CHAPTER THREE - OTHER CHOICES

Conventional portraiture had served doctors well for quite some time, but bot artists and doctors began to feel that it might no longer be adequate as a way to symbolize the doctor's professional standing and sought new images that might glorify him. Elizabeth Johns has written that "In the early nineteenth century, with the well-publicized advances in French surgery and the rise of the French surgeon to prominence, French artists began to explore ways in which surgeons might be depicted, both in history paintings and in portrait formats." [1] There were several different solutions to their problem and the answer they finally chose, showing doctors at work in the operating theater or conducting experiments in their laboratories and clinics was not their only option. The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of those other possibilities.

Artists might have chosen to portray doctors carrying out their traditional role as healers. Healing the sick was one of the cardinal virtues and it would have been easy to glorify doctors this way. Even in the "scientific" nineteenth century, doctors might have easily been portrayed completing a sacred mission. As Borsa and Michel point out, "The doctor had come to

the hospital, at least in the beginning, as an act of charity for the poor and the sick....This conception still profoundly marked the presence of the doctor at the hospital in the nineteenth century. A that time, it was largely admitted that doctors and surgeons exercised a ministry of devotion and charity, that they considered it both a duty and an honor to consecrate their most precious moments to those most disinherited by fortune." [2] William Gerdts writes that "the traditional image of the doctor as a figure of goodness, enlightenment, and compassion finds its pictorial precedent in the image of Christ the Healer." [3] Religious images such as El Greco's THE MIRACLE OF CHRIST HEALING THE BLIND (c. 1577, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK CITY) or Il Cerano's ST. FRANCIS HEALING THE LEPER (c. 1630, PINACOTECO DI BRERA, MILAN) depict both Christ and saint as healer. In his study of American art, Gerdts cited such paintings as CHRIST HEALING THE SICK by Washington Allston and Benjamin West's CHRIST HEALING THE SICK IN THE TEMPLE as having served as models for painters of American doctors. Allston's painting in particular presented "his protagonist as the universal great healer, the `world doctor.'" [4]

In addition to the care for the body's

FIGURE 42 - EL GRECO CHRIST HEALING THE BLIND

FIGURE 43 - IL CERANO ST. FRANCIS HEALING THE LEPER

physical ailments, the images of saints healing the mentally ill were also precedents available to artists wishing to portray their doctor-subjects as healers of the sick. Several paintings that Jean-Martin Charcot projected during his lectures on hysteria at the Salpetriere and cited by him in L'HYSTERIE DANS L'ART portrayed saints as they heal the mentally ill. Andrea del Sarto's SAINT PHILIPPE DE NERI HEALING A POSSESSED WOMAN, Rubens' SAINT IGNATIUS HEALING A POSSESSED WOMAN, were just two among them. Artists might have transferred these religious images to the modern medical practitioner.

If the image of the doctor as sympathetic healer was reserved for the Christian care for the humble, depictions of medical care for the upper levels of society showed the physician or surgeon using various instruments on their patients. Seventeenth and early eighteenth-century scenes of doctors (or sometimes apothocaries) treating the French elite showed them bleeding, administering clysters to or performing surgical procedures on their wealthy and powerful patients. In the nineteenth century, artists began to paint doctors who seemed to be more sympathetic to their patients' condition. Such images, however, were reserved to genre painting. The act of

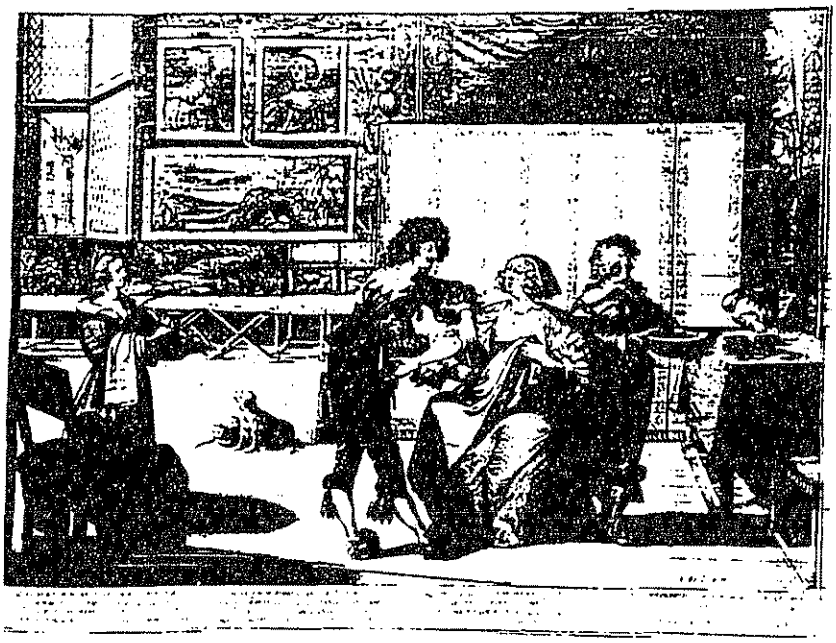

FIGURE 44 - ABRAHAM BOSSE LA SAIGNÉE

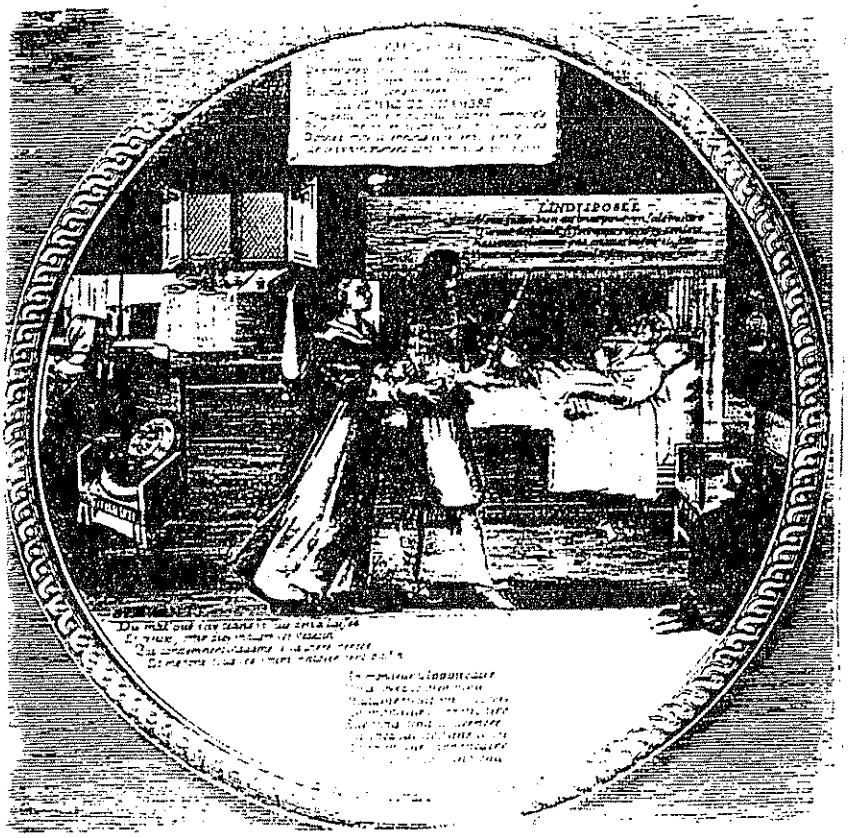

FIGURE 45 - (UNSIGNED) APOTHICAIRE ADMINISTRANT UN CLYSTERE

FIGURE 46 - (UNSIGNED) FRERE JACQUES DE BEAULIEU (1651-1714) OPÉRANT

healing was restricted to canvases which showed an anonymous doctor, a "type" rather than an individual. The painting was meant to represent the doctor's mission rather than his individual contribution. As the English painter of perhaps the most well-known of such genre scenes, Sir Luke Fildes, said of his painting THE DOCTOR, he especially did not want anyone to think it was a portrait of a particular doctor, or even any particular person. [5] Although medical scenes in genre paintings were able win the praise of both the art professionals and the public, such sentimental scenes were not considered important enough to honor specific physicians or surgeons. In America, Gerdts argues, they were not so well received as in England and France. "No American genre painting of the nineteenth century concerned with [medicine and art] ever achieved the fame and impact of Sir Luke Fildes's THE DOCTOR, 1891, for instance, and no American painter created an equivalent to the series of impressive, multifigured medical scenes made by the Frenchman Jules Jean Geoffroy, whose works include HOSPITAL VISITING DAY, 1889; THE DOCTOR'S ROUND--INFANT CLINIC and A CHILD'S CLINIC IN BELLEVILLE, both circa 1903; and CONVALESCENTS IN THE HOSPICE DE BEAUNE, circa 1904." [6] Geoffroy's JOUR DE VISITE, in fact, has no doctor

FIGURE 47 - SIR LUKE FILDES THE DOCTOR

FIGURE 48 - GEO (JEAN GEOFFROY) JOUR DE VISITE

in it. Gerdts offers no explanation of either why genre paintings with medical themes failed to attract an American public or why they were not utilized to honor individual doctors. In France, genre scenes portrayed the image ordinary doctors wished to give of themselves. They might be anonymous, but such anonymity implied that the doctor was not more important than the patient.

One of the most popular and widely praised genre paintings depicting medical care was Pascal Dagnan-Bouveret's painting, UN ACCIDENT. It was exhibited at the Salon of 1880 [#951], where it was awarded a first class medal. Its small size, only 1m45 X 1m70, implied that the subject within the painting was not to be viewed so seriously as history or religious painting. Yet it was mentioned in no less than half-a-dozen different articles. All Salon reviews were in agreement about the excellence of this painting. The Marquis De Chennevieres, for example, called it the most perfect example of genre painting that had been exhibited at the Salon in many years. [7] Emil Michel, in the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, considered it among the best genre paintings, and he wrote of Dagnan-Bouveret, "Son tableau, UN ACCIDENT, qui le met d'emblée en tete de nos peintres de genre." [8] Georges

FIGURE 49 - P. DAGNAN-BOUVERET UN ACCIDENT

Lafenestre also praised it noting that the large crowd of ordinary Salon visitors were as attracted by it as had been the members of the professional art world. "La vivacité et la varieté des expressions, la franchise et la verité de l'emotion, l'exactitude et l'habilite de l'execution, poussées jusqu'au trompe-l-oeil, ont valu à cette excellente toile un succes égal aupres des artistes et auprès de la foule." [9] Different critics emphasized different details of the painting. For some reviewers, its charm rested in the sympathetic way Dagnan-Bouveret had portrayed the young boy whose wound was being treated. In Emile Michel's view, the hero of the painting was not the young doctor but the farm boy who had lost so much blood yet continued to maintain his courage. "Le héros de l'aventure, c'est un enfant blessé qui tend courageusement sa main meurtrie à un jeune chirurgien qui le panse. Il a perdu beaucoup de sang ce pauvre petit; mais il est brave, il veut tenir jusqu'au bout et, les levres serrées, il fait de son mieux pour ne pas defaillir." [10]

Some reviewers saw a great deal of love and affection among the family members while others held quite the opposite opinion, that Dagnan-Bouveret had successfully painted the coldness of farm life, nearly

absent of family feeling. All agreed, nevertheless, that the artist did picture the doctor as a skillful healer, whose special knowledge went far beyond anything of which the family was capable. Michel noted that the people in the painting obviously respect the doctor's skill and knowledge, "Voyez par exemple, ces deux ouvriers qui se tiennent à l'ecart; avec quelle attention ils suivent le bandage de la plaie! quelle sympathie ils ont pour le petit patient, mais aussi quelle respectueuse curiosité et quelle deference excitent en eux l'adresse et la science du jeune operateur!" [11]

An American art critic, Charles Carroll, singled out the canvas for particular praise. In a Salon that he described as "replete with what I might call artistic small change....a really first-rate works [is] M. Dagnan-Bouveret's AN ACCIDENT." [12] In his view, the artist had clearly portrayed the (supposed) harsh reality of farm life where such serious accidents were commonplace and family relationships were often far from tender. With elbows on the table, wrote Carroll, "the farm hands are earnestly watching the young doctor as he deftly rolls and fastens his linen bandages, with some pity in their stolid features, but more curiosity." [13] Carroll pointed out that Dagnan-

Bouveret had emphasized the doctor's skill by contrasting it so obviously to the helplessness of the boy's family.

One Salonnier identified the characters in Dagnan-Bouveret's painting slightly differently. In describing the painting, which he called "one of the most satisfying to me this year," Rene Delorme wrote that Dagnan-Bouveret, "has depicted a family drama which takes place in the interior of a farmhouse. While playing with a baling hook, the child gave himself a terrible cut on the hand. Seated on a bench, near a basin filled with blood, the poor lad, all pale, holds out his arm to the doctor who has been called in haste. The whole family, including the day-workers, watch the bandaging. It only takes one look at the people present to understand the degree of affection that they have for the wounded boy. The father is standing, his head lowered, very upset, furious not to be able to do anything to comfort his little one. In one corner, between the blue four-poster bed and the old clock, his sister cries. The mother cannot stay in one place. Like her husband she gets up, and without taking her eyes off her dear little pet, she gets her kerchief ready to be used as a sling to support his arm. The farm workers, seated on benches, elbows on

the table, follow attentively the dexterity of the young doctor as he unrolls the bandage. There is as much curiousity as pity in their expression." [14] Lafenestre's identified the woman at the right of the painting who hides her face in her hands as the boy's mother. She seems to be the only person in the painting expressing any real concern. The other woman, who Lafenestre speculated was the first woman's mother-in-law, seems more interested in whether and how soon the young boy will be able to return to his work. [15]

Roger Ballu also took notice of the skill with which Dagnan-Bouveret portrayed "real" peasant life. "Monsieur Dagnan-Bouveret has earned a legitimate success with UN ACCIDENT. He has us enter the interior of a cottage in order to show us a young boy of twelve or fifteen years who has given himself a serious wound on his hand. The surgeon from the neighboring village is applying a bandage to the lad, who is extremely pale. Around him, family and friends, watch the operation with a certain naive attention or even wonder....These people are indeed in their own homes, their interior where they live without imagining that someone is watching them. In saying that, I am not at all giving banal praise, because this merit is not very common, and in this mannyer Monsieur Dagnan-

Bouveret has brought himself very close to those masters one has called the Petits-Hollandais....Look, for example, at the bare and dusty foot of the wounded child. One sees it through the crack in his broken wooden shoe...." [16]

Thus the critics seemed to be acknowledging the two most important aspects of the general practitioner's beliefs: he was skillful in the medical arts and he cared about the wounds and illnesses of his patients. The doctor had come to the home of the small boy and his family; he did not require them to visit him at his clinic or at a hospital. Dagnan's setting, moreover, was a farm and the accident a part of a rural existence which many in France felt was fading away. The doctor, although clearly differentiated from farm life by his knowledge and his clothing, was made part of the rural scene. Dagnan-Bouveret was a Parisian and it was a Parisian crowd of Salon-visitors who would be most likely to view the rural life with nostalgia. As Eugen Weber says, "Many grieved over the death of yesterday, but few who grieved were peasants." [17]

Genre paintings also showed ordinary doctors attending patients who were city-dwellers. At the 1884 Salon, Albert Besnard exhibited two paintings, LA MALADIE and LA CONVALESCENCE, a diptych commissioned by

FIGURE 50 - ALBERT BESNARD LA MALADIE

the Ecole de Pharmacie in 1883. Henry Houssaye, who wrote the Salon review for the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES that year, was not very enthusiastic about either painting. Although he discussed the entire work for nearly entire page of his review, Houssaye dismissed the first half of the diptych in just two sentences. "The first panel, entitled LA MALADIE, depicts a bare interior where a woman has fainted in her bed. The doctor and two women are attentively looking after the patient."[18] The small etching of it (9" X 5 13/16") does not, perhaps, show us enough, but Houssaye wrote that this painting represented a Besnard who had strayed from his Academic ideas and adopted many of the tenets of impressionism. "Monsieur Besnard should have saved himself the trouble of entering in the competiton, of winning the Prix de Rome and of spending four years a the Villa Medici. All that has been lost time, since here the artist has been converted to impressionism. The diptych that he has painted for the Pharmacy School is quite according to its regulations. The color is raw and dull, the figures are flat and the poses are of an affected simplicity." [19] Degas is supposed to have cited Besnard as an example of how successful the impressionists had been in influencing the younger artists of his day. Frank Folliot wrote,

"On connait le mot de Degas à propos de cette 'contagion' impressionniste: 'Besnard vole de nos propres ailes!'" [20]) According to Folliot, Besnard was often attracted to the themes of illness and death. "On retrouve souvent dans son oeuvre ce motif de la maladie, de la mort ou de son attente, par exemple dans la composition de la faculté de Pharmacie, qui represente la MALADIE (1884), ou dans les peintures de la chapelle de h'hopital Cazin-Perrochaud à Berck (1897-1901). [21] Houssaye's summation was a comparison of Besnard with Puvis de Chavannes. "In Monsieur Besnard's diptych, there are reds that seem alive, very raw greens, large blues, coarse pinks which explode and by opposition make the skin colors appear with less tone than they are in reality. These canvases by Monsieur Besnard show how superb a colorist is Monsieur Puvis de Chavannes." [22] The doctor is clearly the most imporant person in the painting. He is not only in the center of the picture, it is only his face that we see in full. His concern for his patient is apparent, even in this reproduction, and his immediate intervention seems to have been necessary to save the patient's life. He is not a particular doctor, just the ordinary physician whose care, concern and familiarity with the traditional pharmacopia can

saves lives. Overall, Houssaye's review was negative. The impressionist palette and flattened style to which Houssaye referred perhaps were unsuited to the subject. They deprived the painting of the emotional content that Dagnan-Bouveret had given his canvas or that Arturo Michelena was able to paint into his.

At the 1887 Salon, Arturo Michelena exhibited ENFANT MALADE. Michelena was born in Venezuela in 1863. He had won a scholarship from the Venezuelan government to study art in Paris, and arrived in France in May, 1885. By October, he had entered J.P. Laurens' studio. The Venezuelan government, though, rescinded his scholarship, having considered the few works he sent to the Salon insufficient. The support of wealthy friends in France, however, enabled him to continue to live in Paris until 1889.

