Rubens, though he did not make the top three selection of

⁶⁹⁶ Getson, "Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration in Third-Republic Paris," 5.

⁶⁹⁷ "Le « Triomphe de la République »,» *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 4713 (September 23, 1889): unpaginated.

⁶⁹⁸ Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby explores the political tensions between volume and mass in Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, the Suez Canal, the Eiffel Tower, and the Panama Canal, which were all characterized by their use of empty space in addition to their immense scale. See Grigsby, "Geometry/Labor = Volume/Mass?" *October* 106 (Autumn 2003): 3–34 and Grigsby, *Colossal*.

Léopold Morice, Jean Gautherin (1840-1890), and Jean-François Soitoux (1861-1891).⁶⁹⁹ The initial Morice submission of October 1879 had been ill-served by its placement in a corner and was less flashy than its peer group, but this Marianne succeeded amongst the group of eighty-three submissions exhibited at the École des Beaux-Arts as the least likely to engender criticism so shortly after republicans had taken control nationally.⁷⁰⁰ An initial rendering of the Morice monument had Marianne wielding a sword overhead, reminiscent of the vengeful figures taking up arms made to commemorate the Franco-Prussian War, like Mercié's revanchist *Quand Même!* In the final composition, Marianne has been disarmed, her sword replaced with an olive branch of peace as she watches over a Republic desperate to avoid further conflict within and without.

The chosen landscapes of the Place de la République and later the Place de la Nation, too, were signs that the Opportunists saw their soft support amongst the laboring classes in the eastern faubourgs as a political vulnerability. The Place de la République spanned the 3rd, 10th, and 11th arrondissements and, more significantly, it was a popular site of leftwing protests due to its proximity to the Bourse du Travail.⁷⁰¹ Between 1827 and 1849, the residents of eastern Paris barricaded their streets eight times.⁷⁰² The intersection passing through the space that would become the Place de la République was pejoratively nicknamed the Boulevard du Crime.⁷⁰³ Baron Haussmann (1809-1891), the Second Empire urban planner best-known for his expansion of Paris' boulevards, parks, and squares beginning in the early 1850s, widened the streets considerably to diminish the ease with which the formerly windy, medieval roads could be

⁶⁹⁹ Bréban, "Le Concours: Pour la statue monumentale de la République," unpaginated.

⁷⁰⁰ Ian Germani, "Taking Possession of Marianne: The Place de la République as Political Battleground," *Canadian Journal of History* 45 (Autumn 2010): 310.

⁷⁰¹ Germani, "Taking Possession of Marianne," 299.

⁷⁰² David H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 309.

⁷⁰³ Keith Reader, *The Place de La Bastille: The Story of a Quartier* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), 65; Niamh Sweeney, "'Fictitious Capital': Haussmannization and the (Un-)Making of Second-Empire Paris," *L'Esprit Créateur* 55, no. 3 (2015): 100; Germani, "Taking Possession of Marianne," 309.

blocked.⁷⁰⁴ Haussmann and his advocates in the Second Empire were unsubtle about their desires to push local inhabitants out and control this space, building a military barracks directly behind the Place du Château de l'Eau, renamed Place de la République in 1879, for the purpose of crowd control.⁷⁰⁵

This desired passivity is emphasized in Alfred Roll's (1846-1919) painting of the Morice statue unveiling on July 14th, 1880 (Fig. 5.6), in which Marianne's temporary plaster maquette appears to dissipate into the clouds. In this jovial crowd scene, a study for the work commissioned from Roll by the state, it is not the Morice monument at the center but rather a triumphalist escutcheon reading "PAX" mounted on a flagpole. The proliferation of tricolors is a nod to the revolutionary flag's official return and the first state-sponsored celebration of Bastille Day in 1880, but it is this imperialistic insignia inspired by Ancient Rome that enables the eruption of red, white, and blue flags above. The young boy vending tricolor ribbons facing the viewer nods to the cockades of the first French Revolution, but here they are the price of entry to a deliberately bourgeois affair. The sculpture beyond and the glimpses of a cavalry parade are an afterthought in Roll's scene; the focus is on the remaking of the crowd on the Place de la République.

In the new republican regime of the Third Republic, this is not the home of revolution and socialism, but a flâneur's delight where men in top hats and ladies in silk dresses and parasols promenade across an open piazza. Where there are working-class figures, such as the smiling boy selling ribbons or the seated woman helping herself to a drink, they are convivial and notably separated from the middle and upper classes. Between the foregrounded figures and the bulk of the crowd, there are barrels forming a new sort of barricade. On the far right of the

⁷⁰⁴ Reader, *The Place de La Bastille*, 65; Sweeney, "'Fictitious Capital'": 100.

⁷⁰⁵ Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, 36.

canvas, young men scramble up ladders for a view denied to those behind the barrels that would be blocked for them too if they remained on the portion of the grounds populated by their peers. The crowd is happily penned in on all sides by the state, whether it is the dais of dignitaries, the military parade, the commissioned statue in the background, the faint rise of Beaux-Arts apartment buildings, or the physical scaffolding of this state-sponsored celebration of a newly legalized Bastille Day. Even the string of electric bulbs on the wire atop the painting evoke the idea that the state brings desirable progress and literal illumination to the whole of Paris. While the Morice brothers' statue was the visual expression of the Opportunists' promise of stability after a century of tumult, it did not win over the progressives they would grudgingly win over to their coalition by decade's end.

Newly in power after a decade of monarchist control, the centrist republicans grudgingly granted amnesty to the exiled Communards in 1878 after pressure from their Radical and Socialist peers, with the general amnesty coming in 1880.⁷⁰⁶ However, it was a controversial issue that undermined the moderate bloc's appropriated message of law and order and enraged conservatives. Throughout the 1880s, as Dalou's artistic reputation grew, conservative writers condemned his work as that of an unrepentant Commune "guarding the cult of red [read: socialist] Marianne" and chasing "revolutionary chimeras."⁷⁰⁷ His nine-year absence from the Salon was explained away—by critics both for and against—as the result of his political engagement.⁷⁰⁸ Not for the first time in this study, explicit political affiliations limited an artist's circle of appreciation and, in the eyes of the opposition, tainted the works they made. But in France's early, optimistic republican years, the government was spoiled for choice in allegorical

⁷⁰⁶ Julia Nicholls, "Empire and Internationalism in French Revolutionary Socialist Thought, 1871–1885," *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 4 (December 2016): 1054.

⁷⁰⁷ Tout-Paris, "Bloc-Notes Parisien," 1.

⁷⁰⁸ Getson, "Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration," 67.

monuments to the Revolution and made plans to erect Dalou's *Triumph* at the opposite end of the Avenue de la République from the Morice brothers' monument.

In 1889, geographical proximity to the Bastille was not sought merely for symbolic reasons; with the increased police presence necessary for the arrival of President Sadi Carnot and his cabinet ministers, this district with a history of uprising followed by surveillance was effectively quelled. While the Bastille's storming retained a unique place in the revolutionary imaginary, helped in large part by Michelet's treatment of July 14th as a day of almost biblical proportions and the revolutionaries' own mythologization of the Bastille, that was by no means the first riot in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in 1789. In April, the financial hardship wracking the state's economy led to Jean-Baptiste Réveillon's announcement that he would have to lower his workers' salaries.⁷⁰⁹ The anger in the streets led to Réveillon fleeing to safety—in the Bastille of all places—and the swift crackdown of the National Guard that led to three hundred deaths.⁷¹⁰ The conquering of a royal prison, no matter how few prisoners it actually held, was a simpler and more potent symbol than the Réveillon riot, which almost required a primer on the state of France's poor under Louis XVI's reign.

Furthermore, for the Opportunists whose policies benefitted the upwardly mobile and monied classes, the disorder of the Faubourg was something to restrain rather than to champion. Both Michelet and Alexandre Dumas believed the Faubourg Saint-Antoine was a corporeal and instinctual entity rather than an intellectual one, writing of the "hottest and liveliest popular blood" flowing through its streets, which were likened to veins and arteries.⁷¹¹ They were the first to enlist in the revolutionary army in these republican narratives, but also the first to riot in

⁷⁰⁹ Reader, *The Place de La Bastille*, 33.

⁷¹⁰ Reader, *The Place de La Bastille*, 33.

⁷¹¹ Michelet, cited in Pierre Citron, *La Poésie de Paris dans la littérature française de Rousseau à Baudelaire* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1961), 205; Alexandre Dumas, *Ange Pitou*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Complexe, 1989), 228.

the streets. As John Merriman argues, the term “faubourg” carried the same pejorative connotations then as “banlieue” does in today’s parlance; these are spaces defined by “people and activities unwanted by the center.”⁷¹²

Susanna Barrows describes the potent visions of the crowd detailed by conservative revolutionary historians like Hippolyte Taine and social psychologists like Gustave Le Bon thusly: “Their crowds loomed as violent, bestial, insane, capricious beings.” Given the descriptiveness of these images, they were difficult to extract from the nineteenth-century French imaginary and politicians of both right and center exploited fears around the psychology of crowds.⁷¹³ Described repeatedly as a mass with a singular, animalistic brain, the people of the faubourgs were relegated to the role of instigators and simpletons necessitating control. The Opportunists, rather than countering claims of crime-ridden streets and barricade-loving troublemakers in eastern Paris, capitalized upon the right’s most effective slogans and reformed the urban landscape into a tribute to security under their eye.

The visual culture associated with presentations in Paris’ east showed carefully assembled crowds. The 1889 reveal of Dalou’s work carried the same visual impact as was depicted in Roll’s painting of the Morice sculpture unveiling almost a decade prior. Marking his signature in the lush folds of the Presidential Delegation’s red velvet canopy, *Le Monde illustré*’s painter-illustrator Auguste Gérardin (1849-1933) rendered the Place de la Nation’s reconstitution as a space of order and class distinction for the centerfold of the September 28th issue (Fig. 5.7). Figures like the dark-haired man in white tie emphasize the insularity of participation in this new space. Standing atop his carriage for a better view, his lack of awareness that his chauffeur must

⁷¹² John Merriman, “Urban Space and the Power of Language: The Stigmatization of the Faubourg in 19th-Century France,” *Social Science Information* 38, no. 2 (1999): 332.

⁷¹³ Susanna Barrows, “Crowd Psychology in Late Nineteenth-Century France: The Riddle of the Sphinx” (Ph.D diss., Yale University, 1977), 240.

now maneuver around him to see the parade naturalizes class difference. The chauffeur functions as an everyman stand-in for both the artist and the reader, pressed back beyond the risers erected for government representatives and their invited guests. The engraving of Gérardin's painting still conveys much of the freshness of the original, according to the illustrator, in a nod to painting's primacy in creating spontaneous, fluid works.

The reproduction after Gérardin sustains the effect of pooling watercolors and spontaneous highlights, seen for example in the washes of tone on the backs of bodices and outdoor wear or in the canopy above. It is possible that this image is a photomechanical line block engraving, regarded as a useful tool in maintaining the original authorial voice of the painter, but *Le Monde illustré* employed wood engravers throughout the 1880s and they were more dominant. Hand-made pictures were not yet displaced in 1889 even while new technologies were available.⁷¹⁴ In 1885, thanks to Tom Gretton's work, we know that nearly 60% of images in *Le Monde illustré* were wood engravings, while around 30% were photomechanical line engravings, with wood engraving maintaining its precedence until 1900 even while it lost market share; there is a higher probability that the picture in question was reproduced via wood engraving.⁷¹⁵ The *véracité* expected of history painting was likewise expected in documentary images, like those made by painters and engravers in the employ of the illustrated press. In heightening the painterly aspects of Gérardin's original sketch, the engraver grants support to Gretton's assertion that *Le Monde illustré* retained the labor-intensive practice of wood

⁷¹⁴ See Tom Gretton, "Difference and Competition: The Imitation and Reproduction of Fine Art in a Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Weekly News Magazine," *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (2000): 143–62 and "Signs for Labour-Value in Printed Pictures after the Photomechanical Revolution: Mainstream Changes and Extreme Cases around 1900," *Oxford Art Journal* 28, no. 3 (2005): 371–90.

⁷¹⁵ See graph in Gretton, "Signs for Labour-Value," 376.

engraving to convey their dedication to producing prints of high quality and to set themselves apart from outlets with less consistent interest in art event coverage.⁷¹⁶

However much of the original image's liveliness is retained by the skilled engraver, the multilayered process involved in bringing this image to the paper's readers also created an additional barrier. Rather than utilizing the dais as a framing element providing an unobstructed view of the day's events, Gérardin used the physical structure to highlight the sense of control. We have already mentioned the chauffeur, but the picture's other "other," a turbaned man representing France's conquests abroad in North Africa, also has an obstructed view because of the support beam, made even thicker by the fabric hiding its utilitarianism. With a limited audience under the canopy, a police phalanx which *Le Monde illustré* described as forming a "hedge" in front of President Carnot, and the military procession before a solid emblem of the Republic, the Opportunists curated an ode to the power of the state under their leadership.⁷¹⁷ The two women deep in conversation closest to the observer are almost entirely closed off from the world behind them. Their flowered bonnets appear to grow into one another, sartorially and compositionally shutting out those outside the exclusive seats and, by extension, the working-class inhabitants of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

"I am with the *bleus*! Will you be with the *blancs*?"

Unlike the festivities surrounding Vital-Cornu's sculpture of Camille Desmoulins in mid-July, the President and his cabinet were proud participants and did not delegate this final campaign

⁷¹⁶ See Gretton, "Signs for Labour-Value," 371; and Gretton, "'Un Moyen Puissant de Vulgarisation Artistique'. Reproducing Salon Pictures in Parisian Illustrated Weekly Magazines c.1860—c.1895: From Wood Engraving to the Half Tone Screen (and Back)," *Oxford Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (2016): 288.

⁷¹⁷ The full phrase was, "The President of the Republic, whose passage all the way from the Élysée [Palace] to the Place de la Nation was saluted by warm acclamations, arrived passing through the middle of the Republican Guard on foot, forming a hedge." "Le monument du « Triomphe de la République »,» *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1696 (September 28, 1889): 202.

stop to Paris' leftist Municipal Council alone. Prior tensions appeared to dissipate on this occasion. When the final bronze version of the Morice brothers' statue was erected in 1883, then President of the Republic Jules Ferry had boycotted the Municipal Council's event, since their President Henri Mathé intended to make calls for more local freedoms and better treatment for the amnestied Communards.⁷¹⁸ The assembled speeches of the Municipal Council's radical-socialist President Émile Chautemps provide insight into how sparingly Carnot appeared in 1889, and when and where the federal and municipal republican factions met to offer a show of political strength.

At the Banquet of Mayors on August 18th at the Palace of Industry, given for some 13,000 leaders of French cities and towns, the cortège of dignitaries was followed by cries of "Long live the Republic! You see the shining unity of republican France!," according to Chautemps' record.⁷¹⁹ Before that, some of Carnot's events included welcoming the reduced version of the Statue of Liberty presented by the American delegation on the Fourth of July, joining in a banquet in early May that celebrated the *Exposition's* exhibitors at the Hôtel de Ville, and other unifying, symbolic presentations.⁷²⁰ Even to drape a French tricolor atop the Eiffel Tower on March 31st, perhaps conscious of the structure's ongoing controversy, Carnot was represented by his Prime Minister Tirard, who bestowed Gustave Eiffel with the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honor.⁷²¹ Chautemps was often a fiery public speaker, frequently taking the opportunity to link the *Exposition universelle* with the political campaign afoot, and while the

⁷¹⁸ Getson, "Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration," 133.

⁷¹⁹ Émile Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps, président du conseil municipal de Paris, de février à novembre 1889* (Paris: 1890), 69.

⁷²⁰ Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps*, 18, 38.

⁷²¹ Tirard was a man of many titles: President of Carnot's Council of Ministers, Minister of Commerce, and General Commissioner of the *Exposition*. Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps, président du conseil municipal de Paris, de février à novembre 1889*, 15, 27.

fair was evidently one large campaign stop, Carnot did not explicitly link the events to the electoral campaign, preferring to appear as a witness at an event he was nominally leading.⁷²²

In front of the Congress of Anthropology, one month before the polls were to open, Chautemps declared that “politics were, in effect, *the* tributary of anthropology.” Though he did not name General Boulanger, Chautemps accused him of warping Darwin’s law of natural selection as a means of “legitimizing egoism” while he and his peers were, on the other hand, willing “go so far as to give their lives for the salvation of the fatherland or the triumph of an idea...in conformity with the principles of justice and equality of our fathers proclaimed in 1789.”⁷²³ During the 1889 election season, Chautemps was consistent in his dogged defense of the republican coalition even if he differed from the centrist Opportunists on issues such as labor rights. Despite the deliberate avoidance of leftist ideas on the Champ de Mars, and the ideological schism on full display in the History of the French Revolution exhibition in the Louvre, the Radical-Socialist coalition was supportive of the Opportunists’ political project in the 1889 election season. Furthermore, their spokespeople were better suited to speaking to working-class voters, whom the Opportunists had lost touch with, but desperately needed to win back from Boulanger.

In late September 1889, Carnot, Chautemps, the Prefect of Police Henri-Auguste Lozé, and Carnot’s ministers Tirard, Eugène Spuller, Charles de Freycinet, Admiral Krantz, Yves

⁷²² In his inaugural address as President of the Municipal Council, Chautemps declared Boulanger’s by-election of January 1889 to be an act “against the Republic” and subsequently risked his relationship with the Opportunists by commenting on the economic malaise of the past few years that had ushered him into office. Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps, président du conseil municipal de Paris, de février à novembre 1889*, 2. Carnot and his wife would, on the other hand, be seen at events more than he was heard. He was at the opening of the Exposition, but Antonin Proust gave the speech in the Palace of Fine Arts. “Au Champ-de-Mars,” *La Vie artistique*, no. 19 (May 12, 1889): 148-50. He walked the rooms of the Decennial in May, “L’Exposition universelle,” *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 4,589 (May 22, 1889): unpaginated. And in June, he inaugurated Gervex and Stevens’ Panorama. A. M., “Le Panorama des Tuileries,” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (June 16, 1889): unpaginated.

⁷²³ Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps*, 84-85.

Guyot, and Jacques sat next to one another upon the temporary platform.⁷²⁴ It was a short-term truce between savvy politicians and passionate ideologues to defeat the right, but it preserved the basic structure of the government into the present-day. Barrows lists the litany of tribulations that would afflict the anything-but-Belle Époque after this temporary truce, which included May Day celebrations, terrorism, labor strikes, more government corruption exposed in the Panama scandal, and a presidential assassination, to say nothing of the antisemitism of the Dreyfus Affair that would cleave the country in two by century's end.⁷²⁵ In four years' time, the Opportunists would prove unable to keep the far left in coalition with the center, when those with antidemocratic and antirepublican principles, such as aggrieved Boulangists and anarcho-syndicalists, rallied together with monarchists to destabilize the center.⁷²⁶ Guyot, a strong liberal who had suffered imprisonment under the Second Empire for his opposition to the police prefecture, lost his seat in the Chamber of Deputies amidst strong gains in the mid-1890s for the socialist bloc he railed against.⁷²⁷ In the twelve months following the elections of 1893, centrists and progressives would spite each other by passing legislation with rightwing support and anarchists would bomb the Chamber of Deputies and assassinate President Carnot.⁷²⁸

There are hints of the Opportunists' internal disagreements in the *Exposition universelle* files. Even as the 1889 Centennial was announced in 1884 before the centrists' own political malpractice created wide openings for their opponents on the left and right, there were inevitable

⁷²⁴ Le Roy, "Une Triomphe," unpaginated.

⁷²⁵ Barrows, "Crowd Psychology in Late Nineteenth-Century France," 2.

⁷²⁶ Barrows, "Crowd Psychology in Late Nineteenth-Century France," 2-3.

⁷²⁷ "Guyot, Yves," *Who Was Who* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U205025>.

⁷²⁸ An anarchist named Auguste Vaillant (1861-1894) bombed the Chamber of Deputies on December 9, 1893 and was guillotined the following February. He claimed that his actions were payback for the execution of fellow anarchist Ravachol (1859-1892), who had been found guilty of bombings. On June 24, 1894, President Sadi Carnot was murdered by Sante Geronimo Caserio (1873-1894), who stabbed the President in his carriage in Lyon. Caserio claimed it was revenge for the executions of other anarchists.

divisions over what form the commemoration would take. Even the slim volume of Presidential Decrees from Carnot, suggests that he was content with merely being a rubberstamp at the top of a vast bureaucracy that made all decisions by committee.⁷²⁹ In dossiers on the centennial's events calendar, boilerplate museum and École des Beaux-Arts loan requests, and even in receipts for strings of electric lights, one can see how separate ministries oversaw all aspects of the *Exposition universelle*, as if to emphasize that their primary advantages in elections were smooth operations and logistics.⁷³⁰

In contrast to the 1890s, the Opportunists and their progressive allies held together in the relative calm of 1889 for the stability of the Republic. However, the explosion of extremism to come grew out of this moment, though the political center believed they could tame it. Chautemps took up the presidency of the Paris Municipal Council in February 1889, in the direct aftermath of Boulanger's January 27th by-election victories in the département de la Seine, striking directly at the heart of leftwing republicanism in Paris.⁷³¹ In his inaugural address of February 22nd, conscious of the importance of republican unity in that moment, Chautemps gestured to the presence of all the "groups of republicans" on the Council as evidence of a

⁷²⁹ AN F/12/3790/B: "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). Décrets du Président de la République," Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

⁷³⁰ All of the following consulted at Pierrefitte-sur-Seine location of the Archives nationales: AN AJ/52/836: "Archives de l'Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts." Prêts à des expositions extérieures à l'École. 1889-1961; AN 20144785/25-26: "Archives des musées nationaux Musée du Luxembourg et Musée national d'art moderne (série L11 X). Concessions à titre de prêts (1885-1964) et prêts aux expositions"; AN F/12/4038: "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). [Livre 1] Palais des Beaux-Arts et des Arts libéraux, comptes ouverts de 1888 à 1889 (17 avril)"; AN F/21/523: "Bâtiments civils. Travaux d'art, musées, expositions, manufactures, bâtiments civils, théâtres et musique: Expositions des Beaux-Arts aux Expositions universelles., 1855-1889: Expositions de 1867 et 1889"; AN F/21/4057/A-B: "Archives du Commissariat spécial des expositions des Beaux-Arts, correspondance; a) correspondance de M. Antonin Proust, commissaire spécial, 3 janvier 1888-29 novembre 1889." Travaux d'art, musées et expositions. 1er et 2e volumes, (XIXe-XXe siècles): Paris, exposition universelle, groupe I Beaux-Arts; AN F/21/4758: "Travaux d'art, musées et expositions. 5e volume (XIXe-XXe s.). Procédure et commission"; AN F/12/3960: "Fête du 14 juillet; Banquet des chemins de fer, 17 sept. 1889; Banquet du ministre des Travaux Publics, 21 sept. 1889; Banquet offert aux exposants à l'Hôtel de ville, 11 mai 1889; Banquet de la Bourse du commerce; Banquet offert au commissariat général par les commissions étrangères à l'hôtel continental, 13 juin 1889."

⁷³¹ Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps, président du conseil municipal de Paris, de février à novembre 1889*, 1.

“common character.”⁷³² Boulangism was the undercurrent of republican oratory that year, which supports the assertion made in this study that republicanism was on the defensive against anti-republican forces and that their plan was to present unity amongst the center-left and leftist blocs, no matter how ephemeral. On September 21st, Chautemps and Tirard spoke in place of Carnot, demonstrating the union between federal and municipal republicans of all stripes. Addressing his speech to Carnot, Chautemps spoke effusively of Dalou’s “ardent and passionate” republicanism that coursed through *Triumph of the Republic*.⁷³³

But the praise for this individual monument, which as Chautemps admitted commanded the Municipal Council’s attention in 1880, was a scarcely concealed allegory for the trajectory of republicanism since Dalou first submitted *Triumph*’s design. Dalou, Chautemps argued, had been prescient in creating a work so perfect for the “unforgettable spectacles” in honor of the “explosion of fraternity produced by the occasion of the centenary of the French Revolution.”⁷³⁴ “Yes,” he declared, “the Republic is today triumphant,” as a direct result of the Opportunist leadership’s investment in the military, education, roads, railroads, and canals, and upholding the laws of the state. The outcome of the “immortal Revolution” was not destabilization, but to “affirm” the “civilizing mission of republican France,” both abroad and at home.⁷³⁵ Before a single vote had been cast in an election that threatened the continuation of the Third Republic, Chautemps declared the campaign won on the Place de la Nation. While Chautemps’ speech included the requisite cries of “Vive la République!,” it was in sum, an ode to form, function, and stability. A republic was not the French norm, nor was it immune to human graft, greed, and fallibility, as the Grévy and Panama Canal corruption scandals and Ferry-led invasion of

⁷³² Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps*, 1-2.

⁷³³ Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps*, 113.

⁷³⁴ Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps*, 113.

⁷³⁵ Chautemps, *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps*, 113-14.

Southeast Asia had proven. However, it was the political structure most responsive to the democratic will and the least compromised by personal whims. If the scandals of recent years had proven one thing, it was that outsize characters like Jules Ferry, Jules Grévy's son-in-law, and even Léon Gambetta early in the decade, could be as much of a liability as they were integral to the party maintaining power.

The political trials of 1889, which involved not only Boulanger and his monarchist backers but also a rapid succession of short-lived Opportunist cabinets held together loosely, seem quaint in comparison to the labor strikes, anarchist violence, and Dreyfus Affair that began in the 1890s. The contrastingly quiet, behind-the-scenes work of building a centrist coalition, full of ideological compromises is less obvious in bureaucratic files in the Archives Nationales, while the press as shown throughout this study documents the *Exposition's* construction and interpretation, almost hour by hour. Its effects became apparent on the walls of the Decennial exhibition. Though tensions certainly ran high ahead of the opening in May 1889, as evidenced by Meissonier and Bouguereau's feud with Antonin Proust over the Fine Arts display, that animosity played out in the press outlets that stoked and reflected the political divisions of the day rather than in government records. Just as we lack the insights of the featured artists into their subdued visions of the Revolution, there is no memo from Carnot nor his predecessors pronouncing the demand that the *Exposition universelle* be largely unobjectionable to the majority of the population.⁷³⁶ Such a document is scarcely necessary given the impact of the *Exposition's* curatorial choices, which gave the impression of a deliberate softening of debated histories, especially those of the Revolution. When the centennial's calendar of public events

⁷³⁶ The AN file on Sadi Carnot's decrees is very slim. F/12/3790/B, Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine : "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). Décrets du Président de la République."

concluded on the night before polls opened, republican leaders at all levels gathered at the Place de la Nation to present a façade of unity to voters. In its restricted purview, the revolutionary works in the *Exposition* crystallized numerous strands of France's history and its political present.

Despite loosely grouping the chapters in this study around ideological strains in the French body politic of the late 1880s, I have been keen to avoid oversimplification and drawing one-to-one connections between artists and their work and the most entrenched belief systems of the time. France's *bleus* and *blancs* were necessarily diametrically opposed to one another. However, the visual culture of the period suggests quite the opposite. A painting like Julien Le Blant's *Execution of Charette*, which was owned by the hardline Legitimist descendant of the eponymous royalist military leader, had been perceived by many to be solely for the *blanc* faction. In 1889, though, Le Blant's paintings of the Vendée were active participants in the *bleu* centennial of the French Revolution, thus expanding the Opportunist tent to those who might be open to conversion. One such individual was the man responsible for the reference to the *bleus* and the *blancs* that inspired the title of this dissertation, the protean politician Henri-Joseph Dugué de La Fauconnerie (1835-1914), representative for the northwest département of Orne from 1876 to 1881 and again from 1885 to 1893. In 1881, sensing a change in the political winds, Dugué de La Fauconnerie extricated himself from the "Legitimo-Orléano-Bonapartist coalition" that had brought him political success under the Second Empire and in the conservative years preceding the *Seize-Mai* crisis.⁷³⁷

In the run-up to the 1881 legislative elections, which were clearly going to favor republicans, Dugué de La Fauconnerie published an open letter to the Bonapartist Senator for his

⁷³⁷ Henri-Joseph Dugué de La Fauconnerie, "Un Défi," *La France* (February 1, 1881): unpaginated.

home département, Charles-Paul-Eugène Poriquet (1816-1910), a Marie-Antoinette apologist and defender of the Empire. Modestly titling his essay “The Defiant One,” Dugué de La Fauconnerie, previously known for his vote in favor of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies in 1877, declared his newfound allegiance to the republican faction in a “profession of faith.”⁷³⁸ Though the letter had to be sent to his département’s senator for the logistical purposes of drawing up lists of candidates, throughout the statement, he addressed his “electors” alone.⁷³⁹ What followed was a lengthy explanation of his support for Napoleon III, which boiled down to its feasibility at the time with a living Bonaparte willing to rule.⁷⁴⁰ His change of heart was, in a word, opportunistic now that the “illusions” of empire were but a pipe dream. From the Opportunists standpoint, however, bringing a former denizen of the monarchist-imperialist nexus into the fold to help win in more rural regions was critical to future success. After paying the necessary lip service to the issues of living costs and domestic security the Opportunists foregrounded in their campaigns, Dugué de La Fauconnerie declared that France was divided into two parties, “the blancs and the bleus!” and asked his conservative constituents, “Will you be with the whites?”⁷⁴¹

As could have been predicted, the conservative backlash to his political betrayal was disgust and Dugué de La Fauconnerie would ultimately lose his election, paying the price of thinking several steps ahead of his voters.⁷⁴² The frontpage of *Le Gaulois* less than a week after the publication of the letter argued that “bleus” and “blancs” were “terrible” and “irreconcilable”

⁷³⁸ Dugué de La Fauconnerie, “Un Défi,” unpaginated.

⁷³⁹ Dugué de La Fauconnerie, “Un Défi,” unpaginated.

⁷⁴⁰ Dugué de La Fauconnerie, “Un Défi,” unpaginated.

⁷⁴¹ Dugué de La Fauconnerie, “Un Défi,” unpaginated.

⁷⁴² On March 6, 1881, Dugué de La Fauconnerie was replaced on the ballot by the monarchist Adrien-Charles-Félix, vicomte de Lévis-Mirepoix. The monarchist would go on to lose the Orne seat to his republican opponent in August 1881. Adolphe Robert, Edgar Bourloton and Gaston Cougny, eds., *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français: depuis le 1er mai 1789 jusqu'au 1er mai 1889* (Paris: Bourloton, 1889-91), 150.

