

#### CHAPTER FOUR "MODERN SCIENCE COLDLY PORTRAYED"

Arsene Alexandre wrote in LE FIGARO in 1899, "For the past twenty years...there hasn't been a Salon which did not offer us at least a half-dozen hospital scenes...and several accidents at the pharmacist's shop." [1] Whether portraits of individual doctors at work in the hospital operating theatre, the clinic or the laboratory or genre paintings of an unidentified physician in the traditional role of healing the sick and attending the injured, throughout the last two decades of the century Salon critics continued to mention them, the public stopped to see them and artists continued to paint them.

Among the very first Salon artists who sent this new type of portrait of French surgeons was Henri Gervex. It was his portrait of Dr. Emile Péan, exhibited at the Salon of 1887 which, according to one reviewer, "opened the series of these medical and surgical scenes at the Salon...." [2] Lafenestre and other critics (Leonce Benedite, for example) thought Gervex was the best of this new "school." But they were wrong to credit him as the first. Gervex and the other painters who sent paintings of doctors at work to the Salon of 1887 had already had the opportunity to see two portraits of a famous medical researcher



FIGURE 85 - HENRI GERVEX

AUTOPSY AT THE HOTEL-  
DIEU

depicted at work in his laboratory displayed at the previous year's Salon. Gervex's painting was joined at the 1887 Salon with several other medical portraits. Together, they all confirmed the idea that there was a new way to honor doctors and surgeons. No longer would the conventional portrait be the only way to do so.

I do not follow a strict year-by-year approach in discussing these paintings, although the order is generally chronological. Some artists painted various portraits of doctors at work in several, and even became thought of as specialists in these subjects. I have discussed the works of individual artists across a number of Salons to show how they fit together. I have also looked at their work noting how the "medical" themes are part of the painter's overall development. I have tried to include other works I feel are related to the canvas under discussion. At various Salons, reviewers sometimes linked other paintings to canvases showing doctors at work. They might be scenes of scientists or other medical subjects (the Municipal Laboratory, for instance). I have often followed their lead.

Henri Gervex's canvas of Pean demonstrating the use of his hemostatic clamps was not the first time this artist had painted doctors at work. Eleven years

before his portrait of Pean, he had painted an autopsy being performed at the Hotel-Dieu by two young medical students. Henri Gervex was born in Paris in 1852 and made his first Salon appearance in 1873, when only twenty-one years old. He had studied for five years in Cabanel's studio, although he called Pierre Brisset his first teacher (when he was fifteen, in 1867). Gervex's training was Academic and he credited Eugene Fromentin with helping him understand the need for balance in a painting, "L'equilibre d'une oeuvre." [3] From his earliest showings at the Paris Salon, critics predicted that Gervex was headed for success.

Gervex's first Salon entries, in subject matter and style, had been similar to the paintings of his teacher, Cabanel. These were stories of Greek mythology filled with nudes. The titles of his canvases alone indicate Gervex's earliest artistic choices, as well as indicating the Academy's program. In 1873, he exhibited SATYRE JOUANT AVEC UNE MENADE for which he won a second class medal. The painting was bought by the State for 3,500 francs and placed in the Luxembourg Museum. [4] In the Salon of 1875, Gervex exhibited a canvas, DIANA AND ENDYMION. [5] With the success of these paintings, Gervex was hailed as a talented young artist, a skillful painter who

represented the principles of both his teacher, Alexandre Cabanel, and the precepts of the Academy Des Beaux-Arts. [6] Gervex appeared to have accepted academic ideas, and during the early 1870s, the period of the government of "moral order," an artist whose work seemed to conform to or exemplify similar principles of order and adherence to (academic) authority was likely to win professional honors and material rewards. He appeared well on his way to a successful career.

The very next year, however, Gervex suddenly departed from the world of Greek mythology and began to paint canvases with more modern themes. Leonce Benedite, for one, took note of this abrupt shift in the subject matter of Gervex's paintings. "Beginning in 1876, he tackled a series of subjects which, although surprising at first, soon became a school. Gervex painted portraits, and in particular group portraits brought to life by some specific action, the clear light of interiors or even under the effects of open air. His first painting of this type was 'L'AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL DIEU.'" [7] Perhaps Gervex felt that with the change in the government to that of the Republic of republicans, he could be free to explore new themes and styles.

Gervex later claimed that the autopsy painting was a successful departure for him. In his memoirs, written nearly fifty years after this Salon, Gervex recollected, "One of the first paintings which really attracted attention to me, one in which I was able to apply most completely my theory of modern art, was the canvas L'AUTOPSIE which made a big hit precisely because I was trying hard to give it a totally new note." [8] Gervex claimed to have been struck by the ancient feeling of the autopsy room and the modernity of the two students. The AUTOPSY AT THE HOTEL-DIEU was certainly a change from the Pompier paintings he had been doing up to that time, but it was also in various ways a change from earlier anatomy scenes.

In his memoirs, Gervex wrote about this painting at some length. He remembered that the painting was not the result of a planned visit to the hospital's autopsy room, a practice which was fairly common for the art students at the Ecole. According to Gervex, the idea for the painting came upon him quite by accident. He related that he had been walking about Paris one day and happened to stumble into the autopsy room of the old Hotel-Dieu.

This realist subject, was not chosen by me, it was furnished to me by chance. In the course of my strolls, I came upon the autopsy room of the old hospital the way Parisians discover the picturesque or little known corners of their city. And I was completely turned upside down by my discovery. [9]

Gervex saw four people in the room: the dissecting room attendant, the two medical students, [10] and the cadaver outstretched on the dissecting table. The table, draped with a linen cloth, takes up most of the bottom portion of the canvas. Gervex placed the hospital assistant, Alexandre, at the right edge of the canvas, holding the table steady. The older of the two students is standing on the far side of the table and leans over the body, scalpel in hand, cutting the right thigh of the cadaver. The other student stands slightly behind him, "calmly rolling a cigarette." [11] Gervex recalled that the conversations among these medical students was so morbid, that if he had not kept his mind on his work and concentrated on his painting, he would have had to leave the dissection room. He came back to the dissecting room on Sundays when he would be alone and could work in peace. [12]

Georges LaFenestre, in an article in the journal L'ARTISTE that year, praised Gervex's new modern style and described a few additional details of the canvas. There was "a nude cadaver stretched out on a stone table, an attendant, two young doctors in white

aprons; these were the four people in the scene taking place under the humid vaults of a low room lighted from the side." [13]

These vaults, the soupiraux, were particularly recalled later by Gervex, as only permitting the barest light to enter the place, "cette vaste piece glacial située en contre-bas de la Seine et chicherient éclairée par deux soupiraux qui ne laissaient tomber qu'un jour parcimonieux et froid." [14] The artist remembered that he had been deeply affected by what he had seen. "What a scene! I said to myself if I could firmly fix its principal aspects and drown them in the light (à la Granet), at the same time preserving the modernity of the piece and the details, I would really have made a work." [14b] Jean-Christophe Gourvennec has noted an incongruity between Gervex's stated desire to make a modern work and his choice of Granet as his model for lighting effects. "It is truly paradoxical to record that Gervex, who swore to the gods that he hoped to make a work of modernity, chose Granet for his effects of light." [15] But this apparent paradox should be seen rather as Gervex's acknowledgment of the Academic principles which he believed could be applied to a painting of a modern subject.

In his review of the Salon of 1879, Emile

Zola congratulated young artists like Gervex who had combined the principles they had learned at the Ecole with new ideas of art. Zola wrote, "The victors this year, the painters the critics notice and who have attracted the public...are those gifted artists who owe their success to the application of naturalist methods in their painting....Gervex, who also is Cabanel's student, has been carried by the current wind and has undergone at this time a very interesting transformation....I am not saying that Gervex copies the impressionist painters. Still, it appears obvious to me that he has realized what those painters wished to express, and he has used the techniques and procedures that he owes to attending Cabanel's atelier. Isn't it curious to see how the modern spirit has won over the best students of the academic painters, has forced them to deny their gods and to serve the needs of the naturalist school with the weapons taken from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the sanctuary of tradition?"

[16]

Zola believed that it was only the program of the Ecole that provided the younger artists with the technical training needed for such "naturalist" themes as anatomy lessons. According to Zola, the Impressionists either lacked this skill or chose to

ignore their training. "Moreover," he wrote, "all the impressionist painters sin by insufficient technique. In the arts as in literature, only form can sustain new ideas and new methods....All of them are too easily satisfied. They incorrectly disdain the solidity of works that have been thought about for a long time."