In this painting, Michelena has set his painting in one of the poorer neighborhoods of Paris. Here is the medecin du quartier treating the humble. Their crowded neighborhood is visible through the single window in the room. The doctor has examined his young patient and about to announce his prognosis. The family waits anxiously for his words; they have has done all they can and must rely on the doctor's verdict. His rather simple clothing indicates that he

has remained a man of the people who cares more for the welfare of his patients than for his own material success. "It is a touching scene," wrote Thiebaut-Sisson in the NOUVELLE REVUE, "In a narrow room, on whose bare walls are still some tattered painted paper, an old and wise doctor, with a serious but gentle appearance, examines a young patient who lies on an old mahogany bed. Her hollowed-out cheeks and eyes make her appear prematurely wasted away. Her mother near her, filled with anxiety, waits for the oracle that the Faculte is about to announce. The uncertain light which has been allowed to penetrate the window scatters greyish tints on the bed's dirty covers and the faces which have been faded by suffering or by age." [23] In Paul Leroi's view, it was Michelena's ability to express the suffering of the popular classes that raised his work to the highest level. "It is the heart and the infinite compassion and sympathy that the the misery of the humble inspire that reign supreme in ENFANT MALADE and annoint Monsieur Michelena as an elite artist. The anxious mother seated at the foot of the bed, the worried father who leans on the pillows at the head of the cot, the suffering of the poor girl whose face is cruelly altered competes with the pillows in their pallor, the movements of the old doctor, and

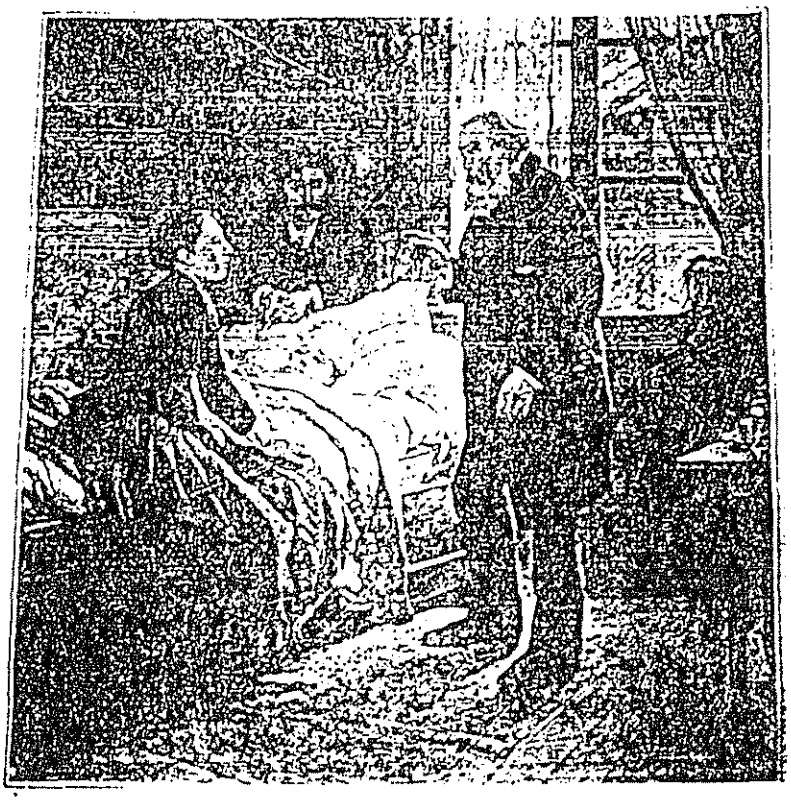

FIGURE 51 - ARTURO MICHELENA ENFANT MALADE

even the unconscious indifference of her litle sister, standing near the singular casement through which one can see the roofs of the other buildings covered with snow. One cannot imagine a sadder sight, made more vivid by the most natural means without a shade of overemphasis. A powerful work, perfectly worked out and dressed in a color that harmonizes exactly with the anguish that fills it. Monsieur Michelena, of whom his native country should be so proud, deserves that it be told how little he is." [24] Michelena was awarded a second-place medal, (one of fifteen; Fernand Cormon's LES VAINQUERS DE SALAMINE won the 1887 medal of honor), and Leroi boasted that French art critics were much more discerning than those of Venezuela. "This year, by winning a second place medal, he has found a worthy revenge on the inept decision of his native country, which he honors so greatly by his talent. He is rightly proud of having sold to a French citizen his beautiful canvas: ENFANT MALADE. Monsieur Michelena is someone. He has found a second country in France, and it will remain hospitable to him." [25]

Edouard-Joseph Dantan's LA CONSULTATION A L'HOPITAL DE SAINT-CLOUD was exhibited at the Salon of 1888. The painting showed a doctor pressing his ear to the back of a young girl to listen to her lungs and the

FIGURE 52 - EDOUARD DANTAN LA CONSULTATION A L'HOPITAL DE SAINT-CLOUD

sounds of her breathing. The scene was already not a new one. A few years before, at the Salon of 1883, Heill's L'AUSCULTATION (not located), depicted an almost identical picture, described briefly by Josephin Peladan in his review for L'ARTISTE. "Une jeune fille dont le medecin écoute le dos, bien traité." [26] Dantan's painting was admired by several reviewers. Lafenestre wrote that "M. Dantan, dans la CONSULTATION, en faisant ausculter une jeune fille à demi nue par un docteur en presence de deux soeurs de Charité...le tableau, mieux simplifie et plus ramasse que les autres, est executé avec la franchise, la justesse, la clarté dont cet artiste à deja donne tant de preuves." [27] Albert Wolff called it a very moving painting. "Dans LA CONSULTATION, nous voyons une pauvre jeune fille conduite par la soeur de charité dans le cabinet du medecin d'hopital; la scene est touchante et il y a dans la couleur comme une atmosphere de pitie." [28] Although the doctor appears to be in his own consulting room at the hospital, he is still is an unnamed physician. The patient, in very plain clothing, is clearly a member of the popular classes. Her health is in the hands of this general practitioner. Dantan increases the sentimental aspect of the painting in the contrast between the doctor's age and his patient's

youth.

Pharmacies, too, might be used as the locale for genre paintings of medical subjects. Camille-Alfred Pabst's UNE PHARMACIE EN ALSACE exhibited at the Salon of 1878 and Lucien Simon's CHEZ LE PHARMACIEN from the 1890 Salon illustrate how differently these scenes could be represented. Pabst was born in Heitern, in Alsace, and his work was filled with scenes from his native land. [29] Much in the same way that Dagnan-Bouveret had evoked provincial France and memories of a time that seemed to be disappearing, Pabst's painting also recalled an earlier age. "Donc, peintre alsacien, Pabst est reste fidele a l'Alsace, aux choses et aux gens. Son oeuvre abonde en scenes locales, en interieurs nationaux. Voici, par exemple, une PHARMACIE qui semble a notre modernisme une evocation du moyen age....Il n'y a pas de demolisseurs de croix et de traditions." [30] The ALBUM GONNON's author was praising more than Pabst's art. His contrast between the modern and the traditional in the painting, was also clearly a contrast between the traditional values of ordinary doctors to the modern science of the other (elite) members of medical profession. The traditonal medicaments are described as authentic remedies, and traditional virtues are kept

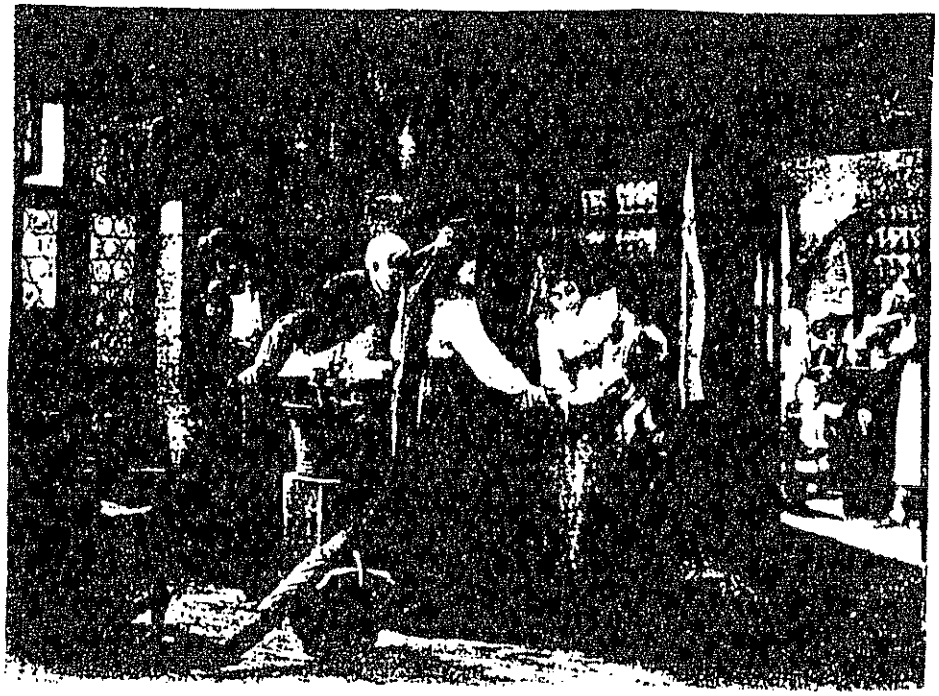

FIGURE 53 - CAMILLE-ALFRED PABST UNE PHARMACIE EN ALSACE

alive by the Alsatian pharmacists who fabricate them, grinding and pounding them professionally and lovingly. Which group of doctors match these virtues, the scientific surgeon or the ordinary practitioner (among whom the ALBUM circulated)? He wrote, "Let us have the courage to say it: In spite of our Expositions, there was more art in the little finger of the past than in our entire modern body....Look at these old pots--some tall, some round and fat--who hold rhubarb or theriac. With what delicacy, with what skill and knowledge of design have they been decorated? And these wooden carpentries with curves that are at the same time both graceful and strong. In those times, the worker who loved his art enjoyed the difficulty of the task and imposed on himself the test of the masterpiece before awarding to himself the title of master. Today, it's everything at discount. We no longer can find the old apothecary shops with their faiences from Rouen or Nevers, their heavy and wide mortars sounding like church bells as they grind and crush honest pommades and authentic remedies." [31]

Lucien Simon's CHEZ LE PHARMACIEN, exhibited at the 1890 Champs-Elysees Salon, was a completely different depiction of the pharmacist's shop. Simon has shown us the modern pharmacy. The setting is

FIGURE 54 - LUCIEN SIMON CHEZ LE PHARMACIEN

Paris, and the public watches from outside the door as the half-dressed patient is being looked after by a trio of attendants. Their patient has suffered an accident in the street and has been brought to the nearest pharmacy for emergency attention. De Beauregard took note of the crowd and the fact that this was the way of life in the modern city. "C'est une assez exacte peinture des mille catastrophes noyées dans le grand tumulte de Paris. Peut-etre somme nous plus diverties des badauds qui s'impressent qu'emus de la souffrance d'un malheureux." [32] As authentic as the scene might be, Dr. Norech, the Salon critic for the medical journal, UNION MEDICAL, felt that the painting was overly large for a genre painting. "L'ACCIDENT CHEZ LE PHARMACIEN, de M. Simon, se rapproche de l'anecdote...un bien grand tableau pour un petit sujet." [33] In passing, Norech pointed out that the practitioner treating the injured Parisian's wounds had to be a doctor, for even before the passage of the Chevandier Law, it was illegal for pharmacists to perform the functions of doctors in Paris. "Je me refuse à croire à la representation d'un cas d'exercise illegal." [34]

Genre painting, then, glorified the ordinary and unnamed doctor through devices the artist found

that would cause a sympathetic reaction in those who viewed the canvas. A humble setting with worn furniture, snow on the roofs, a crowded neighborhood, an elderly physician in shabby clothes tending a young patient, rural life and old customs - these were sure to evoke a favorable response. If the artist chose "inappropriate" devices, however, critics were sure to point these out. The "wrong" use of color or dimensions were such "mistakes." Critics wrote that the artist erred if, in painting doctors in genre scenes, they emphasized modernity or his heroism.

Thus, because they reduced him to a "type," genre scenes were not seen as a possible choice for artists attempting to honor individual doctor. But there was another way healing had been represented that elevated its hero above the common. In France, the tradition of the "royal touch," that is the king's ability to heal scrofula, ("the king's evil" [35]) went back to the Middle Ages, and even medieval physicians in France seemed to have accepted its validity. [36] The holy oil the king received during his coronation, it was believed, gave him special healing powers. He had the ability to cure scrofula by placing his right hand on the afflicted and saying the formulaic words, "The king touches you, God heals you." [37] In Figure

55, King Henry II cures a patient as the physician at the right looks on. His hand is held in the same position as the king's, but only the king has thaumaturgical power. Figure 56, an etching by P. Firens, THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING HENRY IIII OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, TOUCHING FOR SCROFULA, is the reproduction in volume 4 of Charcot's NOUVELLE ICONOGRAPHIE DE LA SALPETRIERE (1891). The royal touch was used not only for healing but as symbolic confirmation of the king's authority to rule France. In Henry IV's case, there was perhaps more at stake than at any previous time. Bloch points out that Henry did not perform the miracle only until after he was crowned at Chartres, even though he had become king before the event. "Like all the French kings, he administered the touch standing, and found it a tiring business; but he took good care not to avoid it. Desirous as he was of reconstructing the monarchy, he would surely not have neglected this part of the royal task. Purely administrative methods could not have been enough to give support to an authority that had been shaken by so many years of civl strife. It was also necessary to strengthen in his subjects' hearts the dynasty's prestige, just as it was the most striking proof of legitimacy. That is why Henry IV was not satisfied with effectively practising

FIGURE 55 - (UNSIGNED) KING HENRY II TOUCHING FOR THE KING'S EVIL

FIGURE 56 - P. FIRENS HENRY IV TOUCHING THE VICTIMS OF SCROFULA

this marvellous rite; either he or his entourage put out a whole propaganda to commend the wonder-working gift." [38]

Bloch has suggested that the last occasion for the royal touch occured during the reign of Charles X, in the middle of the third decade of the nineteenth century. "The royal miracle would seem to have died, along with belief in monarchy. Yet there was to be one further attempt to revive it. In 1825, Charles X was anointed. In one final burst of splendour, holy and quasi-priestly royalty displayed its somewhat antiquated pomp and circircumstance...on 31 May 1825...the king, 'the first physician of the kingdom,' as a contemporary publicist expresses it, touched the sick without much display and pronounced what had now become the traditional formula: 'The King touches thee, may God heal thee,' and said a few comforting words to them. Later on, as under Louis XVI, the nuns of St-Marcoul drew up somecertificates of healing...." [39]

But at least through mid-century, the Royal Touch continued to be a useful image for the leaders of France. Alfred Johannot's canvas of LE DUC D'ORLEANS VISITANT LES MALADES DE L'HOTEL-DIEU PENDANT L'EPIDEMIE DE CHOLERA DE 1832, [40] demonstrated that the Orleanist line also possessed the sacred powers of

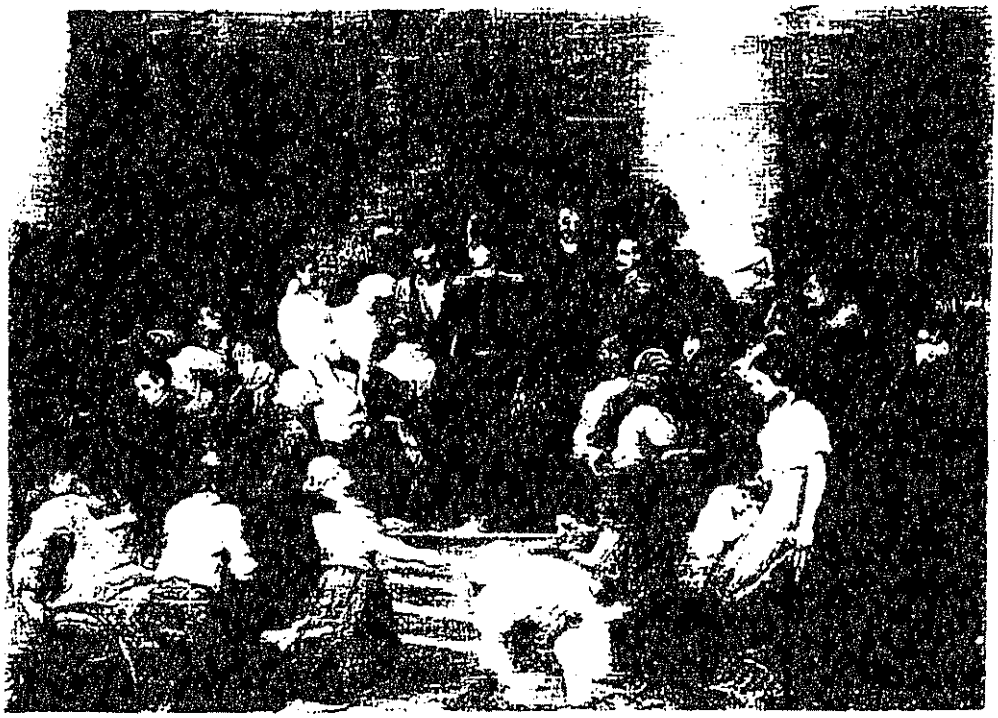

FIGURE 57 - ALFRED JOHANNOT THE DUKE OF ORLEANS VISITING THE PATIENTS AT THE HOTEL-DIEU DURING THE CHOLERA EPIDEMIC OF 1832

FIGURE 58 - H. JANNIN THE CHOLERA EPIDEMIC IN PARIS

LOUIS-NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC VISITS THE HOTEL-DIEU, STOPS BY THE PATIENTS' BEDS, CONSOLING SOME, ENCOURAGING OTHERS AND SPEAKING TO ALL WITH BENEVOLENCE

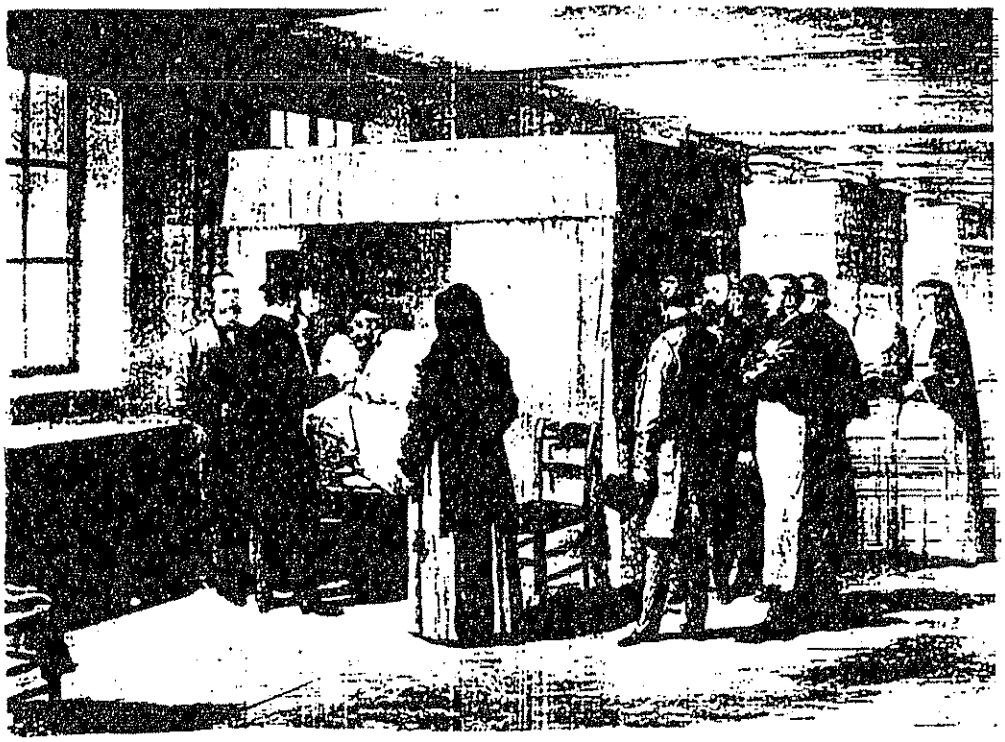

FIGURE 59 - (UNSIGNED) NAPOLEON III VISITING PATIENTS AT THE HOTEL-DIEU

before the duke to be cured through his touch. A lithograph by J. Jannin of 1849 shows President of the Republic, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, visiting the victims of the cholera epidemic at the Hotel-Dieu. Louis-Napoleon does not fear to enter the epidemic ward and lays his right hand directly on that of the patient. His touch is not meant to cure the patient's physical ills but it will surely comfort his emotional distress. Louis-Napoleon, in the exact center of the picture, stands more than a head taller than the next largest figures, the priest and the nun. The patient looks at him with hope and gratitude. If the image appears more modern than previous illustrations of the royal touch - Louis-Napoleon's modern suit and top-hat clearly make it a picture of its own day - the religious figures recall the tradition. The picture is undated, but it is later than 1849 and not unlikely that it is connected with Louis-Napoleon's plans to change the form of the government. If he did not claim the magical power to heal, the hospital visit was a visible representation of his authority, his courage and the devotion to the most unfortunate citizens of the nation. After assuming the title of Napoleon III, the emperor was again pictured at a patient's bedside in the Hotel-Dieu. Priests seem no longer to be needed

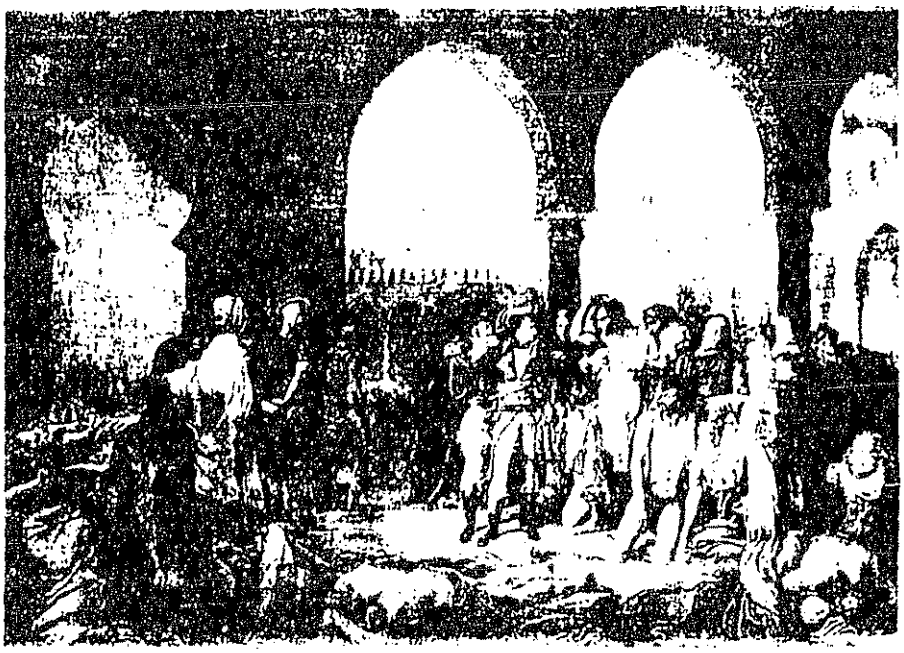

FIGURE 60 - ANTOINE JEAN GROS LES PESTIFERES DE JAFFA

and the only representatives of religious orders are the nursing-nuns who stand by. The hospital's doctor, too, clearly visible in white apron, defers to the emperor.