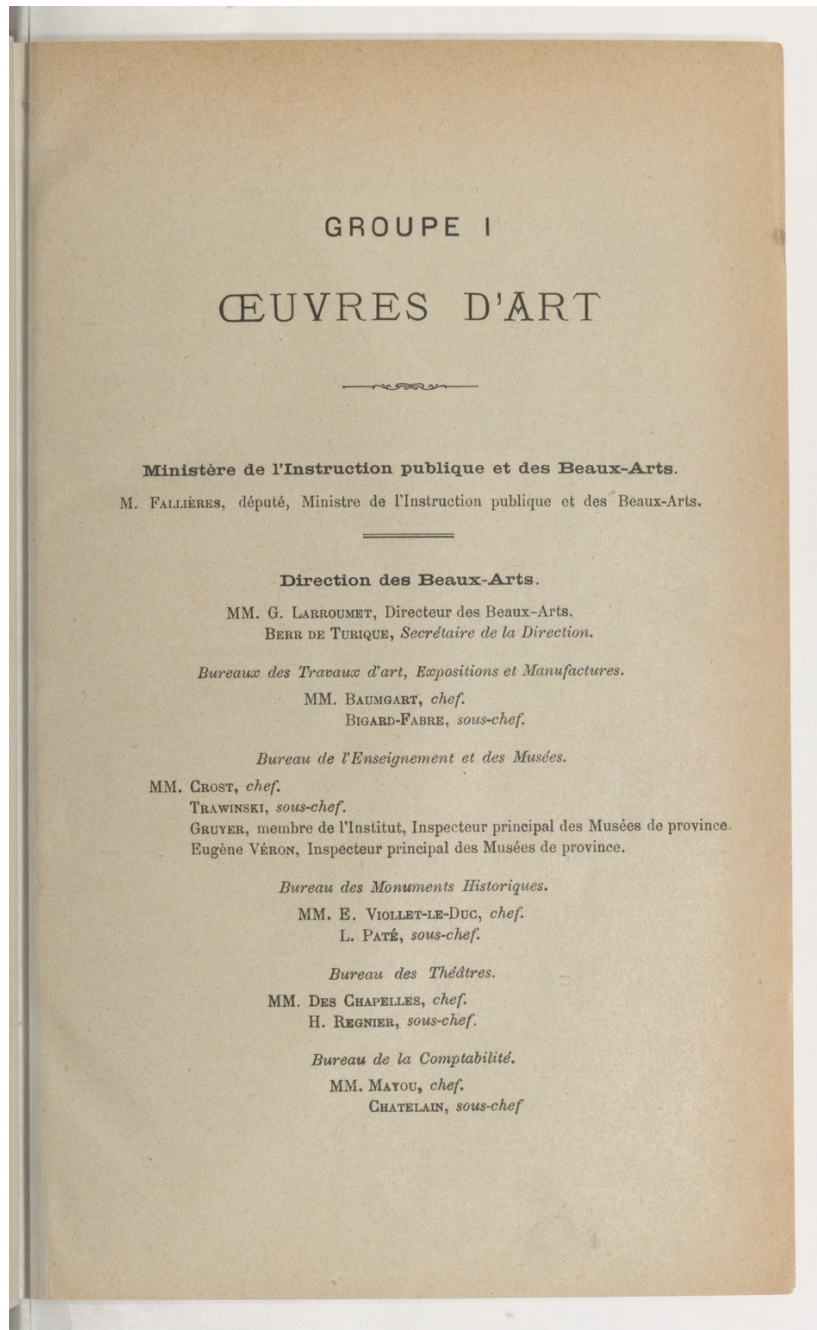
terms that evoked images of republican and royalist soldiers whose bloodstained uniforms had dried, but “had again become liquid and crimson as though the Vendéen and the soldier of the Republic were marching side-by-side.”⁷⁴³ At the same time that the usage of these terms piqued the author’s partisan ire, he attempted to downplay their effectiveness in a political climate where the republicanism of the *bleus* was undoubtedly ascendant. In addition to being an insult to “history,” “good taste,” and “good sense,” “Blancs and Bleus are part, I think, of this old-fashioned dramatic baggage.”⁷⁴⁴ His response belies how powerful revolutionary divisions remained a century on from the initial events, even as the French political system had fractured into left and right blocs as likely to argue amongst themselves as with one another. A Bonapartist, evidently, was more apt to join forces with the republicanism that enabled Napoleon I’s rise than a mixed assembly of monarchists, despite their shared preference for authoritarianism. In a sense, *Le Gaulois*’ insistence that “there were no more Bleus, and there were no more Blancs” is factually correct in that the politics of the 1880s were vastly more complex than two political factions. On the other hand, the statement seeks to undermine the persistence of historical memory in the centennial decade, especially as revolutionary and counterrevolutionary monuments sponsored by republicans and monarchists flourished simultaneously. However, as this study has documented, the sponsors of republican imagery pursued the perpetuation of their political position through broad support, which led to a dissonant presentation of revolutionary histories in the official centennial of 1889—one that found nuance between the seemingly irreconcilable poles of *bleu* and *blanc*.

⁷⁴³ J. Cornély, “Blancs et Bleus,” *Le Gaulois*, no. 512 (February 6, 1881): 1.

⁷⁴⁴ J. Cornély, “Blancs et Bleus,” 1.

Illustrations

Introduction: Centering the Revolution in the 1889 Decennial Exhibition of Art



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 0.1a. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. I.

Commissariat spécial des Beaux-Arts.

MM. Antonin PROUST, député, ancien Ministre des Arts, *Commissaire spécial*.
Georges HECQ, chef du secrétariat des services des Beaux-Arts et des
Bâtiments civils au Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,
Commissaire spécial adjoint.
Armand DAYOT, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts, *Inspecteur principal de l'Expo-
sition rétrospective*.
Roger MARX, Inspecteur adjoint des Beaux-Arts, *Inspecteur principal de
l'Exposition Rétrospective*.
Henry HAVARD, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts, *Inspecteur principal de l'Expo-
sition décennale (section française)*.
Roger BALLU, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts, *Inspecteur principal de l'Exposi-
tion décennale (sections étrangères)*.
Philippe BURTY, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts, *Inspecteur principal de l'Exposi-
tion des Manufactures nationales*.
Paul DELAIR, Commissaire des Expositions, chargé de la conservation des
œuvres d'art.
GIUDICELLI, commissaire des Expositions.
Jules DUPRÉ, attaché au Commissariat des Expositions.
Édouard GARNIER, chef du service du Catalogue.
PRÉTET, délégué au placement des œuvres (peinture).
BISSON, délégué adjoint au placement des œuvres (peinture).
GLAUDINONT, délégué adjoint au placement des œuvres (peinture).
Étienne LEROUX, délégué au placement des œuvres (sculpture).
MAILLET DU BOULAY, délégué au placement des œuvres (sculpture).
Ch. MATHIEU, délégué adjoint au placement des œuvres (sculpture).
Paul LEFORT, attaché au Commissariat spécial des Beaux-Arts.
Marcel FOUQUIER, » »
CANTE, » »
MONPROFIT, » »
K. HANOTAUX, » »
MARYE, » »
DURAND, » »
BARTHELEMY, » »
LAURENT, » »
MONFILS, » »
G. BLAVET, » »
SAGLIO, » »
PIRAS, » »
DE COURSEULLES, » »

Figure 0.1b. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. II.

JURYS D'ADMISSION.

CLASSES 1 ET 2.

Peintures à l'huile. — Peintures diverses et dessins.

BUREAU.

MM. MEISSONIER, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut, *Président*.
BOUGUEREAU, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut, *Vice-Président*.
T. ROBERT-FLEURY, artiste peintre, *Rapporteur*.
HUMBERT, artiste peintre, *Secrétaire*.

MEMBRES.

MM. ARAGO (Étienne), conservateur du Musée national du Luxembourg.
BARRIAS, artiste peintre.
BENJAMIN-CONSTANT, artiste peintre.
BERNIER, artiste peintre.
BONNAT, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
BRETON (Jules), artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
BUSSON (Charles), artiste peintre.
CABAT, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
CAROLUS-DURAN, artiste peintre.
CAZIN, artiste peintre.
CORMON, artiste peintre.
DAGNAN-BOUVERET, artiste peintre.
DELAUNAY, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
DETAILLE, artiste peintre.
DUEZ, artiste peintre.
FRANÇAIS, artiste peintre.
GÉROME, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
GERVEX, artiste peintre.
HARPIGNIES, artiste peintre.
HAYARD (Henry), inspecteur des Beaux-Arts.
HÉBERT, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
HENNER, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
LAURENS (J.-P.), artiste peintre.
LEFEBVRE (J.), artiste peintre.
LENEPVEU, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
MANTZ (Paul), directeur général honoraire des Beaux-Arts.
MICHEL (André), critique d'art.

Figure 0.2a. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. III.

MM. MOREAU (Gustave), artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
MULLER, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
PELOUSE, artiste peintre.
PROUST (Antonin.), député, ancien Ministre des Arts,
PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, artiste peintre.
ROBERT-FLEURY (J.-N.), artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
ROLL, artiste peintre.
SIGNOL, artiste peintre, membre de l'Institut.
VAYSON, artiste peintre.
VOLLON (Antoine), artiste peintre.

CLASSE 3.

Sculpture et Gravure en médailles.

BUREAU.

MM. GUILLAUME, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut, *Président*.
MOREAU (Mathurin), sculpteur-statuaire, *Vice-Président*.
LAFENESTRE, *Rapporteur-Secrétaire*.

MEMBRES.

MM. ALBERT-LEFEUVRE, sculpteur-statuaire.
BARRIAS, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut
BARTHOLDI, sculpteur-statuaire.
BONNASSIEUX, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut.
BURTY, Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts.
CAMBOS, sculpteur-statuaire.
CAVELIER, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut.
CHAPLAIN, graveur en médailles, membre de l'Institut.
CHAPU, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut.
DAVID, graveur en pierres fines.
DELAPLANCHE, sculpteur-statuaire.
DUBOIS, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut.
DUPUIS (Daniel), graveur en médailles.
FALGUIÈRE, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut.
FRÉMIET, sculpteur-statuaire.
GAUTHERIN, sculpteur-statuaire.
KAEMPFFEN, directeur des Musées nationaux et de l'École du Louvre.
LEROUX, sculpteur-statuaire.
LEVILLAIN, graveur en médailles.
MERCÉ, sculpteur-statuaire.
MILLET, sculpteur-statuaire.
PARIS, sculpteur-statuaire.
THOMAS, sculpteur-statuaire, membre de l'Institut.
VAUDET, graveur en pierres fines.

Figure 0.2b. *Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889*, vol. 1 (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889), p. IV.

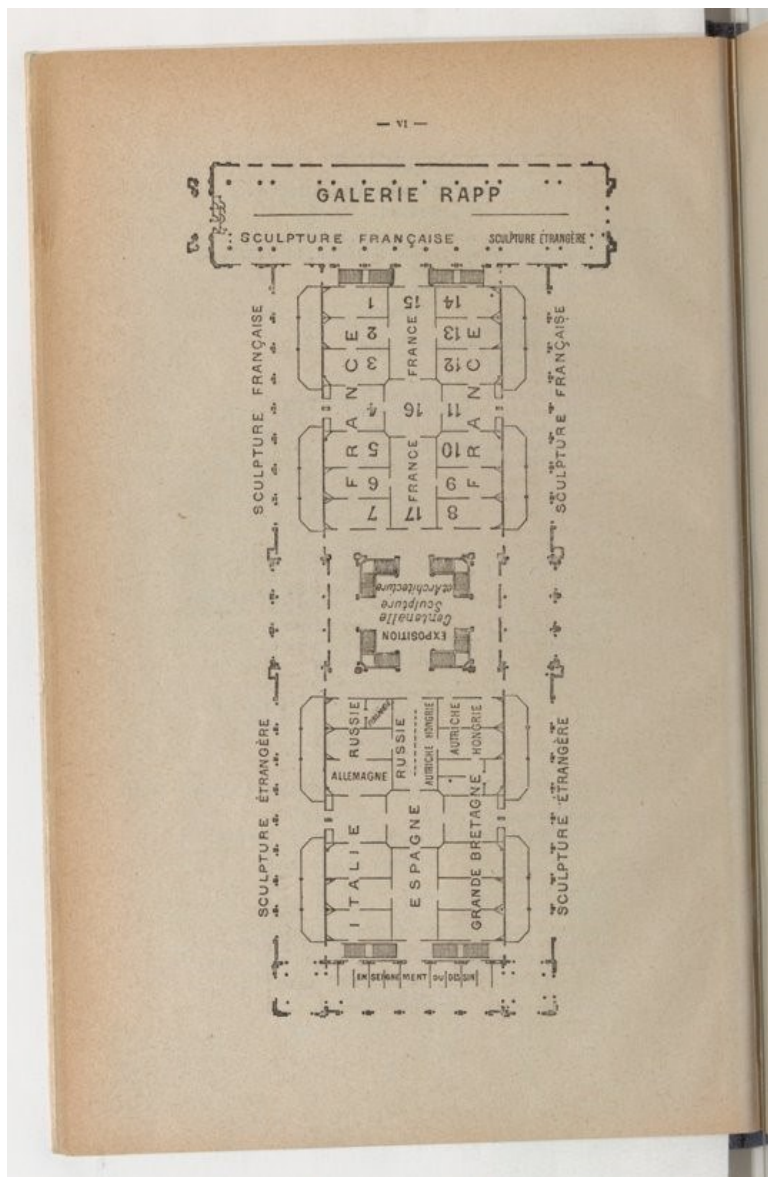


Figure 0.3a. Interior Map of the 1889 Decennial Layout, Rez-de-Chaussée, Palace of Fine Arts from the Exhibition Catalogue, p.VI.

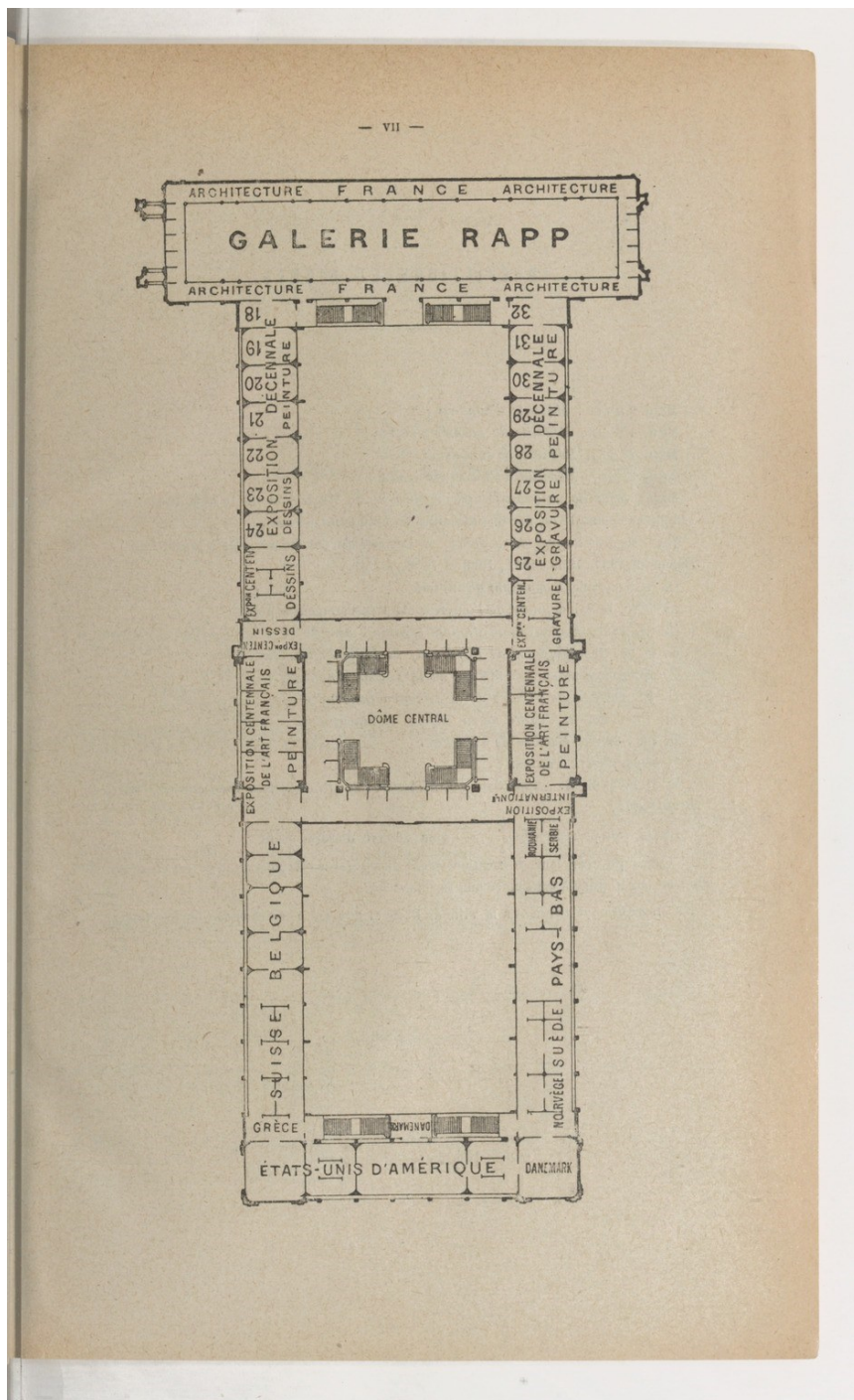


Figure 0.3b. Interior Map of the 1889 Decennial Layout, First Floor, Palace of Fine Arts from the Exhibition Catalogue, p. VII.



Figure 0.4. Hippolyte Blancard, *Exposition universelle of 1889: General view under the dome of the Palace of Fine Arts, 7th Arrondissement, Paris, 1889*, platinum print photograph, Musée Carnavalet, PH76900.



Figure 0.5. Hippolyte Blancard, *Exposition universelle of 1889: General View of the Galleries Rapp and Desaix of the Palace of Fine Arts, 7th Arrondissement*, 1889, platinum print photograph, Musée Carnavalet, PH76916.



Figure 0.6. Hippolyte Berteaux, *Assassination Attempt against Hoche*, 1885, oil on canvas, 208 x 325 cm (81.9 x 127.9 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, D 886.1.1.



Figure 0.7. Alexandre Bloch, *The Chapel of La Madeleine at Malestroit*, 1886, oil on canvas, 206 x 249 cm (81.1 x 98 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper, D.887-1.1.



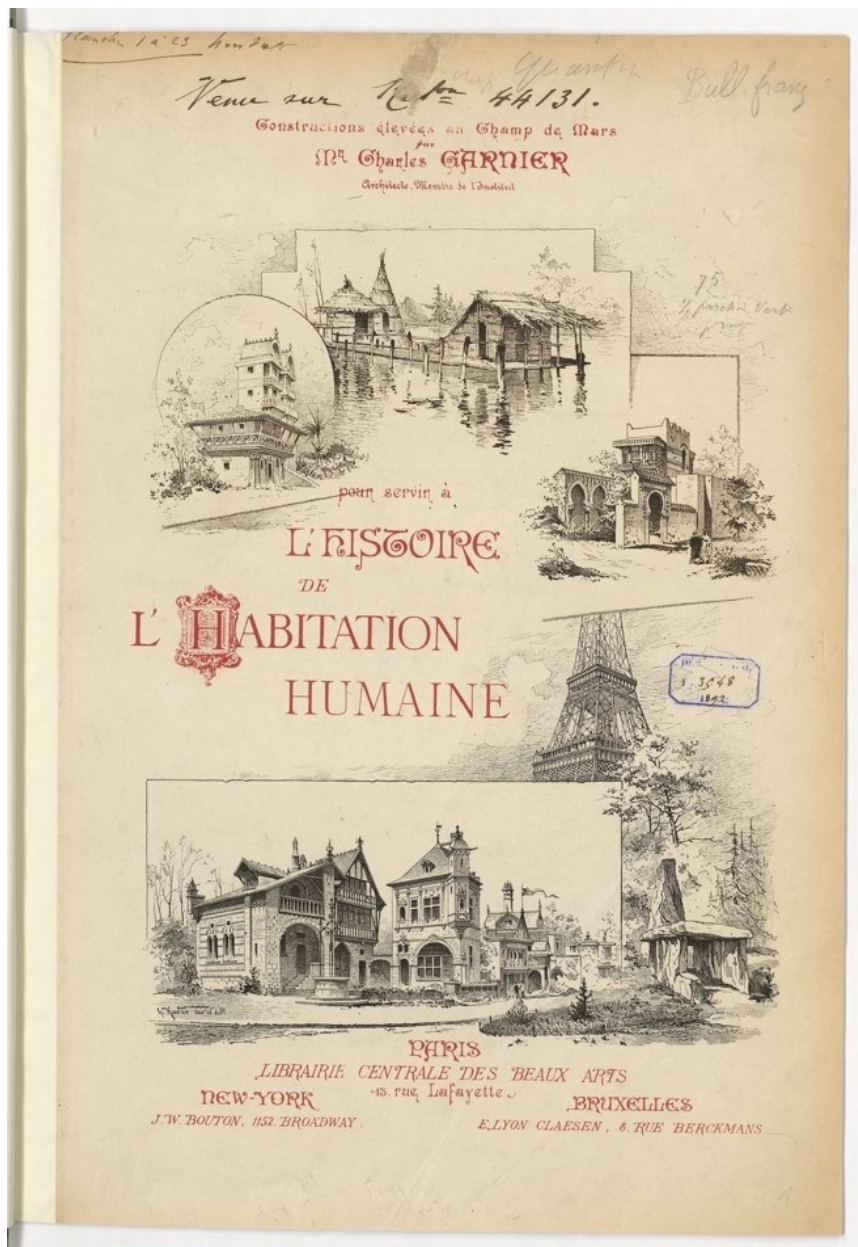
Figure 0.8. Charles-Alexandre Coëssin de la Fosse, *The Mass for the Dead in the Morbihan (Vendémiaire An II)*, collotype from the Braun artistic reproduction workshops, Paris, https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Charles-Coessin-de-la-Fosse-The-Mass-for-the-dead-in-the-Morbihan-Vendemiaire-Year-II_fig2_355707881.



Figure 0.9. Charles-Alexandre Coëssin de la Fosse, *Pacification of the Vendée, Ninth Hussars in 1795*, 1882, oil on canvas, 134 x 190.5 cm (52.7 x 75 in.), Collection of the Musée Massey, Tarbes, deposited at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Carcassonne.



Figure 0.10. Hippolyte-Pierre Delanoy, *The Desk of Citizen Carnot*, 1880, oil on canvas, 85 x 135 cm (33.5 x 53.1 in.), sold at *Collection de Mr. X et à Divers amateurs*, Digard Auction, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 29, 2022, <https://www.artnet.com/artists/hippolyte-pierre-delanoy/>.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 0.11. Cover Page of Frantz Jourdain, *Constructions élevées au Champ de Mars* par M. Ch. Garnier, architecte... pour servir à l'histoire de l'habitation humaine (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1889).



Figure 0.12. Jean Béraud, *Entrance to the Exposition universelle of 1889*, 1889, oil on wood, 30 x 40 cm. (11 4/5 x 15 3/4 in.), Musée Carnavalet, P1654.

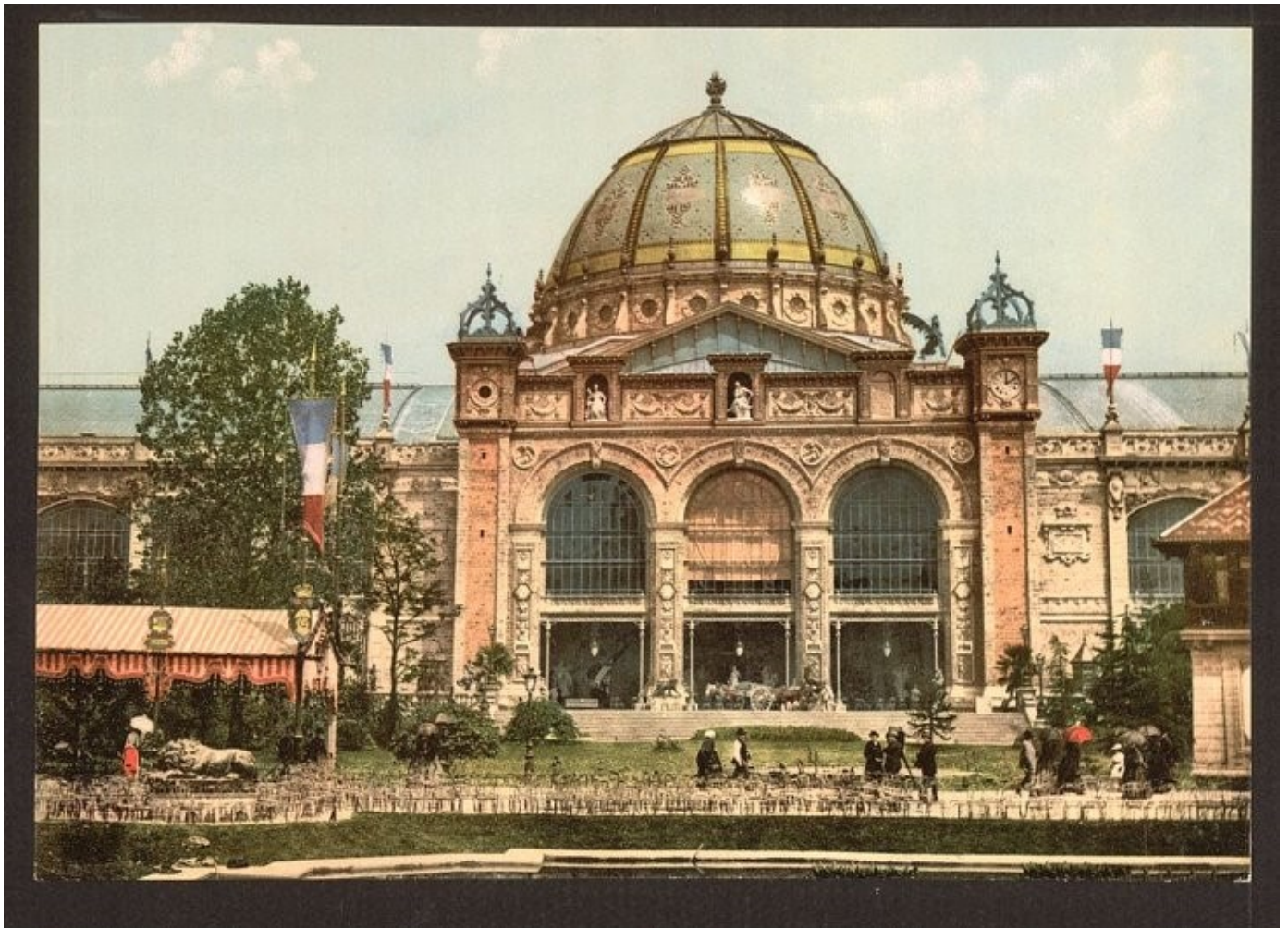


Figure 0.14. Unknown Artist, *The Palace of Fine Arts, Exposition universelle, Paris, 1889*, photochrome print, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., lot 13418.

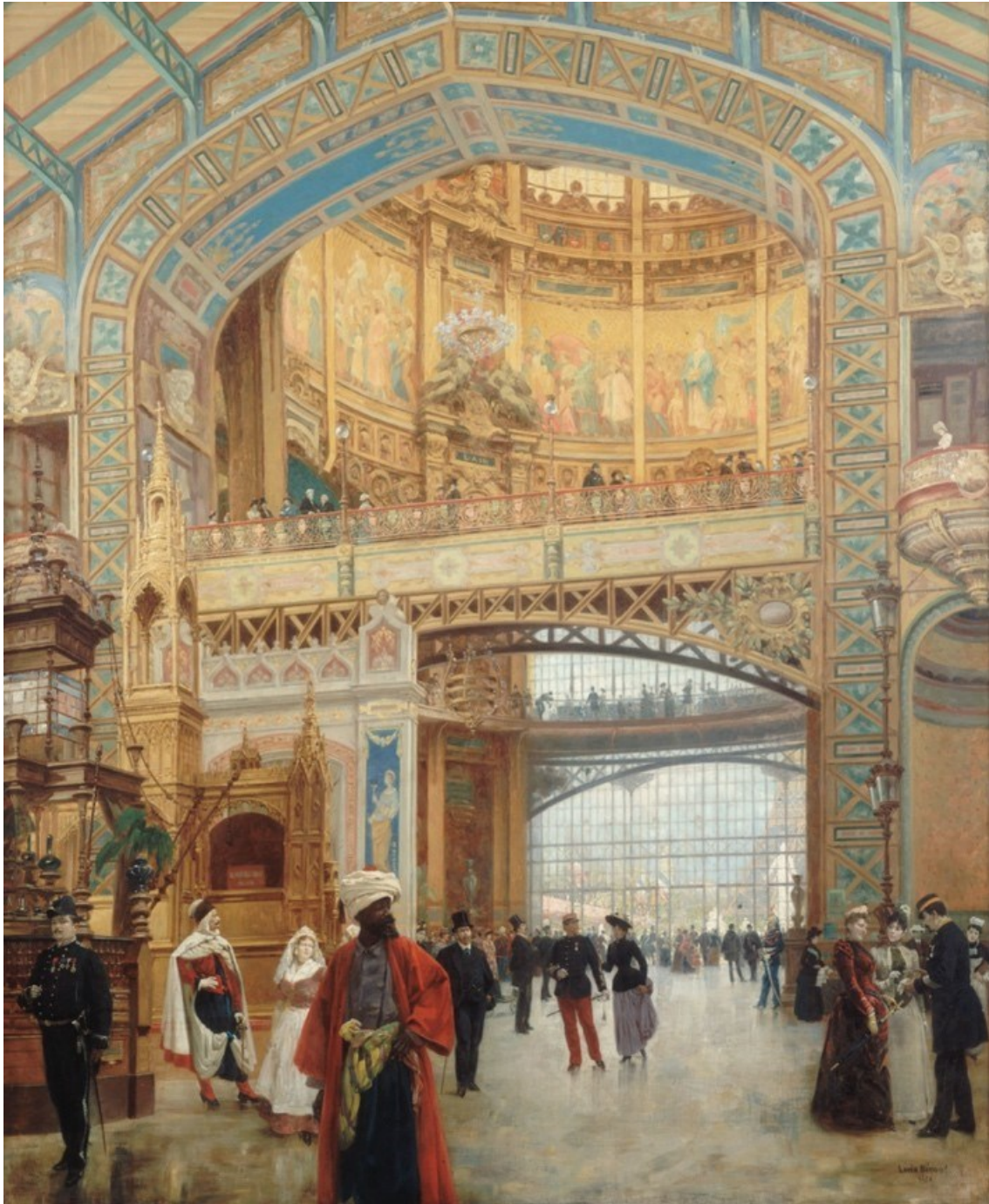


Figure 0.15. Louis Béroud, *The Central Dome of the Gallery of Machines at the Exposition universelle of 1889, 1890*, oil on canvas, 228 x 196 1/2 cm. (89.7 x 77.3 in.), Musée Carnavalet, P2314



Figure 0.16. Albert Bettannier, *The Black Stain*, 1887, oil on canvas, 110 1/2 x 150 1/2 cm. (43.5 x 59.2 in.), Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.



Figure 0.17. Édouard Detaille, *Salute to the Wounded*, 1877, oil on canvas, 80 x 130 cm. (31 2/5 x 51 1/10 in.), São Paulo Museum of Art.



Figure 0.18. Hippolyte Blancard, *Exposition universelle of 1889. Exhibition of Sculpture in the Galerie Rapp and Desaix of the Palace of Fine Arts, "Quand même" by Antonin Mercié (1845-1916), 7th Arrondissement, Paris, 1889, platinum print photograph, Musée Carnavalet, PH76909.*



Figure 0.19. Antonin Mercié, *Gloria Victis*, bronze cast in 1875 (model completed 1872, plaster shown at Salon of 1874), 311 x 192 x 151 cm. (122 9/20 x 75 3/5 x 59 9/20 in.), Petit Palais, Paris.



Figure 0.20. Unknown photographer, *Alsace*, photograph with additive color processes, 10 1/2 x 6 7/20 cm. (4 1/8 x 2 1/2 in.), Fleet Library Picture Collection Rhode Island School of Design.



Figure 0.21. Georges Scott, *Drawing of the Inauguration of Vital-Cornu's Statue of Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal, July 12, 1889*, seen in the July 20, 1889 issue of *Le Monde illustré*.



Figure 0.22. Henri Gervex and Alfred Stevens, *Rouget de Lisle and the Soldiers of the Republic*, 1887-88, oil on canvas, 120 x 140 cm. (47.2 x 55.1 in.), Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.

**Chapter One: A ‘young, enthusiastic man, throwing green leaves to the wind’: Jacobinism
at the Decennial Exhibition of 1889**



Figure 1.1. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal*, 1888, oil on canvas, 251 x 177 cm. (98.8 x 69.7 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie de Chalons-en-Champagne, inv. 890.30.19.



Figure 1.2. Charles Vital-Cornu, *Camille Desmoulins*, 1882, plaster, no longer extant.



Figure 1.3. Jean Baffier, *Monument to Marat*, 1885, this version erected in Vizille in 2013, bronze, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.



Figure 1.4. Ernest-Joseph Barrias, *The Defense of Paris*, erected 1883, bronze.



Figure 1.5. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *Cincinnatus Receiving the Deputies of the Senate Charged to Bring to Him the Insignia of the Dictatorship*, 1844, oil on canvas, 114 x 146 cm. (45 x 57.5 in.), École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, inv. PRP89.



Figure 1.6. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *The Death of Chopin*, 1885, oil on canvas, 110 x 131 cm. (43.3 x 51.5 in.), National Museum, Kraków.



Figure 1.7. Félix-Joseph Barrias, *Death of a Pilgrim*, 1887, oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 40 1/8 in.