[17]

The paintings of some of the younger artists, among them, in addition to Gervex, Andre Brouillet, Albert Edelfelt and the others who will be discussed in this chapter, were thus praised by Zola for having translated modern themes into the language of the academy. Zola called the style naturalism, Albert Boime has described it as an artistic middle way, the *juste milieu* of the Third Republic. "Perhaps the most significant development in the compromise movement of the Third Republic reveals itself in the rise of a class of artists employing both independent and Academic features (which I shall call the Third Republic *juste milieu*)." [18] The *juste milieu* artists, he adds, "gratified the public taste for modernism combined with traditionalism by modifying the disquieting features of Impressionism and rejecting the polished technique of the academic painters....They showed the younger generation that it was possible to

preserve the Academic tradition and still appear modern and original." [19] This combination of the diverse ideas of tradition and progress mirrored the political philosophy of the new Republican government which claimed, above all, to unite the largest number of French people. Paralleling perhaps the Republican government's critics on both right and left, "the juste-milieu artists of the period were for the most part loathed by both Academicians and independents." [20] The artists who adopted the juste milieu style were rewarded by appreciative government officials with commissions, purchases, medals and honors. Their art, in Boime's words, "appealed to the administration of the Third Republic, and many of these artists distinguished themselves through large-scale wall decoration." [21]

Patricia Mainardi remarks that the juste milieu style appealed to officials who knew little and cared less about art. "With few exceptions," she writes, "most prominent either had little interest in painting or preferred the prevailing juste-milieu styles, a slightly modernized classicism or a slightly classicized modernism." [22] In her view, their concern was less about the merit of the works they bought or commissioned than it was about their appeal

to popular tastes. Boime suggests, too, that the young juste-milieu artists continued to chose the traditional "academic" subjects and "adopted for their subject matter classical and Christian themes." [23]

Both Boime's and Mainardi's views seem to ignore the modern subjects these painters chose. Of course many often painted the religious, mythological and historical subjects that comprised the Ecole's program. But many did not limit themselves to such myths, legends and religious stories. Their works included the physicians and surgeons they had observed in their working milieu. The lithotomies, intubations, pulmonary decortications, laparotomies they saw at first hand in the surgical amphitheaters were portrayed in the canvases, portraits of individual living doctors, they submitted to the Salon and which the government officials rewarded and purchased for public display.

Gervex's recollections about his AUTOPSIE omit many of the details about how he made this painting. Some of these, however, are included in other sources, and these sources indicate that Gervex's influences indeed came from both the Academy and from the independents. According to the art dealer, Ambroise Vollard, Gervex changed the painting's

original design as a result of a suggestion by Degas, with whom he was friendly. Degas saw the work in progress during a visit to Gervex's studio. Vollard recounts that Degas noticed that Gervex had painted the second student holding a laboratory notebook. "But this medical student who is taking notes when the professor speaks," said Degas, "where have you seen that? He should be rolling a cigarette." [24] The younger artist listened to his older colleague and changed his canvas.

Since paintings of anatomy lessons and of autopsies both involve cutting cadavers open or apart, they were often discussed together by contemporary reviewers as well as by some modern historians. Autopsy paintings, however, are not quite the same as the anatomy lessons. Even discounting the fact that many anatomy lessons depict artists studying the human body in order to paint it more realistically, anatomy lessons which depict doctors show them demonstrating some aspect of human anatomy to their students and colleagues. Autopsies might be carried out by medical students as a way of learning anatomy, as in Gervex's painting, or by surgeons to practice before an operation, but are also performed to determine the cause of death. Such was the case in

a 1905 painting by Georges Chicotot which will be discussed later.

Anatomy lessons had been fairly popular in the seventeenth century. Rembrandt's 1632 painting of Dr. Tulp is only the most well-known of these, but it is one among many painted by Dutch artists. [25] With the revival of interest in Rembrandt's art towards the middle of the nineteenth century, [26] French artists renewed their own interest in painting anatomy lessons. Unlike some works illustrating dissections made during the eighteenth century (e.g., by Hogarth), these were not intended to ridicule the medical profession, but to confirm the surgeon's standing by illustrating his knowledge, expertise and ability. As Elizabeth Johns points out, by mid-century French artists had begun to paint anatomy lessons, "both for historical paintings and for compliments to living surgeons." [27] Johns cites several examples of such paintings and they demonstrate that anatomy lessons were employed in a wide range of places where medical men were to be honored. Her list includes two by Edouard Hamman which show Vesalius conducting anatomy lessons, the wall decorations for the intern's lounge at the Charite Hospital by Gustave Dore, and the illustrations which accompanied articles in several popular medical