In Antoine Jean Gros PESTIFERES DE JAFFA, Napoleon I is also shown possessing the "royal touch," although he uses his left rather than his right hand. Discussions of the painting always refer to Napoleon's gesture in it as the royal touch. R. Rosenblum, for example, has written that "Indeed, [Napoleon] miraculously perpetuates the legend of the divine touch of kings by extending his healing finger to the bubo of the wretched plague victim." [41] According to Joseph Merrill and Hebbel E. Hoff, Napoleon particularly wanted to be portrayed as a healer with divine powers in order to overcome some political misfortunes in France. In their view, "Napoleon at this time [1803, RW] was in deep trouble politically. Criticism over his leaving his army and secretly departing from Egypt was on the increase; it was generally acknowledged that the Syrian expedition had been a failure for the French military; and the report of French soldiers being poisoned were widespread. A court martial was discussed. These events set the stage for the

FIGURE 61 - VERON-BELLECOURT NAPOLEON VISITS THE INFIRMARY AT THE INVALIDES, FEBRUARY 11, 1808

emergence of a Frenchman to counter the charges against Napoleon. The general obviously needed a new image and Antoine Jean Gros was to be the man to supply it." [42] Gros' first version of the painting showed Napoleon courageous in the face of danger but, as Merrill and Hoff argue, Napoleon was not satisfied with this representation, he wanted to be raised to an even higher status. To conform to Napoleon's wishes, Gros made a second version. "Although good, the [first] painting as it stood was not good enough to satisfy Napoleon's propagandist needs." [43] The painting was exhibited at the Salon of 1804 and, according to William Helfand, the fact that Gros ascribed superhuman power to Napoleon was almost immediately controversial. "The controversy surrounding the painting," writes Gelfand, is not at all surprising, for anything that showed BONAPARTE in such a heroic manner would be bound to create questions. For one thing, he is shown touching the sick in a manner previously reserved for saints and kings." [44] Walter Friedlander has pointed out that Gros was very familiar with Italian paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and may have taken his idea for Napoleon's gesture from some representations of Saint Roch or Saint Borromeo that he had seen. [45] Friedlander considers the painting of

FIGURE 62 - CHARLES MULLER PINEL HAS THE CHAINS REMOVED FROM THE MENTAL PATIENTS AT THE BICETRE

NAPOLEON DUR LE CHAMP DE BATAILLE D'EYLAU (1808) by David and LE SACRE as other representations of Napoleon as the roi thaumaturge. [46]

Veron-Bellecourt's NAPOLEON VISITE L'INFIRMERIE DES INVALIDES LE 11 FEVRIER 1808, another painting which placed Napoleon in a medical setting and showed the emperor with special healing power, was exhibited at the Salon of 1812. [47] The emperor extends his right hand which (he apparently possesses the power in either hand), although not touching the patient directly, clearly same dramatic gesture. The doctors at the right are amazed at Napoleon's powers, his courage and authority were already known.

The royal touch had thus already been adopted by leaders other than kings, and I believe it is this gesture that Charles Muller has chosen in order to elevate his doctor-subject, Philippe Pinel to a position high above ordinary men. PINEL FAIT ENLEVER LES FERS AUX ALIENÉS DE BICETRE, (1849) shows Pinel adopting a strikingly similar attitude. Pinel stands in the center of Muller's large canvas (5.74m x 9 2.34m). At his right, his student Esquirol records the historic event. Pinel commands Pussin, his hospital attendant at the right of the canvas, to remove the chains from the Bicetre's mental patients, but it is

Pinel's "touch" that heals their illness. With one powerful and humanitarian gesture, Pinel has symbolically touched the Bicetre's inmates and removed both their physical and mental bonds.

There are several similarities between Muller's painting and Gros' PESTIFERES DE JAFFA. Both Pinel and Napoleon stretch out their left rather than their right arms. Esquirol stands directly to the right of Pinel, just as Napoleon's adjutant stands at his right. Although the hospital courtyard in which Napoleon stands is enclosed and that of the Bicetre is open, the backgrounds of both paintings are taken up with towers and buildings. Napoleon stands between the saved (whom his touch will cure) bathed in light at our right and the damned to our left. Pinel's "saved," are also in the strong light at our right. The very old man whose chains have been removed by Pussin is, perhaps, the patient identified by Pinel as having been in chains for forty-five years and whose supposed words exclaiming what a beautiful sight the sunlight was, "Ah! qu'il y à longtemps que je n'ai vu une si belle chose!" have become famous.

These words may only be legendary. There is apparently much else that is mythic about the episode. Gladys Swain has investigated the story of the release

of the patients from their chains and has concluded that the event is surrounded in myths. She points out that Muller's painting was just one item in the creation of the Pinelian legend, "partie integrante du materiel mythique....l'adhesion naive à la veracité de l'illustration fournie par le tableau...il y avait, il y a eu matiere à tableau. C'est par ce mecanisme ou elle se denie, en quelque sorte, que l'image capte le spectateur au plus profond et conforte le mythe." [48]

Swain believes that the Pinelian myth was created as a result of the rivalry between Scipio Pinel and Dominique Esquirol. Swain argues that the removal of the irons, although a very dramatic event, had no special significance until much after the fact. In its own time--and when exactly that time was is part of the legend--Pinel's reform was not considered more than one of many changes made on behalf of mental patients. A contemporary article by Moreau de la Sarthe, VOYAGE À LA SALPETRIÈRE ET PARTICULIEREMENT À L'EMPLOI OU DEPARTEMENT DES ALIENES, discussed several "ameliorations sensibles." In the article, he claimed that the patients' housing at the Salpetriere was cleaner than elsewhere, that patients were less crowded there than at other hospitals and that at the Salpetriere, curious spectators were not allowed to

come to watch the madwomen. [49]

According to Swain, Scipio Pinel argued that "l'abolition des chaines est evenement capital," in order to enhance his father's reputation as the founder of modern psychiatry. [50] Dominique Esquirol, Pinel's student, successor and "spiritual son," at first denied the importance of this single act in order to reduce Pinel's contribution to the origins of psychiatry and, conversely, to increase the significance of his own work. "Esquirol," writes Swain, "denonce l'importance symbolique qui aurait ete anterieurement conferre a ce geste." [51] By the time Muller painted his canvas, however, Esquirol had accepted Scipio's view, although arguing that it was he, Esquirol, who had followed up on Pinel's first steps and was the true founder of modern psychiatry.

Swain notes that Pinel, in his TRAITE MEDICO-PHILSOPHIQUE of 1809, dated the first time he had the chains removed as 1798 and gave most of the credit to his assistant, Pussin. "C'est en ces lignes...que Pinel identifie formellement Pussin comme celui qui a eu l'initiative de la liberation des alienes et qu'il donne par surcroit une date (4 prairial an 6, 23 mai 1798) interdisant absolument de le meler, lui Pinel, a l'effectuation de la chose." [52] According to Swain,

it was only much later, in 1818, that Esquirol invented the date of 1792. His purpose, Swain argues, was to make the revolutionary ideas of 1792 responsible for this simple and not very important act. Swain cites Equirol's article in the DICTIONNAIRE DES SCIENCES MEDICALES, "'Les idees du temps firent donner une grande importance a cette delivrance des fous enchaines a Bicetre," and continues, "Ce sont les 'idees du temps' qui expliquent l'espece d'aura, d'ailleurs douteuse, dont a ete entoure un geste d'humanite qui ne merite pas ce debordements de consideration.... N'a-t-il pas ete erige en symbol des triomphes de l'extremisme politique?...Pinel, c'est la delivrance des alienes; la delivrance des alienes, c'est la Revolution." [53]

Swain then argues that Scipio Pinel invented another myth to combat the myth that Esquirol had created. Scipio "found" a text that supposedly had been written by his father. "A la suspicion envers les infidelites de la memoire, il va riposter en produisant publiquement la veritable histoire qui prouve bien que... -- c'est à dire en fabriquant cette fois pour de bon un mythe." [54] Pinel's new history (made public by Scipio in 1823 and again in 1836) gave the event an "exact" time and place, and reduced Pussin's role to

the form of words used by the kings when touching sick persons. Here then is another survival, in a rather distorted form, of this same order of beliefs. We read as follows in the REVUE DES TRADITIONS POPULAIRES, 9, 1894, p. 555, no. 4: in the Bocage Normand 'quand il y à sept filles dans une famille, la septième porte sur une partie quelconque du corps une fleur de lis et touche du carreau, c'est à dire qu'elle guerit les inflammations d'intestin chez les enfants.'" [57]

Charles Louis Lucien Muller would certainly have known about the use of this gesture in Gros's painting, since Gros had been one of his teachers. Muller was born in Paris in 1815, and entered the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1831. It was there that he studied with Baron Gros (as well as with Leon Cogniet). Muller's academic style apparently earned him early success. According to Benezit, "Le talent froid et correct de Charles Muller fut accepté tout de suite par le grand public; il ne froissit aucune tradition, suivant honnetement la voie tracée par ses maitres." Muller won a third class medal in 1838 and a second class medal in 1846. On September 11, 1849 - immediately after the completion of his PINEL painting - Muller was awarded the Legion of Honor. The next year he was appointed director of the Manufacture des

Gobelins. Except for the period between 1870 and 1874, Muller exhibited at nearly every Salon until 1881. Although Chennevieres relates that Muller had turned down a commission to paint a "copy" of Prudhon's LE SEJOUR DE L'IMMORTALITE for the Sorbonne because Muller cosidered it "beneath his dignity to be simply the interpreter of someone else's thoughts," [58] he found it in no way demeaning to follow the example of his great teacher.

Muller had been commissioned by the Academy of Medicine to decorate one of its meeting rooms. The Academy was at that time located in the former Swedish Embassy at 8 rue de Poitiers. The Academy's room already had a painting showing Larrey organizing a battlefield surgery and Muller's painting of Pinel was to be a pendant to it. Thus one painting would be dedicated to the glory of surgeons; a second dedicated to the glory of physicians. In describing the motivation of the Academy officials, Gladys Swain writes, "Le chirurgien militaire et l'alieniste: témoignage fort instructif, soit dit au passage, quant au regard de la medecine d'alors sur son passé recent et quant à son jugement sur les figures les mieux aptes à en incarner la gloire." [59]

Although Muller's painting may have the

FIGURE 63 - CHARLES MULLER LARREY OPERATING ON A WOUNDED SOLDIER ON THE BATTLEFIELD IN EGYPT

appearance of a realistic depiction of the historical event, there are parts of it that do not correspond to the facts. First of all, Esquirol could not have participated in the event since he did not arrive in Paris until 1799 by which time Pinel was already at the Salpetriere. [60] Muller's decision to include Esquirol in his canvas reflected the facts of his own time, not that of the Revolution. By 1849, Esquirol had been acknowledged as Pinel's successor. Placing Esquirol next to Pinel and showing him transcribing Pinel's words into the small notebook, Muller validates Esquirol as Pinel's heir, much the way Roman rulers had included on their coins the images of the men (their sons) they wanted to succeed them next to their own likenesses. As Jan Goldstein points out, "There could be no doubt that in things psychiatric, Pinel's mantle would fall to him." [61] Muller has also illustrated the changing nature of the nature of treating mental illnesses. Pinel has cured by means of his "royal touch." Esquirol's psychiatry, on the contrary, is based on observation and measurement, i.e., "science."

Pinel had his portrat painted during his lifetime by Madame Merimee (Figure 64). Her painting presents an interesting contrast to Muller's canvas. In her portrait, Merimee followed the traditional

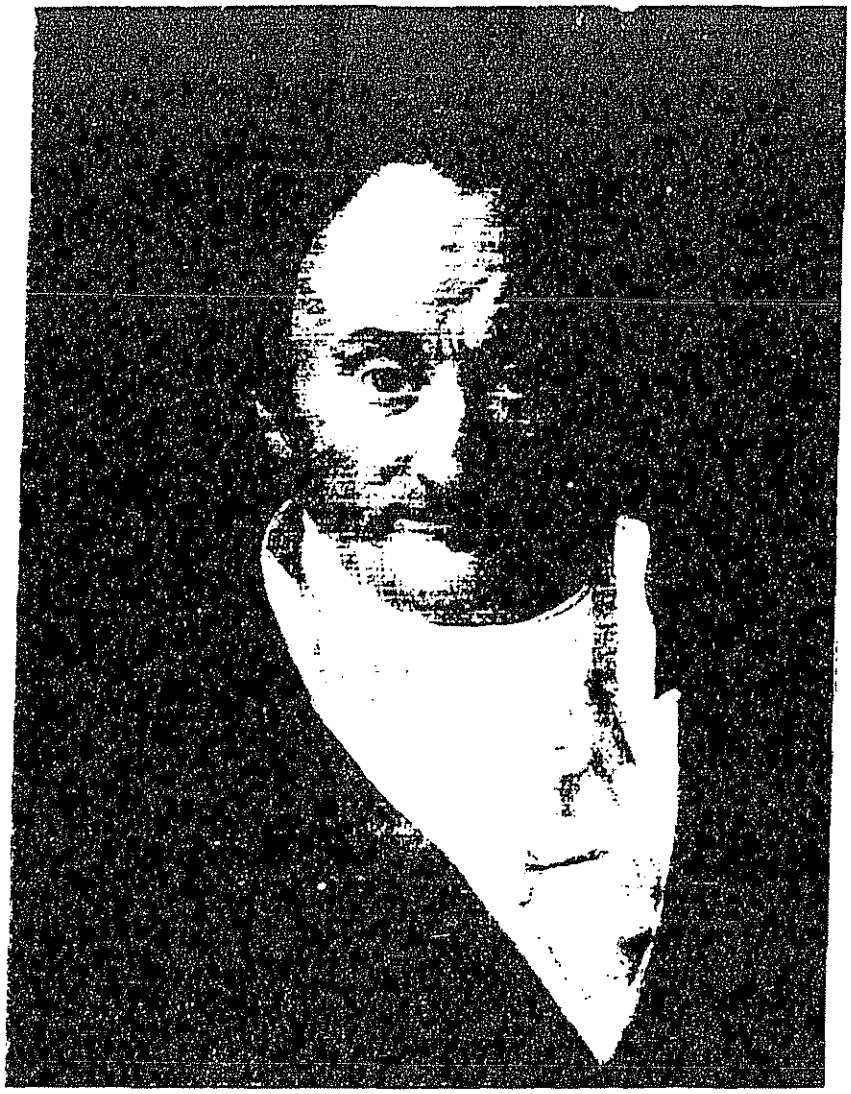

FIGURE 64 - MME. MERIMÉE PORTRAIT OF PHILIPPE PINEL

conventions of portraiture discussed previously. Pinel is shown wearing an ordinary suit with a stiff collar and cravat around his throat. His high forehead and serious expression denote his intellect and authority. Nothing in the painting connects Pinel to the Salpetriere nor do the dramatic events at the Bicetre play any part in this painting. While the doctor was still alive, his medical activity was left out of his portrait. On the other hand, by the time Muller made his painting, Pinel had been dead for more than twenty years and Esquirol for nine. It was apparently acceptable for artists to represent doctors engaged in medical work at their normal (even if mythic) workplace if they were already dead.

Pinel's deliverance of the mentally ill from their chains was also the subject of the 1876 painting by Tony Robert-Fleury. Sander Gilman calls it "perhaps the most famous late nineteenth century asylum scene." [62] Robert-Fleury's painting was officially titled PINEL, MEDECIN EN CHEF DE LA SALPETRIÈRE, EN 1795 (#1753 in the EXPLICATION DES OUVRAGES). The Catalogue entry continued:

> Pinel protested in an explosive manner the odious treatment of which the mental patients were victims. He had the courage to take off their chains, and, in the midst of a social movement which was speaking announced all over, he invoked the laws

> of humanity in their favor. By substituting only wise and well thought out means of restraint for the violence and poor treatment the patients had been receiving, he was the originator [promoteur] of a material and moral reform which later on had its full development. [63]

Georges Dufour, writing for L'ARTISTE, remarked that the work had a strong emotional content. "Enfin, PINEL, MEDECIN EN CHEF DE LA SALPETRIÈRE, EN 1795, scene de folie pleine de pathetique par M. Robert-Fleury." [64] In general, however, the painting was not especially well-received by Salon critics. The Journal ZIGZAGS À LA PLUME À TRAVERS L'ART, found much to fault about the work and expressed this view over several issues. Its critic asked, "Will THE SALPETRIÈRE by Monsieur Tony Robert-Fleury elevate the reputation of this young artist?" and answered, "I doubt it." [65] Two issues later, on May 14, the journal even printed a two-page caricature of the painting above the verse: "Par qui--Par: T, O, To; N, Y, Ny;--Tony;--R, O, Ro;--Nyro, Tonyro." [66] Its most biting attack was the one which appeared on June 15. "What is there to say about the drama so intelligently arranged, by Monsieur Tony Robert-Fleury, whose sketch we would surely praise, that is if we were looking at a drawing. Unfortunately for the young artist, we are looking at a painting.... We overheard one Salon visitor say something which, although coarse, was

Pinel fait délivrer les aliénés de leurs fers en 1795. (Tableau de Tony Robert-Fleury — Amphithéâtre Charcot.)