(65.1 x 101.9 cm), Toledo Museum of Art, OH, 1977.38.



Figure 1.8. Léon Cogniet, *The National Guard of Paris Leaving for the Army, September 1792*, 1836, oil on canvas, 76 x 189 cm. (29.9 x 74.4 in.), Palace of Versailles.



Figure 1.9. Paul Delaroche, *The Conquerors of the Bastille in front of the Hôtel de Ville, 14 July 1789*, commissioned from 1839, oil on canvas, 400 x 435 cm. (157.5 x 171.3 in.), Petit Palais, Paris.



Figure 1.10. Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Steel Vault: Reception of Louis XVI at the Hôtel de Ville, 17 July 1789*, 1889-91, oil on canvas, Salon Lobau, Hôtel de Ville, Paris.



Figure 1.11. Stop, *The Salon of 1888*, by Stop: Barrias [captioned “Camille Desmoulins kidnapped by a man who is bald, but strong”], from *Journal amusant*, no. 1652 (April 28, 1888):

4.



Figure 1.12. Alfred Loudet, *Marat* [in conversation with Robespierre and Danton], oil on canvas, 320 x 400 cm. (126 x 157.5 in.), Musée des beaux-arts, Marseille (currently on view at the Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille).

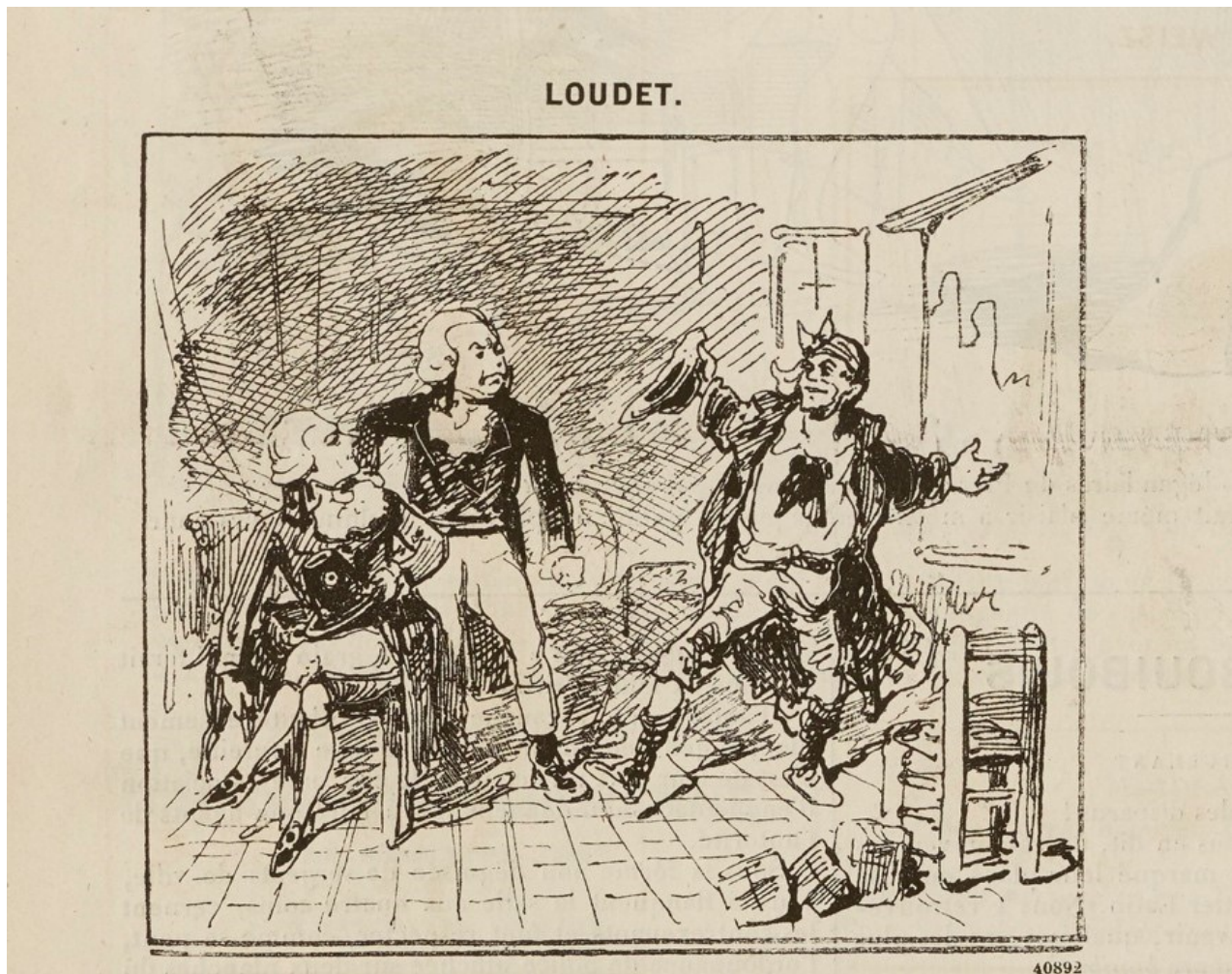


Figure 1.13. Stop, *The Salon of 1882*, by Stop: Loudet [captioned “Marat gives Danton and Robespierre an idea for the cancan, new national dance”], from *Journal amusant*, no. 1343 (May 27, 1882): 4.



Figure 1.14. Edmond-Louis Dupain, *The Girondins Pétion and Buzot the evening of 30 Prairial or The Death of the Last Girondins*, 1880, oil on canvas, 320 x 225 cm. (126 x 88.6 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie, Libourne.



Figure 1.15. After François Flameng, *Camille Desmoulins*, published in *L'Art*, 1882, etching, 27 1/2 x 36 9/10 cm. (10.8 x 14.5 in.), British Museum. Painting destroyed during the First World War.



Figure 1.16. Alexandre Lequien, *Camille Desmoulins*, 1881, marble, 85 x 60 x 40 cm. (33.5 x 23.6 x 15.75 in.), Municipal Council Room, Hôtel de Ville, Guise.



Figure 1.17. Copy after Amédée Doublemard, *Monument to Camille Desmoulins*, original inaugurated in 1889, this version dates to 1949, bronze, place d'Armes, Guise.



Figure 1.18. François Flameng, *The Massacre of Machecoul—10 March 1793*, 1884, oil on canvas, 500 x 650 cm. (196 17/20 x 255 9/10 in.), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet, France.



Figure 1.19. François Flameng, *Bathing of Court Ladies in the 18th Century*, 1888, oil on canvas, 90 x 115 cm. (35 2/5 x 45 1/5 in.), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Figure 1.20. Engraving after Carrier-Belleuse in illustrated supplement of *La Presse*, no. 1 (May 1, 1882).

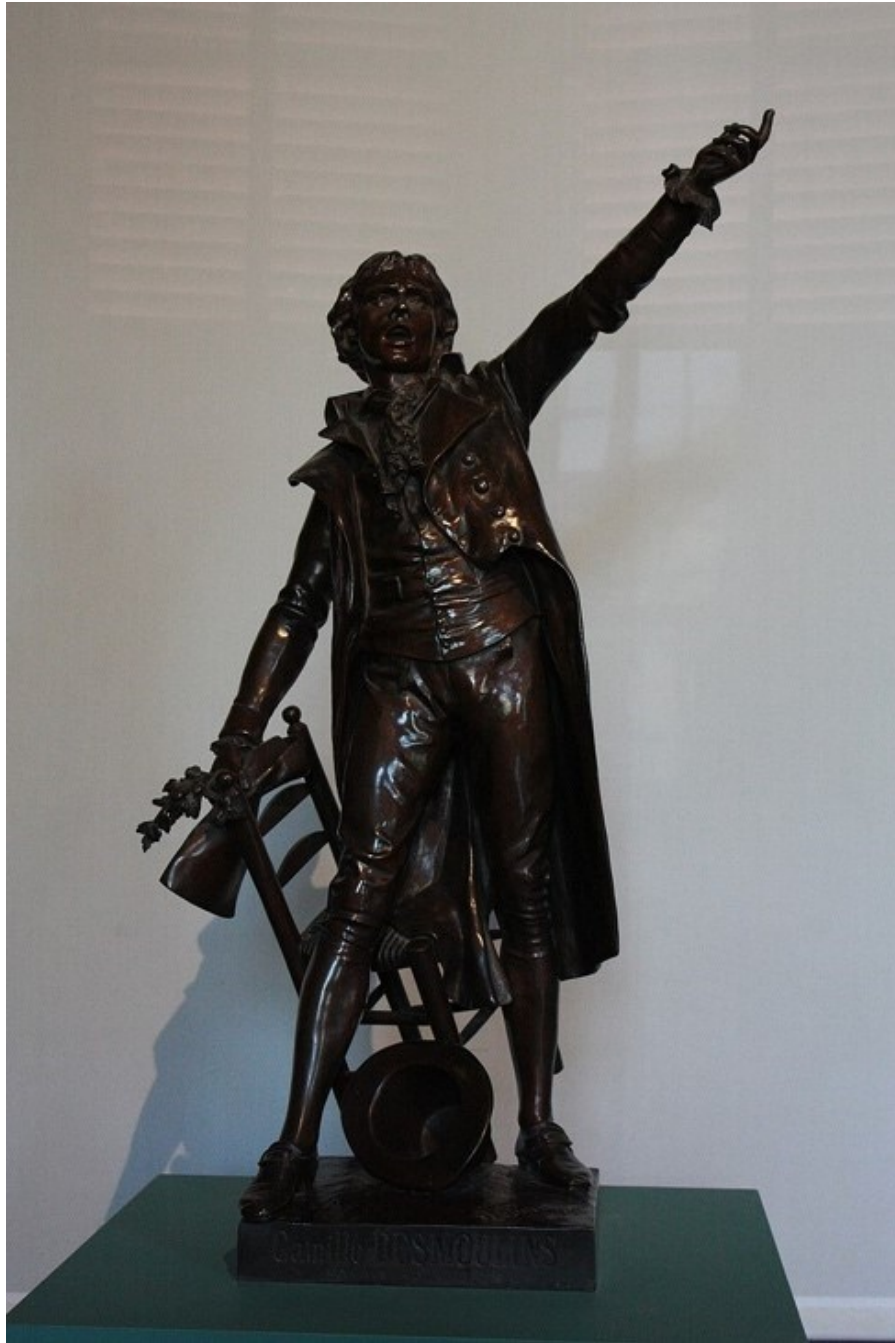


Figure 1.21. Etienne-Henry Dumaige, *Camille Desmoulins, Palais-Royal*, 1789, 1882, bronze, 97 1/2 x 53 x 42 cm. (38.4 x 20.9 x 16.5 in.), Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.



Figure 1.22. Alfred Stevens and Henri Gervex, Fragment of *Panorama of the Century*, ca. 1889, oil on canvas, 440 x 239 cm (173.2 x 94 in.), Musée Carnavalet, Paris.



Figure 1.23. Chestnut Tree Arcade, Gardens of the Palais-Royal, picture taken by the author in September 2022.

Chapter Two: 'In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday': Royalism at the 1889

Decennial Exhibition



Figure 2.1. Julien Le Blant, *The Execution of Charette*, 1883, oil on canvas, 160 x 280 cm. (63 x 110.2 in.), private collection, Orléans.



Figure 2.2. Julien Le Blant, *The Square Battalion, Fougères Affair 1793*, 1880, oil on canvas, 151 x 227 1/3 cm. (59.5 x 89.5 in.), Brigham Young University, Social Science Department, Provo, UT.

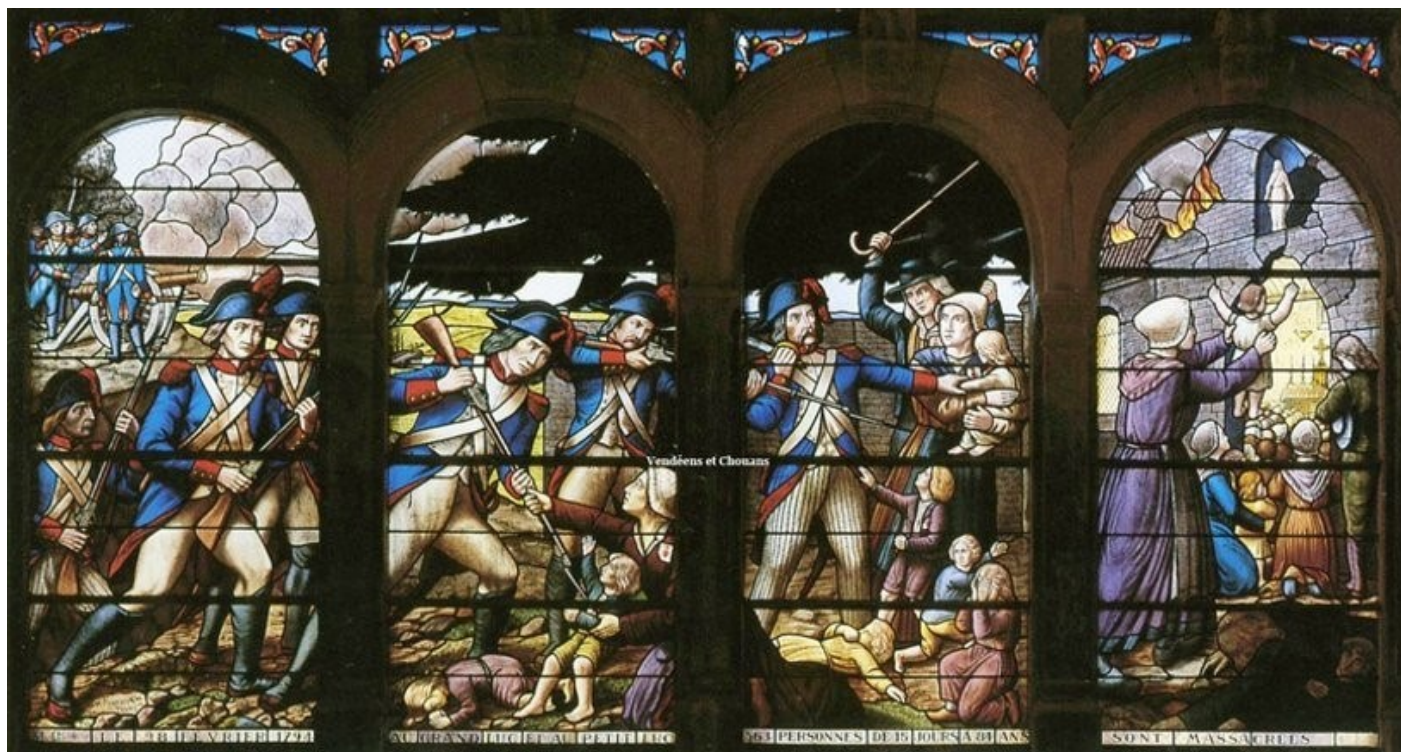


Figure 2.3. Stained Glass depicting Turreau's Infernal Columns, Chapelle du Petit-Luc, Lucs-sur-Boulogne.



Figure 2.4. Joseph Aubert, *The Drownings in Nantes in 1793*, 1882, oil on canvas, location unknown.



Figure 2.5. Auguste-Hyacinthe Debay, *Episode from 1793 in Nantes*, 1838, Salon of 1850, oil on canvas, 227 x 174 cm. (89.4 x 68.5 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes (on loan to château de ducs de Bretagne, Nantes in Spring 2022).



Figure 2.6. Paulin Guérin, *François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie (1763-1796), General in Chief of the Vendéen Armies*, 1819, oil on canvas, 216 x 140 cm. (85 x 55.1 in.), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet.



Figure 2.7. Julien Le Blant, *Battle of Fère-Champenoise, March 25, 1814*, 1886, oil on canvas, 260 x 380 cm. (102.4 x 149.6 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes, Inv. D.08., © Jean-Marie Protte.

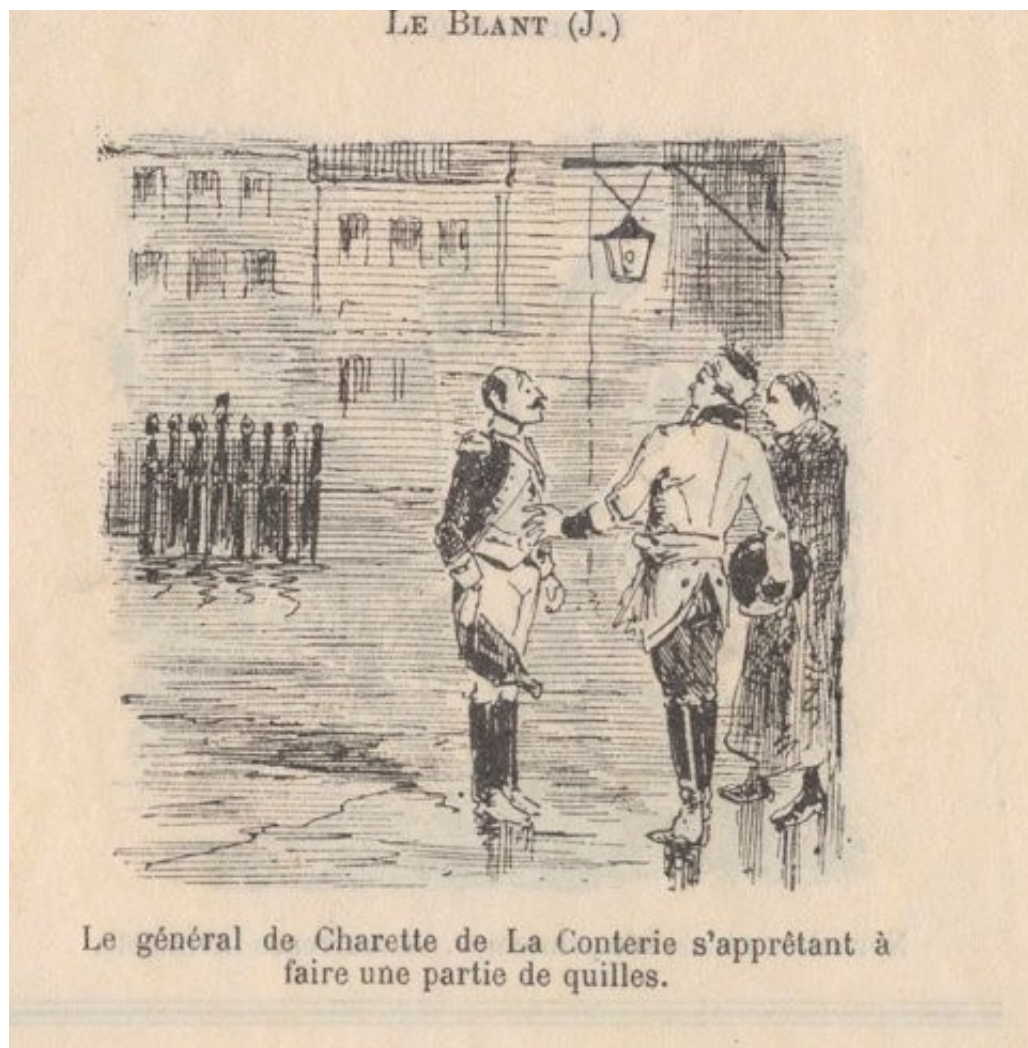


Figure 2.8. Draner, Le Salon Pour Rire, *Le Charivari*, Salon of 1883 special issue.



Figure 2.9. Émile Gaucher, *Statue of François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie*, inaugurated August 27, 1896 in the park near the Charette château in Couffé.

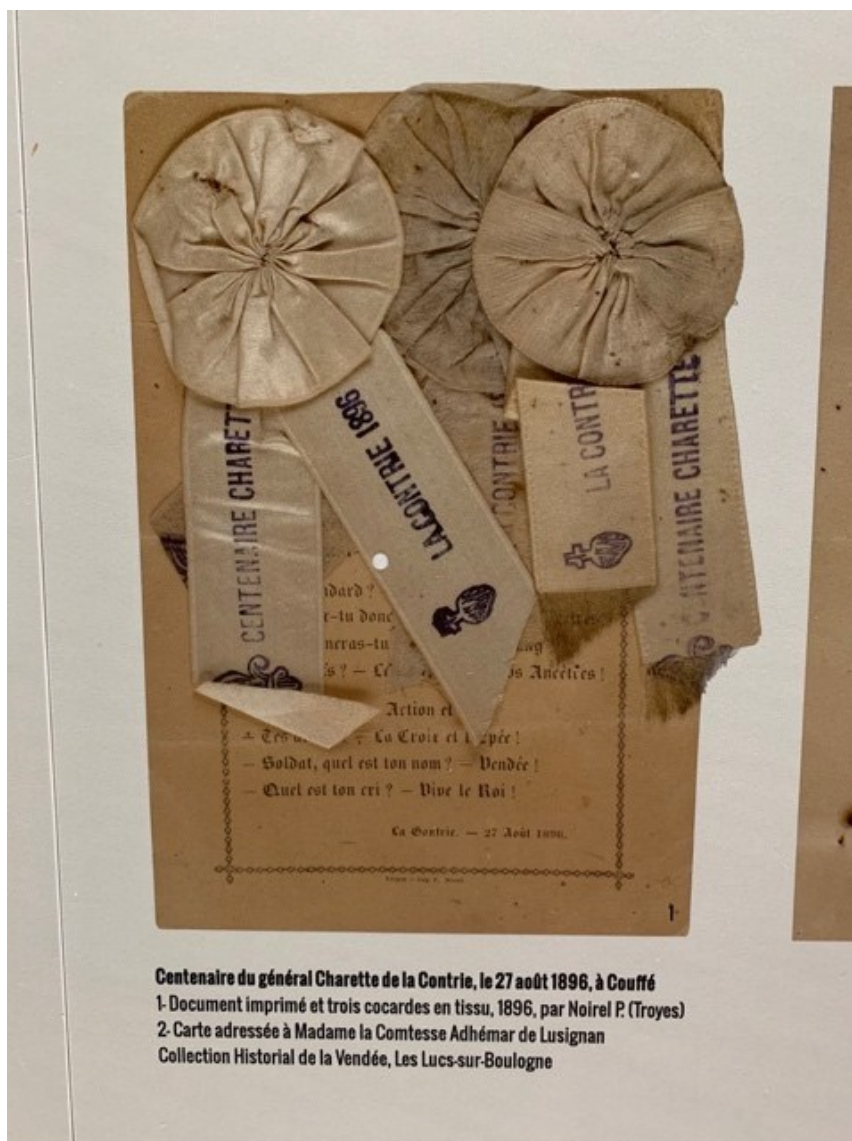
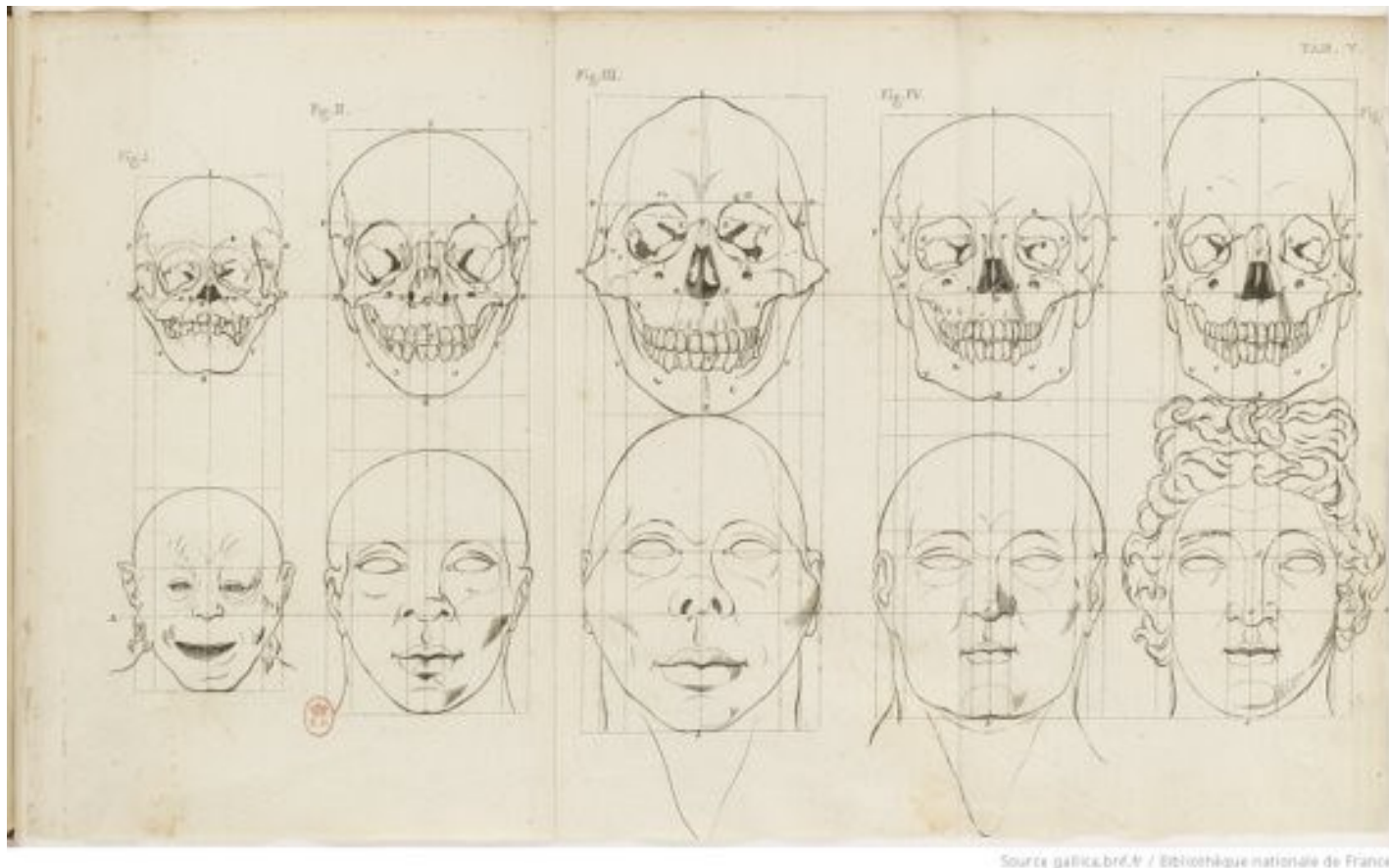


Figure 2.10. White royalist cockades from the Charrette execution centenary of 1896, Le Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. Photo taken by the author.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 2.11. Petrus Camper, unpaginated plate in the appendix showing facial angle measurements promoting physiognomic theories of European supremacy in *Dissertation On the Natural Varieties that Characterize the Physiognomy of Men of Different Climates and Different Ages, Followed by "Reflections on Beauty"* (Paris: chez H.J. Jansen, 1791).



Figure 2.12. Alexandre Bloch, *The Death of General Beaupuy*, 1888, oil on canvas, 200 x 160 cm. (78.7 x 63 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes.

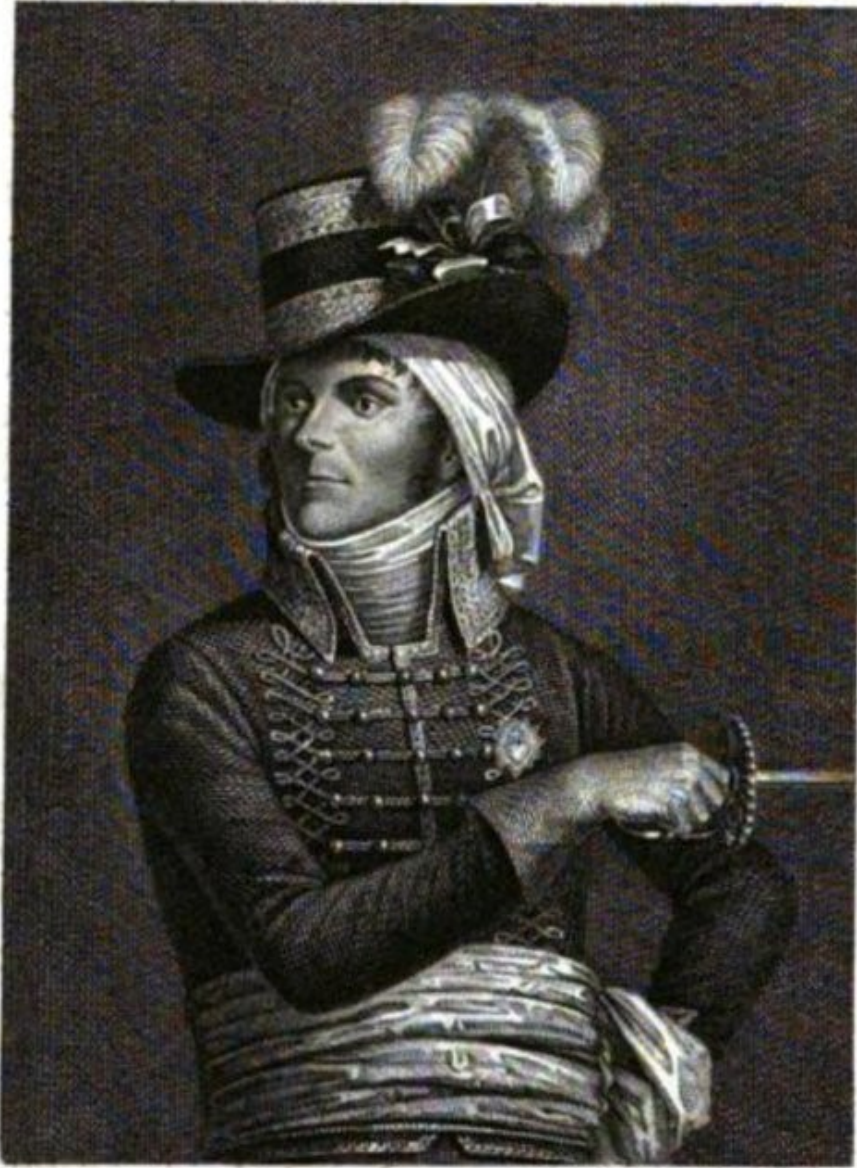


Figure 2.13. Frontispiece from M. Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le general Charette*, pt. 1 (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1809).



Figure 2.14. Pascal-Adolphe-Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, *The Pardon in Brittany*, 1886, oil on canvas, 114.6 x 84.8 cm. (45 1/8 x 33 3/8 in.), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 2.15. Fernand Cormon, *Cain*, 1880, oil on canvas, 400 x 700 cm (157.5 x 275.6 in), Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



Figure 2.16. Fernand Cormon, oil sketch for the amphitheater of paleontology of the Museum of Natural History in Paris, *The Human Races*, 1897, oil on canvas, 87.5 x 129.5 x 4.5 cm. (34.4 x 50.9 x 1.7 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de la ville de Paris, Petit Palais.



Figure 2.17. Detail, Julien Le Blant, *The Square Battalion, Fougères Affair 1793*, 1880, oil on canvas, 151 x 227 1/3 cm. (59.5 x 89.5 in.), Brigham Young University, Social Science Department, Provo, UT.



Figure 2.18. Julien Le Blant and Auguste Léveillé, engraving from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), p. 30, the caption reads, “‘Who are you?’ Marche-A-Terre [Walk on Earth] asked him.”



Figure 2.19. Julien Le Blant and Auguste Lèveillé, engraving from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), p. 29, the caption reads, “The Chouans ask him for his benediction.”



Figure 2.20. Julien Le Blant and Auguste Lévillé, engraving from Honoré de Balzac, *Les Chouans* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1914), p. 10, the caption reads “He began to eat with a stupid indifference.”

rué de Strasbourg et rue d'Alsace. Ce quartier de Paris, à l'heure du départ et de l'arrivée des permissionnaires, grouille d'une vie extraordinaire ! Les bancs et les trottoirs, la cantine gratuite installée dans les bâtiments de la gare, les cafés et les boulangeries, tout est plein de braves poilus, hirsutes, altérés, affamés. Les femmes, les gosses s'empresent autour d'eux. Des camelots, des marchands de journaux, dont beaucoup sont médaillés ou arborent la croix de guerre, appellent les camarades qui passent. Marchand et client se tutoient. Quand le marchand est mutilé, le poilu est presque toujours ému. Et on se sépare sur une poignée de main, le crieur disant à l'autre : « Au revoir et bonne chance ! »

Ah ! les documents ne manquent pas ici ! Pour les saisir au passage, l'artiste a dû travailler avec une rapidité qu'il n'avait jamais eue et qui a beaucoup contribué à modifier, à élargir sa facture. En quatre coups de crayon, il fixait la position des membres. Puis, grâce à une merveilleuse mémoire visuelle, il achevait son croquis sans tarder.