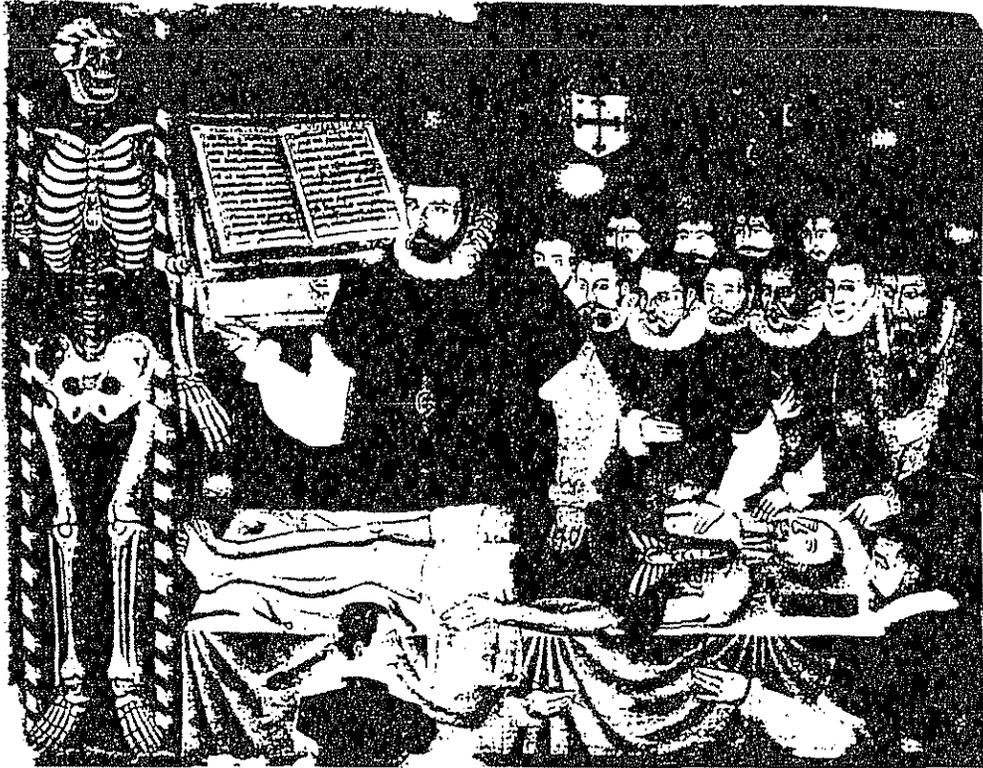


FIGURE 86 - JOHN BANNISTER

ANATOMY LESSON

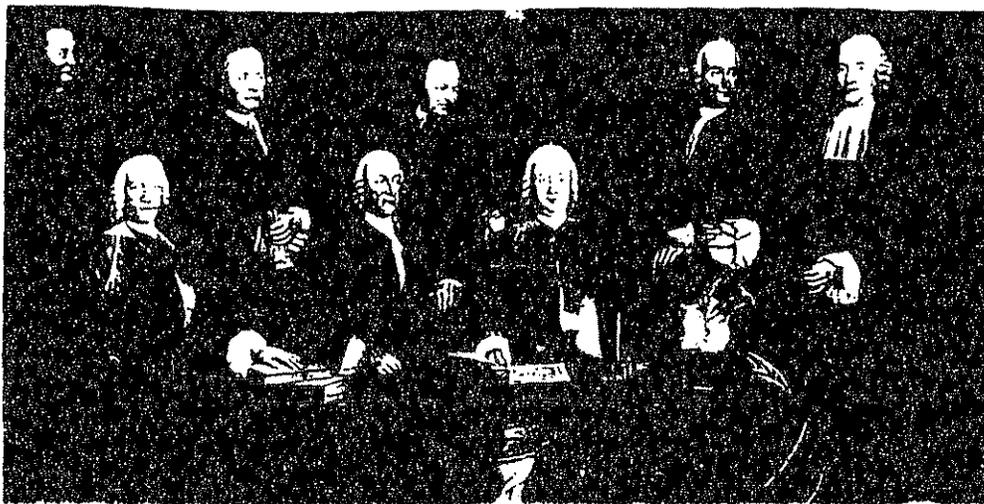


FIGURE 87 - TIBOUT REGTERS

ANATOMY LESSON

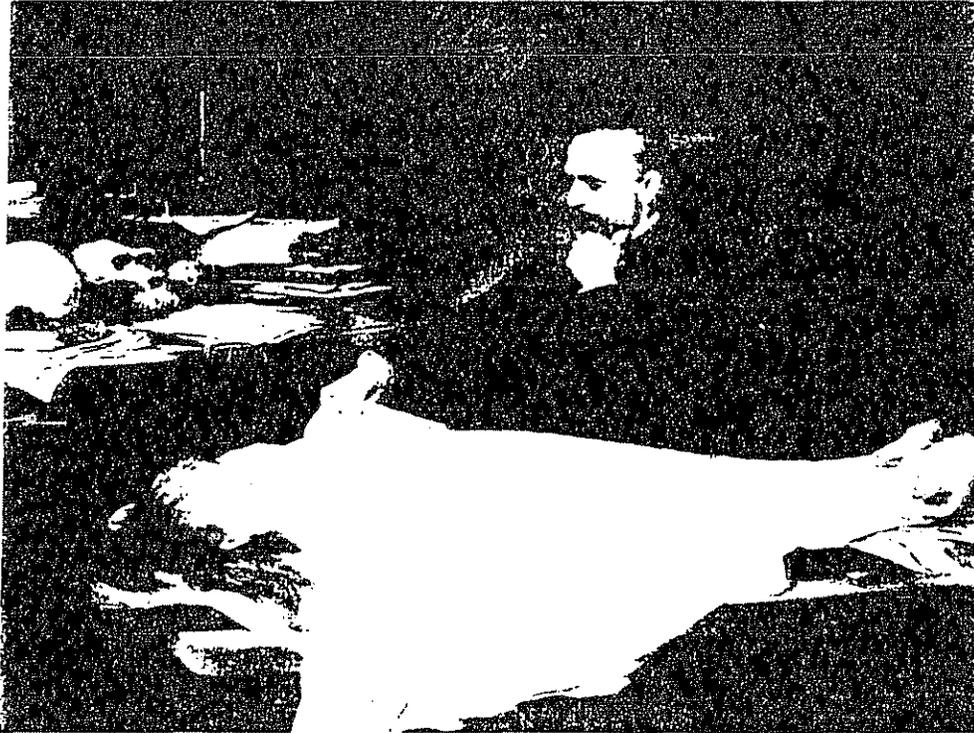


FIGURE 88 - GABRIEL MAX

THE ANATOMIST

journals. "Even at the Salons, artists occasionally exhibited scenes of autopsies." [28] Johns includes Gervex's canvas in this last category, apparently not differentiating between anatomy lessons and autopsies.

Another historian, however, appears to have a different view, arguing that anatomy scenes were not a very popular subject among mid-nineteenth century artists. James Terry claims he has not noticed any such trend, either to honor living doctors or the past heroes of the medical profession. He further claims that those few anatomy lessons that were painted were second-rate. "The last century," he writes, "failed to produce works of art comparable to earlier masterpieces recording medical anatomy." [29] He attributes artists' lack of interest in creating scenes of medical anatomy as a response to the public's delicate sensibility which he states was not yet ready to view post-mortem dissections. Some recent studies by French historians, however, point out that the Parisian public was very interested in seeing dead bodies at the city morgue, not simply to identify missing relatives, but as sort of a Sunday afternoon diversion. It was only in 1907 that a decree by the Paris police prefect Lepine ended these public visits. [30] Apparently, the Parisian public was not too sensitive to view dead

bodies "in the flesh," so to speak.

But if the public was not shocked about seeing dead bodies, and even if there were fewer religious objections to autopsies, the idea of having one's own body cut apart in the name of medical training or scientific research was still unacceptable. A scene from Eugene Sue's popular mid-century novel, *LES MYSTERES DE PARIS*, expresses the dread of autopsies well. This was the fate of those who died at the City Hospital and whose bodies were not provided for. La Lorraine, the washerwoman asks her hospital companion, Jeanne Duport, the fringe-maker, to see to it that her body does not come to the same end as the actress, La Goualeuse. "If I should die, as is probable, before you leave here, I wish you would claim my body--I have the same dread as the actress; and I have put aside the small amount of money I have left, so that I can be buried." [31]

In doing rounds the next morning, a nurse informed Dr. Griffon that "'number one died this morning at half past four.'" Griffon asked, "'Has the body been claimed?'" "'No doctor.'" "'So much the better--we can proceed with the autopsy; I can make someone happy;' then, addressing one of the students, the doctor added, 'My dear Dunnoyer, you have wished

for a subject for a long time; you are the first on the list, this one is yours.'...And the doctor passed on. The student, with the aid of a scalpel, cut very delicately on the arm of the actress an F and a D, in order to take possession, as the doctor said." [32]

Terry argues that the taboo against dissection continued and even increased throughout the nineteenth century, and that autopsies remained, in his words, an underground genre. "Taboos against anatomical dissection grew during the Victorian era." [33] Many people still believed that autopsies were still intimately related to grave robbing, and they thought of doctors who performed them as no better than the criminals whose bodies were often the ones used in dissections. Terry does not deny that there were anatomy lessons painted, but claimed that the few that were made were less scenes of medical life than traditional group portraits. In Terry's view, this was true of one of the most important mid-century anatomy lessons, Feyen-Perrin's painting of DR. VELPEAU, which was seen even by contemporary critics as a group portrait of famous men. Feyen-Perrin's work was compared to Fantin-Latour's painting of the Impressionist circle which appeared in the same year.

Elizabeth Johns agrees with Terry's point,



FIGURE 89A - AUGUSTIN FEYEN-PERRIN THE ANATOMY  
LESSON OF DR. VELPEAU  
FIGURE 89B - FEYEN-PERRIN VELPEAU (STUDY)

that Feyen-Perrin's canvas was a portrait of a doctor and his colleagues, not really a painting of a medical scene, and certainly not designed to portray Velpeau as a skillful surgeon. She writes that the portrait of DR. VELPEAU, "classically balanced, discreetly lighted, the painting is a decorous one. But in defining the essence of modern surgery - the heroism of modern surgery - it serves little more than a group portrait."

[34]

Johns points out that by 1875, Thomas Eakins had decided that he could not honor the doctor/subject of his portrait the way Feyen-Perrin had only a decade before and rejected the classic anatomy lesson as the way to paint Dr. Gross. Although Gross was well-respected as a teacher of anatomy, Eakins chose to paint Gross operating on a living patient. By the mid-1870s, according to Johns, "brilliance in surgery was not defined by knowledge of anatomy. What defined the modern surgeon's essential achievement, and especially that of Velpeau, was his pioneering and brilliant role in actual operations and his teaching in surgical clinics." [35] At the time Gervex painted his AUTOPSIE, anatomy lessons had become inappropriate (that they had once been suitable is, I believe, attested to simply by their existence) honor modern

surgeons. For Gervex, nevertheless, an autopsy at the Hotel-Dieu could be a very modern subject.

In their discussions of Gervex's painting, many Salon reviewers compared it to Feyen-Perrin's VELPEAU. The art journal, ZIGZAGS A LA PLUME A TRAVERS L'ART, which appeared for the first time in 1876 contrasted the two works. "The scene has already been presented with a great deal of talent by Monsieur Feyen-Perrin several years ago. No one has forgotten his painting which represented Velpeau in the amphitheater surrounded by his students. Monsieur Gervex has dramatized the same action quite differently, but he is no less successful." [36] The critic's analysis is to the point. Despite their similar subject matter, Gervex's AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL-DIEU was different from Feyen-Perrin's AUTOPSY in several important aspects. The most obvious, of course, is that Feyen-Perrin's is a portrait of a well-known surgeon, named and honored as a teacher of anatomy. In fact, as will be discussed below, everyone in the canvas is identified. In Gervex's painting, by contrast, the anatomy students are the subjects and we do not know who they might be. In it, we are shown an actual dissection taking place, not just a professor's lecture. In Gervex's canvas, the medical team consists

of students, and one of them stands over the cadaver holding his scalpel and cutting the leg. As Elizabeth Johns points out, Feyen-Perrin showed Velpeau "before an unblemished cadaver before the dissection has ever begun. Even more noticeable is that nowhere in evidence in the painting is the anatomist's and surgeon's tool, the scalpel." [37]

The differences between the dead bodies in the two works is also significant. In Feyen-Perrin's VELPEAU, the cadaver appears to be more like a dead Christ than a subject of medical dissection. Velpeau's empty hands are open in almost priestly benediction above the cadaver. His students, perhaps disciples is a more appropriate word, look to him almost as if they expect him to perform a miracle. Feyen-Perrin's painting illustrates the real choice that artists had of translating the idiom of religious paintings (although not of Christ the Healer) to the glory of physicians and surgeons. In another painting, the cadaver could easily have been a living patient.