FIGURE 65 - TONY ROBERT-FLEURY PINEL IN 1795

certainly true: 'Although with less energy, he paints like his father, in the Old Style!' 'Not even,' replied our visitor's companion, 'he paints like his grandfather.'" Monsieur Robert-Fleury has a great deal of intelligence and talent. We ask from him more freshness and youth, or we predict for him the same fate as Monsieurs Luminais and Jourdan, of whose brown and black productions are without quality." [67]

In the opinion of the reviewer for the journal, L'ART, it was Robert-Fleury's Academic training that prevented his being able to express all the emotion the scene demanded.

> Even though there is no cadaver in Monsieur Robert-Fleury's painting (#1753), we are offered an even more lugubrious spectacle [the reviewer had just described the dead body in Laurens' painting, FRANCOIS DE BORGIA DEVANT LE CERCUIL D'ISABELLE DE PORTUGAL: "Quant au cadavre, il est livide, violace, decomposé...."RW]. He shows us the full picture of anxiety and of pity for these unfortunate beings whose body is the living tomb of dead intelligence.
>
> The painter leads us into the courtyard of the Salpetriere, at the moment when Doctor Pinel, protesting against the odious treatment to which the alienees are subjected, has them freed from their chains. There is in this subject an elevated moral side, and dramatic and poignant elements which permit the hope for a good ending. One can imagine what a striking image and epic grandeur that would have been evoked in the imagination of an artist with the passionate inspiration such as Delacroix. He would not have represented madwomen. He would have painted madness. In Monsieur Robert-Fleury's work it seems to be a question of the simple visit of a doctor.

> The composition is well-planned, the drawing is correct, the colors present the seriousness of the circumstances, but all these qualities are half-way, which even a large breath of air would not overexcite, and have only produced an ordinary canvas, of a bourgeois aspect, in the which the painful subject is not transfigured by any of those rays which come from the heart of an artist and which go to the soul of the spectator. How far we are from his first painting which made Monsieur Robert-Fleury's reputation and placed him from the first blow at the high position of the name which he bears. His MASSACRE DE VARSOVIE was, without doubt, a canvas that was imperfect in many ways; but what spirit, what enthusiasm, what conviction in that painting! How much I prefer that ardor of youth, that passion, to the measured and prudent reserves which affect the style of the painter today." [68]

Victor Cherbuliez, in his Salon article for the REVUE DES DEUX-MONDES commented that even though Robert-Fleury's was "among the most popular paintings at the Salon," [69] it had generally been viewed negatively by other reviewers, an opinion he shared.

> It is one that is still further weakened by the fault of a weak composition. It is too thinned out and appears too large because of its defective organization. It is not that the subject is itself insignificant and does not merit the honor of a large format; on the contrary, it has a poignant, painful, almost sorrowful interest that should have been even further emphasized. Monsieur Tony Robert-Fleury has shown us Pinel in a courtyard of the Salpetrière abolishing, by a sort of coup d'etat, the barbarous regime to which the mental patients were subjected at that time and the odious treatment which was inflicted upon them. Near him is a young woman with wide eyes, who has had her irons removed; she does not understand anything that is happening. One of her companions, already freed, kneels before the doctor's feet and kisses his hand with devotion; she doesn't even dare to take his hand in hers. She believes it is the work of a good angel who has descended from heaven. Nothing is more touching and

must end there and relegate the rest to the lines which disappear into the painting.

One calm patient is part of an annoying group; twenty madwomen make another repugnant spectacle. It would have been better if Monsieur Robert-Fleury had spread out his mad people, the courtyard is filled with them. We see them everywhere tied to posts, haggard-eyed, their mouths twisted and foaming. Let us pass over whether he dreamed of brightening up this scene by some play of light, or to entertain our eyes by means of the artifices and the seductions of color. He has written his tragedy in a cold style in his painting. It is unified by dullness, by too much intellect. Overall, it misses. It is almost the uncorrected language of Scribe." [70]

It is surprising that none of the reviews mentioned that 1876 was the fiftieth anniversary of Pinel's death, certainly a factor in Robert-Fleury's decision to paint him. Since in the popular view, Pinel's career was symbolized by the removal of the chains, depicting him engaged in the activity made sense as the way to honor him. Among the questions that remain, however, is why did the artist change the scene of the action to the Salpetriere since Pinel first had the chains removed at the Bicetre? Undoubtedly, Robert-Fleury did not want simply to repeat Muller's version on display at the Academy of Medicine. Changing the location to the Salpetriere from the Bicetre was more than simply a different depiction of the same event. Jane Kromm notes that "Tony Robert-Fleury's PINEL DELIVRANT LES ALIENÉES,

which was exhibited in the Salon of 1876....depicts the pioneering reformer Philippe Pinel ordering the removal of chains from the inmates of the Salpetriere. Since this liberation occurred in 1795, it has always been interpreted as a radical expression of revolutionary freedom....Robert-Fleury's painting was commissioned to make it appear as if the teaching hospital of the Salpetriere rather than the Bicetre were the site of the famous psychiatric liberation." [71] Kromm points out that the Bicetre had been an institution for men and the Salpetriere for women. In her view, Robert-Fleury switched locales in order to paint women rather than men patients.

Swain believes that it might ultimately prove impossible to discover all the reasons Robert-Fleury had for changing the setting from the Bicetre to the Salpetriere. Nevertheless, she offers one possible answer. She suggests that the change of hospitals may have been related to disputes within the psychiatric profession during the mid-1870s. The Salpetrière school wished to buttress its claim to preeminence by having itself depicted as the site of this seminal event. "It is here that it resembles the results of a fight between schools, but we hesitate to put such a hypothesis forward. On one side, the Salpetrière was

the bastion of the survivors of the heroic epoch, the last students of Esquirol, Trelat (who died in 1879), Baillarger, Moreau de Tours--while on the other side, did not Sainte-Anne represents not only the fiefdom of the new doctrine (Magnan) but the seat of the university's authority, the establishment of which aroused the most lively resistance (Ball)? In 1878 [sic], in fact, one is still full those whirlpools provoked by the decision to confer on someone who was not an asylum doctor (Ball, precisely) to the official chair of mental illness newly created at the Faculty." [72] Swain contends that Robert-Fleury's choice of the Salpetriere was decided by the Societé Medico-Psychologique. In a larger sense paintings of medical themes exhibited at the Salon related to the current debates within the profession.

Unfortunately, Swain's discussion of Robert-Fleury's painting contains several errors. She often refers to Robert-Fleury as Tony Robert, perhaps a minor matter, but the artist identified himself by his full name. His father J.N. Robert-Fleury had been a powerful member of the art establishment of the time and the younger Robert-Fleury always listed himself as such in the Salon catalogues. [73] A much more serious mistake, however, one which impacts on her argument, is

that Swain has misdated the painting. "Le premier, celui de Muller, est en effet de 1849. Celui de Tony Robert, encore sensiblement posterieur, de 1878." [74] Swain, it should be noted, is not the only writer who has made mistakes about this painting. Pierre Chabret, for example, has made a similar error. "Le 'geste de Pinel'--la supression des chaines aux alienés--represente pour le plus grand nombre son principal titre de gloire; pourtant, le récit traditionnel est rempli d'invraisemblances mais il a pris une dimension mythique qui s'est concretisee dans les tableaux celebres de Ch. Muller (1849) et de T. Robert-Fleury (1878)." [75] The error of dates, it seems, is not just a recent one. In his article on the 1878 Salon for L'ARTISTE, the reviewer, Du Bosc de Pesquidoux, wrote about the painting as if it had been on display in that year's Salon. "PINEL A LA SALPETRIÈRE, a le tort de donner les dimensions solenelles de l'histoire a un sujet de genre. Au point de vue technique, il est plus souple et plus lumineux que le premier." [76] Sander Gilman got the date right, but erred as to the location. He described the action in Robert-Fleury's painting as "In the courtyard of the Bicetre, Pinel is surrounded by a number of female inmates who provide the familiar spectrum for the image of the insane."

[77] It is perhaps this error which caused him, in a footnote, to identify "A painting by Karl Muller, identical in theme to that of Robert-Fleury..." [78]

In Robert-Fleury's painting, it is the patient who holds the center place in the canvas. Pinel has been moved off to her side. Our attention is immediately drawn to her and to her irons. In Gilman's words, "The central figure, however, the woman from whom the chains are being removed, is the focus of the painting....She is the victim, freed from her bonds by the new humanity of Pinel." [79] In Muller's painting, by contrast, the action takes place at the extreme right edge and we are led to it only by Pinel's gesture. Robert-Fleury shows us the patient first. Gilman notes, moreover that her pose is significant and believes there can be a more medical significance to the painting. He wrote that, because Charcot had the picture on the wall of his lecture hall, "a further function of the painting may be surmised. Charcot's interest in documenting the universality of the visualization of hysteria may well account for the passive central figure as well as the figure next to her in the arc de cercle position. Both illustrate stages in the the hysteric episode. The sense of the role of the position of the insane in determining their

illness is inherent in Robert-Fleury's image." [80] This last point of Gilman's appears to support Swain's contention that the Salpetrière school was responsible for some of the choices Robert-Fleury made.

The patient in Robert-Fleury's painting may have been a symbol for something quite different. Jane Kromm sees her as an inverted image of Delacroix's LIBERTY. "The revolutionary-era clothing, invoked in the service of historicity and in combination with the decolletage traditionally given to possessed women, has the uncanny effect of making the most prominent figures potentional women of the people or symbolic Mariannes. In fact, these women resemble one of the prototypes for images of Liberty or the Republic: the strong, powerful, usually young and brunette, peasant-featured woman, attired in unclassical dress that frequently exposes the shoulder and one or both breasts." [81] Kromm adds that, especially because of the reputation acquired by women during the commune period, "The radical personification of Marianne had become too subversive and shrewish for the sedate allegorical needs of official imagery....Representations of the powerful feminist or politically effective woman were inverted, becoming instead the powerless madwoman of the Salpetriere." [82] In either case, powerful or

powerless, there is much to suggest that Robert-Fleury's half-dressed patient having her chains removed is Marianne. It is also not difficult to believe that the chains from which she was being freed were clericalism and royalism. Robert-Fleury was not only depicting the traditional conflict between science and religion, he was painting a theme relevant to his own time. Science was to be the solid foundation of the new republican government, able to liberate France from the chains which had up to then prevented the nation from achieving her true goals.

Robert-Fleury's canvas was exhibited during a period of political conflict and uncertainty. The Constitution of July 16, 1875 had been approved overwhelmingly in the Assembly, but the two chambers were divided politically. A majority in the Senate were of the right (119 out of 201 seats of whom 40 were Bonapartists) whereas a majority in the Chamber were Republicans (360 out of 410). The conflict over the clerical question had already become a major battleground. In July, 1875 the law granting freedom of higher education was seen as a victory for the clerical party. In 1876, in the Chamber, "les republicains engageaient le combat contre le clericalisme," [83] in the words of Jean-Marie Mayeur.

The Salpetriere, particularly after the arrival of Charcot in 1862, was a center of anti-clerical activity. "In the closing years of the Second Empire," writes Mark S. Micale, the Church had on a number of occasions attacked the teaching of the Paris Faculte as subversively materialistic. With the final parliamentary defeat in 1877 of Marshal MacMahon's old Orleanist party, the largely republican medical profession, in concert with a new Prefect of the Seine, struck back. Not surprisingly given Charcot's intellectual credentials as a good Voltairean, the nation-wide campaign began at the Salpetriere." [84] Both Pinel, the republican of 1795, and the Salpetriere school of 1876 could be enlisted as opponents of the clerical and royalist party.

Jean Bernac, a contributor to the English publication, THE ART JOURNAL, discussed the painting in a retrospective article concerning Robert-Fleury's career published in the mid-1890s. He admired the painting. "Overall," he wrote, "'Pinel a la Salpetriere,' is perhaps one of the best works produced by his brush....Despite the rather scattered order of the subject, the whole thing is very striking. The picture is placed now in one of the sections of the Salpetriere, thereby commemorating, at a few steps from

where it happened, an event that entirely changed the established usages of the treatment of lunacy." [85] Bernac also noted that Robert-Fleury allowed his political opinions to influence the subjects he chose to paint. Robert-Fleury reminded him of J. L. David, an artist he considered one of the most political of all French painters. Bernac wrote, "In 1845, one of the commentators of David wrote the following lines on the subject of the painter of the 'Sabines': 'Equally republican at the Convention as he was at the studio, the painter of 'Brutus' was the judge of Louis XVI. In the midst of a revolutionary Paris, at a moment when France was palpitating with questions of life and death, David was calling to mind the examples of other ancient republics....Taking into consideration the characteristics of the epoch and the personality of the painter, one part of these observations might equally well apply to the artist who is the subject of this article." [86] Bernac believed that politics had always been part of Robert-Fleury's art. Robert-Fleury's earliest Salon work, VARSOVIE, 1866 depicted an event of April, 1861 in which 4,000 Poles were shot by Russian troops, and according to Bernac, Robert-Fleury chose the subject out of his political sympathies.

One of Tony Robert-Fleury's most important influences had been his father, J.-N. Robert-Fleury. Leonce Benedite wrote that of all his teachers, (who included Paul Delaroche and Leon Cogniet) Robert-Fleury was most influenced by his father. "Naturally, he was always able to see his father's works and receive his father's advice and counsel, since he had the good fortune to have his father with him until a very advanced age." [87] The elder Robert-Fleury died in 1890, when nearly ninety-three years old. Robert-Fleury pere had long held anti-clerical views, and as Michael Paul Driskell has shown, these opinions influenced his paintings. Driskell points out several canvases painted by J.-N. Robert-Fleury near mid-century depicting Catholic zeal as images "of violence and religious unreason" and "in addition to his numerous depictions of Catholic fanaticism, Robert-Fleury also executed several images representing Protestants as the rational, noble, and heroic side in the religous wars of the sixteenth century." [88] Another of Robert-Fleury's anti-clerical canvases was GALILEO BEFORE THE HOLY OFFICE (1632) [sic], painted in 1846 and exhibited at the Salon of 1847, where it attracted constant crowds of spectators. At that time, according to Driskell, Galileo was viewed not only as

an scientist battling against ecclesiastical authority, but as a republican hero. Although these canvases reflected some of the political debates J.-N. Robert-Fleury's world, they provided Tony Robert-Fleury with striking examples of art that served anti-clerical republican principles. It may have been impossible in 1876 to choose Charcot himself as the hero of an anti-clerical painting, but Robert-Fleury might certainly select an earlier hero, one who shared Charcot's ideas, to paint on the fiftieth anniversary of his death.

Thus, this painting is situated at the intersection of several different interests, both within the profession and outside in the larger political world. As Swain suggests, the reason Robert-Fleury chose the Salpetriere for his setting may indeed have been part of disputes within the medical (psychological) profession. But disputes disputes between the Salpetriere school (Charcot) and the Medical Faculty (Ball) over hegemony are not sufficient to answer the questions raised by the painting. It would have been an easy matter for its opponents to point out that the Salpetriere was the second, not the first hospital whose patients were freed from their iron fetters. But the doctors who opposed Charcot had a dilemma since they also held the same republican

principles symbolized in the painting by Pinel's gesture. Indeed, as Goldstein has pointed out, the government of the "moral order" viewed the entire psychiatric profession as "subversive." [89]

Swain has also made a direct link between Robert-Fleury's painting and the politics of the early Third Republic. She has suggested that a new image of Pinel was required in the new political climate of the Third Republic. "It is the abstract citizen of the republican decision, stripped of his attributes as a practician in order to attain the true grandeur of the universal. Muller paints a doctor, while Robert [sic] paints a politician, if one dare use such a word....Humanitarian and medical innovation or transport tot he inside of the asylum of subversion of the old political order?" [90] Swain continues further on, "It is not too astonishing that the Third Republic, in its early years, celebrated Pinel. It is exactly the arm of the Revolution and the hero of the Rights of Man that Tony Robert [sic] has represented." [91] Pinel is still wearing his overcoat and carrying his cane, having just arrived. He brings the new rights (for patients as well as the republic) with him and in doing so he transforms this prison as well as a hospital into a center of hope rather than despair.

FIGURE 66 - TONY ROBERT-FLEURY PINEL IN 1795
(SECOND VERSION)

Gilman was correct when he pointed out that "the image of the asylum as one of freedom is enhanced by the openness and light of the courtyard." [92] In a second version of the painting [Figure 66], Robert-Fleury has made the courtyard seem even less like a prison by adding several trees.

An alternate interpretation of the painting is also advanced by Elaine Showalter in her study, THE FEMALE MALADY. Showalter considers all the female figures in the painting, not just the central figure. To Showalter, the most significant aspect of Robert-Fleury's painting is that "in the painting that commemorates this historic occasion, Robert-Fleury depicts 'the insane' as madwomen of different ages, from youth to senility. Some are crouched in melancholia, others crying out in hysterical fits, while one gratefully kisses the hand of Pinel. The representatives of sanity in the painting are all men, and this division between feminine madness and masculine rationality is further emphasized by the three figures at the center." [93] In Muller's painting, of course, at the Bicetre all the aliénés are men.

In my own view, PINEL AT THE SALPETRIÈRE, can be seen as Robert-Fleury's answer to a painting by

FIGURE 67 - LAENNEC AT THE NECKER HOSPITAL, 1816

Theobald Chartran, LAENNEC A L'HOPITAL NECKER AUSCULTE UN PHTISIQUE (1816) which has been dated by Professor Helmut Vogt at c. 1875. [94] The strength of the "moral order" party in France supports this date, although, Laennec died in 1826, the same year as Pinel, and Chartran's painting may have been made to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his death. Chartran has depicted Laennec at work at the Necker hospital where he was working when he first invented the stethoscope. Laennec's political philosophy and career could be as easily invoked by the clericals and other opponents of the Republic as could Pinel by the anti-clericals and the Republic's supporters. Laennec was not only a universally respected medical practitioner, he had been closely associated with royalist causes. He had also supported the Jesuits. His "connection with high-placed clergy made Laennec one of the doctors of choice for ailing men of the cloth....Lamenais may have chosen Laennec because of his openly avowed religious and royalist leanings." [95]

Laennec left medical research for private practice in 1804. After the monarchy was restored, his career flourished. He was appointed physician at the Necker Hospital in 1816, where he invented the

stethoscope. In 1822, returning to Paris having spent several years in his native Brittany in an attempt to recover his health, he was appointed professor of clinical medicine at the Charite hospital, Professor at the College de France, and Physician to the Duchess de Berry, the Crown princess. "It must be admitted," writes Ackerknecht, "that he owed these positions not to his genius but to his royalist-Jesuit ties. These same connections made him very unpopular with the majority of the professors and students, who, under the Restoration, were liberals." [96] In 1822, when the Medical Faculty was closed following student agitation, Laennec was named to rid it of its liberal members and replace them with more politically acceptable professors. One of these liberals was Pinel, and thus the combat between clericals and anti-clericals is well symbolized by the opposition between Laennec and Pinel. "On November 18, 1822, the Bonapartist Desgenettes gave the funeral oration for the hygienist Halle, tolerant in religious matters. Some insignificant statement set off the wild cheers of the turbulent young members of the audience. The Abbot Nicolle, vice-rector of the Academy, got alarmed and ended the meeting. In addition, three days later, Mgr. de Frayssinouus, Grand Master of the University, closed and provisionally

suprressed the Paris Faculty of Medicine. R.T. Laennec accepted the responsibilty to reorganize it. Eleven liberal professors were let go without any investigation or hearing (Desgenettes, Pinel [my emphasis], Dubois, Chaussier, Vauquelin, Pelletan, Jussieu, Lallement, Deyeux, Moreau de la Sarthe and the dean Le Roux). To replace them, the ordonnance of February 2, 1823 named directly legitimists, courtiers and hypocrites, friends of Laennec who took a chair of medicine for himself." [97]

The painting was reproduced in the ALBUM GONNON, whose author seemed to have a more favorable attitude towards Laennec. He wrote that "Laennec died too young to have had the time to relate the fruit of his research in scholarly works. But one cannot exagerate in affirming that he opened the path to the deep thinkers of this century, all of whom owe him deep gratitude for opening the field to the precise study of facts, and thus founding modern science." [98] Even though known for having invented the stethoscope, Laennec's real contribution was the inspiration he gave to those who followed him. The tragedy of his early death made him heroic. He had placed the lives of his patients above his own.