Quel divertissant défilé ! On reconnaît le poilu qui achète des cartes postales pour les envoyer au village. Le poilu solitaire qui s'ennuie et sommeille sur un banc. Le poilu accablé sous le poids des musettes, des bidons et des trophées, botté de boue, pareil à un vrai chemineau. Le frioleux qui met quatre tricot, et se moque pas mal de la tête que lui font ses trois bonnets de police superposés... Les « dégainés » les plus pittoresques du monde, — et si sympathiques, les chers amis !

Et des *dos* ! On ne saurait croire les nuances de sentiment qu'exprime un *dos* dessiné par un grand artiste ! *Dos* rond et bon enfant, *dos* ricaneur, *dos* ahuri, *dos* qui en a assez, *dos* « je m'en fichiste ». Et surtout, certains *dos* amaigris, dans la capote trop large... oh ! celui-là ! On voudrait saisir son propriétaire aux épaules, le retourner, et lui dire : « Regarde-moi ! Tu as souffert, hein ? Viens qu'on t'embrasse, mon brave petit gars ! »

Écoutez ce que disent ces deux poilus arrêtés, faubourg Saint-Martin, devant la carte de France (avec 32 chansons) que vend un camelot gommeux, à tête de marron sculpté. L'un montre à l'autre, du bout du doigt, la ligne du front, les pays envahis — peut-être le village natal. Et il ajoute : « Tu vois, mon *poilu*, voilà pourquoi que nous nous battons ! » N'est-ce pas toute l'âme de la guerre ?

L'œuvre de Julien Le Blant nous enseigne à

voir, à reconnaître le pittoresque inédit, admirable de la guerre actuelle. Quand, après l'avoir étudiée, on va comme lui, faire un tour dans les coins de Paris où grouillent nos chers soldats, on découvre soudain, avec émerveillement, mille détails qui n'avaient point frappé, des types variés à l'infini, et l'aspect si nouveau de cette lutte formidable qui est celle d'un peuple entier.

Pour avoir fixé — avec quelle verve, quelle autorité magistrale ! — les vivantes silhouettes des soldats de 1917, M. Julien Le Blant méritera d'être placé par l'avenir tout à côté de Charlot, et parmi les dignes émules du grand Calot.



Figure 2.21. “Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant,” *Lectures pour tous* (May 15, 1917) : 1103-09.



Figure 2.22. Alexandre Bloch, *The Defense of Rochefort-en-Terre*, 1885, oil on canvas, 190 x 238 cm. (74.8 x 93.7 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper.



Figure 2.23. François Flameng, *The Massacre of Machecoul—10 March 1793*, 1884, oil on canvas, 500 x 650 cm. (196.85 x 255.91 in.), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet.



Figure 2.24. Replica of Julien Le Blant, *The Execution of Charette*, 1883, oil on canvas, 160 x 280 cm. (63 x 110. 2 in.), La Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon.



Figure 2.25. Installation view of “Charette” Chapel in La Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. Photo taken by the author, May 2022.



Figure 2.26. Close up view of “Charette” Stained Glass Rondels, Chapel in La Logis de la Chabotterie en Vendée, Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon. Photo taken by the author, May 2022.

Chapter Three: ‘The only one amongst us who has been a republican’: Bonapartism at the 1889 Decennial Exhibition



Figure 3.1. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *Jena (Napoleon on Horseback)*, 1880, watercolor on paper, 24 x 30 cm. (9.45 x 11.81 in.), Newport Museum and Art Gallery, South Wales.



Figure 3.2. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *1806, Jena*, 1890, oil on canvas, 108 $\frac{3}{5}$ x 145 $\frac{2}{5}$ cm. (42.75 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 57.25 in.), The Frick Pittsburgh.



Figure 3.3. Horace Vernet, *Battle of Jena, 14th October 1806*, 1836, oil on canvas, 465 x 543 cm. (182.4 x 213.6 in.), Château de Versailles.



Figure 3.4. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *The Campaign of France—1814*, 1864, oil on wood, 51 1/2 x 76 1/2 cm. (20.28 x 30.12 in.), Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 3.5. Maurice Réalier-Dumas, *Bonaparte at the Tuileries—10 August 1792*, 1888, oil on canvas, 200 x 300 cm. (78.74 x 118.11 in.), Musée de Gajac, Villeneuve-sur-Lot.



Figure 3.6. Maurice Réalier-Dumas, *Napoleon Entering the École de Brienne, 25 March 1779*, oil on canvas, 201 x 150 1/4 cm. (79 x 59.25 in.), sold at *Home and Interiors*, Bonham's Online, Los Angeles, September 16-26, 2023, lot 81, <https://www.bonhams.com/auction/28419/lot/81/maurice-realier-dumas-french-1860-1928-napoleon-bonaparte-entre-a-lecole-de-brienne-25-mars-1779-79-x-59-14in-201-x-150-14cm/>.



Figure 3.7. Antoine-François Callet, *Louis XVI, King of France and Navarre, dressed in his grand royal costume in 1779*, Salon of 1789, oil on canvas, 278 x 196 cm. (109 2/5 x 77 1/10 in.), Château de Versailles.



Figure 3.8. Goupil & Cie., Publisher, and Edouard Detaille, *Bonaparte en Égypte* / *peint par E. Detaille; Edouard Detaille; photogravure Goupil & Cie.* Egypt France, 1878. Paris; London; La Haye: Imprimé & Publié par Goupil & Cie Editeurs le 1er 8bre; Berlin: Verlag von Goupil & Co.; New York: Published by M. Knöedler. Photograph. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2014649325/>.



Figure 3.9. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Battle of the Pyramids*, 1810, oil on canvas, 389 x 311 cm. (153.15 x 122.41 in.), Château de Versailles.



Figure 3.10. Louis-François, Baron Lejeune, *General View of the Battle of the Pyramids*, 21st July 1798, *Egypt Campaign (1798-1801)*, 1806, oil on canvas, 201 1/2 x 439 cm. (79.33 x 172.84 in.), Château de Versailles.



Figure 3.11. Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier, *The Barricade*, also called *Memory of the Civil War*, June 1848, ca. 1850-51, oil on canvas, 29 x 22 cm. (11.42 x 8.66 in.), Musée du Louvre.



Figure 3.12. Maurice Réalier-Dumas, *Napoleon*, 1895, color lithograph, 56 4/5 x 43 4/5 cm. (22.38 x 17.25 in.), sold at *Hindman: Prints and Multiples*, Artsy, September 29, 2021.



Figure 3.13. Lucien Métivet, *The January Century*, 1895, color lithograph, 595 19/50 x 493 4/5 cm. (234.4 x 191.4 in.), offered by Swann Auction Galleries, 100 Rare and Important American Posters sale, October 14, 2004, lot 64.



Figure 3.14a (verso). Caran d'Ache, *Military Piece "L'Épopée,"* 1886, zinc and decoupage, 146 x 50 cm. (57.5 x 19.7 in.), Musée de l'Armée, Paris, 19454-48.



Figure 3.14b (recto). Caran d'Ache, *Military Piece "L'Épopée,"* 1886, zinc and decoupage, 146 x 50 cm. (57.5 x 19.7 in.), Musée de l'Armée, Paris, 19454-48.



Figure 3.15. Adolphe Willette, Poster for “Élections législatives du 22 Septembre 1889,” 1889.



Figure 3.16. Anonymous, printed by Alcan-Lévy, “Popular History of General Boulanger,” ca. 1888, hand-colored engraving and printed text, 65 x 45 1/3 cm. (25.6 x 17.7 in.), Musée Carnavalet, Legs Maurice Quentin-Bauchart, 1911.



Figure 3.17. Edouard Detaille, *The Dream*, 1888, oil on canvas, 300 x 400 cm. (118.11 x 157.44 in.), Musée d'Orsay.

Chapter Four:

'Nothing at the Champ de Mars or the Trocadéro' to recall 1789 : Rejecting the Revolution at the 1889 Decennial



Figure 4.1. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Marat assassinated! July 13, 1793, 8 o'clock in the evening*, 1880, oil on canvas, 272 x 360 cm (107 x 141 7/10 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix.



Figure 4.2. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *The Death of Bara*, 1883, oil on canvas, 350 x 250 cm (137 $\frac{4}{5}$ x 98 $\frac{2}{5}$ in), Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 4.3. Jean-Jacques Hauer, *The Death of Marat*, 1794, oil on canvas, 60 x 49 cm (23 3/5 x 19 3/10 in), Musée Lambinet, Versailles.



Figure 4.4. Paul Baudry, *Charlotte Corday*, 1860, oil on canvas, 203 x 154 cm. (79.9 x 60.6 in.), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.



Figure 4.5. Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *A Gate of the Louvre, The Morning of Saint Bartholomew*, 1880, oil on canvas, 318 x 400 cm (125 1/5 x 157 1/2 in), Musée d'Art Roger-Quilliot, Clermont-Ferrand.



Figure 4.6. Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Pope and the Inquisitor, called Sixtus IV and Torquemada*, 1882, oil on canvas, 113 x 134 cm (44 1/2 x 52 3/4 in), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux.



Figure 4.7. Édouard Debat-Ponsan, *Tunis, The Black Horse of General Boulanger*, study for the 1887 painting, oil on panel, 46 x 36 cm (18 1/10 x 14 1/5 in), sold at Beaussant-Lefevre, Paris, June 29, 2011, lot 22.



Figure 4.8. Arturo Michelena, *Charlotte Corday Going to the Scaffold*, 1889, oil on canvas, 234 x 315 1/2 cm (92.1 x 124.2 in), Galería de Arte Nacional, Caracas.



Figure 4.9. Jean-Paul Laurens, *The Last Moments of Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico*, 1882, oil on canvas, 222 x 303 cm (87.4 x 119.2 in), Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.



Figure 4.10. Jean-Jacques Hauer, *Marie-Anne Charlotte de Corday called Charlotte Corday*, 1793, oil on canvas, 60 x 47 cm (23 3/5 x 18 1/2 in), Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles.



Figure 4.11. André Brouillet, *A Clinical Lesson at the Salpêtrière*, 1887, oil on canvas, 290 x 430 cm (114.2 x 169.3 in), Descartes University, Paris, FNAC 1133.



Figure 4.12. Adolphe Braun et Cie after Georges-Jules-Auguste Cain, *The Bust of Marat at the Pillar of Les Halles*, 1880-1898, photographic print, 9 x 13.5 cm (3 1/2 x 5 3/10 in), The British Museum.



Figure 4.13. Detail from Anonymous, *The Three Eras of the Life of Jean Paul Marat Projected as Holy by the Jacobins*, an illustration from a pamphlet entitled “The Criminal and Political Life of Jean-Paul Marat, called ‘the Friend of the People’ (Paris, 1795),” 1795, etching, 15.5 x 11.9 cm (6 1/10 x 4 7/10 in), The British Museum.



Figure 4.14. Jules Aviat, *Charlotte Corday*, 1880, oil on canvas, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.



Figure 4.15. Jules Aviat, Charlotte Corday, 1880, oil on canvas, Musée de la Révolution française, Vizille.



Figure 4.16. Tony Robert-Fleury, *Pinel Freeing the Insane from Their Chains*, 1876, oil on canvas, 401.3 x 500.4 cm (158 x 197 in), Hôpital de la Salpêtrière, Paris.

Infatti, esso è platicefalo, carattere questo che la donna offre meno sovente del maschio. Presenta altresì una apofisi giugulare spiccatissima, due forti arcate sopracigliari concave in basso, confluenti sulla linea mediana ed al di fuori; le suture, aperte tutte,

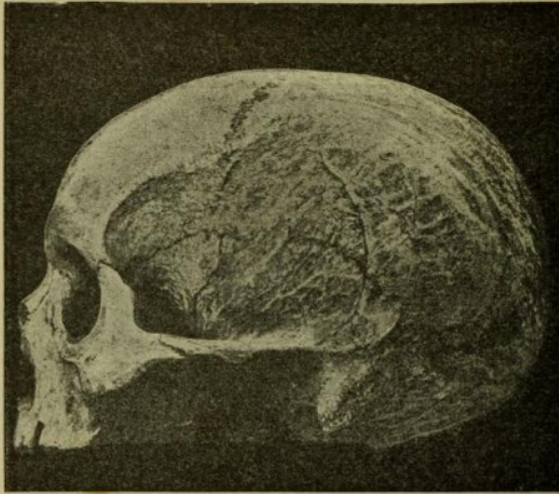


Fig. 2.

come in un giovane dai 23 ai 25 anni, ma semplici, specialmente la coronaria. La capacità è di c. c. 1360, mentre la media francese è di 1337 nelle donne; è leggermente dolicocefala (77,7); presenta nella norma orizzontale (fig. 1) visibili le arcate zigomatiche solamente a sinistra; chiara dunque asimmetria. L'inserzione della sagittale nella frontale è pure asimmetrica. Vi ha infine una fossetta occipitale mediana.

Spiccate sonvi le linee crotafitiche (fig. 2) e le creste del temporale; le cavità orbitali enormi, e molto più grande la destra che è anche abbassata (fig. 3), come tutta è abbassata la parte destra della faccia.

Figure 4.17. A reproduction of Charlotte Corday's skull in Cesare Lombroso, *La donna delinquente, la prostituta e la donna normale* (Turin: L. Roux, 1893), 288. Copy in Wellcome Collection, London.



Figure 4.18. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Woman Standing with Closed Fists* (study for *Marat Assassinated!*), ca. 1880, black chalk on laid paper, 48 x 31.4 cm (18.9 x 12.4 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.



Figure 4.19. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Charlotte Corday (study for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, graphite on laid paper watermarked 'Arches', 32.4 x 31.1 cm (12.75 x 12.2 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.



Figure 4.20a. Jean-Joseph Weerts, [recto] *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* [verso] *Figures in the Opening of a Door (studies for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, [recto] graphite on laid paper [verso] black chalk and charcoal on laid paper, 32.5 x 24.3 cm (12.8 x 9.6 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.



Figure 4.20b. Jean-Joseph Weerts, [recto] *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* [verso] *Figures in the Opening of a Door (studies for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, [recto] graphite on laid paper [verso] black chalk and charcoal on laid paper, 32.5 x 24.3 cm (12.8 x 9.6 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.



Figure 4.21a. Jean-Joseph Weerts, [recto] *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* [verso] *Figures in the Opening of a Door (studies for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, graphite and charcoal on laid paper, 32.5 x 23.9 cm (12.8 x 9.4 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.

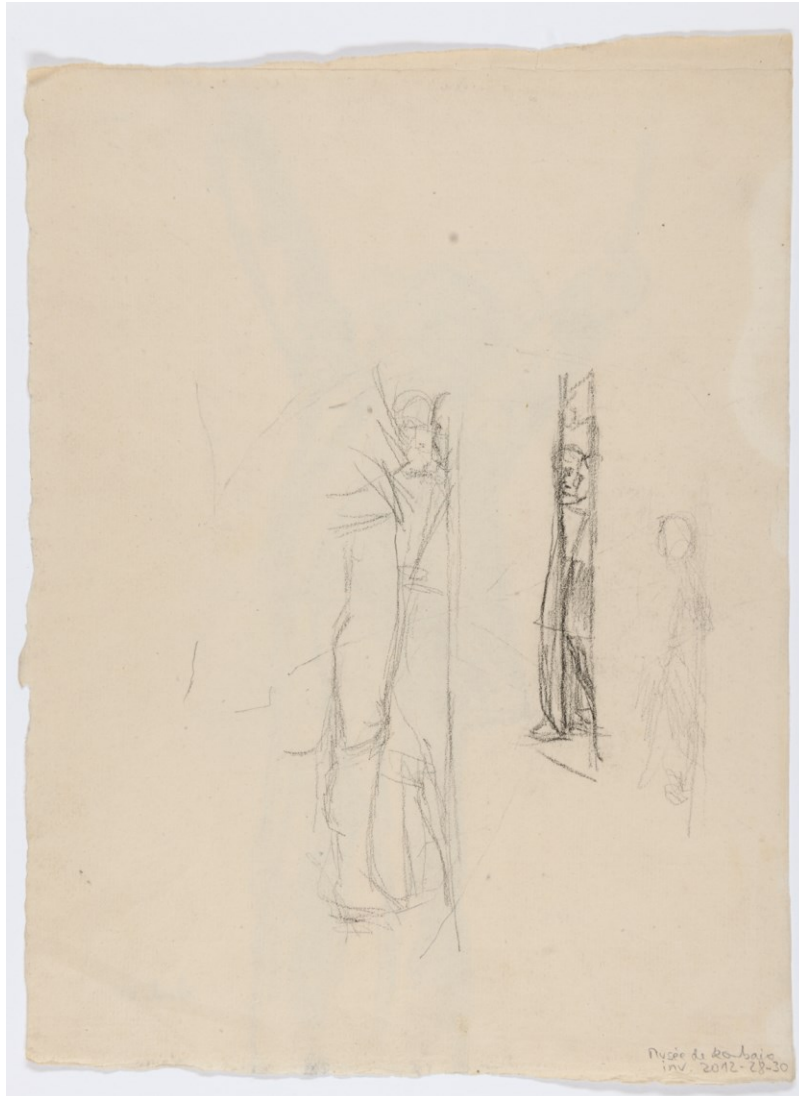


Figure 4.21b. Jean-Joseph Weerts, [recto] *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* [verso] *Figures in the Opening of a Door (studies for Marat Assassinated!)*, ca. 1880, graphite and charcoal on laid paper, 32.5 x 23.9 cm (12.8 x 9.4 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.

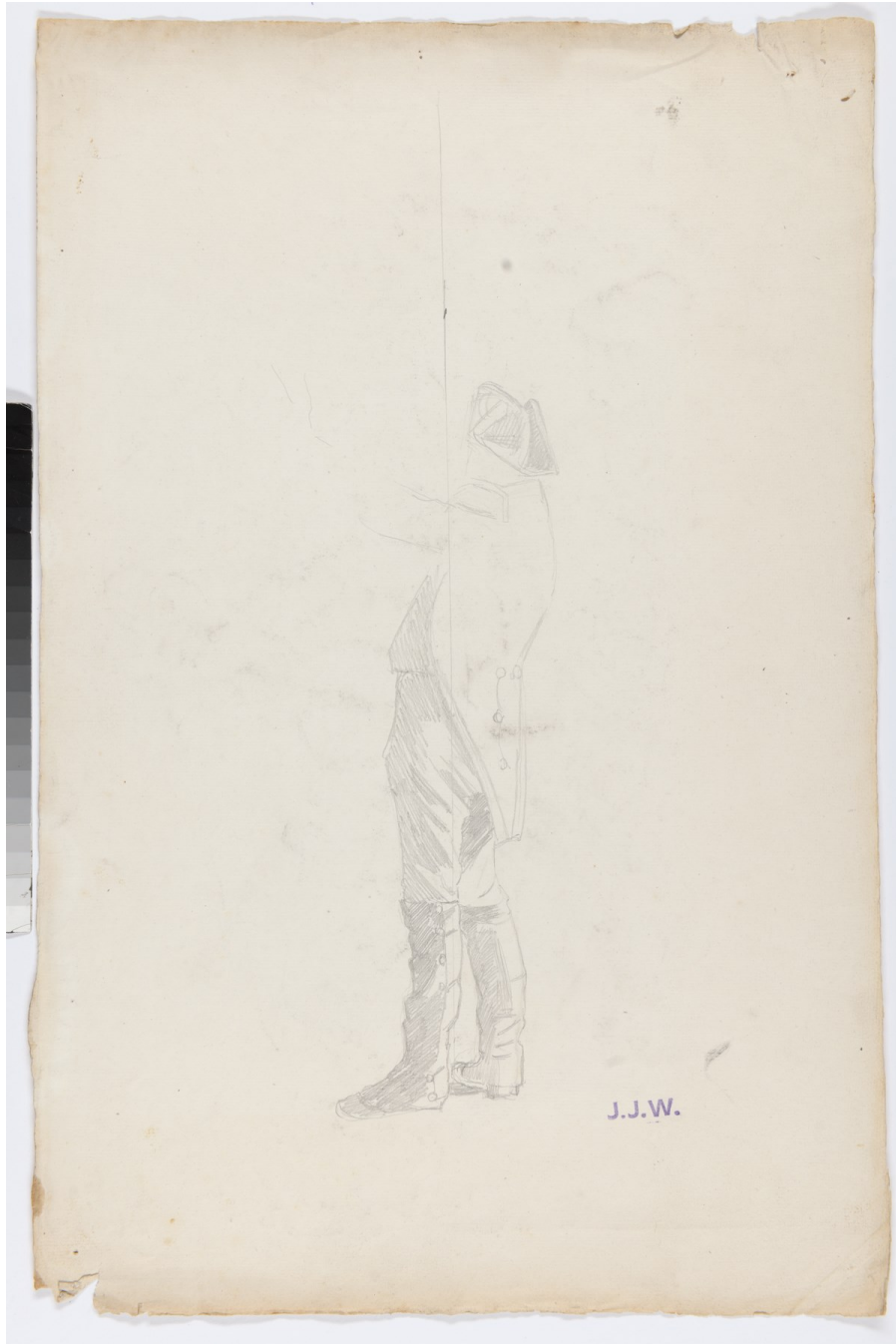


Figure 4.22. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Soldier Brandishing His Sword* (study for *Marat Assassinated!*), ca. 1880, graphite on watermarked laid paper, 48.5 x 31.9 cm (19 x 12.55 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.



Figure 4.23. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Portrait of Joseph Bara*, 1882, oil on canvas, 101.5 x 70 cm (40 x 27.5 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix.



Figure 4.24. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *The Death of Joseph Bara* (sketch), ca. 1882, oil on panel, 25.4 x 18 cm (10 x 7 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix. ©Alain Leprince Roubaix, Musée La Piscine.



Figure 4.25. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *The Night of 9-10 Thermidor*, 1897, oil on wooden panel, 80 x 100.2 cm (31 1/2 x 39 1/2 in), Musée La Piscine, Roubaix.



Figure 4.26. Jean-Joseph Weerts, *Study for the Ceiling of the Hôtel des Monnaies: The City of Paris Receiving the Nations*, 1889-1891, oil on canvas, 90 x 122 cm (35 2/5 x 48 in), Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris.

Conclusion: 'Triumph of the Republic'



Figure 5.1. Jules Dalou, *Triumph of the Republic*, installed 1899, bronze, place de la Nation, Paris.



Figure 5.2. Victor Marec, *Place de la Nation / 25 August 1899*, 1899, oil on framed panel, 35 x 43 cm. (13.8 x 16.9 in.), Musée Carnavalet.



Figure 5.3. Charles Marville, [*Cloud Study over Paris*], albumen silver print, 160 7/10 x 20 3/5 cm (6 9/16 x 8 1/8 in), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987.1094.



Figure 5.4. Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, *The Lion of Belfort*, 1880, red sandstone, Belfort.



Figure 5.5. Léopold and Charles Morice, *Monument to the Republic*, installed 1883, bronze, place de la République, Paris.



Figure 5.6. Alfred Roll, *July 14, 1880, Inauguration of the Monument to the Republic*, 1882, oil on canvas, 645 x 980 cm. (253.9 x 385.8 in.), Petit Palais, Musée des Beaux-arts de la Ville de Paris.

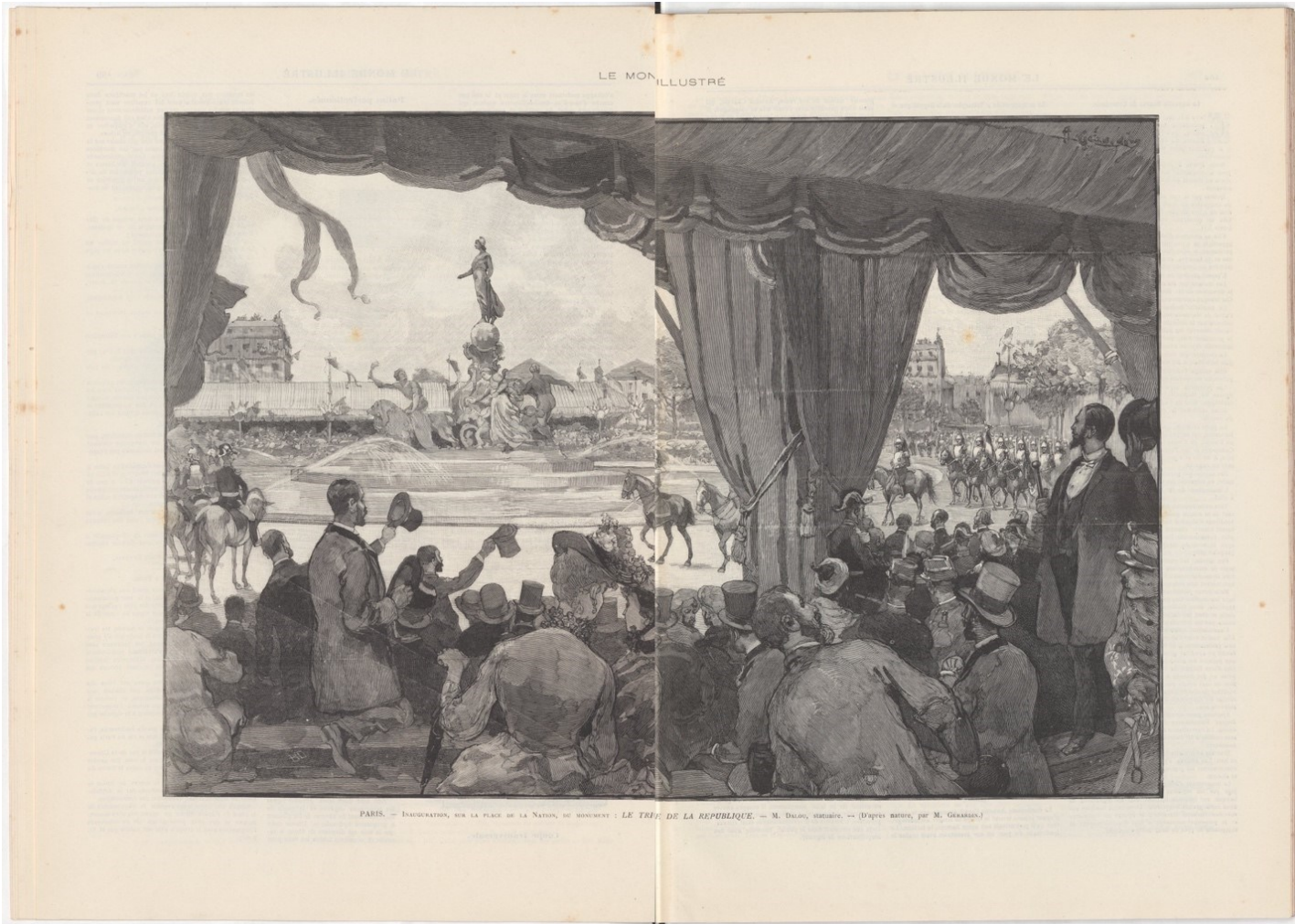


Figure 5.7. Auguste Gérardin and B.D., “Paris.—Inauguration, sur la Place de la République.—
M. Dalou, statuaire.—(D’après nature, par M. Gérardin.),” reproduced in *Le Monde illustré*
(September 28, 1889): 200-201.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Archives nationales, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine

AJ/52/836. "Archives de l'Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts." Prêts à des expositions extérieures à l'École. 1889-1961.

F/12/3757. "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). Documents généraux; Préparation de la loi du 6 juillet 1884 instituant l'exposition."

F/12/3790/B. "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). Décrets du Président de la République."

F/12/3960. "Fête du 14 juillet; Banquet des chemins de fer, 17 sept. 1889; Banquet du ministre des Travaux Publics, 21 sept. 1889; Banquet offert aux exposants à l'Hôtel de ville, 11 mai 1889; Banquet de la Bourse du commerce; Banquet offert au commissariat général par les commissions étrangères à l'hôtel continental, 13 juin 1889."

F/12/4038. "Commissariat général. Exposition universelle de 1889 à Paris (1876-1900). [Livre 1] Palais des Beaux-Arts et des Arts libéraux, comptes ouverts de 1888 à 1889 (17 avril)."

Guides des sources relatives aux musées et aux expositions conservées aux Archives nationales. Administrations culturelles, puis Ministère de la Culture: Division des Beaux-Arts; Bureau des Travaux d'art.

F/21/485 à 490. Mélanges (An III [septembre 1794-septembre 1795]-1889): commandes aux artistes, demandes et distributions de travaux ; acquisitions à l'occasion des salons (1833-1889); collection et Musée Campana (1861-1863); décorations d'artistes dans l'ordre de la Légion d'honneur (1839-1870).

F/21/519 à 542. Expositions et salons (An III [septembre 1794-septembre 1795]-1889).

F/21/523. "Bâtiments civils. Travaux d'art, musées, expositions, manufactures, bâtiments civils, théâtres et musique: Expositions des Beaux-Arts aux Expositions universelles, 1855-1889: Expositions de 1867 et 1889: No. 3509: Chambre des Députés, Quatrième législature, Session de 1889; Annexe au procès-verbal de la séance du 31 janvier 1889. Rapport sur l'état des travaux et sur le compte des dépenses de l'Exposition universelle de 1889, à la date du 31 décembre 1888, présenté par M. Pierre-Legrand, Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie; Rapport au Président de la République française; Paris, le 30 janvier 1889," p. 59-60.

—. “Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts. 1889. Projet de Règlement. Le Ministère de l’Instruction Publique, des Cultes et des Beaux-Arts, Vu le décret du 10 juillet 1886,” p. 1.

F/21/4057/A-B. “Archives du Commissariat spécial des expositions des Beaux-Arts, correspondance; a) correspondance de M. Antonin Proust, commissaire spécial, 3 janvier 1888-29 novembre 1889.” Travaux d’art, musées et expositions. 1^{er} et 2^e volumes, (XIXe-XXe siècles): Paris, exposition universelle, groupe I Beaux-Arts.

F/21/4758. “Travaux d’art, musées et expositions. 5e volume (XIXe-XXe s.). Procédure et commission.”

20144785/25-26. “Archives des musées nationaux Musée du Luxembourg et Musée national d’art moderne (série L11 X). Concessions à titre de prêts (1885-1964) et prêts aux expositions.”

20144790/130. Archives des musées nationaux, Département des peintures du Musée du Louvre (série P). volume 15 (sous-série P21). “1889, 21 février.” 1871-1900.

20150042/140. 1878-1900. (séries X-Expositions, X-Salon et XU). Archives des musées nationaux Expositions, Salons, Expositions universelles.

Archives départementales de Loire-Atlantique, Nantes

“Cartes postales-Charette de La Contrie (François de).” 23 Fi.

Les Archives de la Vendée, La Roche-sur-Yon, France.

L’Étoile de la Vendée [local newspaper]. “4 Num 365/4 - 1889 : n° 228 - 331/332 + suppl. au n° 274/275 Erreur de numérotation: le n° du 8 déc., qui porte le n° 324, correspond en fait au n° 325; un n° double 325-326 est édité pour corriger l’erreur 1889. L’Étoile de la Vendée (1886-1944).”

British Library, London

“Amour de la Patrie et des Arts: Les Dangers du Palais-Royal, ou La Liberté trahie, par les Ennemis du Bien public, Soudoyés par l’aristocratie et la liste civile.” [1792], p 1-8.

“Déclaration des Droits des citoyennes du Palais-Royal.” [1789?], p. 1-7.

“Déclaration des Patriotes du Palais-Royal. Patience, fermeté, et courage.” Paris: l’imprimerie de la liberté française, 1790, p. 1-7.

“Dénonciation des Groupes du Palais-Royal, et des Tuileries.” [1792]. Unpaginated.

“Fausse Allarme [sic] Donnée le 2 Juillet au Palais Royal, par les Aristocrates, ou Avis au peuple français, Sur le piège qu’on lui tend.” [1789]. P. 1-7.

“Le Patriote du Palais-Royal.” [a newsletter]. 1790?. p. 1-2.

Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY

“Charette De La Contrie Family Papers-Susanne De Charette Van Stockum Collection, 1856-2000. Mss/A/C472.”

- Folder 10: French document. One item signed “Louis” (Louis XVI) and dated 1779.
- Folder 16: French documents. Seven items dated 1793.
- Folder 17: French documents. Three items dated [1796]. Two of the documents are dated 24 Fructidor of the year 4 of the Republic and are from the Department de La Loire Inferieure.
- Folder 44: French letter and booklet. Two items dated 1846. Letter dated 25 February 1846 and signed “Henri”. Booklet titled “Eloge de Monsieur Francois-Athanase de Charette de la Contrie”.
- Folder 75: French letters, documents and newspaper. Twenty-three items dated 1889.
- Folder 82: French letters and documents. Thirty-two items dated 1896. All of these folders are in Box 1. <https://filsonhistorical.org/research-doc/charettecontre/>

Getty Special Collections Library, Malibu, California

File 890042. Exposition universelle de 1889, Petition.

Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library, London

Guillotine Blade, Object File, A79526/1.

PRIMARY SOURCES

“A l’Exposition: La sèance du jury du groupe des Beaux-Arts.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 29 (August 4, 1889): 226-27.

A.B. “Les Fêtes du Centenaire: L’Anniversaire du 12 juillet.” *Le Rappel*, no. 7065 (July 12, 1889): unpaginated.

About, [Edmond]. “Salon de 1880.” *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 3093 (June 15, 1880): unpaginated.

—. “Salon de 1883.” *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 4153 (May 17, 1883): unpaginated.

A.E. "Au Salon: La Sculpture." *La Lanterne*, no. 1504 (May 23, 1881): unpaginated.

A.M. "Le Panorama des Tuileries." *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (June 16, 1889): unpaginated.

"The American Register: Paris, August 13, 1881." *The American Register for Paris and the Continent*, no. 697 (August 13, 1881): 6-7.

"Anthropological Notes." *The Athenaeum*, no. 3254 (March 8, 1890): 310.

Archives nationales. Décret et arrêté relatifs à l'organisation des archives nationales. (14-16 mai 1887.) Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887.

"L'Art chrétien à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889: Exposition Décennale des Artistes peintres français." *Le Messager de l'imagerie*, no. 4 (August 1, 1889): 35-36.

"À travers les ateliers: Salon de 1888 (Suite)." *Le Petit journal*, no. 9191 (February 24, 1888): 2.

Aulard, F.-A., ed. *Célébration historique du Centenaire de 1789: Catalogue des objets formant l'exposition historique de la Révolution française*, exh. cat. Paris: Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, 1889.

—. *Recueil des Actes du comité de salut public*. 27 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895.

—. *La Société des Jacobins: Recueil de documents sur l'histoire des club des Jacobins de Paris*, 6 vols. Paris: 1889–1897.

Un Auvergnat, "Le Salon," *Les Deux mondes illustrés: journal des grands voyages*, no. 41 (May 23, 1880): unpaginated.

Ballu, Roger. *Exposition des œuvres de G. Guillaumet: au profit d'un monument à élever à la mémoire de F. Bonvin*. exh. cat. Paris: École nationale des beaux arts, 1888.

Balzac, Honoré de. *The Chouans*. Translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. Warsaw: Kłoczka, 2019.

Bapst, Germain. *Essai sur l'histoire des Panoramas et des dioramas; Extrait des Rapports du jury international de l'exposition universelle de 1889 avec illustrations inédits de M. Édouard Detaille*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891.

Barbe, P. "Par arrêté en date du 23 juillet 1887, sur la presentation des comités, des syndicats et associations de la presse française, le minster du commerce et de l'industrie, commissaire general de l'Exposition universelle de 1889, a constitué comme suit le bureau de la commission de la presse à l'Expositon." *Journal officiel de la République française. Lois et décrets*, no. 199 (July 24, 1887): 3444-45.

- Barrès, Maurice. *Un Homme libre*. Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1889.
- “Beaucoup de Bruit pour Rien.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 13 (March 31, 1889): 98-99.
- “Beaux-Arts.” *L’Intransigeant*, no. 1036 (May 16, 1883): 3.
- “Les Beaux-Arts.” *Le Parisien*, no. 365 (May 25, 1889): unpaginated.
- “Les Beaux-Arts à l’Exposition universelle.” *Paris-Croquis*, no. 6 (March 16, 1889): 7.
- Beecher, John Preston. “The Salons of 1892.” *The Collector* 3, no. 15 (June 1, 1892): 232-34.
- Bellier de La Chavignerie, Émile. *Dictionnaire général des artistes de l’École française depuis l’origine des arts du dessin jusqu’à nos jours: architectes, peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs et lithographes*, vol. 1. Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882-85.
- Bénézit, Emmanuel. *Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs. I. A-C*. Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1939.
- Bepmale, J. “Saint-Gaudens, le 19 mai 1888: Les Elections Minicipales [sic].” *Le Petit montagnard*, no. 20 (May 20, 1888): unpaginated.
- Berger, Georges. *L’Exposition chez soi*. 1889.
- Bertall. “Le Salon de 1880.” *Paris: ancienne Gazette des étrangers*, no. 123 (1880): unpaginated.
- Berthelot, Marcellin, and Lockroy, Édouard. “Jury d’Admission de l’Exposition nationale des Beaux-Arts en 1889.” *Le ’Universelle exposition de 1889 illustrée*, no. 5 (April 1, 1887): 2-3.
- Bethuis, Germain. *Les massacres de Machecoul et considérations généraux sur la guerre de la Vendée*. Nantes: Imprimerie Mangin et Giraud, 1873.
- Biré, Edmond. *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris pendant la Terreur*. Tours and Mayenne: Imprimeries E. Soudée, 1794.
- Blanc, Charles. *Les Beaux-Arts à l’Exposition universelle de 1878*. Paris: H. Loones, 1878.
- Blémont, Emile. “Le Salon de 1882.” *Beaumarchais*, no. 83 (May 7, 1882): 1-3.
- . “Le Salon de 1882 (Suite).” *Beaumarchais*, no. 84 (May 14, 1882): 2-3.
- . “Le Salon de 1883.” *Beaumarchais*, no. 135 (May 6, 1883): 2.
- Bonsergent, Alfred. “Le Salon de 1882, Troisième article: La Sculpture.” *La Jeune France* 5 (May 1882-May 1883): 174-78.

Borel, Pierre. "Chronique Parisienne: Les petits salons.—Les peintres-graveurs, les aquarellistes, le cercle Volney." *La Nouvelle revue* 57 (March-April 1889): 215-19.

Boulanger, Georges. *Discours du Général Boulanger au banquet de Nevers, le 2 décembre 1888*. Paris: Imprimerie Lefebvre, 1889.

Bougeart, Alfred. "Les Femmes politiques: Lucile Duplessis (Suite. Voir le 23 mars)." *Le Charivari* (March 29, 1881): unpaginated.

De Bourbon, Henri, comte de Chambord. *Manifeste de M. le comte de Chambord: 5 juillet 1871*. Montpellier: Pierre Grolier, 1871.

Le Bouvier-Desmortiers. *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le général Charette*, pt. 1. Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1809.

"Bulletin." *Le Petit Comtois: journal républicain démocratique quotidien*, no. 1734 (May 8, 1888): unpaginated.

Burty, Philippe. "L'Art," *Le Salon: journal de l'exposition annuelle des beaux-arts*, no. 8 (June 1880): 123-25.

Bréban, Philibert. "Le Concours: Pour la statue monumentale de la République." *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 2850 (October 12, 1879): unpaginated.

Buchez, Philippe-Joseph-Benjamin, and Pierre-Célestin Roux-Lavergne. *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française, ou Journal des assemblées nationales depuis 1789 jusqu'en 1815*, vol. 34. Paris: Paulin, 1834-38.

Burke, Edmund. *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, vol. 8, *The French Revolution: 1790-1794*, edited by L.G. Mitchell and William B. Todd. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Burty, Philippe. "L'Art: 30 mai 1880." *Le Salon: journal de l'exposition annuelle des beaux-arts*, no. 8 (June 1880): 123-25.

Buzot, François and Joseph Gaudet. *Mémoires sur la Révolution française, Par Buzot, Député à la Convention Nationale; Précédés d'un Précis de sa Vie et de Recherches historiques sur les Girondins, Par M. Gaudet*. Paris: Chez Béchét aîné, Libraire-Éditeur, 1823.

Cabanès, Augustin. *Curious bypaths of history: being medico-historical studies and observations*. Paris: Charles Carrington, 1898.

Cailliac, F. *Propos d'un intransigeant. L'opportunisme, voilà l'ennemi!*. Périgueux: Imprimerie de E. Laporte, 1885.

“Camille Desmoulins au Palais-Royal.” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9697 (July 14, 1889): 1.

“Camille Desmoulins: Tableau de M. François Flameng.” *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1338 (November 18, 1882): 314-15.

Caran d’Ache and His Art.” *Illustrated London News* 15, no. 189 (September 9, 1896): 281.

“Catéchisme républicain du Diocèse de la Libre-Pensée publié sous la surveillance et la direction de Nos-Seigneurs les Opportunistes.” *La Royaliste Béarnais*, no. 13 (July 4, 1885): unpaginated.

Catalogue des tableaux, esquisses, aquarelles et dessins par Alphonse de Neuville et tableaux et aquarelles par Detaille, Dupray, Julien Le Blant... [et al.], objets d'art & d'ameublement, tapisseries, armes: Vente Alphonse de Neuville. Paris: n.p., May 23-25, 1898.

Catalogue général officiel de l'Exposition universelle de 1889, vol. 1. Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889.

Catalogue général officiel de l'exposition universelle de 1889, vols. 3-4. Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1889.

Catalogue officiel illustré de l'exposition décennale des beaux-arts de 1889 à 1900. Paris: Imprimerie Lemerancier and Ludovic Baschet, 1900.

“Causerie artistique; Le Salon annuel: Bonnat-la-Victoire—Gloire au Cogniet!....” *La Revue normande*, no. 5 (May 1888): 129-60.

Cé, Ludovic de. “Le Salon.” *La Croix* (May 23, 1888): unpaginated.

Cédié, Ch. “Le Roi de France: Dissertation historique sur la question de Louis XVII.” *La Légitimité: journal historique hebdomadaire [“puis” revue historique bi-mensuelle “puis” revue historique mensuelle], organe de la survivance du roi-martyr [“puis” journal contre-révolutionnaire et anti-maçonnique]*, no. 28 (August 12, 1883): 440-44.

Challamel, Augustin and Désiré Lacroix. *Révolution française. Album du centenaire 1789. Grands hommes et grands fait de la Révolution française*. Paris: Librairie Furne, 1889.

“Chambre des Deputés: Présidence de M. Jules Grévy, Séance du 16 juin 1877.” *La République du Midi*, no. 165 (June 19, 1877): unpaginated.

“Chambres des Députés: Session ordinaire de 1889 (Compte rendu in extenso.—51e séance; Séance du mardi 14 mai 1889).” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (May 14, 1889): 959-78.

“Chambres des Députés: Session ordinaire de 1889 (Compte rendu in extenso.—66e séance; Séance du jeudi 6 juin 1889).” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (June 6, 1889): 1275-92.

“Chambres des Députés: Session ordinaire de 1889 (Compte rendu in extenso.—68e séance; Séance du samedi 8 juin 1889).” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (June 8, 1889): 1315-33.

Champier, Victor. *L'Année artistique: beaux-arts en France et à l'étranger*. Paris: A. Quantin, 1879.

“Au Champ-de-Mars.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 19 (May 12, 1889): 148-50.

Charette, baron de. *Souvenir du régiment des zouaves pontificaux, Rome, 1860-1870--France, 1870-1871. Notes et récits réunis par le bon de Charette*. Tours: Imprimerie Mame, 1875.

De Charry, Paul. “Beaux-Arts: Exposition Triennale.” *Le Pays* (November 4, 1883): unpaginated.

Chassin, Charles-Louis. *La préparation de la guerre de Vendée, 1789-1793*, vol. 2. Paris: Imprimerie Paul Dupont, 1892.

Chaumelin, Marius. “Coup d’œil général sur L’Exposition Marseillaise de 1860.” *Tribune artistique et littéraire du Midi: revue mensuelle* 4, no. 1 (January 1860): 149-52.

Chautemps, Émile. *Discours de M. Emile Chautemps, président du conseil municipal de Paris, de février à novembre 1889*. Paris: 1890.

Un Chercheur. “Les Enrolés et les racoleurs.” *Musée universel* 8, no. 183-209 (April-September 1876): 364-65.

Chesneau, Ernest. “Le Moniteur Universel, 10 juin 1880.” *Le Salon*, no. 8 (1880): 126-27.

Chèvremont, François. “Marat et “L’Ami du Peuple”.” *La Justice*, no. 1823 (January 10, 1885): 3.

Chronique: Les Ateliers avant Le Salon.” *Le Temps*, no. 6915 (March 26, 1880): unpaginated.

“Chronique de l’Exposition.” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (October 5, 1889): unpaginated.

“Chronique locale: Éphémérides nantaises du Centenaire de la Révolution.” *Le Phare de la Loire*, no. 21,797 (March 29, 1889): unpaginated.

“Chronique locale, préfecture de Tarn-et-Garonne, Dépêches télégraphiques: Lettre de M. le Maréchal Mac-Mahon, Nommé Président de la République.” *Courrier de Tarn-et-Garonne*, no. 6179 (May 26, 1873): 2.

Chuquet, Arthur. “L’Assassinat de Marat.” *La Revue hebdomadaire et son supplément illustré*, no. 47 (November 18, 1916): unpaginated.

Cim, Albert. "Les Livres." *Le Radical*, no. 67 (March 8, 1885): unpaginated.

Claretie, Jules. *Œuvres des Camille Desmoulins*, 2 vols. Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1874.

—. *Camille Desmoulins, Lucile Desmoulins: étude sur les Dantonistes, d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits*. Paris: E. Plon et Cie, 1875.

—. *La vie à Paris: 1881 (Deuxième année)*. Paris: Victor Havard, 1881.

Clément, Charles. "Exposition de 1880." *Journal des débats* (May 1, 1880): unpaginated

La Commission exécutive, Bergeret, Euden, Duval, Lefran, Cais, Félix Pyat, G. Tridon, E. Vaillant. "A la garde nationale de Paris." *Le Cri du peuple*, no. 34 (April 4, 1871): unpaginated.

"Concours et Expositions." *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 23 (June 23, 1883): 181-82.

"Concours et Expositions." *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 5 (February 4, 1905): 40.

"Conseil général de la Seine." *Le XIX siècle*, no. 3351 (March 2, 1881): unpaginated.

"Conseil municipal de Paris: Delibérations prises dans la séance du 9 avril 1884. (Suite)." *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, no. 138 (May 17, 1884): 859-60.

"The Convent of Picpus." *The New York Times* 20, no. 6137 (May 23, 1871): 4.

Cornély, J. "Blancs et Bleus." *Le Gaulois*, no. 512 (February 6, 1881): 1.

Cotton, James Sutherland. "Science Notes." *The Academy*, no. 931 (March 8, 1890): 173.

Dac, Henri. "Le Salon du Champs de Mars." *L'Univers*, no. 10688 (April 24, 1897): unpaginated.

Dariel, Jean-Loup. "Les Pays de la Loire: "Monsieur Charette commence à mourir" m'a confié le marquis de Goulaine." *Paris-presse. L'Intransigeant* (October 21, 1969): 8D.

Darwin, Charles. *The Descent of Man, and selection in relation to sex*, 2nd ed. London: John Murray, 1874.

David, Jules, J.L. *Le peintre Louis David (1748-1825), souvenirs et documents inédits*. Paris: Victor Havard, 1880.

Dayot, Armand. "Les Beaux-arts aux Champ de Mars." *Le Figaro*, no. 20 (May 18, 1889): 77-79.

Debans, Camille. *Les Couloirs de l'Exposition: guide pratique et anecdotique, avec dessins, plans, etc.* Paris: E. Kolb, 1889.

—. *Les plaisirs et les curiosités de Paris: guide humoristique et pratique.* Paris: Ernest Kolb, 1889.

“Décoration de l’Hôtel de Ville.” *Le Cri du peuple*, no. 1641 (April 26, 1888): unpaginated.

Demeny, Paul. “Le Salon de 1883.” *La Jeune France* 6 (May 1, 1883-May 25, 1884): 105.

Desmoulins, Camille. *Œuvres des Camille Desmoulins.* Paris: Librairie de la Bibliothèque nationale, 1871.

Desmoulins, Lucile. *Le Cahier rouge de Lucile Desmoulins.* Ed. Georges Lecocq. Paris: Librairie Raphaël Simon, 1880.

Deniau, abbé Félix. *Histoire de la guerre de la Vendée*, 6 vols. Angers: J. Siraudau, 1978.

Déroulède, Paul. *Qui vive? France! ‘quand même’: notes et discours* (1883–1910). Paris: Bloud, 1910.

Desbeaux, Émile. “Salon de II.--Sculpture.” *La Presse illustrée*, no. 738 (May 21, 1882): 3.

Devil, G. “Sensations d’Art.” *La Politique coloniale*, no. 2,972 (February 17, 1905): unpaginated.

Le Diable Boiteux. “Nouvelles et Échos.” *Gil Blas*, no. 2129 (September 16, 1885): 1.

Diffre, Jean. “Quand même!” *L’Art méridional: beaux-arts, littérature* (November 1, 1894): 116-17.

Dijan, Joseph. “Oran, le 24 août 1881: Élections en France.” *Le Progrès: journal républicain radical*, no. 6 (August 25, 1881): unpaginated.

“Discours prononcé à la Chambre le 14 mars 1896 par Alfred Picard, commissaire general de l’Exposition universelle de 1900, au sujet de l’exposition de 1889.” *Journal officiel de la République française. Débats parlementaires. Chambre des députés: compte rendu in-extenso* (March 15, 1896): 490-92.

“La Dissolution de la Ligue des Patriotes.” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9564 (March 3, 1889): 1.

“Don à la Ville d’Anzin.” *Le Grand écho du Nord de la France*, no. 320 (November 15, 1904): 4.

Draner. "Le Salon Pour Rire, Par Draner." *Le Charivari*, numéro exceptionnel (January 1, 1883): unpaginated.

Dreyfous, Maurice. *Jules Dalou: sa vie et son œuvre*. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1903.

Dreyfus, Ferdinand-Camille. "M. Léon Gambetta." *La Lanterne*, no. 2083 (January 3, 1883): unpaginated.

Ducros, Emmanuel. "Chronique: Nice en hiver." *La Vie mondaine à Nice*, no. 339 (January 17, 1901): unpaginated.

—. *Une cigale au Salon de 1882*. Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1882.

Dugué de La Fauconnerie, Henri-Joseph. "Un Défi." *La France* (February 1, 1881): unpaginated.

Dumas, Alexandre. *Ange Pitou*, vol. 1. Brussels: Complexe, 1989.

—. *The last Vendée or, the she-wolves of Machecoul*. Munich: Otbebookpublishing, 2019.

Dumas, F.G. "Le Temps (suite)." *Le Salon: journal de l'exposition annuelle des beaux-arts*, no. 8 (June 1880): 114-28.

Dumas, F.G. and Société des artistes français. *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1888*. Paris: L. Baschet, 1888.

—. *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1890*. Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1890.

—. *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1891*. Paris: L. Baschet, 1891.

—. *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1892*. Paris: L. Baschet, 1892.

—. *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1893*. Paris: L. Baschet, 1893.

—. *Catalogue illustré du Salon de 1895*. Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1895.

Dupezard, Émile. *Le Palais-Royal de Paris: Architecture et Décoration de Louis XV à nos jours*. Paris: Librairie centrale d'art et d'architecture, 1911.

Durand-Tahier, H. "Exposition universelle de 1889: L'Exposition décennale française (1878-1889)." *Journal officiel de la République française*, no. 232 (August 29, 1889): 4215-18.

Drumont, Edouard. "Hommes et Choses: Le Musée Carnavalet." *La Liberté* (February 22, 1880): 3.

—. "Salon de 1885 (Quatrième et dernier article): La Sculpture." *La Liberté* (May 22, 1885): 1-2.

- “Échos: À travers Paris.” *Le Figaro*, no. 224 (August 11, 1888): 1.
- “Échos de partout.” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9564 (March 3, 1889): 1.
- “Échos de partout.” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9588 (March 27, 1889): 1.
- “Échos et Nouvelles.” *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, no. 141 (May 22, 1902): 2.
- “Élection générales: Electeur, Choisis.” *Le Gaulois* (September 16, 1889): unpaginated.
- Énault, Louis. “Mouvement artistique.” *La Presse*, no. 78 (March 20, 1882): unpaginated.
- . *Paris-Salon, pt. 2*. Paris: E. Bernard et Cie., 1888.
- Énault, Louis and Charles de Feir. *Guide du Salon*. Paris: A. Chérié, 1880.
- . *Guide du Salon (1882)*. Paris: A. Chérié, 1882.
- “Encore les Récompenses.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 29 (August 4, 1889): 225-26.
- “Envois au Salon.” *Journal des artistes*, no. 15 (April 8, 1888): 117.
- “Les Envois du Salon et des Expositions: Décennales et Centennales.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 8 (February 24, 1889): 59.
- D’Epirey, Armand. “Salon de 1882: La Sculpture.” *Officiel-Artiste*, no. 25 (June 18, 1882): 2-3.
- . “Salon de 1883: La Peinture.” *Officiel-Artiste*, no. 20 (May 20, 1883): 7.
- De L’Estrange, Jehan. “Le Salon: IV.” *La Nouvelle France chorale* (June 16, 1888): unpaginated.
- “A l’Exposition: Le Palais des Beaux-arts.” *La Lanterne*, no. 4,471 (July 18, 1889): 2.
- Exposition des Beaux-Arts. *Catalogue illustré: Salon de 1887*. Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1887.
- “Exposition of the Anthropological Sciences at Paris.” *The Athenaeum*, no. 3225 (August 17, 1889): 229-31.
- “L’Exposition.” *Le Pays*, no. 157 (June 9, 1889): unpaginated.
- “L’Exposition.” *Le Pays*, no. 79 (March 21, 1889): unpaginated.
- “L’Exposition Centennale.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 23 (June 9, 1889): 177-80.

“L’Exposition Centennale de l’Art Français.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 11 (March 17, 1889) : 83-84.

“Exposition Universelle.” *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, no. 27 (August 3, 1889): 211-12.

“Exposition Universelle de 1889: Les Médailles des Beaux-Arts.” *Courrier de l’art*, no. 29 (July 19, 1889): 228-29.

“L’Exposition universelle.” *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 4,589 (May 22, 1889): unpaginated.

“Exposition universelle : Beaux-Arts ; La Sculpture française contemporaine.” *La Liberté* (August 31, 1889) : unpaginated.

“Exposition Universelle de 1889.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 7 (February 17, 1889): 50-51.

“Exposition Universelle de 1889.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 8 (February 24, 1889) : 58-59.

“Exposition universelle: Les Récompenses (suite).” *La Vie artistique*, no. 28 (July 21, 1889): 218-19.

Exposition de 1889: Guide bleu du Figaro et du Petit Journal. Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1889.

“Exposition of the Anthropological Sciences at Paris.” *The Athenaeum*, no. 3225 (August 17, 1889): 229-30.

Ferry, Jules. “Discours de Lyon, du 9 août 1885.” In *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 7, *Discours sur la politique intérieure (2^e partie) depuis le 30 mars 1885*, edited by Paul Robiquet, 6-27. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1898.

—. “Discours du 27 septembre 1887, à Saint-Dié,” in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 7, *Discours sur la politique intérieure (2^e partie) depuis le 30 mars 1885*, edited by Paul Robiquet, 78-101. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1898.

—. “Discours à l’Association républicaine,” in *Discours et Opinions de Jules Ferry*, vol. 7, *Discours sur la politique intérieure (2^e partie) depuis le 30 mars 1885*, edited by Paul Robiquet, 116-31. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1898.

“La Fête nationale.” *Le Temps*, no. 10297 (July 15, 1889): unpaginated.

“Les Fêtes du Centenaire: L’Anniversaire du 12 juillet.” *Le Rappel*, no. 7065 (July 14, 1889): unpaginated.

F.J. “L’Art partout.” *Gil Blas*, no. 3002 (February 6, 1888): 2.

—. “Le Prochain Salon.” *L’Art français*, no. 41 (February 4, 1888): unpaginated.

Fisher, H.A.L. *Bonapartism: Six Lectures Delivered in the University of London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Fleury, Édouard. *Biographie de Camille Desmoulins: Études révolutionnaires*. Laon: Imprimerie de Éd. Fleury et Ad. Chevergny, 1850.

Fouquier, Henry. "Ata vers le Salon." *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 5951 (May 1, 1888): 1-2.

—. "Le Salon: III." *Gil Blas*, no. 3108 (May 22, 1888): 2.

—. *Salon illustré*. Paris: Librairie d'art, 1888.

Fouquier, Marcel. "Le Salon de 1887." *Le XIXe siècle*, no. 5644 (June 26, 1887): unpaginated.

De France, Jean. "L'Histoire du siècle." *Le Petit presse*, no. 8414 (June 18, 1889): unpaginated.

"The French Elections." *The Graphic* 40, no. 1034 (September 21, 1889): 350.

"The French Elections." *The Saturday Review* 68, no. 1700 (September 28, 1889): 341-42.

Freppel, Monsigneur Charles-Émile. *La Révolution française à propos du centenaire de 1789*. Paris: A. Roger et F. Chernoviz, 1889.

Frollo, Jean. "Élections Législatives, Résultats Complets des Departements: Fin de la Dictature." *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 1763 (August 24, 1881): unpaginated.

"Galerie Contemporaine: Le général Daumesnil," *Le Panorama de l'univers*, no. 10 (September 5, 1833): 73.

"Gambetta and Grévy: Paris Dispatch to the London Times." *The New York Times* 30, no. 9297 (June 26, 1881): 9.

Gambetta, Léon. *Discours sur les lois constitutionnelles, prononcé le vendredi 23 avril 1875, dans une réunion privée à Belleville*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1875.

Garet, Emile. "Simple hypothèse: L'Action providentielle dans la Révolution française depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours." *Supplément à L'Indépendant des Basses-Pyrénées* (April 11, 1909): 8.

Garnier, Édouard. *La porcelain tendre de Sèvres*. Paris: Maison Quantin, 1889.

Gautier, Judith. "Le Salon." *Le Rappel*, no. 4799 (May 1, 1883): unpaginated.

Gaveau, Abel. "Quand même!" *La Semaine des familles* (December 20, 1884): 594-95.

"Gazette du Jour." *La Justice*, no. 3466 (July 11, 1889): 2.

“Gazette du Jour.” *La Justice*, no. 3521 (September 4, 1889): 3.

Geffroy, Gustave. “Chronique: L’Exposition Monet-Rodin.” *La Justice*, no. 3,446 (June 21, 1889): 1.

—. *La vie artistique. Première série*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1892.

Gill, René. “Chronique.” *Le Pays*, no. 51 (February 21, 1889): unpaginated.

Gérard, M. “À l’Exposition.” *Annales catholiques* 69 (September 14, 1889): 595-602.

G.L. “Aisne: La nouvelle statue de Camille Desmoulins à Guise.” *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française* 15, no. 43 (July-September 1923): 351.

Godart, Félix. *Camille Desmoulins d’après ses oeuvres (2e édition)*. Paris: E. Dentu, 1889.

Gonse, Louis. “Exposition de 1889.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (May 1, 1889): 353-58.

Grimm, Thomas. “La Centennale.” *Le Petit journal*, no. 9,671 (June 18, 1889): 1

Guénin, Eugène. *Les parisiens de Paris: silhouettes artistiques*. Paris: Pairault, 1895.

“Guide à travers l’Exposition Triennale.” *Le Gaulois* (September 14, 1883): unpaginated.

Guide dans l’Exposition: Paris et ses environs. Paris: Delarue, 1889.

Guide illustré de l’Exposition universelle de 1889; Comprenant 50 Gravures et 20 Plans; Champ-de-Mars, Trocadéro, Esplanade des Invalides, berges de la Seine. Œuvres et produits exposés. 1st edition. Lille: L. Danel, 1889.

Guyau, Jean-Marie. “Extrait, p. 16-20: L’Art au point de vue sociologique, 1889.” In *L’art social en France de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*, eds., McWilliam, Neil et al., 311-14. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014.

Guymon, C. “Le Salon Triennal [sic] de 1883.” *La Lanterne*, no. 2342 (September 19, 1883): unpaginated.

—. “Salon de 1885: Salle VII.” *La Lanterne*, no. 2936 (May 5, 1885): unpaginated.

Guyon-Verax, A.-E. “Les Salons: Le Peinture au Salon du Champ-de-Mars. (Suite).” *Journal des artistes*, no. 27 (July 4, 1897): 1926-27.

Hadolff, Louis. “Salon de 1884.” *Paris-touriste*, no. 22 (June 1, 1884): unpaginated.

Hamel, Henry. “La Fin de Médailles: Meissonier et son jury.” *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 193-95.

Havard, Henri. "Le Siècle." *Le Salon*, no. 4 (May 1880): 54-55.

Hepp, Alexandre. "Beaux-Arts: L'Exécution du Général Charette a [sic] Nantes." *Le Voleur illustré* (1883): 440-41.

Hervé, Edouard. "Nos Gravures: L'Épopée." *Le Monde illustré* 60, no. 1559 (February 12, 1887): 107.

Heusy, Paul. "Le Salon du Champ de Mars: La Peinture." *Le Radical*, no. 114 (April 24, 1897): 2.

"Histoire de la Révolution Française par J. Michelet: Livre premier Avril-Juillet 1789." *Le Radical*, no. 109 (April 19, 1889): unpaginated.

"History in a Group; Henry Gervex and Alfred Stevens Colossal Panorama of the Century in the Tuileries; The Century Portraits.; A Circle Beginning a Hundred Years Ago and Ending in 1889.; Brave Men and Fair Women of France." *The New York Herald* (April 1, 1889): unpaginated.

Houssaye, Henry. *L'art français depuis dix ans (2e édition)*. Paris: Didier, 1883.

—. "Le Salon de 1883." *Revue Des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)*, Troisième période, 57, no. 3 (June 1, 1883): 596-627.

—. *Le Salon de 1888*. Paris: Goupil et Cie, 1888.

—. *Le Salon de 1897*. Paris: Goupil et Cie, 1897.

Hurlbert, William Henry. *France and the Republic: A Record of Things Seen and Learned in the French Provinces During the "Centennial" Year 1889*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890.

D'Igny, Pierre. "Les Quarante de la peinture." *Les Lettres et les arts* 2 (June 1, 1888): 353-72. *Impressions d'un amateur au Salon de 1880*. Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1881.

"Inauguration du "Triomphe de la République"," *Le Voleur illustré* 41, no. 1,683 (October 3, 1889): 631-33.

"Information." *Le Moniteur des Pyrénées*, no. 419 (May 18, 1883): unpaginated.

"Informations: France; Une statue à Camille Desmoulins." *L'Express du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais: ancien journal La Colonne*, no. 103 (July 14, 1889): unpaginated.

Jacques, Edmond. "Le Salon." *L'Intransigeant*, no. 670 (May 15, 1882): 2.

—. "Le Salon: XV." *L'Intransigeant*, no. 696 (June 10, 1882): 3.

Janillon. "Le Salon de 1883." *L'Univers illustré*, no. 1470 (May 26, 1883): 324-27, 408.

Javel, Firmin. "L'Art français à l'Exposition: La Décennale (suite)." *Gil Blas*, no. 3569 (August 26, 1889): 3.

—. "L'Art français à l'Exposition: La Décennale (suite)." *Gil Blas*, no. 3606 (October 2, 1889): 3.

—. "J.-J. Weerts: L'Exorcisme." *La Revue des musées*, no. 54 (December 1889): 2-3.

Jourdain, Frantz. *Constructions élevées au Champ de Mars par M. Ch. Garnier, architecte... pour servir à l'histoire de l'habitation humaine*. Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1889.

Jouin, Henry. *La Sculpture au Salon de 1877*. Paris: E. Plon, 1878.

"La Journée: Paris le 21 septembre." *La Croix*, no. 1937 (September 22, 1889): unpaginated.