It has already been mentioned that Gervex added the student's cigarette as a result of Degas' suggestion. This change, seemingly unimportant, has more significance since it marks a difference between Gervex's work and other such anatomy scenes. According

to Gourvennec, "the trivial accessories (the table, the lamps, the appearance of the cadaver, the cigarette of the medical student, even the personnage of Alexandre) and the composition, with its great emptiness in the upper part, animated by two lamps, are part of the modernity he looked for." [38] In the conventional anatomy lesson, a text was always present. Sometimes it was a simple laboratory notebook for recording one's observations and experimental results; in others it was an oversized textbook by a great physician (in Rembrandt's DR. TULP, the book is Galen's text). Often, both books are present. Gervex's original design had adhered to this convention. His final painting did not. By this conscious deletion, Gervex implies that these medical students are not satisfied simply to consult even the most eminent past authorities but need to investigate for themselves.

Gervex never relates whether he thought of Feyen-Perrin's painting as he was doing his own AUTOPSIE and whether he had consciously made the decision to paint his own work differently. He does not, in fact, refer to any previous anatomy lessons in his SOUVENIRS. Feyen-Perrin's painting, however, was one of at least three, according to

Elwood Parry, that seem to have influenced Thomas Eakins. The other two Parry names were Rembrandt's DR. TULP and a lithograph by Honore Daumier of 1869 which he terms "a parody of Feyen-Perrin's composition." [40] Parry points out that Eakins' composition "shares a number of features with Feyen-Perrin's work. On each canvas, for example, the gray-haired surgeon, taller than those around him, stands slightly to the left of center, frowning in concentration as he begins his lesson." [41]

Gervex's arrangement is quite different from Feyen-Perrin's. In Feyen-Perrin's crowded canvas we can see thirteen individuals, not counting the corpse on the dissecting table. Gervex's painting contains only four people, including the cadaver. All thirteen individuals in Feyen-Perrin's work have been identified, although scholars disagree on the identifications. According to Wolf-Heidegger, to Velpeau's right were the Charnuy brothers and Henri Liouville; to his left were Desfosses, Lundy, Ronjat, Armand Silvestre and Feyen-Perrin. [42] Gabriel Weisberg states that "each observer, from left to right, can be identified: Dr. H. Liouville, a colleague; Armand Silvestre, an art critic; and, at the far right, the artist." [43] Paul Busquet questions

Wolf-Heidegger's identifications somewhat. He writes that the Charnuy's were not brothers. In fact, the name was Charnay, and he is the same person painted twice so as not to have thirteen in the painting. Charnay was one of Velpeau's students and, according to Busquet, the cadaver was "played" by the nephew of General Loysel. [44] On the other hand, in Gervex's painting, the only person identified by name is the dissecting room attendant. The medical students are unidentified. Anonymous, nonchalantly smoking cigarettes in the sub-basement of the Hotel-Dieu, they are not being honored as individuals. They are simply "carabins," - medical students - busy at their studies. In a sense, they are as nameless as the workers in Caillebotte's FLOOR SCRAPERS of 1875 than the identified medical leaders of Feyen-Perrin's VELPEAU of 1864.

According to Victor Cherbuliez, writing in the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, the major weakness of Gervex's work was precisely that he had not presented his medical students as individuals, but as anonymous students in the dissecting room. When Cherbuliez compared Gervex's painting unfavorably to Rembrandt's ANATOMY LESSON, he argued that Gervex had not created individuals, but had merely shown us types. "A bad

point is that here it is not more like the LECON D'ANATOMIE. The cadaver is taken from a heap as are the practitioners, and the attendant resembles every attendant." [46]

Cherbuliez also felt that, while Gervex certainly was skillful in the way he rendered light and shade, he showed less ability in planning his canvas. In Cherbuliez's view, Gervex erred by using huge dimensions for a work which only showed ordinary individuals pursuing their routine activities. "Here are three men of the [medical] profession. The first have come, busy at doing in front of us that which they do every day, and they take up nearly as much space as the Antiope or the Jupiter of Corregio. We measure them in our minds; we estimate that their importance is not in accord with their size. We want to reduce their size, we demand it: where should we put them?" [47] For this critic, heroic proportions should be reserved for traditional heroes and large canvases for history painting. Cherbuliez thus attributes the painting's large dimensions, 3.2 by 2.32 meters, and its proportions to Gervex's lack of skill. He considers these to be misjudgments by a young and enthusiastic artist.

Although Gervex would probably not have

welcomed these critical remarks, he would not have disagreed with some of Cherbuliez' comments. The artist recalled that even when he first entered the hospital's dissecting room, the scene made him think not only of the two medical students he saw before him, but of all medical students and of all the autopsies that had been performed on that very dissecting table, "worn to the color of old copper by the friction of generations of students and professors who had rubbed against it." [48] He also related, however, that he had been struck by the hideous and nightmarish aspect of the room whose yellowish walls gave it the morbid look of a prison. The most awful sight for Gervex, however, was the dissecting table. "Even without cadavers, it was frightening to see." [49] The medical students who worked there had overcome their fear and in their pursuit of knowledge, were raised to the status of heroes. Gervex had attempted to capture the drama and heroism of their lives. Unlike Daumier's autopsy, in which the doctor with his sleeves rolled up more resembles a butcher at work in a slaughter-house than a doctor in a hospital, Gervex's honors his team.

The setting of Feyen-Perrin's painting was the Charité hospital, on the Rue Jacob just behind the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. The dissection room in Gervex's

painting was at the old Hotel-Dieu, "which was located on the other side of the river, facing the present hospital." [50] The most famous anatomist to have worked at the Hotel-Dieu was Xavier Bichat who, at the time Gervex made the painting, was still remembered for the large number of autopsies he performed as well as for his tragic death as a result of this work. In the entrance hall of the old hospital structure was a monument to Bichat, erected to honor him "for services rendered to French medicine." Like Bichat, who died as result of his work with cadavers, Gervex's carabins faced a real danger of infection from the dead body they were cutting.

The works of nearly 1500 artists, 2,095 canvases in all, were exhibited at the Salon in 1876. The Salon was open every day from ten to six, except Mondays when it opened at noon. On Sundays and Thursdays admission was free; at other times, tickets cost one franc. Approximately 500,000 visitors came in the seven weeks it was open. [52] According to Gervex, his painting was one of the most successful at the Salon. "My canvas had the greatest success and won a rappel of a second place medal, which at the Salon, placed me hors concours. [53]

Charles Yriarte, author of the Salon review

for the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS that year, confirmed Gervex's view. "L'AUTOPSIE is certainly one of the best canvases at the Salon, one of those which is animated by the best judgment and places the artist on an excellent path." [54] Yriarte paid particular attention to Gervex's fine use of light and what he called Gervex's honesty, "the sincerity which reigns in his work. Light curls about the objects and penetrates the bodies. His bearings are precise, his drawing is honest and his methods are forthright....The painter has conviction and he has transferred his conviction to our souls....By its fluid and vibrant qualities, one can see a real interest in the light which enters the hospital, and the way its play and skillful division illuminate these cold walls of the dissecting room." [55]

ZIGZAGS' reviewer also praised Gervex. In the May 21 issue, its Salon reviewer wrote, "L'AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL-DIEU, of Monsieur Gervex is a painting filled with promise. It is not an easy thing to treat such a scabrous subject.....The young surgeon is readying himself to dissect a cadaver in front of the intern who watches and the attendant who goes about his sad duty, his emotions clearly affected. We also, present at this operation, have a powerful interest in modern

science coldly performed in this cold dissecting room. The execution of the work is perhaps a bit soft...but there is atmosphere in the painting and several parts of it are even admirably executed. The operator's hands, detached in the light on the cadaver, are indeed beautiful." [54] When the painting was awarded a second place medal, ZIGZAG's reviewer wrote, "We are happy to say again all the good things we thought about Monsieur Gervex's painting; we have faith in this young artist's talent, we predict a brilliant future for him and were are sure that he will not make liars of us." [57] For this reviewer, the major feature which attracted the crowds to the AUTOPSIE was their interest in and powerful attraction to modern science, coldly portrayed. "On assiste avec un interet puissant à cette operation de la science moderne froidement fait dans cette froide salle de dissections." [58] The review reflected a popular interest in science, an interest that was to grow during the 1880s, but was wide of the mark in predicting what modern medical science was to become. And so was Gervex's painting. The canvas may indeed have presented modern medical students, but medicine was soon to acquire a different theoretical foundation, one based more on microbiology than on anatomy. Anatomy lessons were not the way

modern science or its heroes in medicine were to be portrayed.