Unfortunately for his portraitists, Laennec

FIGURE 68 - LAENNEC, SELF-PORTRAIT

did not have a "heroic" appearance. That is to say, physically he was much less than imposing. He had been ill for much of his life and looked thin and frail. He stood only five feet three inches tall. "Could one have seen this Breton doctor moving among the patients," wrote Gerald B. Webb, "he would probably not have been greatly impressed by the physical appearance of the man....The complexion was blemished, the eyes were sunken, the weasel-face emaciated." [99] Webb goes on to say that Broussais used to insult him by constantly referring to him as "Little Laennec." [100] A portrait of Laennec painted by Alexandre Dubois in 1812 [Figure 3] and exhibited at the Salon of 1813 shows him seated holding a medical text open on his lap. His frail physique is hidden in abundant draperies. Dubois had painted the portrait in exchange for medical treatment he had received from Laennec. The stethoscope in the lower left is an anachronism and clearly had been added to the painting at a later date. A self-portrait of 1820 shows Laennec with hollow cheeks and sunken eyes. The contrast between Laennec's self-portrait and the image of him in Chartran's painting is striking. Although it is impossible to judge Laennec's height exactly since he is seated next to the patient, he is strong and robust. His left hand

and arm, with which he holds his invention, are muscular. The twisting form of his body holds tremendous energy and vigor ready to be released. These are Chartran's inventions, perhaps designed to make Laennec appear more heroic. If we are to assume that Chartran was illustrating Laennec's invention of the stethoscope, then the entire scene is an invention. It is known that Laennec first "stethoscope" was one of his rolled-up notebooks with which he listened to the chest of a young female patient. Even a year later, he was still using a "paper horn" for his stethoscope. Furthermore, Laennec seems to be placing his ear directly on the patient's body instead of using his instrument which was designed precisely so that the doctor would not have to come into direct contact with the sick (and often less than clean) patient.

Theobald Chartran (1849-1907) was born in Besançon. He studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Cabanel's atelier and began exhibiting at the Salon in 1872 (LE CORPS DE MGR. DARBOY EXPOSE EN CHAPELLE ARDENTE A L'ARCHEVEQUE). He won the Prix de Rome in 1877 for his painting LA PRISE DE ROME PAR LES GAULOIS, the same year his MARTYRE DE SAINT SATURNIN won a third class medal at the Salon. He was also awarded medals at the Salon of 1881 [LE CIERGE, second class medal,

sent to the Caen Fine Arts Museum] and a silver medal at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. Even when the paintings Chartran sent to the Salon were not of the first quality, he continued to receive praise from Salon critics. In 1880, Roger Ballu wrote that his WOMAN PLAYING THE MANDOLIN [JOUEUSE DE MANDORE] was a lesser work which "does not give an adequate idea of his talent." [101] Chartran had sent this painting from Rome the previous year as his envoi to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. In 1884, the painting Chartran submitted to the competition for the commission of the ceiling of the Salle Des Mariages of the Mairie of Courbevoie [an allegorical work, LA LOI PROTECTRICE DE L'HYMENIE] was voted second place by a jury composed of Puvis de Chavannes, Bouguereau and Ferdinand Humbert, that of Alexandre Seon winning the commission. With Puvis as one of three judges, it is not surprising Seon was selected.

Chartran became a highly successful portrait artist, with connections to the wealthy, the famous and powerful in France and in America. "Cet éleve de Cabanel qui avait un sentiment assez juste de l'elegance et un certain gout de composition, s'etait acquis une reputation enviée de portraitiste mondain en Amerique comme en Europe." [102] The obituary writer

FIGURE 69 - THEOBALD CHARTRAN MONSIEUR LE DR. ROBIN

for the CHRONIQUE DES ARTS noted that "Depuis quelque temps, Chartran passait une partie de l'année en Amerique, et toute la societé élegante se fit peindre par lui." [103] Among his portrait subjects were Pope Leo XIII, President Carnot, Sarah Bernhardt, the actor Mounet-Sully in the role of Hamlet and Mrs. Roosevelt and her daughter.

Chartran painted other scenes of doctors at work, provided they were deceased. At the Salon of 1889, he submitted a large work depicting a medical scene from French history, AMBROISE PARÉ PRATIQUANT LA LIGATURE DES ARTERES SUR UN AMPUTÉ;---SIEGE DE METZ, 1553 [#552; his second work at the Salon was #553, a PORTRAIT DE M. T.D.] Chartran had been chosen as part of a group of painters who were to decorate the new Sorbonne, and his AMBROISE PARÉ was one of those decorative works. The choice of Paré as a subject by Chartran may have been suggested by the fact that 1890 was the 300th anniversary of Paré's death. The battlefield of Metz also fit the patriotic and anti-German feeling that was once again growing among right-wing groups in France. [104] But Chartran also emphasized Pare's surgical accomplishments by relegating the military action to the rear of the painting and having Pare operate at the front and

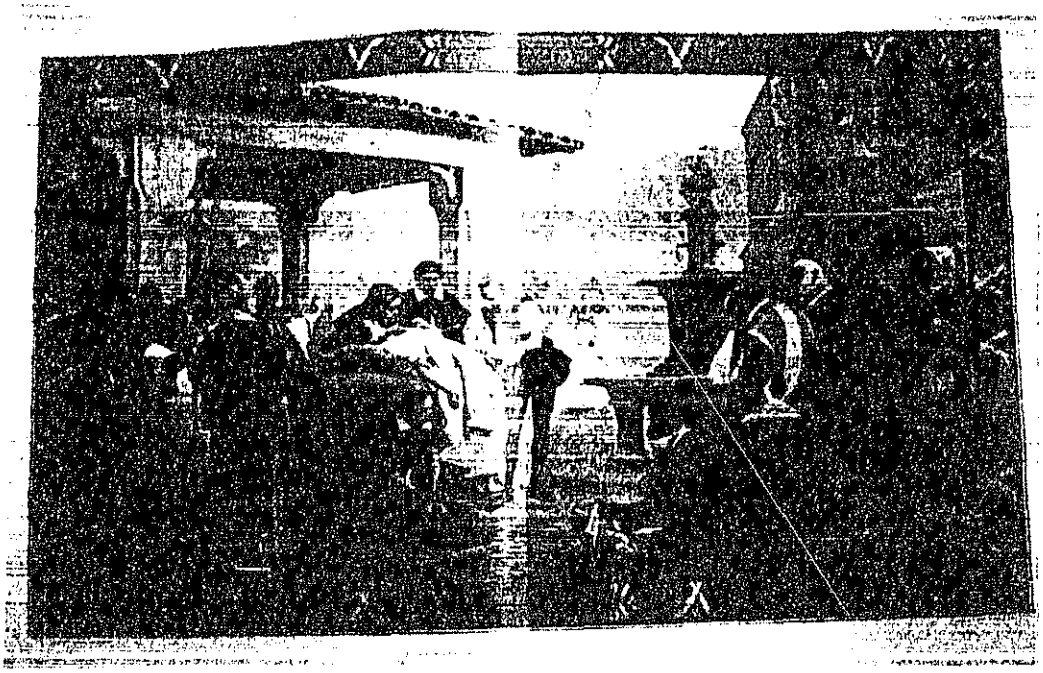

FIGURE 70 - THEOBALD CHARTRAN AMBROISE PARÉ AT THE SIEGE OF METZ

center of the canvas. Albert Wolff praised Chartran for having concentrated on Paré's work rather than the military events taking place. "It was at the siege of Metz in 1533, where Ambroise Paré, to the great astonishment of his assistants, practiced the ligature of arteries on an amputee. The painter seems to me to have been embarrassed with his scene, which marks the beginning of a new science. Ambroise Paré is perhaps too hidden among the soldiers who march off to combat. One's attention is especially attracted to the soldiers who Monsieur Chartran has correctly sacrificed for the benefit of the scientist who occupies us more than the battle." [105] Thus Wolff points out that Chartran has illustrated a milestone on the road to modern surgery. His choice of the term savant rather than chirurgien to describe is perhaps due to the scientific advances of surgery that had become much more general in the 1880s.

Lucien Melingue exhibited his The RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF METZ, 1553 at the Salon of 1878 and Chartran no doubt wished to portray a different aspect of the victory over Emperor Charles V. Georges Lafenestre, however, criticized Chartran for doing exactly that. He believed that the

central in the painting and that the work suffered precisely because Chartran had demoted it to the background. "M. Chartran," wrote Lafenestre comparing this work to those by Lerolle [ALBERT LE GRAND AU COUVENT SAINT-JACQUES] and by François Flameng [ROLLIN, PRINCIPAL DU COLLEGE DE BEAUVAIS] which were also to be decorations in the new Sorbonne but exhibited at the Salon, "in deciding to show AMBROISE PARÉ PRATIQUANT LA LIGATURE DES ARTÈRES AU SIEGE DE METZ, EN 1553, approached his subject with less simplicity. The setting is skillfully conceived but it follows ideas taking from the theater and removes to the background the principal action and puts merely secondary characters in the most important places. To the left, there is a bishop surrounded by his clergy, who blesses from afar the army which passes in the background. To the right, next to a fountain, one wounded soldier rests while another soldier carries a bale of straw on his shoulders. One of the truths which has conquered both art and literature in recent times, is that we must condemn everything that is outside the action if it turns us away from the main idea. We are not able to praise in the work of Monsieur Chartran that which we have just held M. Fleming up to blame." [106] Except for naming him in the painting's title, Lafenestre's

article never mentions that Pare appears in it.

Both Chartran's and Melingue's canvases of Paré at Metz had been preceded by an earlier painting of Paré attending to the wounded French soldiers. More than thirty years earlier than Chartran, Louis Matout had sent his canvas, AMBROISE PARÉ FAIT LE PREMIER ESSAI DE LA LIGATURE DES ARTÈRES DANS UNE AMPUTATION to the Salon of 1853, part of a commission awarded to Matout by the Ministry of Fine Arts and the École de Medecine. The painting commemorated the 300th anniversary of Paré's first use of ligatures to stop the bleeding after having amputated a soldier's leg. Paré had originated this procedure on the battlefield of Danvilliers, July 1, 1552. His innovation was not in using ligatures, this had been a practice known for centuries when the injury was the result of some accident. Paré only claimed credit for using the method in cases of surgical amputation. Paré believed he had been particlarly courageous in doing so, since the established medical authorities opposed it. In surgical cases, the accepted method was cauterization. Paré defended his method not only as more effective, but as more humane. In his words

FIGURE 71 - LOUIS MATOUT AMBROISE PARÉ'S FIRST USE OF LIGATURES AFTER AN OPERATION

> Here I confess freely and with deep regret that formerly I practised [sic] not this method but another. Remember, I had seen it done by those to whom these operations were entrusted. So soon as the limb was removed, they would use many cauteries, both actual and potential, to stop the flow of blood, a thing very horrible and cruel in the mere telling....
>
> And truly of six thus cruelly treated scarce two ever escaped, and even these were long ill, and the wounds thus burned were slow to heal, because the burning caused such vehement pains that they fell into fever, convulsions, and other mortal accidents; in most of them, moreover, when the scar fell off, there came fresh bleeding, which must again be staunched with the cauteries, which thus repeated, consumed a great quantity of flesh and other nervous parts. By which loss the bones remeained long afterward bare and exposed, so that, for many, healing was impossible; and they had an ulcer there to the end of their lives, which prevented them from having an artificial limb.
>
> Therefore I counsel the young surgeon to leave such cruelty and inhumanity, and follow my method of practice, which it pleased God to teach me, without I had ever seen it done in any case, no, nor read of it." [107]

Paré wrote these words thirty years after the event, in response to an attack on his surgical methods by the Dean of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, Etienne Gourmelen. Paré was not satisfied to defend his own ideas, but argued that Gourmelen was unsuited even to discuss surgery. "Moreover, you say you will teach me my lesson in the operations of Surgery: which I think you cannot do: for I did not learn them in my study, or by hearing for many years the lectures of Physicians....I believe you have never come out of your

study, save to teach Theorick (if you have been able to do even that). But the operations of Surgery are learned by the eye, and by the hand....See now, mon petit Maistre, my answer to your Calumnies; and I pray you, if you have a good mind to the Publick, to review and correct your book so soon as you can, not to keep young Surgeons in error by reading therein, where you teach them to use hot Irons after the amputation of Limbs to staunch the Blood, seeing there is another way not so cruel, and more sure and easy." [108]

Ironically, Matout's painting was destroyed in a fire in October, 1889, the same year that Chartran's appeared at the Salon. Although this illustration of the painting is difficult to see clearly (it is taken from an engraving by Goupil), Elizabeth Johns has described the main features of the canvas: "Matout showed Paré, surgeon to the king, about to close off the arteries after an amputation by tying them rather than by cauterizing them with hot oil. In the middle of the battlefield, the black-clothed Pare stands above a patient whose leg he has just amputated; in the foreground is a brazier with hot irons ready for cauterization of the blood vessels. But Paré has rejected the hot irons, and he holds up the ligaments [sic] he will use instead. Several ermine-robed

physicians near him raise their hands in surprise and disdain. Across the foreground of the painting are other wounded the surgeon must deal with; there is even a corpse."[109]

At the time of its first exhibition (a different version of the painting was shown in 1857), reviewers praised the painting despite its bloody subject matter. One contemporary critic noted both the beauty and the physical pain one might feel when observing the painting. He wrote that it was

> a very frightening canvas, extremely horrible to look at, but which contains, however, great beauty. The sight of it has in fact made us shudder and our courage failed us several times when analyzing it, so much was the representation of such atrocious suffering depicted with a terrible truthfulness....You see that the subject is not a very calming one.
>
> Ambroise Pare is a very great man, without doubt. We truly believe that his discovery is of a great importance without being tempted to try it ourselves. But the painting, in spite of the merit with which it has been executed, will be much better placed in the Ecole de Medecine where it is to be sent. Then it will be in its true home. The look, full of suffering, of entreaty and gratitude with which the poor amputee gazes at Ambroise Paré, must have been one of the most beautiful rewards for this admirable scientist. It is this which, although such a sad poem, cannot but encourage our young surgeons in their laborious task, filled with charity and devotion. [110]

The reviewer noted that the painting hanging alongside it at the Salon was a Saint Peter, nailed to a cross from head to toe, but "sa supplice semble des roses à

cote d'Ambroise Paré." [111]

Matout's painting placed Pare at the correct battlefield and day of his first use of ligatures in this way. Chartran's painting, on the other hand, depicted some indeterminate day during the raising of the siege of Metz, between August, 1552--six weeks after Danvilliers--and just before Christmans day, four months later. The question which was asked in comparing Tony Robert-Fleury's PINEL AT THE SALPETRIÈRE to Muller's PINEL AT THE BICETRE can be asked again about these two canvases. Why did Chartran deliberately change the setting from the battlefield where Pare first made this surgical innovation to a location that represented only a later repetition of the same event? Undoubtedly, Chartran would not have wanted to repeat a story that had already been told and by changing the location for Pare's surgery he would a fairly simple way to distinguish his work from Matout's. But I believe that Chartran chose to place the action at the siege of Metz because of Metz's symbolic importance as a capital of the "lost provinces," for which patriotic feelings had been growing during the late 1880s. To a degree, then, Chartran's choice of subjects resembles politically that of his choice of Laennec in 1875.

Paré had also been the subject of a painting by Edouard Hamman. Hamman was born in Ostend, Belgium on September 24, 1819. He received his art training at the Academy of Antwerp in the studio of Nicaise de Keyser but in 1846 or 1847, he relocated to Paris and continued his studies with J.N. Robert-Fleury and Thomas Couture. His work was well-received and he was awarded medals in 1853, 1855, 1859 and 1863. He also received the Legion of Honor. [112] Hamman's painting [figure 72] shows Pare at another battlefield busy treating gunshot wounds. The wounded soldier has been removed to a barn, and his weapon leans on the post behind him. The bandages are ready, and Paré's young assistant is about to hand him the medication. Pare had first learned how to make this medicine in 1537, from a master surgeon in Turin. Paré described himself at the time as "a fresh-water soldier; I had not yet seen wounds made by gunshot at the first dressing."[114] He tells us this fact in order to explain why he used such cruel treatments at first. "And to make no mistake, before I would use the said oil, knowing this was to bring great pain to the patient, I asked first before I applied it, what the other sugreons did for the first dressing; which was to put the said oil, boiling well, into the wounds, with

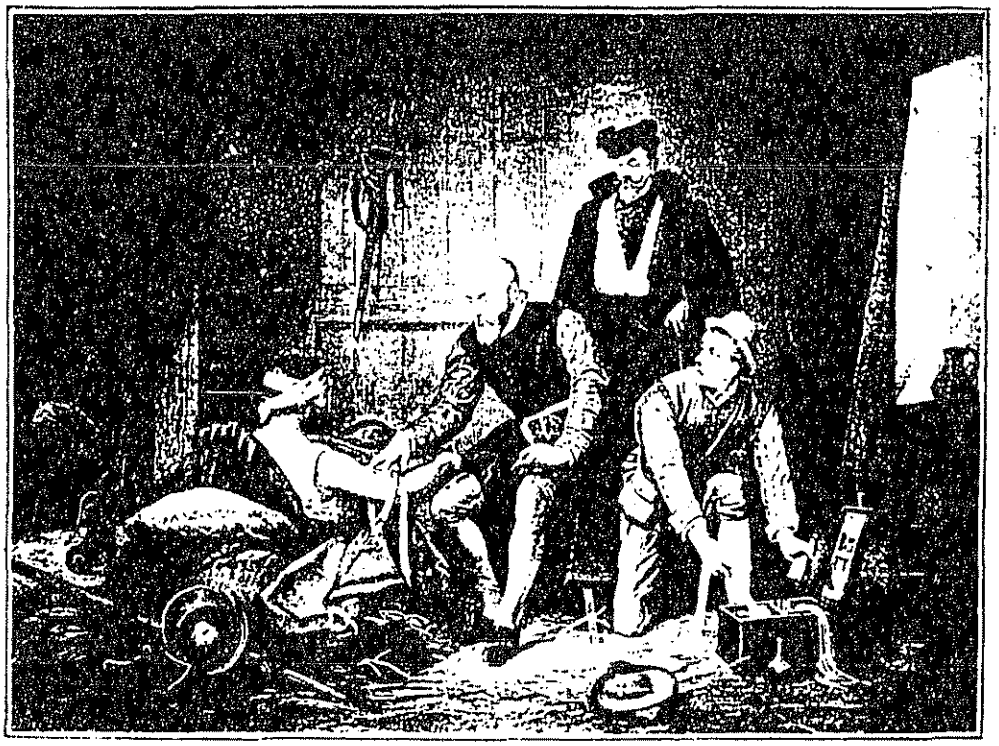

FIGURE 72 - EDOUARD HAMMAN AMBROISE PARÉ

tents and setons; wherefore I took courage to do as they did." [115] When his oil ran out, Paré improvised his own mixture of egg yolks, oil of roses and turpentine. The next morning, Pare reported, he found that the patients he had treated with this unusual mixture "had but little pain, and their wounds inflammation or swelling, having rested fairly well that night; the others, to whom the boiling oil was used, I found feverish, with great pain and swelling about the edges of their wounds. Then I resolved never more to burn thus cruelly poor men with gunshot wounds." [116] For Paré, as with his treatment of amputations, the surgeon should strive to find methods that were not so cruel. When causing pain, Pare claimed he was only following procedures long established by the medical authorities. Even so young, he was independent minded enough to abandon these procedures and introduce his own more humane treatments. But the Paré of Hamman's portrait is not a young man of twenty-seven. He is rather the mature Pare, First Surgeon of the King, whom we see in his portrait in Figure 73.