J.S. "Au Salon Triennal [sic]." *La Justice*, no. 1340 (September 16, 1883): 2.

—. "Chronique: Le Salon de 1882." *Le Temps*, no. 7717 (June 10, 1882): unpaginated.

"Un Jury de Peinture à l'Exposition universelle de X*** (Amérique du Sud); Deux petits actes." *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 213-18.

Just, Laurent. "Petit Courrier de l'Exposition Universelle." *Journal des artistes*, no. 22 (June 2, 1889): 173-74.

Kaempfen, A. "Le Salon de 1880." *Revue alsacienne* (May 1880): 293-99.

L.A. "Les Candidatures du Général Boulanger." *La Lanterne de Boquillon*, no. 777 (April 1, 1888): 16.

L.R. "Bulletin." *Courrier de Tlemcen*, no. 1480 (June 14, 1889): unpaginated.

Lafabrie, Pèdre. "Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1889." *L'Univers*, no. 7828 (June 6, 1889): unpaginated.

Lafargue, Paul. "Le Salon de 1888." *Le Cri du peuple*, no. 1647 (May 2, 1888): unpaginated.

Lafenestre, Georges. *Dix années du Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1879-1888: notices*. Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1889.

—. *La tradition dans la peinture française*. Paris: Société française d'éditions d'art, 1898.

Lallié, Alfred. *Le district de Machecoul: 1788-1793. Etudes sur les origines et les débuts de l'insurrection vendéenne dans le pays de Retz*. Ingrandes sur Loire: D. Lambert de la Douasnerie, 2012.

Lancelot. "Échos de partout." *La Liberté* (February 6, 1881): 3.

Larchey, Lorédan, ed. *Les cahiers du capitaine Coignet: (1776-1850)*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1896.

Laisant, Charles-Ange. *La Politique radicale en 1885: Quatre conférences; Programmes et Principes. Les Élections de 1885.--Opportunistes et Radicaux. Les Questions de demain*. Paris: Librairie Henri Messenger, 1885.

Lefuel, Hector. *Catalogue du Musée Marmottan*. Paris: Institute de France, 1934.

de Lamathière, Théophile. *Panthéon de la Légion d'honneur*, vol. 16. Paris: n.p., 1875-1911.

Lenoir, Paul. *Histoire du réalisme et du naturalisme dans la poésie et dans l'art, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: Quantin, 1889.

"Lettre de Paris." *Courrier de Tarn-et-Garonne*, no. 9088 (January 7, 1883): unpaginated.

"Lettre de Paris." *Courrier de Tarn-et-Garonne*, no. 9173 (April 21, 1883): unpaginated.

Lêveque, Henri. *Le Panorama de la guerre de 1914*. Paris: Librairie Jules Tallandier, 1914.

"Le 14 Juillet à Paris: À la statue de Strasbourg—Manifestation patriotique." *Le Grand écho du Nord de la France*, no. 197 (July 16, 1899): unpaginated.

"La Ligue des Patriotes." *Le Rappel*, no. 6932 (March 3, 1889): unpaginated.

Lombroso, Cesare and Guglielmo Ferrero. *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*. Translated and with a new introduction by Nicole Hahn Rafter and Mary Gibson. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2004.

Louis, Antonin. "La Semaine (résumé)." *La Diane*, no. 59 (July 21, 1889): unpaginated.

"M. Bouguereau et le Jury de l'Exposition." *La Revue des beaux-arts* (July 1889): 218-19.

De Mandat-Grancey, E. "Les Beaux-Arts au Champs de Mars: Section française—Exposition decennale." *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire du Dimanche*, no. 20 (May 18, 1889): 77-79.

"M. Edmond Le Blant." *L'Univers*, no 10759 (July 7, 1897): unpaginated.

"Le Manifeste Monarchique." *Le Siècle*, no. 19613 (September 1, 1889): unpaginated.

- Mantz, Paul. "Exposition des œuvres de Guillaumet." *Le Temps*, no. 9760 (January 18, 1888): unpaginated.
- . "Feuilleton du Temps du 18 Mai 1884: Le Salon." *Le Temps*, no. 8421 (May 18, 1884): unpaginated.
- . "Le Salon." *Le Temps*, no. 8059 (May 20, 1883): unpaginated.
- . "Le Salon: VII." *Le Temps*, no. 8087 (June 17, 1883): unpaginated.
- . *Salon de 1889*. Paris: Ludovic Baschet, 1889.
- De Marsange, W.G. "Le Salon de 1888." *La Jeune garde*, no. 262 (June 3, 1888): unpaginated.
- . "Le Salon de 1888." *La Jeune garde*, no. 263 (June 10, 1888): unpaginated.
- Mascarille. "Babioles." *Le Moderniste illustré*, no. 1 (April 6, 1889): 6.
- Le Masque de fer. "Échos: A travers Paris." *Le Figaro*, no. 44 (February 13, 1891): 1.
- . "Échos: A travers Paris." *Le Figaro*, no. 60 (March 1, 1889): 1.
- . "Échos: A travers Paris." *Le Figaro*, no. 139 (May 19, 1883): 1.
- Mathiez, Albert. "Défense de Robespierre." *Annales Historiques de La Révolution Française* 1, no. 2 (March-April 1924): 97–114.
- McCabe, Lida Rose. "Mercié and His American Affiliations." *The Art World* 2, no. 1 (April 1917): 44–47.
- "Les Mécontents." *La Vie artistique*, no. 28 (July 21, 1889): 217-18.
- "Meissonier's Last Work." *The Graphic* (March 14, 1891): 290.
- Méran, Claude. "Salon de 1888." *La Semaine des familles*, no. 9 (June 2, 1888): 130-32.
- Mercklein, Abel. "Le Salon." *Le Nain jaune*, no. 23 (June 12, 1881): 2.
- Merson, Olivier. "Le Salon de 1883." *Le Monde illustré* 52, no. 1,363 (May 12, 1883): 295.
- . "Salon de 1888 (Peinture)." *Le Monde illustré* 62, no. 1623 (May 5, 1888): 280-99.
- . "Chronique des beaux-arts: L'Histoire du siècle." *Le Monde illustré* (June 22, 1889): 411, 414.

—. “Les Beaux-Arts au Champ-de-Mars: La Décennale.” *Le Monde illustré* 65, no. 1691 (August 24, 1889): 122-23.

—. “Les Beaux-Arts au Champ de Mars: Le Décennale, II.” *Le Monde illustré* 65, no. 1695 (September 21, 1889): 186-87.

—. “Le Salon de 1892: Palais des Champs-Élysées.” *Le Monde illustré* 70, no. 1831 (April 30, 1892): 283-302.

Les merveilles de l'Exposition de 1889: histoire, construction, inauguration, description détaillée des palais. Paris: À la Librairie illustrée, 1889.

“M. Gambetta.” *La Petite Presse*, no. 6085 (January 4, 1883): unpaginated.

Michelet, Jules. *Histoire de la Revolution française*, 2 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1952.

—. *Historical View of the French Revolution*. Translated by C. Cocks. London: George Bell and Sons, 1888.

—. *History of the French Revolution; Book II: July 14 to October 6, 1789*. Edited by Gordon Wright. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Miles, R. “Le Salon de Paris.” *Le Parnasse*, no. 68 (May 15, 1883): 1-10.

Miron, Camille. “A Travers les salles.” *Journal des artistes*, no. 26 (June 30, 1889): 202-03.

Mlochowski de Belina, Apollo. *Nos peintres dessinés par eux-mêmes: notes humoristiques et esquisses biographiques*. Paris: E. Bernard, 1883.

Le Moine. “Fête.” *La Croix*, no. 1877 (July 14, 1889): unpaginated.

Monselet, André. *Charles Monselet, sa vie, son œuvre*. Paris: Émile Testard, 1892.

Un Monsieur de l'orchestre. “Au Chat Noir.” *Le Figaro*, no. 16 (January 16, 1889): 6.

De Mont, Elie. “Salon de 1883.” *Revue de la Révolution* 1 (1883): 505-06.

“Le monument du « Triomphe de la République ».” *Le Monde illustré*, no. 1696 (September 28, 1889): 200-02.

“Un Monument: Inauguration du « Triomphe de la République ».” *Le Matin*, no. 2040 (September 22, 1889): 1-2.

Morillon, Adolphe. “Les resultats de l'Exposition.” *Le Correspondent* 157 (December 10, 1889): 777-809.

- “Au Musée Carnavalet.” *La Justice*, no. 3817 (December 9, 1889): 3.
- “Le Musée de la Révolution.” *Journal des artistes*, no. 8 (February 24, 1889): 58.
- “Nécrologie.” *Le Bulletin de l’art ancien et moderne*, no. 755 (February 1929): 60.
- “Nécrologie.” *Journal des artistes*, no. 20 (May 18, 1883): unpaginated.
- Neucastel, Émile. *Gambetta: Sa vie, ses idées politiques*. Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf, 1885.
- “News of the Week.” *The Spectator* 63, no. 3195 (September 21, 1889): 353.
- Nisard, Jean Marie Napoléon Désiré. *Considerations sur la Révolution et sur Napoleon I*. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1887.
- “Nos Dépêches, Service Spécial, Le Nouveau Président: M. Sadi Carnot,” *Le Journal du Midi* (December 5, 1887): unpaginated.
- “Notre Gravure: Camille Desmoulins, Tableau de M. Flameng.” *L’Estafette lorraine. Supplément-album*, no. 124 (1883): 1.
- “Notre Gravure: La mort de Joseph Bara; Tableau de M. Weerts.” *Le Finistère. Supplément album*, no. 134 (1883): unpaginated.
- “Nouvelles.” *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 21 (May 26, 1883): 168.
- “Nouvelles diverses.” *L’Univers israelité* 44 (1889): 708.
- Olmer, Georges. *Salon de 1886*. Paris: Goupil et Cie., 1886.
- “L’Opinion de la Presse.” *Le Petit Nord*, no. 1173 (January 29, 1882): unpaginated.
- P..., Milord. “Hurbain II.” *La Semaine anticléricale dans le diocèse de Nevers*, no. 63 (July 24, 1887): 236-37.
- Pallier, A. “Exposition universelle: Beaux-arts; Les Collections d’art au Champ de Mars.” *La Liberté* (August 24, 1889): 1-2.
- Palustre, Léon. “Concours et Expositions: Exposition universelle.” *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, no. 22 (June 1, 1889): 170-73.
- “Le Panorama de l’histoire du siècle.” *La Justice*, no. 3441 (June 16, 1889): 3.
- Parich, P. *Propagande républicaine et sociale*. Marseille: Chez l’auteur, 1889.

“Paris au jour le jour: La journée.” *Le Figaro*, no. 30 (January 30, 1905): 4.

Paris-exposition: Exposition universelle de 1889. Paris: A. Colin, 1889.

Un parisien au près de clers. *Paris, sa vie et ses plaisirs: guide à l'exposition universelle*. Paris: Bibliothèque Chacornac, 1889.

“Partie non officielle.” *Bulletin municipal officiel de la Ville de Paris*, no. 261 (September 21, 1889): 2039.

“Partie non officielle: Paris, 29 septembre 1889.” *Journal officiel de la République française. Lois et décrets*, no. 264 (September 30, 1889): 4851-55.

Le Passaut. “Les On-Dit.” *Le Rappel*, no. 7198 (November 24, 1889): unpaginated.

Les patrons du radicalisme ou l'histoire lamentable de Thiers et Gambetta, à propos des élections par un patriote Lorrain. Paris: Chez les principaux libraires, 1877.

Paturot, Nestor. *Le salon de 1874*. Paris: Aux Bureaux de Journal le National, 1874.

Pellerin, H. “Revue littéraire.” *Le Pays*, no. 90 (April 1, 1886): unpaginated.

“Petit Courrier de l'Exposition Universelle.” *Journal des artistes*, no. 28 (July 14, 1889): 221-22.

“Les Petits-enfants de Camille Desmoulins.” *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 1870 (December 9, 1881): unpaginated.

“Petites nouvelles,” *Le Moniteur des Pyrénées*, no. 132 (June 9, 1882): unpaginated.

Picard, Alfred. *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général*, vol. 3, *Exploitation, services divers, régime financier et bilan de l'exposition*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891.

Pinard, Albert. “Le Salon.” *Le Radical*, no. 129 (May 9, 1883): unpaginated.

Pinel, Philippe. *Traité médico-philosophique sur l'aliénation mentale*, 2nd ed. Paris: Chez J. Brosson, 1809.

“Plats du jour.” *Le Radical*, no. 87 (March 27, 1888): unpaginated.

“Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant.” *Lectures pour tous* (May 15, 1917): 1103-09.

Ponsard, François. *Charlotte Corday: A Tragedy*. London: Trübner and Company, 1867.

De Pontmartin, A. “Salon de 1874.” *L'Univers illustré*, no. 1000 (May 23, 1874): 326-27.

“La Presse-Salon.” *La Presse*, no. 119 (May 1, 1882): unpaginated.

La Presse supplément, no. 1 (May 1, 1882): unpaginated.

Proust, Antonin. *L’Art sous la République*. 1892.

Py, Robert. *Sadi Carnot, sa vie, ses œuvres, sa politique (1837-1887) d’après des documents officiels et des notes inédites*. Paris: A. Fayard, 1888.

Quentin-Bauchart, Maurice. *Rapport au nom de la 4e commission sur la réorganisation du service des beaux-arts et des musées de la ville de Paris*, no. 40. Paris: Conseil Municipale de Paris, 1903.

“La Quinzaine.” *Gazette anecdotique*, no. 14 (July 31, 1889): 33-38.

Raymond, Jean. “Un Hommage au général de Charette.” *Le Gaulois*, no. 302 (May 14, 1883): 1.

“Les Récompenses de l’Exposition universelle.” *La Vie artistique*, no. 27 (July 7, 1889): 209-10.

“Les Récompenses du Salon.” *La Justice*, no. 141 (June 4, 1880): 2.

Reinach, Joseph. *Le Ministère Clémenceau*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1885.

—. *La Politique opportuniste: 1880-1889*. Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1890.

Ribb, Jean. “Échos.” *Le Pays* (February 25, 1888): unpaginated.

Richard, Émile. *La Prostitution à Paris*. Paris: J.-B. Ballière et fils, 1890.

Richard, Louis. “Livres d’histoire.” *Nouvelle revue* 59 (July-August 1889): 776-804.

Robert, Adolphe, Edgar Bourlonton and Gaston Cougny, eds. *Dictionnaire des parlementaires français: depuis le 1er mai 1789 jusqu’au 1er mai 1889*. Paris: Bourlonton, 1889-91.

Rocheftort, Henri. “Le Salon du Champ de Mars.” *The New York Herald*, no. 22159 (April 23, 1897): 3.

Rollet, L. “Chronique Electorale (Seine; Paris): Dix-huitième arrondissement.” *La Justice*, no. 3536 (September 19, 1889): 3.

De Ronchaud, Louis. “De l’encouragement des beaux-arts par l’État, 1885.” In *L’art social en France de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*, eds., McWilliam, Neil et al., <https://books.openedition.org/inha/5578>. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014.

Rose, J. Holland. *The Life of Napoleon I*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1907.

Roujon, H. *Jules Dalou: Sa vie, son œuvre*. Paris: Renouard, 1902.

Le Roy, Edmond. "Un Triomphe." *Le Gaulois*, no. 2581 (September 22, 1889): unpaginated.

Royer, Paul. "La Statue de Camille Desmoulins." *Gil Blas*, no. 3990 (October 21, 1890): 2.

Rozier, Jacques. "Exposition des Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1884." *L'Électeur républicain* (May 3, 1884).

"Le Salon avant le Salon: Une série d'envois.--Peintres et sculpteurs.--Un salon qui s'annonce bien." *Le XIX siècle*, no. 5934 (April 14, 1888): 2.

"The Salon," *The American Register for Paris and the Continent*, no. 737 (May 20, 1882): 5.

Sarradin, Edouard. "Notes d'art: Petites Expositions." *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (February 12, 1905): 3.

Schefer, Gaston. *Le Salon de 1897*. Paris: Manzi, Joyant, et Cie, 1897.

"Le Secret du Salon." *La Caricature*, no. 439 (May 26, 1888): 163-66.

S.F. "Notes d'Art: Jean-Joseph Weerts." *La Croix du Nord: supplément régional à la Croix de Paris*, no. 9750 (March 27, 1922): unpaginated.

De La Sizeranne, Robert. "Le Geste moderne aux Salons de 1905." *Revue Des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)*, Cinquième Période, 27, no. 3 (June 1, 1905): 607-31.

Sorel, Albert. *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, vol. 4, *Les limites naturelles, 1794-95*. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1892.

Sosie. "Echos et Nouvelles." *La Petite presse* (July 9, 1897): unpaginated.

Souriceau. "La Quinzaine: Les œuvres de Dumas père." *Gazette anecdotique, littéraire, artistique et bibliographique*, no. 22 (November 30, 1893): 289-319.

Stop. "Le Salon de 1882—Par Stop." *Journal amusant*, no. 1343 (May 27, 1882): 4.

—. "Le Salon de 1888." *Le Journal amusant*, no. 1652 (April 28, 1888): 4.

"Supplément illustré." *Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, no. 1161 (September 24, 1905): 193.

De Swarte, Victor. *Lettres sur le Salon de 1876*. Saint-Omer: Imprimerie Fleury-Lemaire, 1877.

Taillemite, Etienne. "2e partie: Une Révolution navale." *Cols bleus: hebdomadaire de la Marine française* (January 28, 1995): 4-11.

Taine, Hippolyte. *Les Origines de la France contemporaine*, vol. 2, *La Révolution.—La Conquête jacobin*. Paris: Hachette, 1881.

Tavernier, Eugène. “Le “Triomphe de la République.”” *L’Univers*, no. 7935 (September 23, 1889): unpaginated.

Théo-Bal. “Le Salon de 1888.” *La Jeune garde*, no. 260 (May 20, 1888): unpaginated.

Thoumas, General Charles. *Causeries militaires. Cinquième série*. Paris: E. Kolb, 1913.

“Through the Salon: An Early View of the Pictures in the Great Paris Show; Works of the Year: Some Striking Pictures of the Salon Carré and the Galleries.” *The New York Herald*, no. 18,879 (April 30, 1888): unpaginated.

T.J. “Chronique des Expositions: Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts d’Anvers.” *Courrier de l’art*, no. 33 (August 14, 1885): 397-99.

Topinard, Dr. Paul. “Essais de craniométrie à propos du crâne de Charlotte Corday.” *L’Anthropologie* 1 (1890): 1-26.

Torré, Abbé F. *Guide de l’église Saint-Eustache de Paris*. Paris: 1889.

Tourneux, Maurice. “L’Exposition historique de la Révolution française.” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (May 1, 1889): 403-15.

Tout-Paris. “Bloc-Notes Parisien: Dalou,” *Le Gaulois*, no. 310 (May 23, 1883): 1.

—. “Bloc-Notes Parisien: M. Dalou.” *Le Gaulois*, no. 2580 (September 21, 1889): 1.

“Le Triomphe de la République.” *La Justice*, no. 3539 (September 22, 1889): 1.

“Le « Triomphe de la République ».” *Le Petit Parisien*, no. 4713 (September 23, 1889): unpaginated.

“Le Triomphe de la République.” *Le Radical*, no. 266 (September 23, 1889): unpaginated.

Turreau de Garambouville, Baron Louis-Marie. *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de la guerre de la Vendée par le general Turreau*. Paris: Baudouin frères, 1824.

L’Universelle exposition de 1889 illustrée. 1886-1888.

Valensol. “Le Salon du Champ de Mars.” *Le Petit parisien*, no. 7483 (April 23, 1897): 2-3.

Véron, Pierre. “Chronique parisienne: Le Salon de 1882.” *Journal amusant*, no. 1344 (June 3, 1882): 2-3.

Vicaire, Georges. "Salon de 1883." *La Petite presse* (May 15, 1883): unpaginated.

—. "Le Salon triennal." *La Petite presse*, no. 6353 (September 29, 1883): unpaginated.

Vitry, Paul, ed. "Musées de Paris et de province: Notes et informations." *Bulletin des musées de France*, no. 5 (1908): 79.

"Vive la République!: La Fête nationale à Sétif." *Le Réveil de Sétif*, no. 54 (July 14, 1886): unpaginated.

Wolff, Albert. "Les Beaux-Arts au Champ de Mars: L'Art français," *Supplément au Figaro*, no. 149 (May 29, 1878): 1.

—. "Le Salon de 1880." *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire du dimanche*, no. 18 (May 2, 1880): 69-71.

—. *Figaro-Salon*. Paris: Boussod, Valadon et Cie, 1886.

—. *Figaro-Salon*. Paris: J. Boussod, Manzi, Joyant, et Cie, 1888.

—. "Courrier de Paris." *Le Figaro*, no. 148 (May 28, 1889): 1.

—. "Courrier de Paris." *Le Figaro*, no. 180 (June 29, 1889): 1.

—. *Figaro-Salon*. Paris: Goupil et Cie, 1889.

—. *Figaro-Salon*. Paris: Goupil et Cie, 1894.

Y... "A Travers Champs," *La Liberté* (June 13, 1884): 3.

Yriarte, C. "Les Origines et le plan de l'Exposition." *L'Exposition de Paris de 1889* 2 (1889).

Zola, Emile. *Le Roman expérimentale*. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1902.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abbad, Fabrice, ed. *La Loire Atlantique des origines à nos jours*. Saint-Jean d'Angély: Éditions Bordessoules, 1984.

Acheré-Lenoir, Chantal. "Jean-Joseph Weerts (1846-1927) et la peinture monumentale: *La charte des drapiers de Roubaix*." *Revue du Nord* 74, no. 297-98 (July-December 1992): 785-809.

Acheré-Lenoir, Chantal, Amandine Delcourt, and Alice Massé. *Les Jean-Joseph Weerts de la Piscine*, exh. cat. Lille and Roubaix: Éditions invent et La Piscine, 2012.

Adams, Steven. "Space, Politics and Desire: Configuring the Landscape in Post-Revolutionary France." *Landscape Research* 35, no. 5 (2010): 487-508.

Adcock, Michael. "The 1889 Paris Exposition: Mapping the Colonial Mind." *Journal of Music Research*, no. 22 (Spring 2001): 31-40.

Adhémar, Jean and Nicole Villa. *La légende napoléonienne: 1796-1900*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969.

Agulhon, Maurice. *Histoire de la France contemporaine; Leçon inaugurale prononcée le vendredi 11 avril 1986*. Paris: Collège de France, 1986.

—. *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France 1770-1880*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

—. "Marianne, Réflexions sur une histoire." *Annales Historiques de La Révolution Française*, no. 289 (July-September 1992): 313-22.

—. "Paris, la traversée d'Est en Ouest." In *Les lieux des mémoires*, vol 4, edited by Pierre Nora, 4589-624. Paris: Gallimard, 1997.

Alexander, Jeffrey C. *Trauma: A Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity, 2012.

Alexander, R. S. *Bonapartism and revolutionary tradition in France: The fédérés of 1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

—. "The Hero as Houdini: Napoleon and 19th-Century Bonapartism." *Modern & Contemporary France* 8, no. 4 (2000): 457-467.

Allan, Scott and Mary Morton. *Reconsidering Gérôme*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010.

Almeida, Dimitri. "Cultural retaliation: the cultural policies of the 'new' Front National." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 25, no. 3 (2019): 269-81.

Amann, Elizabeth. "Blonde Trouble: Women in Wigs in the Wake of Thermidor." *Fashion Theory* 13, no. 3 (2009): 299-324.

Amalvi, Christian. "Nationalist responses to the revolution." In *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, edited by Robert Tombs, 39-48. London: Routledge, 1991.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. London: Verso, 1991.

Andress, David. "The Sentimental Construction of Martyrdom as Motivation in the Thought of Maximilien Robespierre, 1789-1792." In *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Dominic Janes and Alex Houen, 131-51. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014.

—. *The Terror*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2006.

Angris, Frédéric. *Vendéens et républicains dans la guerre de Vendée 1793-1796*, 2 vols. Cholet: Éditions du Choletais, 1993.

Aquilino, Marie Jeannine. "The Decorating Campaigns at the Salon Du Champ-de-Mars and the Salon Des Champs-Élysées in the 1890s." *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 78-84.

—. "Painted Promises: The Politics of Public Art in Late Nineteenth-Century France." *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 4 (December 1993): 697-712.

Arizzoli-Clémentel, Pierre. *Aux armes et aux arts!: les arts de la Révolution, 1789-1799*. Paris: A. Biro, 1988.

Art Pompier, Anti-Impressionism: 19th-Century French Salon Painting. Exh. Cat. Long Island, NY: Emily Lowe Gallery, Hofstra University, 1974.

Ashley, S. A. "The Failure of Gambetta's Grand Ministère." *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 105-24.

Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, Nina. "Cézanne and Delacroix's Posthumous Reputation." *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 1 (March 2005): 111-29.

—. "Truth and Lies: Vernet, Vaudeville, and Photography." In *Horace Vernet and the Thresholds of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, edited by Daniel Harkett and Katie Hornstein, 207-27. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2017.

Aya, Rod. "Theories of Revolution Reconsidered: Contrasting Models of Collective Violence." *Theory and Society* 8, no. 1 (July 1979): 39-99.

Baer, Ulrich. "Photography and Hysteria: Toward a Poetics of the Flash." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 7, no. 1 (January 1994): 41-77.

De Baecque, Antoine. *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths under the French Revolution*. Translated by Charlotte Mandell. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Bak, János M. and Gerhard Benecke. *Religion and Rural Revolt*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

Balogh, Eszter Edit. "From Heroic Soldiers to Geometric Forms and Suffering Wrecks: The Transformation of the Male Body in the Art of World War I." *HJEAS: Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies* 24, no. 1 (2018): 11-37, 260, 266.

Bann, Stephen. *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

—. "Paul Delaroche's Early Work in the Context of English History Painting." *Oxford Art Journal* 29, no. 3 (2006): 341–369.

Bardon, Renaud and Didier Blin, eds. *Jean-Paul Laurens (1838-1921): Peintre d'histoire*. exh. cat. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1997.

Barker, Emma. "History Painting/Painting History." *Art History* 22, no. 5 (December 1999): 760–767.

Barnhart, Russell T. "Gambling in revolutionary Paris — The Palais Royal: 1789–1838." *Journal of Gambling Studies* 8 (2005): 151-166.

Barrows, Susanna. "Crowd Psychology in Late Nineteenth-Century France: The Riddle of the Spinx." Ph.D diss., Yale University, 1977.

—. "Une étrange année: Victor Hugo et le coup du Seize-Mai." *Le Mouvement Sociale* 256, no. 3 (2016): 65-79, <https://doi.org/10.3917/lms.256.0065>

Barthes, Roland. *Michelet*. Translated by Richard Howard. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1987.

Bar-Tal, Daniel. "Sociopsychological Foundations of Intractable Conflicts." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, no. 11 (July 2007): 1430-53.

Beach, Vincent W. "The Education of the Comte de Chambord: A Study of the Development of the Reactionary Mindset." *The Historian* 20, no. 2 (February 1958): 201-18.

Bell, David A. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

—. "The French Revolution, the Vendée, and Genocide." *Journal of Genocide Research* 22, no. 1 (2020): 19-25.

—. "History robed in reckless rhetoric; A French Genocide: The Vendée, Reynald Secher, University of Notre Dame Press: 306, pp., \$40: [Home Edition." *Los Angeles Times* (July 27, 2003): R10.

—. *Men on Horseback: The Power of Charisma in the Age of Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2020.

Benigno, Francesco. "Never the Same Again: On Some Recent Interpretations of the French Revolution." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 71, no. 2 (2016): 189-216.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Bennett, Tony. "The Exhibitionary Complex," *New Formations*, no. 4 (Spring 1988): 73-102.

Bernard, Jérémie et al. *Napoléon au Chat Noir: L'Épopée vue par Caran d'Ache*, exh. cat. Paris: Société nouvelle Adam Biro, 1999.

Bernet, Anne. *Charette*. Paris: Perrin, 2005.

Berrong, Richard M. "Pierre Loti's Response to Maurice Barrès and France's Growing Nationalist Movement: *Ramuntcho*." *Modern and Contemporary France* 17, no. 1 (2009): 35-50.

Berthier-Foglar, Susanne. "The 1889 World Exhibition in Paris: The French, the Age of Machines, and the *Wild West*." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 31, no. 2 (2009): 129-42.

Bindman, David. *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*. London: Reaktion Books, 2002.

—. *The Shadow of the Guillotine: Britain and the French Revolution*. London: British Museum Publications, 1989.

Bingham, Caleb. "Oration Delivered at Paris, by Citizen Carnot, President of the Executive Directory, at the Festival of Gratitude, and Victory, Celebrated at the Champ de Mars, May 29, 1796: Carnot." In *The Columbian Orator*, edited by David W. Blight, 70-73. New York: NYU Press, 1998.

Blanchard, Pascal et al., eds. *Colonial Culture in France Since the Revolution*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014.

Boime, Albert. "The Second Republic's Contest for the Figure of the Republic." *The Art Bulletin* 53, no. 1 (March 1971): 68-83.

—. *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Bois, Jean-Pierre. "Charette et la guerre." In *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 45-54. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

du Boisrouvray, Xavier. "Des Thermidoriens en mission Vendée Militaire: étude de mentalité." In *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 89-96. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

Brauer, Fae. "Review: Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics 1870-1940 by Anne Maxwell." *Visual Resources* 26, no. 2 (2010): 196-206.

—. "Contesting "Le corps militaire": Antimilitarism, Pacifism, Anarcho-Communism and 'Le Douanier' Rousseau's *La Guerre*." *RIHA Journal*, no. 48 (2012): <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2012.1>.

Bremner, Charles. "Only I Can Make France Great Again, says Le Pen." *The Times* (February 27, 2017), <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/only-i-can-make-france-great-again-says-le-pen-0grpnbbhh9>.

Brennan, Brian. "The Revival of the Cult of Martin of Tours in the Third Republics." *Church History* 66, no. 3 (1997): 489-501.

Brigo, Francesco, Albert Balasse, Raffaele Nardone, and Olivier Walusinski. "Jean-Martin Charcot's medical instruments: Electrotherapeutic devices in *La Leçon Clinique à la Salpêtrière*." *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 30, no. 1 (2021): 94-101.

Brown, Frederick. "Eiffel's Tower." *New England Review* 29, no. 4 (2008): 7-24.

Brown, Howard G. "Robespierre's tail: the possibilities of justice after the terror." *Canadian Journal of History* 45, no. 3 (2010): 503-35.

—. *Mass Violence and the Self. From the French Wars of Religion to the Paris Commune*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019.

Brubaker, Rogers. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Buchkowski, Michał. "The Spectre of Orientalism in Europe: From Exotic Other to Stigmatized Brother." *Anthropological Quarterly* 79, no. 3 (2006): 463-82.

Burns, Michael. *Rural Society and French Politics: Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair, 1886-1900*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Busch, Jason, and Catherine L. Futter. *Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, exh. cat. New York: Skira/Rizzoli, 2012.

Bussière, Georges and Emile Legouis. *Le général Michel Beaupuy (1755-1796) avec un portrait original*. Paris: F. Alcan, 1891.

Caglioti, Angelo Matteo. "Race, Statistics and Italian Eugenics: Alfredo Niceforo's Trajectory from Lombroso to Fascism (1876-1960)." *European History Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (July 2017): 461-89.

Çakmak, Gülru. *Jean-Léon Gérôme and the Crisis of History Painting in the 1850s*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017.

Canini, Gérard. "The school battalions in the east 1882-92: reasons for failure." In *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, edited by Robert Tombs, 248-54. London: Routledge, 1991.

Caran d'Ache: Histoires en images. Paris: Pierre Horay, 1979.

Carrier, Peter. *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989: The Origins and Political Function of the Vel' d'Hiv in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005.

Carroll, Christina. "Republican Imperialisms: Narrating the History of 'Empire' in France, 1885–1900." *French politics, culture and society* 36, no. 3 (2018): 118–142.

The Cartoons of Caran D'Ache, vol. 1. London: Editions Peirce, 2017.

Caulcutt, Clea. "France's Pécresse Comes Under Fire for Reference to Far-Right Conspiracy Theory." *Politico* (February 14, 2022): <https://www.politico.eu/article/france-pecresse-slammed-for-great-replacement-reference/>.