That is not to say that there were not to be any anatomy lessons or autopsies exhibited at future Salons. There were. Two portraits of Paul Poirier (1853-1907), Professor of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine, one by Georges Chicotot painted in 1886, the other by Annie Stebler-Hobf painted in 1889. Poirier published *DU DEVELOPPEMENT DES MEMBRES* in 1886, and Chicotot's painting, which shows Poirier checking the accuracy of the written work against the cadaver's left arm, may be in honor of his book. Chicotot also painted an autopsy, which will be mentioned later on in connection with other paintings of medical scenes by him. A painting by the Salon artist Camille-Felix Bellanger, *STUDENTS AND TEACHER IN THE DISSECTION ROOM OF THE ECOLE PRATIQUE DE LA FACULTE DE MEDECINE DE PARIS* [Fig. 90] shows four medical students sharing their cadaver. Bellanger was born in Paris, January 13, 1853 and student at the ateliers of both Cabanel and Bouguereau. He exhibited both lithographs and oils at the Salon and was awarded a second class medal as early 1873. Bellanger's female student (another modern note) has her anatomy text open before her. She refers to it as she checks her progress on the cadaver. The



FIGURE 90 - CAMILLE-FELIX BELLANGER ANATOMY LESSON AT  
THE ECOLE PRATIQUE DE LA FACULTE

students are completely engrossed in their work and totally indifferent to their colleagues. They seem nearly unaware of each other. The informality of the student's cigarette contrasts with the authority of the professor's pipe. Both of these anatomy lessons honor their subjects for their academic work, as researcher and writer and as instructors. They are not being honored for their scientific innovations. As I will discuss in a later chapter, the disputes among the elite members of the medical profession that were contemporary to these paintings centered around control over medical education. [58]

Another anatomy scene might be mentioned in connection with these others. In Edouard Gelhay's LABORATOIRE D'ANATOMIE COMPARE AU MUSEUM, exhibited at the Salon of 1888 [59], however, the scene was not one of human anatomy but the dissection of an animal. One student is dissecting a duck as his partner looks on. On a table in the foreground, a cat, presumably their next subject, awaits the students. A third student, indifferent to the proceedings just to his right, studies his textbook. George Lafenestre, wrote that "Monsieur Gelhay...conforms to the principles of 'dispersed order,' which are those of the new school." [60] Lafenestre was critical of Gelhay's use of light



which, he believed was uncontrolled and undisciplined. Gelhay's picture, he admitted, based on serious research and containing an interesting subject, suffered from too much light and color. It is interesting to note that Lafenestre's review grouped Gelhay's painting with Dantan's CONSULTATION, and Gueldry's MOULEURS. The LABORATOIRE D'ANATOMIE COMPAREE AU MUSEUM was one of three paintings Gelhay exhibited at the 1889 Exposition Universelle and after was sent to the Fine Arts Museum of St.-Quentin, (Aisne). Gelhay exhibited regularly at the Salon during the 1880s and was awarded a third class medal in 1886 when just thirty years old.

In the ten years between L'AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL-DIEU and AVANT L'OPERATION (1887), Gervex became one of the most successful artists in Paris. Elected to Salon juries by his peers, winner of medals, awards and other recompenses, he was also selected to paint decorations for town halls and public buildings. He was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1882 and elected Member of the Institute in 1913. [61]

In 1879, Eugene Guillaume gave Gervex a label that was to remain with him. Guillaume wrote that if Jules Breton was the master of scenes of the countryside, then by contrast,

Gervex was "the painter of life in Paris." [62] The Salon reviewer for LA NOUVELLE REVUE of 1888, critical of Gervex's entry (LE TUB) that year, called such work unworthy of a "chef d'ecole, and Monsieur Gervex has been one of the chefs of our jeune ecole. [63]

During the 1880s, as Gervex worked on projects commissioned by the state and municipal governments, his painting became explicitly supportive of Republican ideology and projects. [64] The activities of the government provided subjects for his canvases and a review of them demonstrate their connection between Gervex's painting and republican value. The paintings reflect, if only indirectly, health issues that involved the medical and political worlds of the early 1880s.

The city of Paris held several competitions to decide which French artists would receive commissions to decorate the new municipal buildings. Gervex won a first prize and, on March 10, 1880, was chosen to paint several scenes for the mairie of the Nineteenth Arrondissement. [65] Gervex exhibited these paintings at three successive Salons, 1881, 1882 and 1883. At the Salon of 1881, he showed LE MARIAGE CIVIL, intended for the salle des mariages of the mairie. Gervex had also painted LES ACTIVITES DU XIXe

ARRONDISSEMENT for the building's ceiling and his two other panels, BASSIN DE LA VILLETE and BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE were shown in 1882, and the BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE in 1883.

Much later on, Gervex related that he and Blanchon had explicitly decided against submitting any allegorical scenes in the competition for the commission. Instead, they planned to paint scenes of modern life which they would observe first-hand in the neighborhood of the Nineteenth. "In place of the eternal mythological subjects a la David," recalled Gervex, "we wandered about the streets near the mairie....and during our promenade we picked up all their picturesque details....For example, the coal haulers of the Saint-Maring canal gave us an important motif." [66]

In the late 1870s, the Republican government began a serious anti-clerical campaign. French citizens, according to some historians, defined their political position by which side they took in this conflict. As Michel Winock has stated it, "Etre de gauche, c'est d'abord etre anti-clerical; etre de droite, c'est d'abord defendre les droits de l'Eglise, la civilisation chretienne, la preeminence du magistere romain." [67] According to Gordon Wright, the anti-

clerical question was given "excessive, almost neurotic emphasis...as the fundamental issue of the age." [68] The battle between the Republican and clerical authorities was being waged on many fronts: in the schools, in the hospitals, in all institutions where the State hoped to supplant the Church. It is not surprising therefore, that artists, too, especially those who were executing commissions for the state or municipal governments, should become involved in this battle. According to Pierre Vaisse, Gervex received his commissions from the municipal authorities because his realism conformed to the Republican spirit." [69] In celebrating the secular aspect of the event, for example, THE CIVIL MARRIAGE depicted quite frankly the government's challenge to clerical authority in marriages. [70]

Gervex's painting BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE [71] also was related the conflict between the government and the Church. The question of charity for the poor, whether it should be administered by city authorities or by the Church officials, had been topic discussed in contemporary newspapers. Supporters of the Church's authority in LE FIGARO had severely criticized the way the government handled public assistance, using charity for its own political purposes. Doctors, as

representatives of the Bureau de Bienfaisance and supporters of the government position were also subjected to the same attack.

A painting such as Gervex's, showing the poor of Paris being cared for by the public authorities, exhibited first at the Salon and then at the mairie of the Nineteenth, could well serve as a response to such criticism. "The BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE had a moral goal, but also a political meaning. The Republic was radicalizing itself. Charity, like marriage, had for a long while been the territory of the Church. Gervex showed that it was now the Republican nation - here through the municipalities - that would provide for the destiny of the weak." [73] All the needy were in Gervex's painting, from the very young to the very old. According to the contemporary reviewer Edmond About, "The poor folks who people this large canvas have been well-chosen and carefully studied. All the miseries of Paris are there, from correct and proper poverty which is incarnated in the mother in the foreground to the viewer's right and the thoughtful young girl who occupies the middle of the canvas, up to the two worn out old men seated on the bench in the rear as if they no longer cared about life." [74] The reviewer for LE CLAIRON said he looked forward to seeing the BUREAU

hanging next to THE CIVIL MARRIAGE. He believed that both paintings were fine examples of how artists might incorporate contemporary themes in wall decorations. [75] It is not improbable to believe that the municipal authorities, in their turn, hoped that Gervex's painting would be seen as an illustration of their concern for the welfare of its citizens. They wished to show that, unlike charity administered by the Church, public assistance which they distributed did not require adherence to any particular faith and was available to all who needed it.

Some reviewers, less well-disposed towards the republican government, noted that Gervex's painting had revealed more than he had planned. Henry Houssaye, for example, believed that Gervex had even depicted, unwittingly perhaps, the disdainful attitudes of petty bureaucrats towards those whom they were supposed to be serving. Houssaye pointedly compared Gervex's painting unfavorably to another at the Salon that year, the PETITES-SOEURS DES PAUVRES by Legrand. To him, these nuns represented true charity. "M. Legrand was, in our opinion, was better inspired in showing us in his work these PETITES-SOEURS DES PAUVRES, which were the subject of the fine study by Monsieur Maxime du Camp, recently published in the REVUE. Certainly the old men

who are cared for by the Little Sisters prefer to be their concern than the repugnant employee of the BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE of Monsieur Gervex. It is true that, for the nuns, charity is not simply a job." [76]

Edmond About made quite the same point commenting on Gervex's canvas. "The weasel-faced employee in glasses who grimaces across the window is a real find: One could not paint any better the defiance and the insolence which presides over official charity in the fine city of Paris. If the municipal council is not happy, it is because it would be difficult." [77] One reviewer questioned whether the people of the 19th arrondissement were better off for having Gervex's realistic paintings in their mairie. In his view, the purpose of art is to transport those who view, not simply to recreate scenes with which they are all too familiar. Specifically referring to Gervex's 1883 Salon entry, the BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE, J. Peladan wrote "What pleasure is it for the people of the 19th arrondissement, which is a poor district, to have recreated before their eyes, to see their misery painted and the charity that is given to them. It would have been better to give them the fairy-tale view of a palace dripping with gold; but that would not have moralized them, as they say." [78]