It is easy to see why Pare was a welcome subject for Hamman, whose own life had been divided between Belgium and France. Like Hamman, Paré had been

FIGURE 73 - HORBECK AMBROISE PARÉ AT 75

honored in Flanders during his own lifetime. In 1569, Pare had spent several months in Flanders where he had successfully treated the Marquis d'Auret for a gunshot wound to the knee. When Paré arrived his patient was "in a high fever, his eyes deep sunken, with a moribund and yellowish face, his tongue dry and parched, and the whole body much wasted and lean, the voice low as of a man very near death: and I found his thigh much inflamed, suppurating, and ulcerated, discharging a greenish and very offensive sanies." [117] Pare was amazed that the Marquis' own surgeons (who had lost all hope for their patient) had not taken the most preliminary steps of making incisions in the Marquis' thigh in order to release the "fetid matter" which had been blocked inside. When these physicians claimed that the Marquis would not even let them change his bedclothes, Pare rebuked them strongly. "'To heal him, we must touch something else than the coverlet of his bed.'" [118] According to Paré, the people made him hero throughout Flanders. While he had been treating the Marquis, Paré saw "many patients, both rich and poor, who came to me from three or four leagues round." [119] Towards the end of his stay in Flanders, the citizens of Mons, Antwerp, Malines and Brussels organized festivals for him.

In her discussion of Matout's painting, Elizabeth Johns pointed out that it was significant that the artist had not portrayed a living doctor, but a surgeon who had been dead for nearly 300 years. In their commission to Matout, the Ministry of Fine Arts and the Medical Faculty instructed him carefully about the subject. It would appear that the medical establishment and Matout agreed that a historical surgeon could be shown at his work, whereas living doctors - whose portraits were still being painted conventionally - were not yet to be depicted this way. The portraits painted from life by Lemonnier that they knew were to still the examples to be followed when painting living doctors. Despite the recent introduction of anesthetics, surgery was still considered extremely dangerous and most likely to be unsuccessful. Dead surgeons, particularly those who might be associated with the heroic past, could be glorified by being portrayed while at their tasks, even facing the dangers of the battlefield alongside the soldiers. But living surgeons would not be glorified by being shown in their operating theater, where the result was so uncertain. In his paintings of Laennec and Pare, Chartran did not avoid even the most horrible scenes. When painting the portrait of a living doctor,

however, he returned to the conventional style. Chartran's portrait of Dr. Robin for example, exhibited at the Salon of 1905, makes no reference to his subject's medical background. The instrument he holds in his right hand is a pen, not a scalpel.

Hamman painted several other historical scenes of doctors engaged in medical activities. He twice painted Andre Vesalius, once in 1848 and again in 1859. The paintings, although both depict anatomy lessons, are quite different. The first, entitled simply ANDRÉ VESALE was exhibited by the artist at the Brussels Salon of 1848. The Salon's exhibition catalogue included the following information:

> 'André Vesale.' Born in Brussels in 1514, he published at the age of twenty-eight his famous treatise on anatomy, in which he rectified all the earlier errors. He was the first physician to dare to challenge the prejudices of his time by searching in the human body itself for the secrets of life. To do so, he was obliged to shroud himself in mystery, for the Inquisition was on the watch. At the moment of taking up his scalpel he seems to be addressing Christ, to ask His pardon for this profanation of his image. [120]

Speilman also observes that the main idea of the painting is Vesalius' courage and determination in the face of real danger. "Vesalius, standing and seen full-face, looks towards a crucifix which hangs on the wall, as if confident in his divine mission although denounced by the ignorant as sacrilegious, yet fearing

FIGURE 74 - EDOUARD HAMMAN VESALIUS

the entrance of an intruder--perhaps of the police, of whom, as Burggraeve reminds us, the anatomist had good reason to stand in dread." [121]

The drama of the scene combined with the fact that Vesalius was Belgian (or what later became Belgium) helped make the painting a success at the Salon. Spielman adds that "when this large and admirably composed and painted picture was exhibited in 1849 [sic] in Brussels it won a veritable triumph for the artist." [122] According to Daphne Hoffman, "The painting, exhibited in Brussels in 1848 made the artist's name a household word for a time." [123] Many reproductions of the painting also made it fairly familiar.

Hamman returned to Vesalius as a subject for a painting he sent to the Paris Salon of 1859, ANDREAS VESALIUS AT PADUA, IN 1546. The painting was purchased for the Marseilles Museum in 1863 for 5,000 francs. The Museum's Catalogue furnishes a fairly lengthy description of the painting:

> The artist's inspiration for his composition was the following passage in the biography of Andre Vesale: 'Having learnt that his system of anatomy was being attacked in Italy with renewed violence, he caused it to be publicly announced that on certain stated dates he would give demonstrations at Bologna, at Padua, and at Pisa, to which he invited the attendance of his adversaries in order to confound them by proof of his discoveries on the human corpse

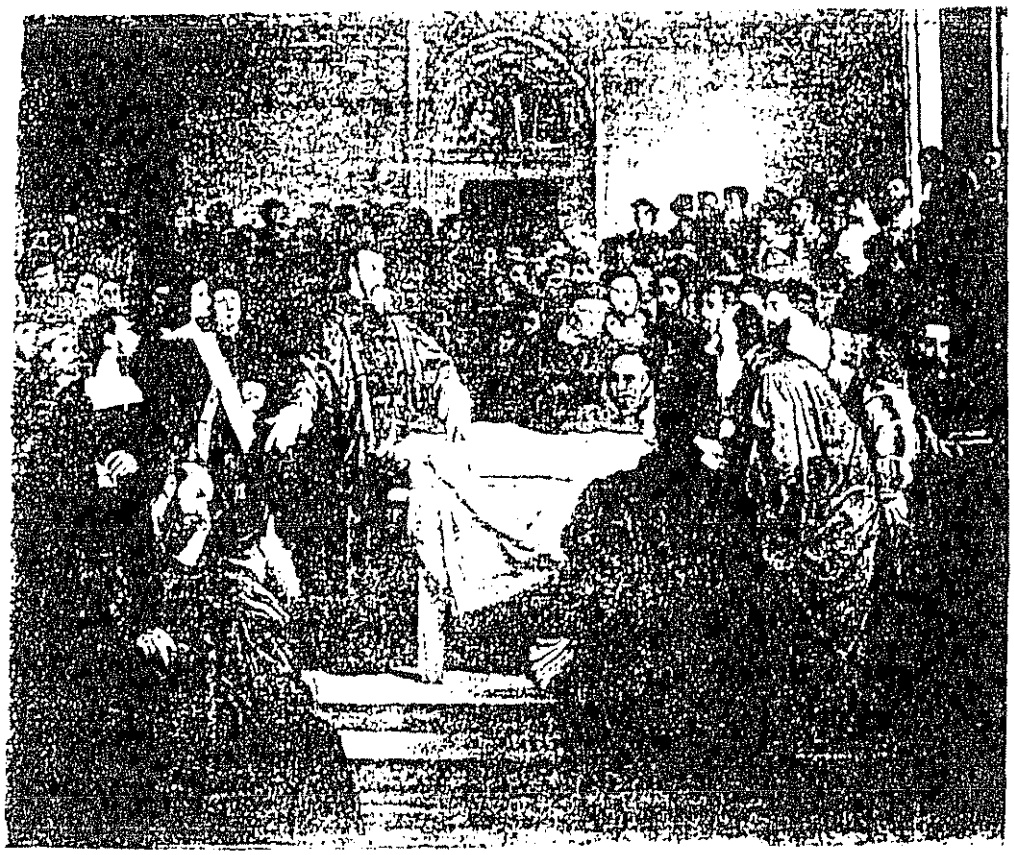

FIGURE 75 - EDOUARD HAMMAN VESALIUS IN 1546 AT PADUA

> itself. Men of the greates eminence hastened from all parts of Europe to take part in these new discussions...In these demonstrations Vesalius surpassed hmself; his triumph was complete. The amphitheatres could not accomodate the crowds who sought admission.
>
> On the rising steps, or seats of the vast class-room, a hundred interested specators--doctors, monks, and men of learning and of high position, are grouped around the Master and the naked body placed before him on the dissection-table. The daylight, striking in through the high windows on the right, falls effectively on the demonstrator and his subject, which it brings into brilliant relief. Vesalius, amply draped in his professorial robe, rest his left hand, which holds a bistouri, on the breast of the corpse, while, raising his other hand, he declares the irrefutability of his assertions. Near him, on a lectern, a folio lies open to assist him in his demonstrations. [124]

Spielman much preferred this treatment of the subject to Hamman's earlier version. "The portrait of Vesalius departs but little from that in the Woodcut of the Fabrica--it is the very man of history, with authoritative gesture and imposing aspect, who keeps his place admirably in the compostion and dominates the scene. The whole is full of dignity, happily devoid of the theatrical savour which detracts from the artist's other picture, 'André Vesale.'" [125]

Maxime Du Camp disagreed. In his review of the 1859 Salon, Du Camp wrote that he preferred the other painting Hamman had sent, STRADIVARIUS. He found the ANDRÉ VESALIUS "un peu theatral de composition et plus froid de couleur." [126] Another Salonnier noted that

Hamman's STRADIVARIUS was one of the best genre paintings at the Salon, but that his VESALIUS was also worthy of notice. According to Louis Jourdan, "The subject is very severe and has nothing attractive about it. Yet one enjoysto stop in fron to this canvas, well-planned and well-executed, but which has too heavy an appearance. It lacks air between each range of figures, and all the people in it will surely suffocate if they are not careful. Only a few things are needed, it seems to be, to make these faults disappear, and if I am not too bold to be a prophet, I predict a fine success for Monsieur Hamman if he works with ardor to perfect himself, to introduce a bit more order into his compositions." [127]

Despite the few negative comments, Hamman was reportedly pleased with his second Vesalius. One contemporary critic, E. De B. De Lepinois wrote that "the ANDRÉ VESALE of Monsieur Hamman is a fine and wise painting. The painter was extremely happy with his first painting of the celebrated anatomist; the second version, in spite of some contrary prejudgments, has not been less favorble to him." [128] Another Salon critic, apparently writing especially for women planning to visit the Salon, also recommended the painting. "The STRADIVARIUS and the VESALIUS of

Monsieur Hamman are distinguished by the skill of the composition, the delicate sentiments in the poses and the physionomies." [129]

The contrast between Hamman's two Vesalius' was striking and noted in their own time. The Vesalius of the first painting was a young anatomist embarking on his own path of discovery. That Vesalius could not blindly accept the authority of Galen but must find out for himself the truths of medicine and science. But secretly. He is shown as a clandestine and solitary worker who keeps the windows' shutters closed to protect his privacy. In the second painting, Vasalius is no longer the student but the teacher. He is not seeking answers, he can provide them. The volume he consults has changed from Galen to his own DE FABRICA HUMANI CORPORIS of 1543. He apparently points to the portion of the FABRICA that he is about to prove to his skeptical audience by dissecting the corpse in front of him. As Henry Fouquier wrote in his review of the Salon, Hamman "has found all his energy to tell us the story of the triumph of the man who has inspired his beautiful canvas. He shows us him confounding his enemies and disecting in the middle of a crowd of scientists who have hastened to Bologna to combat him but who have been forced to applaud him. There is a

long list of artists and inventors who have mocked and persecuted. It is alway a fine and moral endeavor to place their story before the eyes of the public." [130] Fouquier's knowledge of the event was apparently greater than Hamman's. Hamman chose the wrong city. When Vesalius had sought to dispute the authorities at Padua, no one showed up to oppose him. At Bologna, however, the dispute became heated and even violent. De Lepinois noted that "André Vesalius is no longer studying in front of his Christ. Now he is teaching and for his audience he has the most illustrious scientists in Europe. Monsieur Hamman knows how to vary his personnages and groups with skill. He gives them a true expression because he shows them in various ways. His Vesalius has the calm and dignity of a master confident in his words. Correct without dryness and warm without being shrill, this painting is perhaps not very commanding. It follows simply but bravely in the path alreary beaten by Monsieur [J.N.] Robert-Fleury. In art as in war, it is necessary to have soldiers who are valiant even without the orders of great captains." [131]

Vesalius made his appearance again at the Salon of 1883. A Monsieur Osbert exhibited a fairly large history painting, 2m.80 X 3m.50, LA DERNIÈRE AUTOPSIE

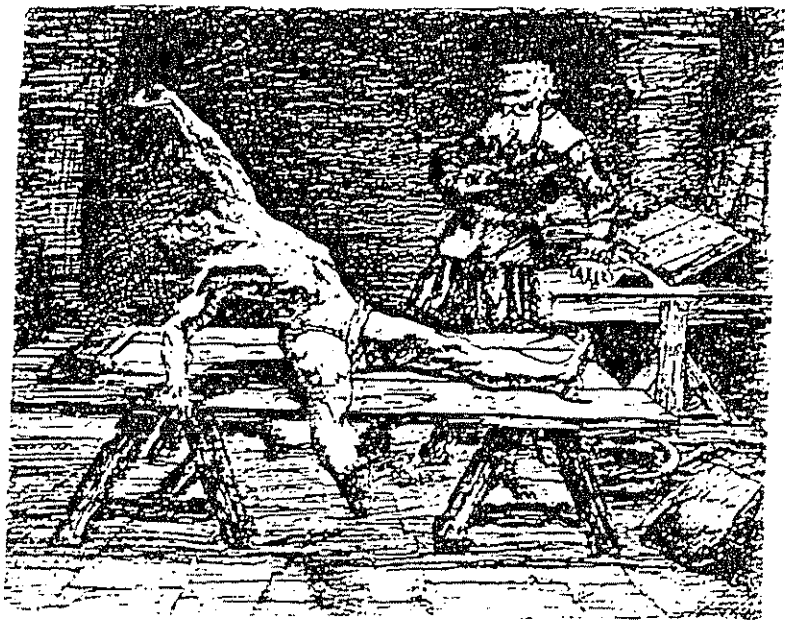

FIGURE 76 - OSBERT LA DERNIÈRE AUTOPSIE D'ANDRÉ VESALE

D'ANDRÉ VESALE [Figure 76]. In this painting, although Vesalius is an old man, the artist would like us to believe Vesalius was still active in anatomical research. Something has happened to make Vesalius recoil from the cadaver. The corpse's left arm stretches out to its full length while his right hand clutches the dissecting table. Clearly, he is not yet dead. Does the artist mean that Vesalius will no longer dissect cadavers, lest he make the error of mistaking a living person for a dead body (the fear of being mistaken for dead was not uncommon in the nineteenth century) or that Vesalius has finally learned all there is to learn from autopsies? Josephin Peladan, reviewing the Salon for L'ARTISTE, thought very little of the painting. Of course, he was comparing it to Rembrandt. "Such a painting as LA DERNIERE AUTOPSIE D'ANDRE VESALE by Monsieur Osbert requires the lighting of a Rembrandt. But it isn't there; nothing is there." [132]

In her discussion of Matout's painting of Paré, Elizabeth Johns wrote that "of all the surgical heroes who were studied, written about, and paid tribute to by nineteenth-century surgeons and imagemakers, Paré...was the favorite." [133] If it is true that Paré was the most frequently honored surgical hero, then for

physicians, Edward Jenner seems to have been preeminent. The many representations of Jenner provided later artists with an example of a doctor at work which they could adapt to their own medical portraiture. Individual doctors who were no longer alive might be portrayed at their tasks, whether in surgery or trying practical experiments with their discoveries. In many works sent to the Salon, Jenner appeared in the act of administering the first smallpox vaccine. A number of other paintings showed different doctors adminstering smallpox vaccinations.

Edouard Hamman, for example, painted a charming, idealized, EDWARD JENNER which was subtitled, "Il pratique la vaccine pour la première fois." This print [[Figure 77] is from the ALBUM GONNON. The author of the short article which accompanied the print described the scene in which "the artist has shown Jenner in a modest setting, no doubt some farm in Gloucester. He has just vaccinated a young woman who rolls down her sleeve which had previously been raised. He is about to vaccinate an infant." [134]

The same author compared Hamman's JENNER to the piece the Italian sculptor Giulio Monteverde (1837-1917) exhibited in Paris at the Universal Exposition of 1878. Monteverde had exhibited

frequently at previous Salons. [Figure 78] In contrast to the calm atmoshpere of Hamman's painting, the writer noted the feelings of anguish and expression of near agony in the sculpture. "Here is why the action in it is so tormented. It suits it. Jenner, with his concentration and attention, the lines in his forehead, the contraction of his eyebrows, seems rather to be disecting a delicate nerve that to be gently pricking the skin of an arm with just some needle. The child, on the other hand, does not really need to be so violently held in a such a twisted position....Hamman is content with the simple interior of a farm, with a baby in a jersey on the knees of his attentive mother, who seems not at all troubled, with a peaceful young woman who coquettely lowers the sleeve over her plump arm, and with a symbolic cow who casts a curious and gentle look through the window, and finally a surgeon [operateur] sure of his craft yet not unmoved by the significance of his inoculation and that he carries in his lancet, if the experiment is successful, the health of thousands of human beings. We are far indeed from the tragic Jenner of Italy." [135]

It appears, however, that the author of this article has missed the concern and even worry on the faces of the three adults in the painting. Such

FIGURE 77 - EDOUARD HAMMAN EDWARD JENNER: "IL PRATIQUE LA VACCINE POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS"

FIGURE 78 - G. MONTEVERDE EDWARD JENNER: LA VACCINE

concern would seem natural for any doctor over his patient, especially one who appears less than a year old. The boy in Hamman's painting, may in fact have been Jenner's own son. It is significant that the author has identified Monteverde's sculpture as LA VACCINE whereas the artist gave it the title, DR JENNER VACCINATING HIS SON. [136] The sculpture may have been based on an event of 1789. There had been an outbreak of swinepox [136a] in Jenner's home district of Gloucestershire that year. During this epidemic, Jenner was able to collect some of this material and "vaccinate" his son and two servants from a neighboring farm. The next year, more than six and a half years before his more famous experiment on James Phipps, Jenner inoculated his son with smallpox. The boy had no reaction, but Jenner seems not to have followed up this success with any further tests of swinepox vaccine. Jenner had been married only in 1788, and the boy was his first child. Jenner had been inoculated (variolation) at the age of eight, and was immune to smallpox. He could not, therefore, experiment on himself but had the courage to use his son for the experiment. Jenner's fears are clearly apparent in Monteverde's sculpture. According to Bénézit, the sculpture was a huge success at the Salon and earned

Monteverde the Legion of Honor. "On lui doit de nombreux ouvrages qui firent sensation lors de leur apparition, notamment "Jenner experimentant le vaccin," exposé à Paris en 1878 (Exposition Universelle) (Au Musee de Genes), qui valuet une medaille d'honneur a l'artiste....Il fut membre correspondant de l'Institut de France et Officier de la Legion d'honneur en 1878" [137]

The article in the ALBUM GONNON also mentioned that even at that time [early 1900s], the dispute over Jenner's claim to priority for the smallpox vaccine had not yet been resolved and that a good claim could even be made by a certain "pasteur protestant français, Robant-Pommier, de la Faculté de Montpellier, lequel les aurait lui-meme recuillies de savants venus de l'inde et de l'Extreme-Orient, et les aurait transmises à un certain docteur Paw, ami de Jenner." [138] It would seem that Hamman and Monteverde endorsed Jenner's priority, but avoided direct reference to the cowpox vaccine. Both their works referred to an event that had taken place much earlier than 1796, the year of the experiment on James Phipps. Each of them helped to confirm Jenner as the originator of vaccination, at least to the general public.