Čehajić, Sabina and Rupert Brown. "Silencing the Past: Effects of Intergroup Contact on Acknowledgment of In-Group Responsibility." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 1, no. 2 (2010): 190-96.

Censer, Jack R. "Historians Revisit the Terror—Again." *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 2 (Winter 2014): 383-403.

Chaitin, Julia and Shoshana Steinberg. "'You Should Know Better': Expressions of Empathy and Disregard Among Victims of Massive Social Trauma." *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma* 17, no. 2 (2008): 197-226.

Champlin, John Denison and Charles C. Perkins., eds. *Cyclopedia of Painters and Painting*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1913.

Chantreau, Abbé Alain. "Charette et Legé." In *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 33-44. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

Chrisafis, Angelique. "It's showtime! France's best-kept theme park secret: Puy de Fou." *The Guardian* (May 6, 2015): 12.

Chu, Petra ten-Doesschate. "Public Commemoration and Private Memory: Félix Bracquemond Vis-à-Vis the Siege of Paris and the Commune." *Getty Research Journal* 5, no. 5 (2013): 73–88.

Citron, Pierre. *La Poésie de Paris dans la littérature française de Rousseau à Baudelaire*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1961.

Clark, Alexis Meredith. "A Republic of the Arts: Constructing Nineteenth-Century Art History at the Musée du Luxembourg, 1871-1914." Ph.D diss., Duke University, 2014.

Clark, T. J. *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

—. "Painting in the Year Two." *Representations*, no. 47 (Summer 1994): 13–63.

—. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Clarke, David. "Constructing victimhood in divided Germany: The case of the Association of the Victims of Stalinism (1950-1989)." *Memory Studies* 11, no. 4 (2018): 422-36.

Clay, Richard. *Iconoclasm in Revolutionary Paris: the Transformation of Signs*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012.

Clayson, Hollis. "The Ornamented Eiffel Tower: Awareness and Denial." *Nonsite*, no. 27, *The Nineteenth Century* (February 11, 2019), <https://nonsite.org/the-ornamented-eiffel-tower/>.

De Cock, Jacques. "'The Collection of Marat's Bibliographer' at the British Library." *The British Library Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 44–57.

Collection de Mr. X et à Divers amateurs. Paris: Digard Auction, Hôtel Drouot, April 29, 2022.

Conner, Clifford D. *Jean Paul Marat: Tribune of the French Revolution*. London: Pluto Press, 2012.

Conord, Fabien. *Les élections sénatoriales en France: 1875-2015*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2016.

Cooke, Peter. "Gustave Moreau and the Reinvention of History Painting." *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 3 (September 2008): 394-416.

Cooley, Kristin Nicole. "The 1889 and 1900 Paris Universal Expositions: French Masculine Nationalism and the American Response." MA Thesis, University of Arizona, 2001.

Corbin, Alain. *The Village of Cannibals: Rage and Murder in France, 1870*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Craciun, Adriana, "Revolution, Romanticism and the Long Nineteenth Century", 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 2 (2006).

Creyghton, Camille. "Commemorating Jules Michelet, 1876, 1882, 1898: The Productivity of Banality." *French History* 33, no. 3 (2019): 399-421.

Crow, Thomas E. *Emulation: David, Drouais, and Girodet in the Art of Revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

—. *Restoration: The Fall of Napoleon in the Course of European Art, 1812-1820*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Cubitt, Geoffrey. "Memory and Fidelity in French Legitimism: Crétineau-Joly and the Vendée." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 21, no. 4 (2000): 593-610.

Cuff, Paul. *A Revolution for the Screen: Abel Gance's Napoleon*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015.

Datta, Venita. "'L'appel au soldat': Visions of the Napoleonic Legend in Popular Culture of the Belle Époque," *French Historical Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 1-30.

—. "Buffalo Bill Goes to France: French-American Encounters at the Wild West Show, 1889–1905." *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 3 (August 2018): 525-55.

—. *Heroes and Legends of Fin-de-Siècle France: Gender, Politics, and National Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Davis, James Chowning. "Toward a Theory of Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 27 (1962): 5–19.

Demaison, Maurice, Henri de Régnier. "Le pont d'Iéna." In *Croquis de Paris*, 66. Belgium: Ligarán Éditions, 2016.

Dick, Leslie. "The Skull of Charlotte Corday." In *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, edited by Massumi Brian, 187-209. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Didi-Huberman, Georges. *Invention of Hysteria: Charcot and the Photographic Iconography of the Salpêtrière*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.

Doizy, Guillaume. "À l'origine de la caricature antisémite en France: le dessinateur Adolphe Willette (1857-1926)." *Archives Juives* 50, no. 1 (2017): 103-124.

Dombrowski, André. "History, Memory, and Instantaneity in Edgar Degas's Place de la Concorde." *Art Bulletin* 93, no. 2 (June 2011): 195-219.

—. "Impressionism and the Standardization of Time: Claude Monet at the Gare Saint-Lazare." *Art Bulletin* 102, no. 2 (2020): 91-120.

Douthwaite, Julia V. "Martyrdom, Terrorism, and the Rhetoric of Sacrifice: The Cases of Marat, Robespierre, and Loiserolles." In *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Dominic Janes and Alex Houen, 109-30. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014.

Dubasque, François. "En marche vers une "Vendée Bonapartiste": La Répresentation parlementaire charentaise de 1871." *Parlement[s], histoire et politique*, no. 16 (2011): 79–92.

Dudouyt, Cécile. "Sacrilegious Translation." In *Epic Performances from the Middle Ages into the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Fiona Macintosh et al., 493-507. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Dunn, Susan. "Michelet and Lamartine: Regicide, Passion, and Compassion." *History and Theory* 28, no. 3 (October 1989): 275-95.

Eidelson, Roy J. and Judy I. Eidelson. "Dangerous ideas: Five beliefs that propel groups toward conflict." *American Psychologist* 58, no. 3 (2003): 182-92.

Ehrhard, Thomas, and Cédric Passard. "The Politics of Electoral System Choice in a Context of Democratization. Electoral Reform and Institutional Change in the French Third Republic (1870-1940)." *Parliaments, estates & representation* 40, no. 1 (2020): 59–77.

Englund, Steven Louis. "The Origin of Oppositional Nationalism in France (1881-1889)." Ph.D diss., Princeton University, 1981.

Erlenbusch, Verena. "Terrorism and Revolutionary Violence: The Emergence of Terrorism in the French Revolution." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 8, no. 2 (2015): 193-210.

Eschelbacher, Andrew. "Gendering modernity/modernizing the worker: Jules Dalou's Monument to Labourers and industrial virility." *The Sculpture Journal* 23, no. 3 (2014): 331-48.

Everton, Elizabeth. "Line and Shadow: Envisioning Anti-Dreyfusism in *Psst...!*." In *Revising Dreyfus*, edited by Maya Balakirsky Katz, 217-67. Boston: Brill, 2013.

Ferrero, G.L. *Criminal man, according to the classification of Cesare Lombroso*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911.

Ferry, Bruno. *L'art patriotique face à l'annexion. Alsace-Lorraine, 1871-1918*. Metz: Serpenoise Editions, 2014.

Florsheim, David Borges. "Photography and the "discovery" of Hysteria." *Psicologia USP* 27, no. 3 (2016): 404-13.

Flour, Isabelle. "Orientalism and the Reality Effect: Angkor at the Universal Expositions, 1867-1937." *Getty Research Journal* 6, no. 1 (January 2014): 63-82.

Foley, Susan. "The Christmas Tree of the Alsatians and Lorrainers: Spectacle, Emotion, and Patriotism in Paris during the Early Third Republic." *French Historical Studies* 41, no. 4 (2018): 681-710.

Forgione, Nancy. "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris." *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September 1999): 490-512.

Forrest, Alan. "The insurgency of the Vendée." *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 25, no. 4 (2014): 800-13.

—. *Legacy of the French Revolutionary Wars: The Nation-In-Arms in French Revolutionary Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Forrest, Alan and Pierre Serna. "La Révolution française dans l'historiographie anglaise." *La Révolution française* 23 (2022): <http://journals.openedition.org/lrf/7012>.

Forsdick, Charles and David Murphy. *Postcolonial Thought in the French Speaking World*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009.

Frederking, Bettina. "'Il ne faut pas être le roi de deux peuples': Strategies of National Reconciliation in Restoration France." *French History* 22, no. 4 (December 2008): 446-68.

Freeman, Andrew. *The Compromising of Louis XVI: the armoire de fer and the French Revolution*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, collection "Exeter studies in history," 1989.

Friguglietti, James. "Rehabilitating Robespierre: Albert Mathiez and Georges Lefebvre as defenders of the Incorruptible." In *Robespierre*, edited by Colin Hayden and William Doyle, 212-23. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Fritzsche, Peter. *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004.

Fulton, Bruce. "The Boulanger Affair Revisited: The Preservation of the Third Republic, 1889." *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 2 (November 1991): 310-29.

Furet, François. *Interpreting the French Revolution*. Translated by Elborg Forster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Furet, François and Denis Richet. *La Révolution. 2 Du 9 Thermidor au 18 Brumaire*. Paris: Réalités Hachette, 1966.

Gaboriaux, Chloé. *La République en quête de citoyens: Les républicains français face au bonapartisme rural (1848-1880)*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 2010.

Garb, Tamar. "Revising the Revisionists: The Formation of the Union des femmes peintres et sculpteurs." *The Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 63-70.

Garrigues, Jean. *Le général Boulanger*. Paris: Perrin, 1999.

Gelbart, Nina Rattner. "The Blonding of Charlotte Corday." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 1 (Fall 2004): 201-21.

"General Lee rides again after makeover." *The American City and County* 121, no. 13 (December 2006): 16.

Germani, Ian. "Taking Possession of Marianne: The Place de la République as Political Battleground." *Canadian Journal of History* 45 (Autumn 2010): 299-333.

Gerson, Stéphane. *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Modern France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Gervais, Thierry. "Witness to War: The Uses of Photography in the Illustrated Press, 1855-1904." *Journal of Visual Culture* 9, no. 3 (2010): 370-84.

Getson, Jennifer. "Jules Dalou and the Problem of Monumental Commemoration in Third-Republic Paris." Ph.D diss., Ohio State University, 2013.

Gildea, Robert. *France 1870-1914*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Gill, Susan. "Théophile Steinlen: A Study of His Graphic Art, 1881-1900." Ph.D diss., City University of New York, 1982.

Gindhart, Maria P. "Allegorizing Aryanism: Fernand Cormon's *The Human Races*." *Aurora* 9 (2008): 74-100.

—. "Cro-Magnon and Khoi-San: Constant Roux and Racialized Relief Sculptures of Prehistoric Artists." *Visual Resources* 24, no. 3, *Imaging Blackness in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2008): 321-42.

Gobry, Ivan. *Les martyrs de la Révolution française*. Paris: Perrin, 1989.

—. *Dictionnaire des martyrs de la Révolution*. Coulommiers: Dualpha, 2002.

Godineau, Laure. "L'amnestie des communards: Autour du discours de Léon Gambetta, 21 juin 1880." *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 49, no. 3-4 (Spring-Summer 2021): 358-73.

Goffman, Erving. *Stigma*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991.

Goltz, Anna von der and Robert Gildea. "Flawed Saviours: The Myths of Hindenburg and Pétain." *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2009): 439-64.

Gotlieb, Marc J. *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Goyau, Pierre-Louis-Théophile-Georges. “Baron Athanase-Charles-Marie Charette de la Contrie,” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (accessed May 23, 2023): [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_\(1913\)/Baron_Athanase-Charles-Marie_Charette_de_la_Contrie](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Baron_Athanase-Charles-Marie_Charette_de_la_Contrie).

Graybill, Lela. “A Proximate Violence: Madame Tussaud’s Chamber of Horrors.” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 9, no. 2 (Autumn 2010), <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn10/a-proximate-violence>.

Greenhalgh, Michael. “David’s ‘Marat Assassiné’ and Its Sources.” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 19, *The French Revolution in English Literature and Art Special Number* (1989): 162-80.

Greenhalgh, Paul. *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851-1939*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1998.

Greer, Donald. *Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Gretton, Tom. “Difference and Competition: The Imitation and Reproduction of Fine Art in a Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Weekly News Magazine.” *Oxford Art Journal* 23, no. 2 (2000): 143–62.

—. “Marat, *L’Ami du Peuple*, David.” In *David’s ‘The Death of Marat’*, edited by William Vaughan and Helen Weston, 34-55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

—. “‘Un Moyen Puissant de Vulgarisation Artistique’. Reproducing Salon Pictures in Parisian Illustrated Weekly Magazines c.1860—c.1895: From Wood Engraving to the Half Tone Screen (and Back).” *Oxford Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (2016): 285–310.

—. “The Pragmatics of Page Design in Nineteenth-Century General-Interest Weekly Illustrated News Magazines in London and Paris.” *Art History* 33, no. 4 (September 2010): 680-709.

—. “Signs for Labour-Value in Printed Pictures after the Photomechanical Revolution: Mainstream Changes and Extreme Cases around 1900.” *Oxford Art Journal* 28, no. 3 (2005): 371–90.

—. “Waterloo in Richard Caton Woodville’s “Battles of the British Army” Series for the Illustrated London News, 1893-99.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 48, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 531-56.

Grijzenhout, Frans. “‘In These Days of Convulsive Political Change’: Discourse and Display in the Revolutionary Museum, 1793-1815.” In *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity*

in *Modern Europe*, eds. Tilmans Karin, Van Vree Frank, and Winter Jay, 287-304. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.

Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. "Classicism, Nationalism and History: The Prix Decennaux of 1810 and the Politics of Art Under Post-Revolutionary Empire." Ph.D dissertation: University of Michigan, 1995.

—. *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal*. Pittsburgh: Periscope, 2012.

—. "Cursed Mimicry: France and Haiti, Again." *Art History* 38, no. 1 (February 2015): 68-105.

—. "Geometry/Labor = Volume/Mass?" *October* 106 (Autumn 2003): 3-34.

Guieu, Jean-Max. "The Literary French Images of Napoleon." In *Napoleon: One Image, Ten Mirrors*, edited by John C. Hirsh and Roberto Severino, 19-40. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Faculty of Languages and Linguistics, 2002.

De Guissmé, Laura and Laurent Licata. "Competition over collective victimhood recognition: When perceived lack of recognition for past victimization is associated with negative attitudes towards another victimized group." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 47, no. 2, *Special Issue: The Social Psychology of Collective Victimhood* (March 2017): 148-66.

Jean-Marc Guislin, "La crise du Seize-Mai, cent trente ans après: Présentation de la journée." In *Le Seize-mai revisité*, edited by Jean-Marc Guislin, 13-16. Lille: Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, 2009.

Halliday, Tony. "David's *Marat* as Posthumous Portrait." In *David's The Death of Marat*, edited by William Vaughan and Helen Weston, 56-76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hanson, Stephen E. *Post-Imperial Democracies: Ideology and Party Formation in Third Republic France, Weimar Germany, and Post-Soviet Russia*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Ha Van, Véronique. "Sculpteurs D'une Cause Perdue: Statues Et Causes D'une Perte?" *Transatlantica* 1, no. 1 (2017): <https://doi.org/10.4000/transatlantica.9018>

Hammersley, Rachel. "Camille Desmoulins's *Le Vieux Cordelier*: a link between English and French republicanism." *History of European Ideas* 27, no. 2 (2001): 115-32.

Hansen, Bert, and Richard E Weisberg. "Louis Pasteur (1822-1895), His Friendships with the Artists Max Claudet (1840-1893) and Paul Dubois (1829-1905), and His Public Image in the 1870s and 1880s." *Journal of Medical Biography* 25, no. 1 (February 2017): 9-18.

Hargrove, June. "Shaping the National Image: The Cult of Statues to Great Men in the Third Republic." *Studies in the History of Art* 29 (1991): 48-63.

—. “Qui Vive? France! War Monuments from the Defense to the Revanche.” *Studies in the History of Art* 68 (2005): 54–81.

Hazareesingh, Sudhir. “Conflicts of memory: republicanism and the commemoration of the past in modern France.” *French History* 23, no. 2 (June 2009): 193–215.

—. “Memory and Political Imagination: The Legend of Napoleon Revisited.” *French history* 18, no. 4 (2004): 463–483.

—. “Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France: The Making of a Liberal Legend.” *MLN* 120, no. 4 (September 2005): 747–773.

—. *The Saint-Napoleon celebrations of sovereignty in nineteenth-century France*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2004.

—. *Subject to Citizen: The Second Empire and the Emergence of Modern French Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Hall, Stephen S. “Repairing Bad Memories.” *MIT Technology Review* 116, no. 4 (July-August 2013): 48–54.

Hannoosh, Michèle. *Jules Michelet: Writing Art and History in Nineteenth-Century France*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2019.

Harding, Colin. “Kodak.” In *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, edited by John Hannavy, 802–804. New York: Routledge, 2008.

—. “Snapshot Photography.” In *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, edited by John Hannavy, 1277–79. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Herbert, Robert L. “City and Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin.” *Artforum* 89, no. 6 (1970): 44–55.

Herman, Judith Lewis. *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.

Hewitt, Nicholas. “The Artistic Cabarets.” In *Montmartre: A Cultural History*, edited by Nicholas Hewitt, Edmund Smythe, and Charles Forsdick, 35–63. Liverpool University Press, 2017.

Hinks, Peter. “Mémorial de l’abolition de l’esclavage (Memorial to the abolition of slavery), Nantes, France,” *Journal of American History* 100, no. 1 (June 2013): 150–55.

Hirschberger, Gilad. “Collective Trauma and the Social Construction of Meaning.” *Frontiers in psychology* 9 (2018): 1–14.

Hobbs, Jeffrey B. "Napoléon in a Skirt": The Duchesse de Berry's Rebellion and the Politics of Emotional Representation in July Monarchy France." *French Historical Studies* 40, no. 4 (October 2017): 589-621.

Hood, James N. "Protestant-Catholic Relations and the Roots of the First Popular Counterrevolutionary Movement in France." *The Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 4 (1971): 245-75.

—. "Revival and Mutation of Old Rivalries in Revolutionary France." *Past and Present* 82 (1979): 82-115.

Hornstein, Katie. "The Lion of Belfort, Max Ernst's Une Semaine de Bonté, and the Uses of the Past." *Nineteenth-Century French studies* 49, no. 3 (Spring-Summer 2021): 282-304.

—. *Picturing War in France (1792-1856)*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Hourcade, Renaud. "Emotions, narratives, and the art of making meanings: Nantes' memorial to the abolition of slavery." *Critical Policy Studies* (2020): 1-19.

House, John. "History Without Values? Gérôme's History Paintings." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71, no. 1 (2008): 261-276.

Howell, Jr., Samuel Harwell. "The Dilemma of the French History Painter, 1870-1914: Jean-Paul Laurens, Paul-Albert Besnard, Georges-Antoine Rochegrosse." Ph.D diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1994.

Huard, Raymond. "Le centenaire de 1789 et les origines du parti radical: la Fédération de 1889." In *Le XIXe siècle et la Révolution française [journées d'études de Nanterre, octobre 1989]*, 129-47. Paris: éditions Créaphis, 1992.

Huet, Marie-Hélène. *Rehearsing the Revolution: The Staging of Marat's Death, 1793-1797*. Translated by Robert Hurley. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Hungerford, Constance Cain. *Ernest Meissonier: Master in his Genre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

—. "Meissonier and the Founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts." *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 71-77.

—. "Meissonier's Souvenir de guerre civile." *Art Bulletin* 61, no. 2 (June 1979): 277-88.

Hunt, Lynn. "Forgetting and Remembering: The French Revolution Then and Now." *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1119-135.

—. “Modernity: Are Modern Times Different?” *Historia crítica*, no. 54 (September-December 2014): 107-24.

—. “The Problem of Politics in the French Revolution.” *Chinese Studies in History* 43, no. 3 (2010): 6-16.

—. “The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution.” *The American Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (February 2003): 1-19.

Hunt, Lynn and Vanessa R. Schwartz. “Capturing the Moment: Images and Eyewitnessing in History.” *Journal of Visual Culture* 9, no. 3 (2010): 259-71.

Hutton, John. “The Clown at the Ball: Manet’s Masked Ball of the Opera and the Collapse of Monarchism in the Early Third Republic.” *Oxford Art Journal* 10, no. 2 (1987): 76-94.

Hutton, Patrick H. “Legends of a revolutionary: nostalgia in the imagined lives of Auguste Blanqui.” *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 39, no. 3 (Winter 2013): 41-54.

—. “Popular Boulangism and the Advent of Mass Politics in France, 1886-1890.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 2 (1971).

Igra, Caroline. “Imagery of Destruction and Reconstruction: Giuseppe de Nittis’ Forthright Approach to Post-Commune Paris.” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 67, no. 3 (1998): 157-173.

Irvine, William D. *The Boulanger Affair Reconsidered: Royalism, Boulangism, and the Origins of the Radical Right in France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

—. “Royalists, Mass Politics, and the Boulanger Affair.” *French History* 3, no. 1 (1989): 31-47.

—. “Royalists and the politics of nationalism.” In *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*. Edited by Robert Tombs, 108-20. London: Routledge, 1991.

Iskin, Ruth E. “The Janus-Faced Modernity of Toulouse-Lautrec and Jules Chéret.” *Visual Resources* 29, no. 4 (2013): 276-306.

Iyengar, Shanto and Sean J. Westwood. “Fear and Loathing Across Party Lines: New Evidence on Group Polarization.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 3 (July 2015): 690-707.

Jacoby, Tami Amanda. “A Theory of Victimhood: Politics, Conflict and the Construction of Victim-based Identity.” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 43, no. 2 (2015): 511-30.

Jahoda, Gustav. “Intra-European Racism in Nineteenth-Century Anthropology.” *History and Anthropology* 20, no. 1 (2009): 37-56.

James, Edward. "The Merovingians from the French Revolution to the Third Republic." *Early Medieval Europe* 20, no. 4 (November 2012): 450-71.

James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. "Beyond the Confederacy: Who Remembers What When in Berlin and Richmond?." *English Language Notes* 57, no. 2 (October 2019): 160-167.

Jansen, Jan C. "Celebrating the "Nation" in a Colonial Context: "Bastille Day" and the Contested Public Space in Algeria, 1880-1939." *The Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 1 (2013): 36-68.

Janssens, Jacques. *Camille Desmoulins: Le premier républicain de France*. Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1973.

Jeffery, Laura and Matei Candea. "The Politics of Victimhood." *History and Anthropology* 17, no. 4 (December 2006): 287-96.

Jennings, Jeremy Ralph. *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France Since the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Join-Lambert, Sophie, Véronique Moreau, and Karine Kukielzak. *Dans la lumière de l'impressionnisme: Édouard Debat-Ponsan (1847-1913)*. exh. cat. Tours: Musée des Beaux-Arts Tours, 2014.

Joly, Bertrand. *Aux origines du populisme. Histoire du boulangisme (1886-1891)*. Paris: CNRS éditions, 2022.

Jonas, Raymond A. "Anxiety, Identity, and the Displacement of Violence during the *Année Terrible*: The Sacred Heart and the Diocese of Nantes, 1870-1871." *French Historical Studies* 21, no.1 (Winter 1998): 55-75.

—. "Monument as Ex-Voto, Monument as Historiosophy: The Basilica of Sacré-Cœur." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 482-502.

—. "Sacred Tourism and Secular Pilgrimage: and the Basilica of Sacré-Coeur." In *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture*, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg, 94-119. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001.

Jones, Amelia, Mechthild Fend, and Marsha Meskimmon. *Fleshing Out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1650-1850*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Jones, Kimberly A. "Jean-Paul Laurens, the Gobelins Manufactory, and the Tapestry Revival of the Third Republic." *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 4, no. 1 (October 1996): 2-40.

—. "Resurrecting History: Jean-Paul Laurens and the Politics of History Painting During the French Third Republic, 1871-1914." Ph.D diss., University of Maryland, 1996.

Jourdan, Annie. "Napoleon and History." *French History* 10, no. 3 (September 1996): 334-354.

Justice-Malloy, Rhona. "Charcot and the Theatre of Hysteria." *Journal of Popular Culture* 28, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 133-38.

Kahn, Eve M. "François Flameng, *Grolier in the House of Aldus*, 1889, Grolier Club, New York." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 2021), <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn21/new-discovery-francois-flameng-grolier-in-the-house-of-aldus-1889-grolier-club-new-york>.

Kaina, Philippa. "Resuscitating Gérôme?" *Art History* 35, no. 4 (September 2012): 854–56.

Kalba, Laura Anne. *Color in the Age of Impressionism: Commerce, Technology, and Art*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2017.

Kale, Steven D. "The Countercentenary of 1889, Counterrevolution, and the Revolutionary Tradition." *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 23, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 1-28.

—. "French Legitimists and the Politics of Abstention, 1830-1870." *French Historical Studies* 20, no. 4 (Autumn 1997): 665-701.

—. *Legitimism and the Reconstruction of French Society, 1852-1883*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992.

Kaplan, Stephen Laurence. *Farewell Revolution: Disputed Legacies, France, 1789/1989*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Kearns, Jill N. and Frank D. Fincham. "Victim and Perpetrator Accounts of Interpersonal Transgressions: Self-Serving or Relationship-Serving Biases?" *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 31, no. 3 (2005): 321-33.

Keitner, Chimène I. "National Self-Determination in Historical Perspective: The Legacy of the French Revolution for Today's Debates." *International Studies Review* 2, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 3-26.

Kerviler, René. *Répertoire général de bio-bibliographie bretonne. Livre premier, Les Bretons*, vol. 8. Rennes: J. Plihon and L. Hervé, 1894.

Kindleberger, Elizabeth R. "Charlotte Corday in Text and Image: A Case Study in the French Revolution and Women's History." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 4 (Autumn 1994): 969-999.

Knepper, Paul. "Laughing at Lombroso: Positivism and Criminal Anthropology in Historical Perspective." In *The Handbook of the History and Philosophy of Criminology*, edited by Ruth Ann Triplet, 51-66. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2018.

- Knörr, Jacqueline and Wilson Trajano Filho. *Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity: Language, Culture, Identity*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Kohle, Hubertus. "The Modernity of History Painting: The Case of Adolph Menzel." *Intellectual History Review* 17, no. 2 (2007): 135-51.
- Kroen, Sheryl T. "Revolutionizing Religious Politics during the Restoration." *French Historical Studies* 21, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 27-54.
- Lacambre, Geneviève. "Toward an Emerging Definition of Naturalism in French Nineteenth-Century Painting." In *The European Realist Tradition*, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg, 229-41. Exh. Cat. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Lagrée, Michel. "Le clergé Breton et le premier centenaire de la Révolution française." *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 91 (1984): 249-67.
- Lancereau, Guillaume. "For Science and Country: History Writing, Nation Building, and National Embeddedness in Third Republic France, 1870–1914." *Modern Intellectual History* (2021): 1-28.
- . "De raison et de mémoire. Écrire l'histoire de la Révolution française (1881-1939), vol. 1." Ph.D diss., Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2020.
- Lees, Sarah E. "Representing the Commune of 1871: The depiction of contemporary history in the early Third Republic." Ph.d diss., New York University, 1999.
- Lefebvre, Edwige Liliane. "Republicanism and Universalism: Factors of Inclusion or Exclusion in the French Concept of Citizenship." *Citizenship Studies* 7, no. 1 (2003): 15-36.
- Legg, Stephen. "Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation, and Nostalgia in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, no. 4 (2005): 481-504.
- Lehning, James R. "Gossiping about Gambetta: Contested Memories in the Early Third Republic." *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 237-54.
- Lemoine, Serge, et al. *Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884)*. exh. cat. Paris: Chaudun, 2007.
- "Léon Gambetta." *Encyclopedia of World Biography*, 2nd edition. Volume 6. Detroit: Gale, 2004.
- Leoussi, Athena S. "From Civic to Ethnic Classicism: The Cult of the Greek Body in Late Nineteenth-Century French Society and Art." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16, no. 3/4 (September-December 2009): 393-442.
- Lerner, Adam. "The uses and abuses of victimhood nationalism in international politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 1 (2020): 62-87.

Leruth, Michael F. "François Mitterrand's 'Festival of the World's Tribes': The Logic of Exoticism in the French Revolution Bicentennial Parade." *French Cultural Studies* 9, no. 25 (1998): 51-80.

—. "The Neorepublican Discourse on French National Identity." *French Politics and Society* 16, no. 4 (Fall 1998): 46-61.

Lethbridge, Robert. "'Painting Out' (and 'Reading In') the Franco-Prussian War: Politics and Art Criticism in the 1870s." *Journal of European Studies* 50, no. 1 (2020): 52-59.

Leuwers, Hervé. *Camille et Lucile Desmoulins*. Paris: Fayard, 2018.

Levin, Miriam R. *When the Eiffel Tower Was New: French Visions of Progress at the Centennial of the Revolution*, exh. cat. South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1989.

Lim, Jie-Hyun. "Victimhood Nationalism in Contested Memories: National Mourning and Global Accountability." In *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices, and Trajectories*, edited by Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, 138-162. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Linton, Marisa. "Fatal Friendships: The Politics of Jacobin Friendship." *French Historical Studies* 31, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 51-76.

—. "The French Revolution's Angel of Death." *History Today* (March 27, 2018), <https://www.historytoday.com/miscellanies/french-revolutions-angel-death>.

—. "Friends, Enemies, and the Role of the Individual." In *A Companion to the French Revolution*, edited by Peter McPhee, 261-77. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2012.

Loomis, Stanley. *Paris in the Terror*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1964.

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

Lorcin, Patricia M.E. "Review: What Nostalgia Was: War, Empire and the Time of a Deadly Emotion by Thomas Dodman." *MIT Press* 50, no. 1 (2019): 125-27.

Loubat, Emmanuelle. "L'égalité dans la limite de l'utilité Jules Ferry et la démocratisation de l'art (1879-1883)." *French Historical Studies* 40, no. 3 (February 2017): 71-94.

Lübbren, Nina. *Narrative Painting in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023.

Lucy, Martha. "Cormon's 'Cain' and the Problem of the Prehistoric Body." *Oxford Art Journal* 25, no. 2 (2002): 107-26.

Lukkarinen, Ville. "The Naturalness of Naturalism reconsidered." *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 65, no. 1 (1996): 51-59.

Luxenberg, Alisa. "Creating Désastres: Andrieu's Photographs of Urban Ruins in the Paris of 1871." *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998): 113-37.

—. "Originality and Freedom: The 1863 Reforms to the École des Beaux-Arts and the Involvement of Léon Bonnat." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16, no. 2 (Autumn 2017): <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn17/luxenberg-on-1863-reforms-to-the-ecole-des-beaux-arts-the-involvement-of-leon-bonnat#ftnref51>.

Lyons, Martyn. "Debate: Napoleon and the Revolutionary Potential of Bonapartism." *Modern & contemporary France* 8, no. 4 (2000): 507-510.

Macknight, Elizabeth C. "A 'theatre of rule'? Domestic service in aristocratic households under the Third Republic." *French History* 22, no. 3 (September 2008): 316-36.

—. "Honor and the Military Formation of French Noblemen, 1870-1920." *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 35, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 95-114.

Mahony, Claire I. R. "War Within the Walls: Conflict and Citizenship in the Murals of the Hôtel de Ville, Paris." *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 6, no. 1 (2013): 6-23.

Mai, Ekkehard and Anke Repp-Eckert. *Triomphe et mort du héros: la peinture d'histoire en Europe de Rubens à Manet*, exh. cat. Milan: Electa, 1988.

Mainardi, Patricia. *Another World: Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Print Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

—. "The Death of History Painting in France, 1867." *Gazette des beaux-arts* 124, no. 1367 (1982): 219-26.

—. "The Double Exhibition in Nineteenth-Century France." *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 23-28.

—. *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Maïor-Barron, Denise. "Let Them Eat Macarons? Dissonant Heritage of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, no. 2 (2019): 198-218.

Majer, Michele. "La Mode à La Girafe: Fashion, Culture, and Politics in Bourbon Restoration France." *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 17, no. 1 (Fall-Winter 2009-10): 123-61.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Maral, Alexandre. "Louis XIV à Versailles vu par Jean-Léon Gérôme: enjeux iconographiques." *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles* (April 3, 2018), <http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/14816>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.14816>.