Together, Roger-Ballu (calling himself, "the critic") and the younger Guillaume Dubufe (calling himself "the painter"), wrote the Salon review for LA NOUVELLE REVUE. They took note of both the modern and tradition bases of Gervex's art, and how he had been able to combine both ideas. "Gervex is not only in the impressionist camp. At bottom, whatever he can appear, he is also a son of the eighteenth century," wrote the critic. The painter replied that he "loved the painting, very modern but not at all ugly....Here is realism made delicate, an impressionism which makes itself wise." [79]

The fact that there were so many reviews of Gervex's work further attests to his importance in the art world. Hollis Clayson had found nineteen contemporary reviews of Gervex's ROLLA in 1878. [80] His first Salon paintings were undistinguished scenes of Bacchantes and other Greek myths. But by the early 1880s, he had become recognized as the painter of life in Paris, at least recognized as such by the Salon reviewers. Painting for the political leaders of his day, he left his studio to capture the daily routine of even the most humble Parisians. No place, whether the docks or the markets or the carpeted rooms of the town hall were unworthy of being painted. Nor would the

hospital be alien to his canvas. According to Gervex, his teacher Cabanel had early on tried to warn him about the path he was taking. Cabanel had noticed that his pupil was heading away from subjects favored by the Academy and towards the contemporary world. Cabanel believed this change would not be good for Gervex's career. Gervex related that when Cabanel had first seen the AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL DIEU he wrote to Gervex that "you have find a fine subject, but believe me, mon petit, you will not find a great many of this kind in the modern world." [81] Gervex commented, "On that Cabanel was wrong, and I proved it to him by what followed." [82] One painting that followed, some ten years later, was Gervex's AVANT L'OPERATION DR. PÉAN A L'HOPITAL ST. LOUIS, his entry at the 1887 Salon. [83] [Figure 92]

The year before, visitors to the Salon had seen a portrait of France's most famous scientist, Louis Pasteur, at work in his laboratory experimenting with his anti-rabies vaccine. This painting by Albert Edelfelt caused quite a stir among the young artists, not only because it was something new, but also because it stood in striking contrast to Bonnat's portrait of Pasteur exhibited at the same Salon. Gervex knew both these paintings well, having voted on them as a member



FIGURE 92A - HENRI GERVEX                      LE DOCTEUR PÉAN, AVANT  
L'OPERATION (PRINT FROM THE OFFICIAL CATALOGUE OF THE  
1889 WORLD'S FAIR)

GERVEX



LE DOCTEUR PÉAN

ENSEIGNE À L'HÔPITAL SAINT LOUIS, SA RÉGÈRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES CAISSEUX  
D'après le Scrup. 2000 (publ. par M. PÉAN) - Paris

FIGURE 92B - HENRI GERVEX      LE DOCTEUR PÉAN  
(PRINT FROM THE ALBUM GONNON)

of the juries for admission, placement and for awards that year. [Gervex received 787 votes, well behind Bonnat who received the most, 1253]. These paintings, as well as another portrait of Pasteur by Lucien Laurent-Gsell at the same Salon, are pivotal in the story and will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

Gervex's painting of Dr. Péan was praised by nearly every reviewer. Most felt that it was best of the various scenes of medical subjects among the canvases at the Salon that year and they advised the public to look for it. Francois Bournand's review was typical. He said that "the new canvas of Monsieur Gervex must be classed among the great paintings and is certainly one of the successes of the Salon. If I am not mistaken, this powerful work will class him among our most important masters." [84] Maurice Hamel, in the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS commented "Monsieur Gervex's canvas is a feast for the eyes." [85]

Later on, Gervex remembered the painting with affection and happily recalled the circumstances around its creation. "The name of Péan recalls fond memories of long ago. I still can see his broad shoulders and the solemn actions of this great surgeon." [86] According to Gervex, Péan approached him to paint his

portrait, but it was Gervex who decided to paint Pean in the hospital. "I wasn't sure of how to pose him, what look I should give him, when the idea came to me to see him giving his lectures at the Saint-Louis Hospital." [87]

According to Gervex, the idea for his portrait of Pean came to him in a sudden flash of inspiration. He had gone to observe the Pean at his surgery and "In one blink of the eye, I saw the canvas to make. I took several sketches and I definitively abandoned the banal profile of the classic portrait."

[88] The sudden flash of inspiration recalls the story of the origin of his *AUTOPSY AT THE HOTEL-DIEU*, and whether or not this was a self-serving recollection, it is clear that Gervex has distinguished between the new style of portraiture and the conventional type from which he had departed. The portraits of Pean in Figures 9A, 9B and 9C, all done earlier than Gervex's followed the conventions of doctors' portraits already discussed. The earliest was a painting of 1861, just after Pean had published his doctoral thesis. His right arm rests on the heavy texts and the artist has emphasized his long delicate fingers. Two photo-portraits of the 1870s show Pean as a successful and confident man in his early forties. But another



FIGURE 93A - PÉAN IN 1861



FIGURES 93B, 93C - PHOTOPORTRAITS OF PÉAN (1870s)



FIGURE 93D - REUTLINGER      PHOTOPORTRAIT OF PÉAN (1887)

photograph shows Pean in his late fifties, robust and imposing. Didier has dated this portrait as 1887. "In a photograph by Reutlinger, made at the date of his entrance into the Academy, the one where his neck disappeared under the fur of his coat, he truly had a formidable bearing, a satisfied and imposing air." [89] Thus Gervex's portrait is different not only from the earlier paintings, but also from a contemporary photograph. Péan may have had his own reasons for having himself painted at work and may have decided who would be portrayed alongside him.

In the painting, Péan is about to perform a mastectomy and is explaining to the surgical students around him what he will do. As one Salonnier told his readers, "Monsieur Gervex...has made the portrait of Dr. Pean and his aides, in one of the rooms of the Saint-Louis hospital at the moment when the surgeon explains to his assistants in detail the operation he is about to do, before cutting into the breast of a nude woman under anesthesia. Her breast is raised up, luminous against the somber material of the clothing." [90] The scene is meant to represent Pean giving instructions to his students about the correct technique of applying hemostatic clamps, the pince hemostatiques, which he holds in his right hand.

According to Jean-Louis Faure, the painting was very accurate. If one wanted to know why Péan was considered the greatest surgeon of his day, wrote Faure, "it would only have been necessary to watch him do one operation. It would almost have only been necessary to see the celebrated painting, with its perfect likeness and great truthfulness of expression, at the moment when, before beginning an operation, he recounts, as was his habit, the history of the patient." [91] Faure recognized that at least one of the purposes of Gervex's portrait was to glorify its subject as the leading surgeon of his day. Gervex has succeeded in portraying both the doctor's skill in performing difficult and dangerous operations as well as his ability to teach the proper techniques of surgery. In addition, and in my opinion no less importantly, the painting is a document of Pean's priority in inventing these clamps.

At least one critic, it must be noted, believed that Gervex had made several "factual" errors in the painting and that, although the artist claimed to be depicting a real hospital scene, he had taken too many liberties with the truth and did not really create a document for future historians. Georges Ollendorff claimed that Gervex had not accurately portrayed

hospital life and listed several errors that he believed the painting contained. "The people in the background," wrote Ollendorff, "take no part in the scene, and since Monsieur Gervex was searching for truth, he should have excluded them. When a professor teaches in our hospital rooms, his attentive students surround him. The nurses of the service, once they have carried the patient in, leave and one does not see the belts of their splints dragging on the bed. Finally, since it is a question of a work which will be preserved, which will - using the expression which is current today - serve as a document, we would have preferred the patient to have worn a hospital bonnet. Her hair in disorder, spread out on the white sheet...gives the viewer a false impression." [92]

In addition to Péan, there are ten people in the painting. Six of them can be identified. Mathieu, a personal friend of Pean, was a manufacturer of surgical instruments. Partially hidden is Dr. Brochin, editor-in-chief of LA GAZETTE DES HOPITAUX; Doctor Collin, "his old student in grey eyeglasses and greying sidewhiskers;" [93] Doctors Aubeau and Larrive were Péan's surgical students; Doctor Zacharian, who takes the patient's pulse, was another of Péan's friends and known as an amateur artist. [94] The individual to the

extreme right of the canvas is a "garde-malade" and we see the stretcher straps over his left shoulder. One Salon reviewer, Paul Lambert writing in LA NATION, mistook the straps for those of an musical instrument and misidentified him as a musician. "On the right a man plays a cornet to lighten up the situation." [95] Surgeons may enjoy musical diversion while operating, but the sounds made by a cornet might be more disturbing than relaxing. There are three women in the painting, the two nurses and the patient.