Theodore-Georges-Gaston Melingue (1840-1914; he referred to himself simply as Gaston Melingue) returned to the experiment of 1796 in his painting EDWARD JENNER, #2096 at the Salon of 1879. Melingue included an explanatory note about the painting in the Salon catalogue. "Le 14 mai 1796, Jenner inocula a un jeune garçon le virus vaccin, en prenant ce virus sur une pustule que portait à la main une laitière qu [sic] avait gagné la picote d'une des vaches de son maitre." [139] If the catalogue entry was not sufficient, Melingue made use of some obvious accessories to make his story clear. The eight-year old Phipps is held in his chair by a young farm-worker as Jenner injects the cowpox vaccine. Sarah Nelmes, the milkmaid who had been infected with cowpox, bandages her right hand from which the vaccine had just been taken. Her pail is at her side and her milkmaid's yoke lies at her feet. She is the only one in the painting who seems uninterested in young Phipps (scientific progress?). Another woman in a servant's cap (Phipps' mother?) watches as the doctor does his work. The farm owner and his wife are included in the scene. Huysmans noted the contrast in the painting between the idea of modern science and the old-fashioned clothes of the figures in Melingue's painting. He found them unsuitable. "Monsieur

FIGURE 79 - GEORGES-GASTON MELINGUE EDWARD JENNER
PERFORMING THE FIRST VACCINATION

Melingue has dipped into the lamentable 'unhang that for me' of old ward-robes in order to make away with some old suits and some old boots, which have served for many years to dress up these paintings. One of them shows us Edward Jenner in the process of inoculating a young boy with the virus collected from a milkmaid who has just been scratched. Alas! the whole thing looks as if it had been cut out of sheet metal...." [140] In his review for L'ART, Charles Tardieu also described Melingue's style as derivative and perhaps old fashioned. He called Melingue, "un Tony Robert-Fleury manque, peint sous l'influence du salon de 1876." [141] De Syène, in his review for L'ARTISTE, made a passing reference to Melingue's painting. [142]

Jenner was again the subject of a Salon painting in Eugene Ernest Hillemacher's EDWARD JENNER FAISANT SES PREMIERES EXPERIENCES DE VACCINE A BERKELEY (GLOCESTER), [#1217 in the Catalogue], exhibited at the Salon of 1884. In this painting, the artist has returned to the experiment on Jenner's own child previously painted by Hamman and sculpted by Monteverde, rather than the more famous experiment on Phipps. Indeed the painting's title, indicates that the scene depicts Jenner's first experiment. The

HILLEMACHER (L. C.) H.C. [illegible]

FIGURE 80 - EDWARD JENNER FAISANT SES PREMIÈRES EXPERIENCES DE VACCINE À BERKELY (GLOCESTER)

[H.C. INDICATES THAT HILLEMACHER WAS HORS CONCOURS AT THE SALON]

painting seems to have caught the attention of only one Salon reviewer, a British critic writing for the London ART JOURNAL. William Sharp thought that the artist had failed if he had intended his painting simply to be enjoyed as a work of art. It was, according to Sharp, more appropriately considered as a decoration for some type of medical center. "Monsieur Hillemacher's EDWARD JENNER FAISANT SES PREMIERES EXPERIENCES DE VACCINE has considerable technical skill, but his treatment of the subject is not pleasant, and the work is best fitted for what will probably be its ultimate refuge: the hall or lecture-room in some medical college." [143]

In addition to Jenner's being honored in French Salon art, vaccinations by other doctors also interested French artists. Perhaps the earliest of these Salon paintings was Constant Desbordes' UNE SCENE DE VACCINE also titled LA VACCINE AU CHATEAU DE LIANCOURT, #348 at the Salon of 1822. The doctor in the painting has been identified by Julien Cain of the Bibliotheque Nationale as Baron Jean-Louis-Marc Alibert (1766/68?-1837). On first observation, the painting, made while Alibert was still alive, seems to be an exception to the rule that in the nineteenth century, French artists did not honor living doctors by showing them at work. But as the painting's title indicated,

FIGURE 81 - CONSTANT DESBORDES VACCINATION AT THE CHATEAU LIANCOURT

the work was not a portrait of the physician, it was a vaccination scene. The artist surrounded Alibert with members of his own family. "Dans cette scene, traitée un peu à la manière de Boilly, Constant Desbordes a fait les portraits de sa famille ou d'amis." [144] The seated woman holding the baby was Desbordes niece Marceline. Her two sisters, Cecile and Eugenie are also there. Alibert worked at the Saint-Louis Hospital which he fashioned into a leading center for the study and treatment of skin diseases. [145] Alibert has made a special trip to the Liancourt chateau; his coat, hat and cane are thrown down haphazardly across the chair at the left. This is clearly an extraordinary or emergency visit away from his usual hospital milieu and the painting may have been intended to promote vaccination in France through the example of the French elite having their own children vaccinated. "Ces repugnance envers la vaccine cederont quand les petits notables du cru, les maires, les chatelains et les membres du clergé seront eux-memes tout à fait convaincus de son utilité." [146] Leonard also comments that Alibert sought to ingratiate with the influential clerical politicians and journalists of the Restoration. [147] Apparently, he was not unsuccessful since he became physician to Charles X.

FIGURE 82 - LEOPOLD BOILLY VACCINATION

When Cain remarked that Desbordes painted a bit in the manner of Leopold Boilly, he may have had a specific painting in mind. In an 1827 work [Figure 82], Boilly has shown an unnamed doctor vaccinating a young child being held in his mother's arms.

Dagnan-Bouveret, whose genre painting UN ACCIDENT of 1880 has already been discussed, exhibited LA VACCINATION [Figure 83] at the Salon of 1879. The painting was exhibited several other times during the next ten years. It was Dagnan-Bouveret's only entry at the National Triennial Exposition (September 15 through October 31, 1883). It was also shown at the Universal Exposition of 1889). When it was exhibited in early 1883, at the "Exposition De La Societé Internationale Des Peintures et Sculpteurs on the Rue De Sèze, the reviewer for the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, Arthur Baignères, found much to criticize about it, especially when compared to UN ACCIDENT, which he mislabels ENFANT BLESSÉ. ""M. Dagnan cherche vainement à renouveler le succes de l'ENFANT BLESSÉ en nous montrent la VACCINATION. Cette toile a des qualites de detail, mais l'ensemble en est peu agréable. La grande lumière est rendue avec une secheresse peut-etre conforme à la verité, mais penible pour l'oeil." [148] By the end of the decade, opinion about the painting had apparently

FIGURE 83 - P. DAGNAN-BOUVERET LA VACCINATION

changed. Paul Mantz referred to the VACCINATION as "un tableau des plus remarquables." [149] The article in the ALBUM GONNON praised the painting for the emotion in it. "Feeling dominates this canvas. Is it not a treasury of tender feelings of a mother for her child? When such a subject is noticed by such an artist, he must be moved. I knew how to communicate this emotion in a marvelous work of order and clarity." [150] Dagnan-Bouveret has returned us to the countryside. The setting is either a provincial schoolhouse or a town-hall. One building often served both purposes. Two maps can be seen on the wall. The one on the left is the hexagon of France; that on the right is Europe. The connection among the prevention of disease in French children, the restoration of France's rightful place in Europe and the role of the republican government is explicit.

A very similar scene, although set in the capital rather than the countryside, was the subject of Jules Scalbert's LA VACCINATION GRATUITE À PARIS - MAIRIE DU PANTHEON which was exhibited at the Salon of 1890 (Champs-Elysees). Although they both contain similar and even some identical elements, the contrast between Scalbert's and Dagnan-Bouveret's paintings is striking. In each two standing women hold their babies

FIGURE 84 - JULES SCALBERT LA VACCINATION GRATUITE A PARIS - MAIRIE DU PANTHEON

in their arms; their turn to be vaccinated approaches. A young girl of perhaps eight or nine years old is half-undressed and waits to be called. We see her from behind but can almost feel her apprehension as she observes the infant in his mother's lap who is currently receiving the vaccination. Several other seated women also hold infants in their arms. In Scalbert's, one breast-feeds her child; in Dagnan-Bouveret, the infant appears to be napping, perhaps having just finished being fed. In Dagnan-Bouveret's painting, however, the doctor is nearly obscured among the verticles of the women who surround him. We see no more than half his body and practically nothing of the medical procedure. The light which enters through the window on the left falls on the group of mothers seated at the right. This is a scene of parents and children rather than medical advancement. "Dagnan se fit un ideal de verite simple et d'emotion....Ici, nous sommes à la campagne, parmi les humbles...c'est la vitalité heureuse et tranquille des champs qui nous apparait sur le visage des enfants roses, des meres maintenant tranquillisées...." [151] In Scalbert's painting, the doctor who is giving the vaccination is at the painting's center. His young assistant, who we see completely, holds the needles to be used for the rest

of the vaccinations. At the left rear, the vaccine is being taken directly from the cow. Gerard de Beauregard, writing in L'ART FRANCAIS, although not particularly enthusiastic about the painting, recognized that it was different.

> O you who pretend 'that where there is hygiene there is no pleasure.' Look at this scene. This is the poetic side of a cow's udder which neither Brascassat nor Troyon have entered. The composition, in the rest of the work, is rich in the tools of milking. Look rather at the child who is feeding at the extreme right.
>
> The idea to reproduce a scene of this type is bizarre, also very new. It is of a pronounced naturalism, and my lord, a very good naturalism. Monsieur Scalbert still lacks, however, a little bit of that which perfects naturalism, the ideal. It would have been wise for him to have consulted the abovementioned Monsieur Zola, who I believe could very well have been an oracle. But isn't he a man of letters? Indeed, I forget that there are two arts, that of letters and that of painting. [152]

Beauregard's observation, that such a scene was something new was directly on the mark. In the years between Dagnan-Bouveret's LA VACCINATION and Scalbert's VACCINATION GRATUITE À PARIS paintings which depicted individual and recognizable doctors had changed. They became men of science shown at work in hospital operating theaters, laboratories and clinics. In the next chapter, I will examine the paintings which showed individual, living doctors at work in their normal

medical milieu.

In summary, by the time artists came to believe that the traditional portrait no longer sufficed to honor their doctor-subjects, several ways of representing doctors had already been explored. For many doctors, particularly those who considered themselves the elite of the profession, genre paintings did not seem adequate. Although such paintings were well-suited to portray the doctor as a compassionate and caring healer - a benevolent image welcomed by the ordinary practitioner - they seemed to make their subjects as humble as the patients to whom they were ministering. The artist could show that his doctor possessed a certain amount of skill in bandaging or in diagnosis, but genre scenes could not show him as a member of the scientific elite of surgery or medicine. On the other hand, artists rejected presenting their doctors possessing "the royal touch." Although this divine gift of healing powers had been claimed by men other than kings, it was too closely associated with royalty and with the clerical authority to be of service in portraying doctors who were, for the most part, republican and anti-clerical. On the other hand, as we have seen

such doctors as Vesalius, Pare, Pinel, Laennec and Jenner had been portrayed at work and practicing the new procedures, using medical instruments or introducing other innovations which made them famous. It was this third model which provided the answer to the problem for the portrait artists who wished to elevate their subjects, but did not wish to deify them. Instead of limiting scenes of doctors at work to surgeons and physicians long dead, these scenes could be used to represent living doctors who were practicing their art on living patients.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE - OTHER CHOICES

1. Johns, Elizabeth. THOMAS EAKINS THE HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, op. cit., p. 70

2. Borsa, S. and Michel, C.-R. LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DES HOPITAUX EN FRANCE AU XIXe SIECLE. Hachette, Paris, 1985. p. 133

3. Gerdts, W. THE ART OF HEALING MEDICINE AND SCIENCE IN AMERICAN ART, p. 22

4. Gerdts, W. THE ART OF HEALING, op. cit., p. 22

5. Quoted in the HANDBOOK TO THE TATE GALLERY, National Gallery, Millbank, 1898. p. 150

6. Gerdts, William. THE ART OF HEALING MEDICINE AND SCIENCE IN AMERICAN ART, Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama, 1981. p. 1

7. Chennievieres, Le Marquis de. LE SALON DE PEINTURE EN 1880, EXTRAIT DE LA GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS (Mai, Juin et Juillet, 1880). A. Quantin et Cie., Paris, 1880. p. 30

8. Michel, Emil. "Le Salon de 1880," REVUE DES DEUX-MONDES, v. 39. June 1, 1880. p. 695

9. Lafenestre, Georges. LE LIVRE D'OR DU SALON DE 1880, Librairie des Bibliophiles, Paris. 1880. p. 8

10. Michel, Emil. "Le Salon de 1880," ibid., p. 695

11. Michel, Emil, "Le Salon de 1880," ibid., p. 69514. Lafenestre, Georges. LE LIVRE D'OR DU SALON DE 1880. Librairie des Bilbiophiles, Paris. 1880. p. 8

12. Carroll, Charles. THE SALON OF 1880. Samuel L. Hall, New York. 1881. p. 82. Carroll identified himself as a Professor at New York University. He claimed to have been assisted in writing this review by French correspondants, Rene Delorme, Armand Sylvestrie and "other foreign experts."

13. Carroll, Charles. ibid., p. 82 This is the type of rural family life described by Zola in LA TERRE. Zola began work on the novel in 1880, and

though he does not mention the painting in his review of that year's Salon, he must have seen it since he does mention Ulysse Butin's EX VOTO which was in the same room as UN ACCIDENT. The scene of rural life that Zola admired most at the 1880 Salon was Lerolle's DANS LA CAMPAGNE. On the other hand, he found Jules Breton's peasants "disguised goddesses," rather than real human beings. In Eugene Weber's introduction to Emile Guillaumin's LIFE OF A SIMPLE MAN, he notes that Guillaumin denounced the rural patriarchal family as "a formidable machine for the explotiation of children by their parents." (p. xiii) and the house and family "a battleground where each preyed on all he could....The child was given the meanest tasks and, when his elders weren't using him, they jeered at him." (University Press of New England, Hanover New Hampshire, 1983, p. xii)

14. Delorme, René. "La Peinture De Genre," L'EXPOSTION DES BEAUX-ARTS, SALON DE 1880," Librairie D'Art, Ludovic Baschet, Paris. 1880. non-paginated. The editors explained "Ce livre ayant ete concu fort tard....la, l'impossiblitie d'une pagination."

15. Lafenestre, Georges. LIVRE D'OR SALON DE 1880

16. Ballu, Roger. LA PEINTURE AU SALON DE 1880. A. Quantin & Cie., Paris. 1880. p. 72

17. Weber, Eugen. PEASANTS INTO FRENCHMEN THE MODERNIZATION OF RURAL FRANCE, 1870-1914, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1976, p. 478

18. Houssaye, Henry. "Le Salon de 1884," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 63. June 1, 1884. p. 579

19. Houssaye, Henry. ibid., p. 579

20. Folliot, Frank. "Les Decors Des Mairies," in LE TRIOMPHE DES MAIRIES. GRANDS DECORS REPUBLICAIN A PARIS 1870-1914, Musee Du Petit Palais, Paris, 1987, p. 123

21. Folliot, Frank. ibid., p. 179

22. Houssaye, Henry. "Le Salon de 1884," op. cit., p. 580

23. Thiebaut-Sisson. "Le Salon de 1887," LA NOUVELLE REVUE

24. Leroi, Paul. L'ART, #43, Paris, 1887, p. 21

25. Leroi, Paul. L'ART, #43, ibid., p. 22

26. Peladan, Josephin. "L'Esthetique Au Salon de 1883," L'ARTISTE, May, 1883, p. 382

27. Lafenestre, Georges. "Le Salon de 1888," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 87, June 1, 1888, pp. 664-665

28. Wolff, Albert. LE FIGARO SALON, Paris, 1888, p. 74

29. Pabst, Camille Alfred. Born, 1821 (Heiteren bei Colmar); Died, 1898 (Paris). Benezit, v. 8, p. 72. Thieme und Becker, vol. 26, p. 112. Student of Ch. comte. Debuted at the Salon of 1865. Was awarded a 3rd class medal in 1874.

30. ALBUM GONNON, ICONOGRAPHIE MEDICALE 1895-1905., Paris. p. 155

31. ALBUM GONNON, ibid., pp. 155-156

32. de Beauregard, Georges. L'ART FRANCAIS, #170, July 27, 1890. n.p.

33. Norech, P. "Promenades Au Salon," L'UNION MEDICAL, V. 69, June 12, 1890, p. 829-830

34. Norech, P. ibid., p. 830

35. Bloch, Marc. THE ROYAL TOUCH SACRED MONARCHY AND SCROFULA IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. Translated by J. E. Anderson. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London and McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal. 1973

36. Bloch, Marc. ibid., pp. 67-69

37. Bloch, Marc. THE ROYAL TOUCH SACRED MONARCHY AND SCROFULA. Translated by J. E. Anderson, Routledge and Kegan Paul and McGill-Queen's University Press, London. 1973. Bloch also notes that the ceremony would also include water and gifts of money. pp. 52-55

38. Bloch, Marc. ibid., p. 194

39. Bloch, Marc. ibid., pp. 226-227

40. Johannot, Charles-Henri-Alfred (1800-1837) In Bellier-Auvray, DICTIONAIRE GENERAL DES PEINTRES, SCULPTEURS, etc. Paris, 1885. Vol. 1, p. 831 "son pere l'amena avec lui a paris en 1806, et il etait encore enfant qu'il allait deja etudier au Musee du Louvre." Salons: 1831: DON JUAN NAUFRAGE; 1833: ANNONCE DE LA VICTOIRE D'ASTENBECH, destroyed in the revolution of 1848, ENTREE DE MLLE. DE MONTPENSON A ORLEANS PENDANT LA FRONDE EN 1652; 1834: FRANCOIS Ier ET CHARLES-QUINT; 1835: LE COURRIER VERNER, HENRI II, ROI DE FRANCE ET CATHERINE DE MEDICIES ET LEURS ENFANTS; 1836: FRANCOIS DE LORRAINE, DUC DE GUISE, APRES LA BATAILLE DE CREUX, MARIE STUART QUITTE L'ECOSSE; 1837: ANNE D'EST, FEMME DU DUC DE GUISE, VIENT A LA COUR DE CHARLES IX, SAINT MARTIN; 1838, BATAILLE DE BRATELEN, DITE DE SAINT-JACQUES, LE 26 AOUT, 1444 (MUSEE DE VERSAILLES); LES FUNERAILLES DES VICTIMES DE L'ATTENTAT DU 28 JUILLET, 1835, CELEBREES AUX INVALIDES, LE 5 AOUT, 1835, LA BATAILLE DE ROSEBECQUE, LE 27 NOVEMBRE, 1382 (MUSEE DE VERSAILLES)

41. Rosenblum, R. TRANSFORMATIONS IN LATE 18TH CENTURY ART. Princeton University Press, 1967. pp. 96-97. Quoted in Merrill and Hoff, ibid., p. 6539. Merrill, Joseph M. and Hebbel E. Hoff. "'The Pest House at Jaffa,' Medicine, Art and French Romantic Painting," CADUCEUS, Vol. IV, Number 3--4, Autumn/Winter, 1988, Southern Illinois School of Medicine, Springfield. p. 63

42. Merrill, Joseph M. and Hebbel E. Hoff. "`The Pest House at Jaffa, 'Medicine, Art and French Romantic Painting," CADUCEUS, Vol. Iv, Number 3-4, Autumn/Winter, 1988, Southern Illinois School of Medicine, Springfield. p. 63

43. Merrill and Hoff. ibid. p. 65

44. Helfand, William H. "The Poisoning of the Sick At Jaffa," DIE VORTRAGE DEN HAUPTVERSAMMLUNG IN PARIS, vol. 24-29, September, 1973. Edited by Wolfgang-Hagen Hein and Karl Heinz Bartels, Intenational Society For the History of Pharmacy. Stuttgart, 1975. p. 80

45. Friedlander, Walter. "Napoleon As `Roi

Thaumaturge'," JOURNAL OF THE WARBURG AND COURTHAULD INSTITUTES, vol. 4, Nos. 3 and 4, April-July, 1941. London. p. 140

46. Friedlander, Walter. ibid., pp. 140-141

47. Alexandre Paul-Joseph Veron, dit Bellecourt. Born in Paris, 1773. A pupil of David and Van Spaendonck. He began exhibiting at the Salon in 1801 (UNE JEUNE FEMME ARROSANT DES FLEURS A LA FENETRE D'UNE GALARIE) and continued to exhibit there until 1838 (CORBEILLE DE FLEURS AU BORD D'UN RUISSEAU).