Marin, Louis. *Food for Thought*. Translated by M. Hjort. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

—. *Portrait of the King*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

Marrinan, Michael. *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.

—. "Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Issues and Instruments of Propaganda in French Official Art, 1830-1848." Ph.D diss, New York University, 1983.

—. "Resistance, Revolution and the July Monarchy: Images to Inspire the Chamber of Deputies." *Oxford Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (October 1980): 26–38.

Martin, Benjamin F. *Count Albert de Mun, Paladin of the Third Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Martin, Jean-Clément. *Blancs et Bleus dans la Vendée déchirée*. Paris: Gallimard, collection Découvertes, 1986.

—. "Charette et le traité de La Jaunaie. La dimension politique d'un chef de guerre." In *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 81-88. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

—. "Histoire et polémique, le massacre de Machecoul" *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 29, no. 1 (1993): 33-60.

—. "Quatorze-Juillet 1880-Quatorze-Juillet 1890." *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* (1984): 201-247.

—. *Révolution et Contre-Révolution en France 1789-1989*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1996.

—. "La Révolution française et la fabrique des héros." *Inflexions* 16 (2011): 111-20.

—. *La Vendée de la Mémoire, 1800-1980*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1989.

—. *La Vendée et la Révolution, Accepter la mémoire pour écrire l'histoire*. Paris: Perrin, 2007.

—. "The Vendée, the Chouannerie, and the State, 1791–99." In *A Companion to the French Revolution*, edited by Peter McPhee, 246-59. London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2013).

—. *Violence et Révolution française, essai sur la naissance d'un mythe nationale*. Seuil: Univers historique, 2006.

Martin, Jean-Clément and Charles Suaud. "Le Puy du Fou: L'interminable reinvention du paysan vendéen." *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 93 (June 1992): 21-37.

Martin, Jean-Clement and Léon Brunschvig. *Souvenirs de la Révolution à Nantes, ou, La mémoire d'un bleu 1789-1889 (Ephémérides nantaises du centenaire de la Révolution)*. Nantes: Reflets du passé, 1982.

Martin, Meredith. "Remembrance of Things Past: Robert de Montesquiou, Emile Gallé and Rococo Revival During the *fin de siècle*." In *Rococo Echo Art, History and Historiography from Cochin to Coppola*, ed. Melissa Lee Hyde and Katie Scott, 129-48. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014.

Martinez, Pascale. *Le temple et les marchands: Une histoire du Musée Grévin (1881-1921)*. Dijon: les presses du réel, 2017.

Mayblin, Lucy, Aneta Piekut, and Gill Valentine. "'Other' Posts in 'Other' Places: Poland through a Postcolonial Lens?" *Sociology* 50, no. 1 (February 2016): 60-76.

Mazeau, Guillaume. *Le Bain de l'histoire: Charlotte Corday et l'attentat contre Marat, 1793-2009*. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009.

—. "Charlotte Corday et l'attentat contre Marat: Événements, individus, et écriture de l'histoire (1793-2007)." *Annales Historiques De La Révolution Française*, no. 354 (October-December 2008): 155-62.

—. *Corday contre Marat. Deux siècles d'images*. exh. cat. Vizelle: Musée de la Révolution française, 2009.

McCallam, David. "The Obverse View: Another Look at Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Le 7 décembre 1815, neuf heures du matin* [The Execution of Marshal Ney] (1868)." *Dix-neuf* 24, no. 1 (2020): 82-98.

McConkey, Kenneth. "The Bouguereau of the Naturalists: Bastien Lepage and British art." *Art History* 1, no. 3 (September 1978): 371-82.

McCracken, Scott. "The mood of defeat." *New Formations*, no. 82 (Spring 2014): 64-81.

McPhee, Peter, ed. *A Companion to the French Revolution*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2013.

McWilliam, Neil. "Conflicting Manifestations: Parisian Commemoration of Joan of Arc and Etienne Dolet in the Early Third Republic." *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (April 2004): 381-418.

—. “Limited Revisions: Academic Art History Confronts Academic Art.” *Oxford Art Journal* 12, no. 2 (1989): 71-86.

—. *Monumental Intolerance: Jean Baffier, A Nationalist Sculptor in fin-de-siècle France*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

—. “Monuments, Martyrdom, and the Politics of Religion in the French Republic.” *Art Bulletin* 77, no. 2 (June 1995): 186-206.

—. “Race, Remembrance and Revanche: Commemorating the Franco-Prussian War in the Third Republic.” *Art History* 19, no. 4 (December 1996): 473-98.

—. “Towards a New French Renaissance: Memory, Tradition and Cultural Conservatism in France before the First World War.” *Art History* 40, no. 4 (September 2017): 724-43.

McWilliam, Neil et al. *L’art social en France de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014.

McWilliam, Neil and June Hargrove. *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870-1914*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, 2005.

Meisler, Stanley. “As 200th Anniversary Nears, French Still Fret Over Revolution.” *Los Angeles Times* (October 13, 1987): C12.

Ménager, Bernard. “Nationalists and Bonapartists.” In *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, edited by Robert Tombs, 136-46. London: Routledge, 1991.

Merriman, John. “Urban Space and the Power of Language: The Stigmatization of the Faubourg in 19th-Century France.” *Social Science Information* 38, no. 2 (1999): 329-51.

“Michelena, Arturo.” *Bénézit Dictionary of Artists* (October 31, 2011): <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00122351>.

Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870-1871*. New Haven: Yale University, 2000.

Minson, Jeffrey. *Genealogies of Morals: Nietzsche, Foucault, Donzelot and the Eccentricity of Ethics*. London: Macmillan, 1985.

Mitchell, Allan. *The German Influence in France after 1870: The Formation of the French Republic*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Mitchell, Harvey. “Resistance to the Revolution in Western France.” *Past & Present*, no. 63 (May 1974): 94-131.

Mitchell, Timothy. "The World as Exhibition." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (April 1989): 217-36.

Moch, Leslie Page. *The Pariahs of Yesterday: Breton Migrants in Paris*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

Montgomery, Michelle C. "The Modernisation of the Salon of the Societe Nationale: Creating a Sympathetic Exhibition Venue." *Apollo* 158, no. 500 (October 2003): 13-18.

De Montgolfier, Bernard. *Le Palais Royal*. Exh. Cat. Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 1988.

Morton, J.B. *Camille Desmoulins (And Other Studies of the French Revolution)*. London: Werner Laurie, 1950.

Müller-Scheeßel, Nils. "Fair Prehistory: archaeological exhibits at French Expositions Universelles." *Antiquity* 75, no. 288 (June 2001): 391-401.

"Nantes-44000: Résultats des élections législatives 2022," *Le Monde* (June 2022): <https://www.lemonde.fr/resultats-elections/nantes-44109/>

Nelms, Brenda. *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789*. New York: Garland, 1987.

Nelson, Charmaine A. "White Marble, Black Bodies and the Fear of the Invisible Negro: Signifying Blackness in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Neoclassical Sculpture." *RACAR: revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 27, no. 1-2 (2000): 87-101.

News Wires. "French Far-Right Presidential Candidates Compete for Limelight with Same-Day Rallies." *France24* (February 5, 2022): <https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20220205-french-far-right-presidential-candidates-compete-for-limelight-with-same-day-rallies>.

Nicholls, Julia. "Empire and Internationalism in French Revolutionary Socialist Thought, 1871-1885." *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 4 (December 2016): 1051-1074.

—. *Revolutionary Thought after the Paris Commune, 1871-1885*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Nochlin, Linda. "The De-Politicization of Gustave Courbet: Transformation and Rehabilitation under the Third Republic." *October* 22 (Autumn 1982): 65-78.

Noor, Masi et al. "When Suffering Begets Suffering: The Psychology of Competitive Victimhood Between Adversarial Groups in Violent Conflicts." *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 16, no. 4 (2012): 351-74.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.

Nora, Pierre, ed. *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984-92.

Northcutt, Wayne. "François Mitterrand and the Political Use of Symbols: The Construction of a Centrist Republic." *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 141-58.

Nye, Robert A. *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline*. Princeton: Princeton Legacy Library, 1984.

—. Oakland, Gareth. "Resisting the Republic : The Politics of Commemoration in the Vendée, 1870-1918." Ph.D diss., University of London, Royal Holloway College, 2020.

"Royalist Memorials of the Civil War in the Vendée during the Early Third Republic." *French History* (2024): <https://doi-org.libproxy.ucl.ac.uk/10.1093/fh/crad059>.

Olsen, Niklas. *History in the plural an introduction to the work of Reinhart Koselleck*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012.

Orr, Linda. *Headless History: Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Ortiz-Serrano, Miguel Àngel. "Political Connections and Stock Returns: Evidence from the Boulangist Campaign, 1888-1889." *Financial History Review* 25, no. 3 (2018): 323-56.

Orwicz, Michael. "Criticism and Representations of Brittany in the Early Third Republic." *Art Journal* 46, no. 4 (Winter 1987): 291-98.

—. "The Representation of the Breton: Art Criticism, Politics and Ideology in Paris, 1885-1889." Ph.D diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989.

Ory, Pascal. *Une nation pour mémoire: 1889, 1939, 1989, trois jubilés révolutionnaires*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1992.

—. "La République en fête les 14 juillet." *Annales Historiques De La Révolution Française* 52, no. 241 (July-September 1980): 443-61.

Osgood, Samuel. "A Pretender's Concept of the French Monarchy." *The Review of Politics* 19, no. 1 (January 1957): 77-89.

Ozouf, Mona. *L'École de la France: essais sur la Révolution, l'utopie et l'enseignement*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984.

—. *Festivals and the French Revolution*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

—. “Space and Time in the Festivals of the French Revolution.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 3 (July 1975): 372-84.

Palmer, James T. “The making of a world historical moment: The Battle of Tours (732/3) in the nineteenth century.” *Postmedieval* 10, no. 2 (June 2019): 206-18.

Palmer, Michael. “Daniel Wilson and the decorations scandal of 1887.” *Modern and Contemporary France* 1, no. 2 (1993): 139-50.

Panhorst, Michael. “Devotion, deception, and the Ladies Memorial Association, 1865-1898: the mystery of the Alabama Confederate Monument.” *The Alabama Review* 65, no. 3 (July 2012): 163-204.

Pappas, Sara. “Fragments of the Past: The Petit Palais, the Exposition Universelle, and the Ghosts of French Imperialism.” *Dix-Neuf* 24, no. 2-3 (2020): 245-59.

Parfitt, Steven. “Powderly Will Go to Paris: The Paris Exposition 1889 and the Knights of Labor.” *International Labor and Working Class History* 92 (2017): 183-212.

Parkinson, Nick. “Work of Art, Museum Trophy, Memorial Monument: The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek’s *Gloria Victis* by Antonin Mercié.” *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 21, no. 3 (Autumn 2022), <https://doi.org/10.29411/ncaw.2022.21.3.4>.

Parkinson, Robert G. *The Common Cause: Creating Race and Nation in the American Revolution*. University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

Parsons, Christopher and Neil McWilliam. “‘Le Paysan de Paris’: Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France.” *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983): 38-58.

Pasco, Allan H. “Personalizing Violence in Balzac’s ‘Les Chouans’.” *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 41, no. 3/4 (Spring-Summer 2013): 191-203.

Passmore, Kevin. *The Right in France from the Third Republic to Vichy*. Corby: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Paterson, Mark. “‘The Neuro-Motor Unconscious’: Étienne-Jules Marey, Eadweard Muybridge, and Motion Capture.” In *How We Became Sensorimotor: Movement, Measurement, Sensation*, 155–202. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021.

Paul, Tanya et al. *Bouguereau and America*. exh. cat. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 2019.

Payne, Howard C. “The Bourbon Restoration’s Commissaires-Extraordinaires Du Roi in 1814.” *French Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 37-62.

- Pearo, Charles. "Elizabeth Jane Gardner: Her life, her work, her letters." Ph.D diss., McGill University, 1997.
- Peabody, Rebecca, Steven Nelson, and Dominic Thomas. *Visualizing Empire: Africa, Europe, and the Politics of Representation*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2021.
- Peker, Efe. "Bringing the State Back in Secularization: The Development of *Laïcité* in the French Third Republic (1875-1905)." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 58, no. 4 (2019): 813-32.
- Pestel, Friedemann. "Memory That Governs by Itself? Appropriations of Versailles Memory." *European Review of History* 24, no. 4 (2017): 527-551.
- Pétre-Grenouilleau, Olivier. *Nantes: Histoire et géographie contemporaine*. Plomelin: Éditions Palantines, 2008.
- Pichel, Beatriz. "Reading Photography in French Nineteenth Century Journals." *Media History* 25, no. 1 (2019): 51-69.
- Pick, Daniel. "The Faces of Anarchy: Lombroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in Post-Unification Italy." *History Workshop*, no. 21 (Spring 1986): 60-86.
- Pinkney, David H. *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Pons, José. "Mélanges: François Chèvremont Bibliographe de Jean-Paul Marat." *Annales Historiques de La Révolution Française*, no. 311 (January-March 1998): 111-27.
- Potts, Alex. *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- . "Social Theory and the Realist Impulse in Nineteenth-Century Art." *Nonsite*, no. 27, *The Nineteenth Century* (February 11, 2019): unpaginated. <https://nonsite.org/social-theory-and-the-realist-impulse-in-nineteenth-century-art/>.
- Prendergast, Christopher. *Napoleon and History Painting: Antoine-Jean Gros's La Bataille D'Eylau*. London: Clarendon Press, 1997.
- Prodger, Phillip. "Instantaneous Photography." In *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, edited by John Hannavy, 746-49. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Provencher, Denis M. and Luke L. Eilderts. "The Nation According to Lavis: Teaching Masculinity and Male Citizenship in Third-Republic France." *French Cultural Studies* 18, no. 1 (February 1, 2007): 31-57.

Puiseux, Hélène. *Les Figures de la guerre. Représentations et sensibilités, 1839-1996*. Paris: Gallimard, 1997.

Ralston, David B. "Reviewed Works: *Bonapartism After Sedan* by John Rothney; *The Boulanger Affair: Political Crossroad of France, 1886-1889* by Frederic H. Seager." *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (April 1970): 1138–39.

Reader, Keith. *The Place de La Bastille: The Story of a Quartier*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011.

Rearick, Charles. "Festivals in Modern France: The Experience of the Third Republic." *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, no. 3 (July 1977): 435–60.

Renard, Margot. "Aux origines du récit national. Inventer l'histoire de France par la gravure et la peinture (1814-1848)." Ph.D diss., Université Grenoble-Alpes, 2018.

Richter, Melvin. "A Family of Political Concepts: Tyranny, Despotism, Bonapartism, Caesarism, Dictatorship, 1750-1917." *European Journal of Political Theory* 4, no. 3 (July 2005): 221–248.

Roos, Jane Mayo. "Aristocracy in the Arts: Philippe De Chennevières and the Salons of the Mid 1870s." *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 53–62.

—. "Rodin's Monument to Victor Hugo: Art and Politics in the Third Republic." *Art Bulletin* 68, no. 4 (December 1986): 632–56.

Rothney, John. *Bonapartism after Sedan*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Rouchette, Thérèse. "Charette sous le regard des siens." In *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 135–46. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

Rudelle, Odile. *La république absolue: 1870-1889*, new ed. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1982.

Rulof, Bernard. "Wine, friends and royalist popular politics: legitimist associations in mid-nineteenth-century France." *French History* 23, no. 3 (September 2009): 360–82.

Russo, Stephanie. "'My mite for its protection': The Conservative Woman as Action Hero in the Writings of Charlotte West." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41, no. 1 (March 2018): 43–60.

Schama, Simon. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. London: Penguin, 2004.

Schechter, Ronald. "Gothic Thermidor: The Bals Des Victimes, the Fantastic, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Post-Terror France." *Representations*, no. 61 (Winter 1998): 78–94.

—. *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715-1815*. Berkeley: University of California, 2003.

—. "Terror, Vengeance, and Martyrdom in the French Revolution: The Case of the Shades." In *Martyrdom and Terrorism: Pre-Modern to Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Dominic Janes and Alex Houen, 152-78. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014.

Schindler, Tabea. "Plaster as a Matter of Memory: Auguste Rodin and George Segal." In *The Aesthetics of Matter*, vol. 3, 144-157. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2013.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. "Railroad Space and Railroad Time." *New German Critique*, no. 14 (Spring 1978): 31-40.

Schmidt, James. "Cabbage Heads and Gulps of Water: Hegel on the Terror." *Political Theory* 26, no. 1 (February 1998): 4-32.

Schor, Naomi. "The Crisis of French Universalism." *Yale French Studies* 100, no. 100 (2001): 43-64.

Schwartz, Vanessa R. "Museums and Mass Spectacle: The Musée Grévin as a Monument to Modern Life." *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 7-26.

—. *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Scurr, Ruth. *Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006.

Secher, Reynald. *A French Genocide: The Vendée*. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003).

Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3-64.

Sérié, Pierre. "Faire l'histoire ou la peindre (1861-1898)." *Romantisme* 3, no. 169 (2015): 83-92.

—. *La Peinture d'histoire en France, 1860-1900: La Lyre ou le poignard*. Paris: Arthéna, 2014.

—. "Tableaux sur scène et sur toile, Paris 1850-1890." *Histoire de l'art*, no. 69 (December 2011): 57-66.

Serman, William. "The nationalists of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 1888-1912." In *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, edited by Robert Tombs, 121-35. London: Routledge, 1991.

Shaw, Jennifer L. "Imagining the Motherland: Puvis de Chavannes, Modernism, and the Fantasy of France." *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 4 (December 1997): 586-610.

Sherman, Daniel J. "Art Museums, Inspections, and the Limits to Cultural Policy in the Early Third Republic." *Historical Reflections* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1988): 337-59.

Siegfried, André. *Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest sous la troisième république*. Paris: Colin, 1913.

Siegfried, Susan Locke. "Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France." *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (June 1993): 235-58.

—. "Ingres and the Theatrics of History Painting." *Word & Image* 16, no. 1 (January-March 2000): 58-76.

Silverman, Deborah L. "The 1889 Exhibition: The Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism." *Oppositions* 8 (Spring 1977): 70-91.

Simpson, Martin. "The Death of Henri V: Legitimists Without the Bourbons." *French History* 15, no. 4 (2001): 378-99.

—. "Taming the Revolution? Legitimists and the Centenary of 1789," *English Historical Review* 120, no. 486 (April 2005): 340-64.

Smith, David. "'It's a Beautiful Day for Democracy': Virginia Removes Robert E Lee Statue from Capital; Elated Crowd Cheered the Removal of the Bronze Monument to Confederate General, Erected More than 130 Years Ago in Richmond." *The Guardian (London)* (September 9, 2021), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/sep/08/robert-e-lee-statue-confederate-general-richmond-virginia#:~:text=1%20year%20old-,It's%20a%20beautiful%20day%20for%20democracy'%3A%20Virginia%20removes%20Robert,E%20Lee%20statue%20from%20capital&text=For%20131%20years%20it%20loomed,to%20generations%20that%20passed%20beneath>.

Smith, Timothy B. "Republicans, Catholics and Social Reform: Lyon, 1870-1920." *French History*. 12, no. 3 (September 1998): 246-75.

Smyth, Patricia. *Paul Delaroche: Painting and Popular Spectacle*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2022.

Snay, Cheryl K. "Politics by Another Name: Government-Sponsored Art in Paris, 1870-1900." Ph.D diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2000.

Solomon, Matthew. "Georges Méliès: Anti-Boulangist Caricature and the Incohérent Movement." *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 53, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 305-27.

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. "Male Trouble: A Crisis in Representation." *Art History* 16, no. 2 (June 1993): 286-312.

Sommer, Marianne. "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall: Neanderthal as Image and 'Distortion' in Early 20th-Century French Science and Press." *Social Studies of Science* 36, no. 2 (April 2006): 207-40.

Song, Vivian. "Canadian Truckers Energize French Far Right." *Open Canada* (February 16, 2022): <https://opencanada.org/canadian-truckers-energise-french-far-right/>.

Springer, Annemarie. "Terrorism and Anarchy: Late 19th-Century Images of a Political Phenomenon in France." *Art Journal* 38, no. 4 (Summer 1979): 261-66.

Stammers, Tom. "Facets of French Heritage: Selling the Crown Jewels in the Early Third Republic." *Journal of Modern History* 90, no. 1 (2018): 76-115.

—. "From the Tuileries to Twickenham: The Orléans, Exile and Anglo-French Liberalism, c. 1848-1880." *The English Historical Review* 133, no. 564 (October 2018): 1120-1154.

—. "The homeless heritage of the French Revolution, c. 1789-1889." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25 (2019): 478-90.

—. *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris c. 1790-1890*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Stamper, John W. "The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair." *Technology and Culture* 30, no. 2, *Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Carl W. Condit* (April 1989): 330-353.

Staum, Martin S. "The Facial Angle, Physiognomy, and Racial Theory." In *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815-1848*, 23-48. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Steinberg, Ronen. *The Afterlives of Terror: The Legacies of Mass Violence in Postrevolutionary France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019.

—. "Between Silence and Speech: Spectres and Images in the Aftermath of the Reign of Terror: Special Issue." *Acta academica* 47, no. 1 (2015): 247-265.

—. "Trauma and the Effects of Mass Violence in Revolutionary France: A Critical Inquiry." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 41, no. 3 (Winter 2015): 28-46.

Stephens, Sonya. "Paris and Panoramic Vision: Lieux de Mémoire, Lieux Communs." *Modern and Contemporary France* 14, no. 2 (2006): 173-87.

Sternhell, Zeev. "Paul Deroulede and the Origins of Modern French Nationalism." *Journal of Contemporary History* 6, no. 4 (1971): 46-70.

—. "Barrès et la gauche: du boulangisme à 'la cocarde' (1889-1895)." *Mouvement social*, no. 75 (1971): 77-130.

—. “The political culture of nationalism.” In *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, edited by Robert Tombs, 22-38. London: Routledge, 1991.

Suard, Docteur Jacques-Marie. “Marie-Anne Charette.” In *Charette, l’itinéraire singulier d’un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 147-52. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

Sudik, Thomas Joseph. “The French Administration of Fine Arts: 1875-1914.” Ph.D diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 1988.

Suresh, Shyam Gouri, and Scott Jeffrey. “The Consequences of Social Pressures on Partisan Opinion Dynamics.” *Eastern Economic Journal* 43, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 242–59.

Sutherland, Donald. *The Chouans: The Social Origins of Popular Counter-Revolution in Upper Brittany, 1770-1796*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

—. *Murder in Aubagne: Lynching, Law, and Justice during the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

—. “Urban Crowds, Riot, Utopia, and Massacres, 1789-92.” In *A Companion to the French Revolution*, edited by Peter McPhee, 231-45. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2012.

Sweeney, Niamh. “‘Fictitious Capital’: Haussmannization and the (Un-)Making of Second-Empire Paris.” *L’Esprit Créateur* 55, no. 3 (2015): 100-13.

Tackett, Timothy. “The West in France in 1789: The Religious Factor in the Origins of the Counterrevolution.” *Journal of Modern History* 54 (1982): 715-45.

Tardi, Jacques. *Quand Paris dansait avec Marianne: 1879-1889*, exh. cat. Paris: Éditions Paris-musées, 1989.

Tartakowsky, Danielle. “La construction sociale de l’espace politique: Les usages politiques de la place de la Concorde des années 1880 à nos jours.” *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 145-73.

Taws, Richard. “Comment.” *Journal of Visual Culture* 9, no. 3 (2010): 365-69.

—. “The Dauphin and His Doubles: Visualizing Royal Imposture after the French Revolution.” *Art Bulletin* 98, no. 1 (March 2016): 72-100.

—. *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemera in Revolutionary France*. State College: Penn State University Press, 2013.

—. “Telegraphic Images in Post-Revolutionary France.” *Art History* 39, no. 2 (April 2016): 400-21.

—. “Trompe-l’Oeil and Trauma: Money and Memory after the Terror.” *Oxford Art Journal* 30, no. 3 (2007): 353–76.

Tendler, Joseph. “Alphonse Aulard Revisited.” *European Review of History* 20, no. 4 (2013): 649–69.

Thèves, Catherine, Elodie Cabot, Caroline Bouakaze, Pierre Chevet, Éric Crubézy, and Patricia Balaesque. “About 42% of 154 remains from the “Battle of Le Mans”, France (1793) belong to women and children: Morphological and genetic evidence.” *Forensic Science International* 262 (May 2016): 30–36.

Thibaud, Gabriel. “Les combats de Charette de décembre 1793 à la fin 1794.” In *Charette, l’itinéraire singulier d’un chef vendéen héroïque*, edited by Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, 73–80. Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996.

Thomson, Richard. *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880–1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

—. “Camille Pissarro, *Turpitudes sociales*, and the Universal Exhibition of 1889.” *Arts Magazine* 56, no. 8 (April 1982): 82–88.

—. “Ruins, Rhetoric and Revolution: Paul Signac’s *Le Démolisseur* and Anarchism in the 1890s.” *Art History* 36, no. 2 (April 2013): 366–91.

—. *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889–1900*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.

Thullier, Jacques. *La Sculpture du XIXe siècle, une mémoire retrouvée, les fonds de sculpture*. Paris: La Documentation française, 1986.

Till, Karen E. “Artistic and Activist Memory-Work: Approaching Place-Based Practice,” *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): 99–113.

Tilly, Charles. “State and Counterrevolution in France.” *Social Research* 56, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 71–97.

Tombs, Robert. “Paris and the Rural Hordes: An Exploration of Myth and Reality in the French Civil War of 1871.” *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 4 (December 1986): 795–808.

Tran, Van Troi. “How ‘natives’ ate at colonial exhibitions in 1889, 1900, and 1931.” *French Cultural Studies* 26, no. 2 (2015): 163–75.

Tumblety, Joan. ““Civil Wars of the Mind’: The Commemoration of the 1789 Revolution in the Parisian Press of the Radical Right, 1939.” *European History Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (July 2000): 389–429.

Turda, Marius. "New Perspectives on Race and Eugenics." *The Historical Journal* 51, no. 4 (December 2008): 1115-124.

Twine, Richard. "Physiognomy, Phrenology and the Temporality of the Body." *Body and Society* 8, no. 1 (March 2002): 67-88.

Vapereau, Georges. *Dictionnaire universel des contemporains: contenant toutes les personnes notables de la France et des pays étrangers*. Paris: 1893.

Varley, Karine. "Memories Not Yet Formed: Commemorating the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune." *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 14, no. 3 (2021): 231-50.

—. "National Identity, Local Memory and the 'Cult' of Belfort in Franco-Prussian War Commemorations, 1870-1914." *Nottingham French Studies* 1, no. 44 (2005): 38-49.

—. "Under the Shadow of Defeat: The State and the Commemoration of the Franco-Prussian War, 1871–1914." *French History* 16, no. 3 (September 2002): 323-44.

Vaughan, William and Helen Weston, eds. *David's The Death of Marat*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Ventura, Gal. "Intention, Interpretation, and Reception: The Aestheticization of Poverty in William Bouguereau's *Indigent Family*." *Visual Resources* 33, no. 3-4 (2017): 204-33.

Vermot, Federica. "The Florentine Revival of Late Nineteenth-Century French Sculpture: Perspectives from the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1861-81)." *MDCCC 1800* 10, no. 1 (July 2021): 149-168.

De Villefosse, René Héron. *L'Anti Versailles ou Le Palais-Royal de Philippe Égalité*. Paris: Jean Dullis Éditeur, 1974.

Vinocur, Nicholas. "Marine Le Pen's Plan to Make France Great Again," *Politico* (February 4, 2017), <https://www.politico.eu/article/marine-le-pens-plan-to-make-france-great-again/>.

—. "The New Marine Le Pen—Now Featuring Cats!" *Politico* (March 17, 2016): <https://www.politico.eu/article/the-new-marine-le-pen-now-meow-featuring-cats-calves-french/>.

Volkan, Vamik D. "Transgenerational Transmissions and Chosen Traumas: An Aspect of Large-Group Identity." *Group Analysis* 34, no. 1 (2001): 79-97.

Vovelle, Michel. "L'historiographie de la Révolution française à la veille du bicentenaire." *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 272, no. 1 (1988): 113-26.

Walczak, Gerrit. "Low Art, Popular Imagery and Civic Commitment in the French Revolution." *Art History* 30, no. 2 (2007): 247–277.

“Weerts, Jean-Joseph.” *Benezit Dictionary of Artists* (October 31, 2011): <https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00195324>

Weisberg, Gabriel P., ed. *The European Realist Tradition*. exh. cat. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Weston, Helen. “The Corday-Marat Affair: No Place for a Woman.” In *David’s The Death of Marat*, edited by William Vaughan and Helen Weston, 128-52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

—. “Jacques-Louis David’s “La Mort de Joseph Bara”: a Tale of Revolutionary Myths and Modern Fantasies.” *Paragraph* 19, no. 3, *Painting and Narrative* (November 1996): 234-50.

Williams, Garrath. “Dangerous Victims: On Some Political Dangers of Vicarious Claims to Victimhood.” *Disktinktion: Journal of Social Theory* 9, no. 2 (2008): 77-95.

Wilson, Colette. “The Politics and Aesthetics of a Phantom Palace: Le Palais Des Tuileries in Charles Soulier’s *Paris Incendié, Mai 1871*.” *Romance Studies* 22, no. 3 (2004): 197-207.

Wilson, Michael Kenneth. “Changing Perspectives: The Historiography of the Reign of Terror.” Ph.D diss., University of Houston, 1994.

Wilson, Stephen. *Ideology and Experience: Anti-Semitism in France at the Time of the Dreyfus Affair*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007.

Wrigley, Richard. *The Politics of Appearances: Representations Of Dress In Revolutionary France*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002.

—. “Revolutionary Relics: Survival and Consecration.” *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 2 (June 2002): 145-89.

Woell, Edward J. “Counterrevolutionary Catholicism in Western France: The Battle of Belief at Machecoul, 1777-1914.” Ph.D diss., Marquette University, 1997.

—. *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France, 1774-1914*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2006.

—. “Waging War for the Lord: Counterrevolutionary Ritual in Rural Western France, 1801-1906.” *The Catholic Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (January 2002): 17-41.

Wright, Alastair. “Mourning, Painting, and the Commune: Maximilien Luce’s *A Paris Street in 1871*.” *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 2 (2009): 223-42.

Wright, Beth Segal. *Painting and History During the French Restoration: Abandoned by the Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Le XIXe siècle et la Révolution française [journées d'études de Nanterre, octobre 1989]. Paris: éditions Créaphis, 1992.

Yanhong, Huang. ““Les lieux de mémoire” and Pierre Nora’s writing of French national history.” *Chinese Studies in History* 53, no. 2, *History of Western Hagiography: The View from China* (2020): 150-170.

Yerxa, Donald and Wolfgang Schivelbusch. “Cultures of Defeat: An Interview with Wolfgang Schivelbusch.” *Historically Speaking* 5, no. 2 (November 2003): 16-17.

Young, Marnin. “The Motionless Look of a Painting: Jules Bastien-Lepage, Les Foins, and the End of Realism.” *Art History* 37, no. 1 (February 2014): 38-67.

—. *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Young, Patrick. “From the Eiffel Tower to the Javanese Dancer: Envisioning Cultural Globalization at the 1889 Paris Exhibition.” *The History Teacher* 41, no. 3 (May 2008): 339–62.

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Baluyut, Pearlie Rose S. “The Afterlife of the 1889 Exposition Universelle: Imagining and Fashioning the Filipino in Fin-de-Siècle Paris.” Paper presented at The Paris World Fairs—(Re-) Productions of Art and Fashion conference, November 12-13, 2020.

Cowcher, Kate. “Revolutionary Realism(s) in Ethiopia.” UCL History of Art Departmental Research Seminar. November 4, 2021.

Formaz, Dominique. “Julien Le Blant: Un petit maître à redécouvrir.” <https://leblant.com/blog/>

Roundtable, “Race, Gender and Intermedia Art Practice in Transnational Paris, c. 1900,” Birkbeck Centre for 19th-Century Studies and the Centre for 19th-Century Studies at Durham University, Friday, February 26, 2021 and March 5, 2021.

UCL Art Museum, French Revolution Study Pack