The table in the left foreground, on which sit medical instruments and a large bottle filled with sponges, catches our attention and leads us into the painting. We then read it from left to right. Péan is the center of a group of men, each of whom is a well-established professional. A second grouping on the right, consisting of five individuals, gives balance to the composition. Ollendorff, nevertheless, complained "that the general grouping is confused." [96] Two of the men on the right are younger medical students, and they emphasize Péan's leadership in medical instruction at the hospital. Both groups, those advanced in their careers or newly starting their professional lives, seem solid and strong enough to serve as counterweights to the hospital walls which rise behind them. Although

there is a space between the left and right groupings, Dr. Aubeau's right arm and basin close the gap and connect the two groups. Péan faces the group on the right, but seems to be speaking both to them and to a larger audience. The anonymous patient and Doctor Zacharian holding her wrist make a bridge between the two groups behind them. Zacharian rests his left arm on the patient's body while taking her pulse. Only he and Aubeau had tabliers attached to their coats, having already completed the operation's preliminary procedures.

The two nurses seem to have no part in the proceedings. The infirmiere to the right has momentarily turned away, and Gervex has "caught" her just at the instant when her attention caught by action outside the canvas. Gervex has given the painting a certain modern and photographic quality by cutting in half the sponge-bottle on the left and the garde-malade on the right. [97]

Several Salon reviewers felt that the bottle of sponges needlessly drew our attention away from the main subject of the painting. Thiebault-Sisson remarked that "one can find that his jar full of sponges, adorned with a label in brilliant red, placed just next to the patient, can excessively distract our

attention." [98] Gustave Ollendorf made very similar observations about the sponges and the other accessories. "We cannot help but stop our eye, not by the most important personage, the one who will be operated on, not by the second person, the operator, whose role is just as important; but on a table with the operation's accessories, some scattered instruments - and a marvellous jar of sponges. We have obeyed the artist and looked at the sponges. They are painted very well, these sponges, and very true....The sponge jar could have made a separate painting. In the lesson of Monsieur Pean, it harms the painting." [99]

Who was Dr. Jules-Émile Péan? At the time Gervex painted him, Péan was at the very top of his profession, "the only French surgeon of his day known to the general public and to the entire world where his name, like that of Charcot, enjoyed a renown without rival." [100] Robert Didier, the author of Pean's biography, claimed that in his time Pean's reputation as a surgeon had been equal to that of the great Dupuytren.

Didier's biography, published in the early years of the Fourth Republic, has as its underlying theme that Pean's life is a lesson of what one family accomplished in Republican France through hard work and

dedication to Republican values. This theme, accurate or not, would have appealed just as much to the government of 1887 as of 1948.

Didier traces Péan's family's humble origins and revolutionary sentiments. His grandfather, André, a miller, had served as a member of the General Council of the Commune in 1793 and represented his district until 1794. As Péan's father, Jean Pierre, improved the family's wealth and social standing, he became more politically conservative than his father. Jean Pierre, a cereal merchant, served as adjoint to the mayor of Marboue from 1800 to 1816 and as mayor himself between 1822 and 1831. He married into a family of wealth and position, and which had also risen from humble origins. "Once more, this French family offers the example so frequent formerly in our country of a gradual elevation in the social hierarchy, an elevation due only to work, to tenacity, often to privation, in any case to the intelligent efforts of all its members." [101] Much later in his life, Péan claimed that he had achieved all his success through his own efforts. He was fond of telling the story that he had been so poor as a medical student in Paris that he had to support himself by coaching other medical students for their examinations. [102]

Péan was the only boy among nine children [two did not live]. Young Jules-Emile wanted to be a painter, an ambition he shared with Charcot and Pasteur. His more practical father told him painting was no career, and that perhaps he should become a notary. His father expressed his concern about how an eighteen year-old would face on his own the ever-present "dangers of Paris in the world of La Boheme," [103] particularly in the revolutionary year, 1848. In any case, Pean had become friendly with a certain country doctor and decided that he wanted to pursue medicine as a career. In 1851, twenty-one years old, Pean arrived at the capital and entered the Paris Faculte de Medecine.

Péan studied for a time at the Sainte-Eugenie Hospital under Rene Marjolin (son of the more famous Jean-Nicolas) a founder of the Surgical Society. [104] He became so interested in surgery that while supposed to be doing his internship provisoire in medicine with Bourdon at the Lariboisiere, he worked instead for the surgeon Chassaignac (inventor of rubber drainage tubes used in surgery).

Péan placed second in the concours for the internship titulaire in 1855 which entitled him to study under Denonvilliers, chief surgeon at the Saint-

Louis Hospital. After a year at the Maternite with Dr. Delpech, Pean was once again studying surgery. In his third year, Pean was able to work alongside Auguste Nelaton, surgeon to the emperor and acknowledged as the greatest surgeon of his day. When Péan was offered the opportunity to spend his fourth year working under Velpeau, he declined in favor of remaining with Nelaton. Péan was the only student Nelaton ever allowed to remain with him for a second year. Péan believed that Velpeau was already too old [Velpeau was sixty-three in 1858] and, more importantly, reputedly an opponent of surgical innovation. In fact, Velpeau opposed surgery in general. Velpeau seemed to believe that surgery was, for the most part, no better than a cruel and most often useless punishment. "Cutting instruments and pain in surgery are two words which are always necessary to associate. These are instruments of torture invented at great expense without any really useful purpose." [105] In 1860, Péan published his thesis on resection of the scapula-humerus. [106]

As a surgeon, Péan was acknowledged to be among the most skillful in France, if not the entire world. A Scottish surgeon who had often watched Pean operate, wrote in Péan's LANCET obituary that he had "a rapidity and manual dexterity that I have never seen

the equal of....I never saw him make a mistake." [107] Péan was also considered a leader in the the party of "progress." He was among the first to adopt the principles of Listerism, he had "a sense of antisepsis 'avant la lettre.'" [108] The CONCOURS MEDICALE hailed Péan as one of the three French surgeons who were in the forefront of the new methods. "If one wishes to measure the uncontestable influence of Monsieur Pean on contemporary surgery, one only has to see the report of the Academy of Medicine....Surgical boldness, it is Koeberle and Péan in France who have it, but that which assures success is follow-up care, the method of bandaging, the cleansing of wounds. The hygiene of M. Lucas-Champonnière lacks nothing. It is the same as that of Monsieur Péan." [109]

Gervex noted that Péan, no matter how styles might change, was always seen in a traditional black suit, "even when he operated (in which case he tied a napkin around his neck to protect his tie and the front of his white shirt!)." [110] He also is described as wearing - even during operations - his Legion of Honor ribbon and a red flower in his lapel. Péan used especially long scalpels and hemostats to avoid getting the patient's blood on his clothes. During surgery,

Péan frequently washed his hands in alcohol, held his instruments over the flame of an alcohol lamp and changed them whenever blood would get on them. Toulouse-Lautrec's 1891 paintings of Pean at the Saint-Louis hospital show him operating on a patient's mouth or pharynx. In Toulouse-Lautrec's pictures, Pean is wearing his usual black suit, but with a napkin tied around his neck. Some who watched him operate reported that Pean was so careful and quick, he barely bloodied his hands when he operated. Faure states that Pean actually hated the sight of blood. "Péan operated in his suit. He tied a napkin around his neck and under it, his shirt front remained spotless. He rolled up his shirt sleeves several centimeters and, with his powerful hands, he controlled his instruments with infinite delicacy. He always kept his instruments so clean that they appeared to have just come from the shop of the one who made them. It appeared that this surgeon...had a horror of blood." [111]

Péan also was among the first to try new types of anesthesia. In addition to operations using chloroform, Péan was one of the first in France to employ nitrous oxide under pressure. [112] At the July 21 meeting of the Academy of Sciences, Paul Bert gave an account of "the

results obtained by the two skillful practitioners, Doctors Labbé and Péan, employing the methods they have proposed for anesthesia, (protoxyde d'azote sous pression). Péan credited Labbé with priority, relating how Labbé was first to use it in an operation to remove an ingrown toenail from a young woman of twenty years, very nervous and very afraid." [113] It is interesting to note that this operation apparently took place, not in a public hospital, but in the private establishment of Doctor Daupley. Bert reported that Péan had already performed sixteen operations using nitrous oxide.