48. Swain, Gladys. ibid. pp. 123-125

49. Moreau de la Sarthe, Quoted in Swain, Gladys. ibid. p. 146

50. Swain, ibid., p. 159 Ackerknectht's date of 1793 appears on p. 47. He accepts Scipio's date for the "famous unchaining of the insane," also on p. 168

51. Swain, Gladys. ibid. p. 157. Jean Etienne-Dominique Esquirol was named head of the Charenton Hospital in 1826. "Grace à lui, la psychiatrie française s'imparta à Charenton et la psychiatrie moderne commence à naitre." Jean-Charles Sournia and François Vial, "Histoire des grands hopitaux parisiens," in MEDECINE A PARIS DU XIIIe AU XXe SIECLES, Andre Pecker, ed. Hervas, Paris. 1984

52. Swain, ibid., p. 151

53. Swain, ibid., p. 156-157

54. Swain, ibid., p. 159

55. Scipio Pinel. Quoted in Swain, p. 159

56. GAZETTE DES HOPITAUX, 1849. Quoted in Swain, p. 131

57. Bloch, Marc, ibid. pp. 172-173 and 374-375, footnotes, 144 and 153.

58. Benezit, vol. 7, p. 589

58b. Chennevières, Philipp de. SOUVENIRS D'UN

DIRECTEUR DES BEAUX ARTS, Vol. I. ARTHENA (Association Pour La Diffusion De L'Histoire De L'Art), Paris, 1979. p. 24

59. Swain, Gladys. LE SUJET DE LA FOLIE NAISSANCE DE LE PSYCHIATRIE. Privat, Toulouse, 1977. p. 125

60. Ackerknecht, Erwin. MEDICINE AT THE PARIS HOSPITAL, 1794-1848. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1967. p.169. Swain, Gladys, op. cit., p. 131

As Swain points out, Esquirol's presence is impossible. "Passans sur l'invraisemblance, Esquirol n'est arrive a Paris qu'en l'an VII de la Republique (septembre 1798 a septembre 1799). ibid, p. 131

61. Goldstein, Jan. CONSOLE AND CLASSIFY THE FRENCH PSYCHIATRIC PROFESSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1987. p. 128.

62. Gilman, Sander K. SEEING THE INSANE, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1982, p. 212

63. EXPLICATIONS DES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, SCULPTURE, ETC. SALON DE 1876, p. 217

64. Dufour, Georges. "Le Grand Art et Le Petit Art Au Salon De 1876," EXTRAIT DE JOURNAL L'ARTISTE (Amiens). 1876. p. 28. Dufour described himself as an avocat a la cour d'appel de Paris, not a professional art critic.

65. ZIGZAGS, unsigned. #1, April 30, 1876, p. 3

66. ZIGZAGS, #3, May 14, 1876, pp. 8-9

67. ZIGZAGS, #9, June 25, 1876, p. 3

68. Bonnin, A. "Salon de 1876," L'ART, Paris. vol. 5, May 1, 1876. p. 229

69. Cherbuliez, Victor. "Le Salon de 1876," REVUE DES DEUX-MONDES, vol. 15, June 15, 1876. p. 871

70. Cherbuliez, Victor. ibid., p. 871

71. Kromm, Jane. "`Marianne' and the Madwomen," op.

cit., p. 299

72. Swain, Gladys. op. cit. pp. 127-128. A brief discussion of the conflict over the creation of this chair the year before 1878 can be found in Jan Goldstein's CONSOLE AND CLASSIFY, pp. 348-350. Goldstein continues, "The government finally brought the chair into existence in 1878. But at the same time it sought to vitiate its impact by naming as it occupant a mere alieniste, Benjamin Ball, a man in his early forties....There was...little attempt on the part of the Salpetriere school to hide its disappointment over the fact that Charcot had not been chosen for the chair." (pp. 367-368)

73. "Joseph Nicolas Robert-Fleury (1797-1890), someone whose present obscurity belies the position of prestige he occupied in the art establishment during his own lifetime or the place he held in the French Academy for more than forty years." Driskell, Michael Paul. "'To Be Of One's Own Time': Modernization and The Art of Two Embattled Academicians," ARTS MAGAZINE, v. 61, #4, Dec., 1986, p. 80

Joseph Nicolas Robert-Fleury. In Benezit, Vol. 9, p. 9. Born, Cologne, August 8, 1797, died, Paris, May 5, 1890. Student of Vernet, Girodet and Gros. "Il fut partie du groupe romantique, mais son romantisme fut toujours d'une sagess incapable d'effrayer le classicisme bourgeois.... On lui doit les peintures decorant le tribunal de commerce de Paris."

74. Swain, Gladys, op. cit., p. 125. Again on p. 127: "L'année du tableau de Robert, 1878, est aussi celle ou prend definitivement corps à la Societe Medico-Psychologique un vieux projet, l'année très exactement ou est prise la decision d'ériger une statue de Pinel." And on p. 129: "Nous en avons un remarquable example avec cette brusque flambée de la memoire autour de l'année 1878." Finally, in footnote 7, p. 129: "Un dernier mot enfin sur cette date de 1878: c'est l'annee ou Charcot commence à la Salpetrière ses experiences de l'hypnotisme."

75. Chabbert, Pierre, "Philippe Pinel," LA MEDECINE A PARIS, Andre Pecker, ed. op. cit., p. 382

76. Du Bosc De Pesquidous, Paul de Saint Victor.

"Le Salon," L'ARTISTE, July, 1878, p. 27. De Pesquidoux identified the "first" as LA PRISE DE CORINTHE.

77. Gilman, Sander. SEEING THE INSANE, op. cit., p. 212

78. Gilman, Sander. ibid., p. 234, note 22. Gilman's error seems not be a mere slip. He indicates that the scene must have taken place at the Bicetre and that Robert-Fleury has depicted this hospital. Gilman cites Freud's mention of the painting, which he saw while attending Charcot's clinic. "'In the hall in which he gave his lectures there hung a picture which showed 'citizen' Pinel having the chains taken off the poor madmen in the Salpetriere." p. 213.. Gilman then adds, p. 234, note 23, "Freud was wrong about the location of Pinel's act."

79. Gilman, ibid., p. 212

80. Gilman, Sander. SEEING THE INSANE, op. cit., p. 213

81. Kromm, Jane. "'Marianne' and the Madwomen," ART JOURNAL, Winter, 1987 p. 300

82. Kromm, Jane. ibid., p. 301

83. Mayeur, Jean-Marie. LES DEBUTS DE LA IIIe REPUBLIQUE 1871-1898. Editions du Seuil, 1973. p37

84. Micale, Mark. "The Salpetrière in the Age of Charcot: An Institutional Perspective on Medical History in the Nineteenth Century," JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, London, Beverly Hills and New Delhi. vol. 20, 1985. p. 710

85. Bernac, Jean. ibid., p. 324

86. Bernac, Jean. "Tony Robert-Fleury," THE ART JOURNAL, London. November, 1894. p. 321

87. Benedite, Leonce. LA PEINTURE AU XIXe SIECLE, Flammarion, Paris. 1909. p. 154. An article in THE SCIENTIST (Jan.-Feb., 1988) misidentifies the artist as Tony Robert-Fleury rather than his father.

88. Driskell, Michael Paul, "'To Be Of Own's Time':

Modernization, Secularism and The Art of Two Embattled Academicians," ARTS MAGAZINE, v. 61, #4, December, 1986. p. 81

Driskell cites Edgar Quinet's ULTRAMONTISM (1844), a lithograph by Daumier MODERNE GALILEE (1834), and an article which appeared in LA REPUBLIQUE in 1849 (which hardly seems likely to have influenced Robert-Fleury two years earlier).

89. See Goldstein, Jan. CONSOLE AND CLASSIFY, op. cit., p. 368

90. Swain, Gladys. op. cit., p. 130

91. Swain, ibid., p. 137

92. Gilman, Sander. SEEING THE INSANE, op. cit., p. 212

93. Showalter, Elaine. THE FEMALE MALADY WOMEN, MADNESS AND ENGLISH CULTURE, 1830-1980, Virago Press, New York. 1985. In a footnote rather than in the text, Showalter notes that "Tony Robert-Fleury may have been representing some of his own attitudes toward women. He taught at the Academie Julian, where his students described him as Byronic, domineering, magnetic; `his eyes...smouldered with burnt-out fires.'" p. 251, f.n. 2

94. Vogt, Helmut. DAS BILD DES KRANKEN DIE DARSTELLUNG AUSSERER VERANDERUNGE DURCH INNERE LEIDEN UND IHRER HEILMASSNAHMEN VON DER RENAISSANCE BIS IN UNSERE ZEIT. J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, Munchen, 1969. p. 275 Chartran's paintings at the Salons were: 1874, #366, JEANNE D'ARC; 1875, #422, ANGELIQUE ET ROGER, #423, PORTRAIT DE M. DE R. PRESIDENT DE LA COUR DE CASSATION; 1876, #405, JEUNE FILLE D'ARGOS AU TOMBEAU D'AGAMEMNON, #406, GENTILHOMME DE LA COUR DE HENRI II.

95. Duffin, Jaclyn. "Private Practice and Public Research," in La Berge, Ann and Mordechai Feingold, FRENCH MEDICAL CULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, op. cit., p. 122

96. Ackerknecht, Erwin, ibid., p. 91. Webb's laudatory account of Laennec's life, an expanded version of the speech he gave to the Denver Clinical and Pathological Society February 9, 1926 to

commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Laennec's death, asserts quite emphatically, "Without any solicitation he was appointed as physician to the Duchess of Berry." (p. 116). Webb also states simply that, "In 1822 came the appointment of Professor and Royal Lecturer at the College of France, and full membership in the Academy of Medicine." (p. 119). Webb makes no mention of the disputes at the Medical Faculty and Laennec's role in them.

97. Leonard, Jacques. LA MEDECINE ENTRE LES SAVOIRS ET LES POUVOIRS, Editions Aubier Montaigne, Paris, 1981. pp. 203-204

98. ALBUM GONNON, ICONOGRAPHIE MEDICALE, 1892-1908. Lyon, 1908.
pp. 59-60

99. Webb, Gerald B. LAENNEC A MEMOIR, Paul B. Hoeber, Inc. New York, 1928. p. 85

100. Webb, Gerald B. LAENNEC, ibid., p. 125

101. Ballu, Roger. LA PEINTURE AU SALON DE 1880, op. cit., p. 82

102. unsigned article, "Necrologie: Le Peintre Theobald Chartran," in BULLETIN DE L'ART ANCIEN ET MODERNE, #350, July 27, 1907. pp. 211-212

103. unsigned article, "Necrologie," in CHRONIQUE DES ARTS, 1904. pp. 253-254

104. Eugen Weber has written that "A major aspect of the Boulangist appeal had been the rehabilitation of the army humiliated by Prussian defeat, the restoration of the nation's pride in its army and of the army's pride in itself, and the renewed evocation of the lost provinces--Alsace and Lorraine. Boulanger had been 'General Revanche.' After his fall, this idea, heretofore so dear to the Left, became more and more a prerogative of the Right. One of the greatest promoters of revanche had been Paul Deroulede, who had founded the Ligue des Patriotes in 1882 to work for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine." "France," in THE EUROPEAN RIGHT, Rugger, Hans and Eugene Weber, editors, p. 85

For a general discussion of the question of Alsace-

Lorraine, see Frederic H. Seager, "The Alsace-Lorraine Question in France, 1871-1914," in FROM THE ANCIEN REGIME TO THE POPULAR FRONT ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN FRANCE, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1969, pp. 111-126.

Robert Allen Jay's ART AND NATIONALISM IN FRANCE is a useful study of patriotic paintings and sculpture by (mostly) Salon artists who exhibited between 1871 and the early 1900s. His study makes clear the relative absence of such works between 1882 and 1887. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1979.

105. Wolff, Albert. FIGARO SALON, 1889, Paris, 1889. p. 34. The entire painting was reproduced in a double-paged spread, pp. 50-51.

106. Lafenestre, Georges. REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 93, June 1, 1889, pp. 643-649.

107. Paget, Stephen. AMBROISE PARE AND HIS TIMES 1510-1590, G. P. Putnam and Sons, New York and London, 1897. p. 241

108. Paget, Stephen, ibid., pp. 27-28

109. Johns, Elizabeth. THE HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, p. 74

110. Boyeldieu-D'Auvigny, L. GUIDE AUZ MENUS PLAISIRS SALON DE 1853, Jules Dagneau, Paris. 1853. pp. 17

111. Boyeldieu-D'Auvigny, L. ibid., pp. 17-18

112. Benezit, vol. 5, p. 381

113. According to Paré, it took a full two years before he was able to wheedle the recipe from the surgeon. In the end, Pare learned that the recipe included young whelps boiled in oil of lilies mixed with earth-worms prepared in Venetian turpentine. Pare claimed that this remedy was very similar to the one he had discovered by chance. Paget, p. 35.

114. Paget, Stephen. AMBROISE PARE AND HIS TIMES 1510-1590, op. cit., p. 33

115. Paget, Stephen. ibid., p. 34

116. Paget, Stephen. ibid., p. 34

117. Paget, Stephen. ibid., p. 107

118. Paget, Stephen. ibid., p. 108

119. Paget, Stephen. ibid., p. 113

120. This information is from Daphne Mebane Hoffman, former librarian at the Frick Art Reference Library, New York City.

121. Spielman, M.H. ICONOGRAPHY OF ANDREAS VESALIUS, John Bale, Sons and Danielson, Ltd., Wellcome Historical Museum, London, 1925. p. 109

122. Spielman, M.H. ibid., p. 109

123. Hoffman's notes to the painting at the Frick Art Reference Library.

124. Spielman, M.H. op. cit., pp. 110-111. Catalogue of the Museum, 1908 by the Curator, Philippe Auquier.

125. Spielman, M.H. ibid., ibid., p. 111

126. Du Camp, Maxime. LE SALON DE 1859, Librairie Nouvelle, Paris, 1859. p. 86

127. Jourdan, Louis. LES PEINTRES FRANCAIS SALON DE 1859. Librairie Nouvelle, Paris, 1859. pp. 74-75

128. DeLepinois, E. de B. L'ART DANS LA RUE ET L'ART AU SALON. Dentu, Paris, 1859. p. 132

129. Stevens, Mathilde. IMPRESSIONS D'UNE FEMME AU SALON DE 1859. Librairie Nouvelle, Paris, 1859. p. 103

130. Fouquier, Henry. ETUDES ARTISTIQUES: 1. "Lettres Sur Le Salon De 1859," EXTRAIT DE LA TRIBUNE ARTISTIQUE ET LITTERAIRE DU MIDI, Arnaud & Cie, Marseille, 1859. p. 19

131. De Lepinois, E. de B. L'ART DANS LA RUE ET L'ART AU SALON, op. cit., p. 132

132. Peladan, Josephin, "L'Esthtique Au Salon de

1883," L'ARTISTE, May, 1883. p. 374

133. Johns, Elizabeth. THOMAS EAKINS AND THE HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, op. cit., p. 74

134. ALBUM GONNON, ICONOGRAPHIE MEDICALE, 1892-1908. Lyon, 1908. p. 18

135. ALBUM GONNON, ibid., pp. 177-178

136. Thieme und Becker, v. 25, p. 90

136a. Apparently the local people in Gloucester referred to the fever alternatively as swinepox, pigpox and cowpox. Baxby, Derrick. JENNER'S SMALLPOX VACCINE, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1981, pp. 53 and 151

137. Benezit, E. vol. 7. p. 501

138. ALBUM GONNON, ibid., p. 17

139. EXPLICATION DES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, etc. 1879. p. 175: Melingue (Gaston), ne a Paris, eleve de son pere et de M. L. Cogniet. Melingue's studio was located at this time in Belleville, 17 Rue Levert.

140. Huysmans, K.-J. "Le Salon de 1879," L'ART MODERNE, Union Generale d'Editions, Paris, 1975. p. 30

141. Tardieu, Charles. "La Peinture Au Salon De Paris, 1879," L'ART, v. 17, 1879. p. 180

142. De Syene, F. C. "Le Salon De 1879," L'ARTISTE, June, 1879. p. 366. De Syene preferred a painting by Melingue's younger brother, Lucien (1841-1889), depicting Etienne Marcel. De Syene included Gaston as one of severeal young history painters from whom he expected good things in the future.

143. Sharp, William. "The Paris Salon," THE ART JOURNAL, London, 1884. pp. 221-222

144. Cain, Julien. EXPOSITION MARCELINE DESBORDES-VALMORE (178-1859), Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. 1959. p. 49. The painting (oil on canvas, 1.11m X 1.39) is currently at the Douai Museum.

145. Ackerknecht, Erwin. MEDICINE AT THE PARIS HOSPITAL, op. cit., p. 175. "In 1801, the 200-year old Hospital Saint Louis became a hospital and polyclinic specializing in skin diseases. Is was the merit of J.L. Alibert (1768-1837) [sic] to have immediately seen and developed the potentialities of their institutions as an instrument of teaching and research.. Through him it became a world center of dermatology."

146. Leonard, Jacques. LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DU MEDECIN DE PROVINCE AU XIXe SIECLE, Hachette, Paris, 1977. p.

147. Leonard, Jacques. LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DE PROVINCE AU XIXe SIECLE, Hachette, 1977. p. 265

148. Baigneres, Arthur. "Exposition De La Societe Internationale De Peintures Et Sculpteurs," GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, February, 1, 1883. p. 191

149. Mantz, Paul. "Le Salon de 1889 La Peinture Francaise," GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, Nov., 1889. p. 528. Mantz misdates the painting as 1879, perhaps confusing it with Gaston Melingue's canvas.

150. ALBUM GONNON. op. cit., p. 92

151. ALBUM GONNON, op. cit., p. 92

152. de Beauregard, G. L'ART FRANCAIS, #170, July 27, 1890, n.p. The painting was reproduced in the previous issue, #169, July 19, 1890. A painting by de Richemont, LA REVE, was also exhibited at the Champs-Elysees Salon. According to Georges Lafenestre, "La Scene est tirée du roman de M. Zola, qui porte le meme titre." REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 99, June 1, 1890, p. 668