Péan was a skillful and bold surgeon, progressive and innovative, but one who often made enemies among his colleagues. According to Dr. Jean-Louis Faure, who addressed the meeting of the Academie de Medecine of November 25, 1930 on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Péan's birth, it was still necessary, four decades after Péan's death, to state that "We must let time do its work! It is needed to weaken the passions of that day, to have the bruises heal themselves, and time is needed to extinguish the bitterness and the jealousies." [115] Péan chose to blame this professional animosity on the the jealousy of the mediocre practioners around him. "Sometimes he was criticized by his opponents, but he used to simply

laugh at them, and as far as I could judge he would never worry about their hostile criticism." [116]

This last statement of the LANCET's biographer is problematic. Péan was not indifferent to criticism, particularly from the men his own profession. When a seat at in the Academie de Medicine's section of surgical pathology fell vacant in the spring of 1880, Péan actively sought election to it, campaigning with anyone he thought might help. Out of the eighty-eight votes cast, however, Péan received just one. [117] In the event, Leon Labbé was elected. The CONCOURS MEDICALE, which supported Péan, tried to interpret his defeat in the best light, arguing that the members of the Academy voted against Péan because they felt that was among the busiest in France and would not have the time needed to devote to the serious business of the Academy. "We are convinced that a day will come where we will have the satisfaction to see Monsieur Péan among the number of Academicians." [118] Péan was hurt by the rejection of those whom he considered his peers. "Tell me," Péan said, if I must go to a foreign land in order to receive justice." [119] It took seven more years before Péan was invited, in 1887, to become a member of the Academy. Thus 1887 was a year of achievement for Péan, and he

decided to celebrate his recognition by commissioning a photographic portrait by Reutlinger. At the same time, Péan decided to ask Gervex to paint his portrait in oil. Reutlinger's photograph, with Péan in a fur-collared coat, does not indicate Pean's status as a leading surgeon, nor does it announce his elevation to the Academy. On the other hand, Gervex's painting clearly shows Pean in charge of his surgical theatre and master of the most recent advances in medical science and technology. This was the portrait that would be displayed at various public places.

Like many of his fellow-surgeons, Péan was a showman when operating, often attracting crowds of more than 200. Men and women would come from all over the world to observe him. Before beginning each operation, Pean would bow to his audience and lecture about the procedure to follow. There is some disagreement how well Péan spoke during these lectures. For one writer, he was "An accomplished orator, with a full and finished style." [120] According to other observers, "speaking did not come easily to him and his eloquence was elsewhere." [121] One problem was that Pean never lost his provincial accent. "These lessons were improvised and delivered as if by chance in a voice that was rough and scratchy, as the best of

his pupils Delaunay, likes to remind us from time to time." [122] Dr. Murphy relates that although Péan spoke only French, his operating assistants, regardless of their lack of fluency in Péan's language, understood precisely what he wanted them to do and immediately carried out his orders. The sheer authority of Pean's commanding presence was enough to convey his meaning. [122] Péan's power, authority and ability to impose his will on others appear clearly in Gervex's portrait.

Pean published clinical lessons in numerous issues of the CONCOURS MEDICALE as well as in several surgery textbooks he authored. His writings describe in detail many different types of operations, case studies of surgery he had successfully performed. [124] He took seriously the responsibility of passing his knowledge on to future surgeons and at the end of his long career noted that his teaching had given him great satisfaction. In a letter to his friend Dr. Dubarry, Péan wrote, "En ce qui concerne les hopitaux ou mon enseignement privé m'a donné les plus grandes satisfactions, depuis l'internat jusqu'à ce jour, je vais les quitter à la fin de cette année, à la grande joie de quelques-uns." [125] Péan's last remark should not be thought of as indicating that at that stage of his life Péan had developed the ability to be humorous

about himself. It refers not only to the feelings against him held by some members of the profession, but also to the fact that he believed that his own experience had shown that leading hospital surgeons were as qualified to conduct clinical lessons as any member of the Faculty who might hold a hospital appointment.

Péan was a general surgeon. "Most of his work was abdominal, but he was an all-around operating surgeon." [126] In spite of this, he was considered particularly eminent in vaginal and uterine surgery, having pioneered several new techniques. In March of 1880, Péan published DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF TUMORS OF THE ABDOMEN AND PELVIS. Lancet's obituary writer notes that "four of his eight-volume 'Lectures on Clinical Surgery' are taken up with the diagnosis and treatment of pelvic tumors." [127] The surgery Péan performed most often had been ovariectomy. According to the editors of CONCOURS MEDICALE, Péan was one of the four most important surgeons in the field. The number of ovariectomies "have now increased, and the young surgical generation, amorous of progress, has boldly entered the path traced by Koeberle, Spencer, Wells and Péan." [128] In fact, the CONCOURS MEDICALE singled Péan for special praise. "Finally, it was only when

the essential apparatus so perfected today by the men who have made ovariectomy honorable, and among whom it would be unjust not to cite Monsieur Pean, who is entitled to a large part of the success obtained by contemporary surgeons." [129]

But even as the number of ovariectomies was growing, many were questioning their frequency and even whether surgeons should be performing them at all. Among the first to disapprove of them was Velpeau who, in 1854, called them a frightful operation which should be banned. [130] In 1864, the French Academy of Medicine called for outlawing ovariectomies. These early attacks were based on the high rate of mortality associated with the operation. As late as 1879, medical journals could still praise Pean for having invented a surgical instrument that made possible more successful ovariectomies, although some were beginning to question whether surgeons were choosing the operation in the first instance instead of as a last resort. Journals editorialized that there seemed to be too much enthusiasm among surgeons for "l'hysterotomie" when other less radical methods might be successful. "Dans un certain nombre de cas on a procédé à l'ablation totale ou partielle de l'utérus, sans avoir épuisé tous les autres moyens de traitement

et par suite avec trop de precipitation." [131] In the last two decades of the century ovariectomies were denounced for reasons other than their mortality rates. Worry over France's "population problem," i.e., slow growth rate, had been increasing and in the 1880s and 1890s and the operation came to be equated by many critics with "race suicide." Ovariectomies were considered one cause of the population problem which was in turn seen as an underlying cause of France's overall decline. Ovariectomy had changed from being a frightful operation for the individual patient to being considered a harmful operation for the nation. Velpeau had denounced operations on diseased ovaries, but the image of ovariectomy as a horrifying operation, often performed unnecessarily by unscrupulous doctors became a theme in both popular and serious literature during these decades.[132] By the time Gervex began to paint Pean's portrait, ovariectomies, the operation with which Pean had been most closely associated, was being condemned by in public by many sources, including important members of the medical establishment. In the late 1880s, to depict Pean performing an ovariectomy might have been misunderstood. It is not surprising that Gervex chose to to honor Pean as a surgeon in a different, less controversial operation.

That is not to say that the mastectomy was an operation that did not have its critics. Breast cancer surgery was being performed with increasing frequency, although its effectiveness as a cure for the disease was acknowledged to be limited.[133] Although, Pean did not specialize in this operation, he had earned a reputation for skill at them. It was a procedure that might bring significant fees to a surgeon who had gained recognition for performing them well. Dr. Murphy, in Péan's LANCET obituary, reports that one British patient is said to have paid Pean 1,600 British pounds for an amputation of her breast. [134]

Because they both depict surgery for breast cancer, Gervex's canvas has been compared to Thomas Eakins' painting, THE AGNEW CLINIC. [135] Eakins' painting dates from 1889, two years after AVANT L'OPERATION had been shown at the Paris Salon. Eakins may have known about Gervex's painting through his Paris contacts, which he had maintained even after his return to America. In both scenes, the surgeon is lecturing, not actually performing the surgery. In Eakins' work, however, (true also for his earlier GROSS CLINIC) the lecture depicted in the painting occurs during the operation, not before it has begun. It is perhaps significant that Eakins had not painted a

perhaps significant that Eakins had not painted a doctor in his milieu during the years between the GROSS CLINIC and the AGNEW CLINIC, but returned to the setting after such scenes achieved acclaim at the Paris Salon. He could not have forgotten the negative reception his earlier painting received and might only have been willing to attempt such a painting because of the success of Gervex's work.

Despite having been placed to the left of center, Péan is clearly the most important figure in the painting. Péan was a broad-shouldered and imposing man. Accounts by those who met Pean relate that his physical appearance created a powerful impression on those who saw him. [136] Gervex has made him even more prominent by enlarging his proportions and exaggerating his head. According to Gustave Ollendorf, Gervex had erred in painting Pean's head so large. "Monsieur Gervex has used certain artifices destined to call attention to that which is supposed to be important in the painting; but does he seriously think that in enlarging beyond measure the head of the professor who gives his lesson in the middle ground, he has given him his true value?" [137] The reviewer for L'ARTISTE, Charles Ponsonailhe, despite his admiration for the painting overall, criticized it

because he felt Gervex had portrayed Pean too magisterially. "The principal character, Monsieur Péan, was also a little too official and pontifical." [138]

Péan was not unhappy with his magisterial image and even actively sought to increase his grandeur. His clothes and his bearing in the surgical amphitheater were calculated to make him more prominent. Péan attached great importance to formality in dress. "Péan was always dressed in a suit; he operated in his suit, and if this solemn and uncomfortable outfit might make us smile, we cannot deny that it contributed to his celebrity." [139]

The fact that Gervex's portrait depicts the moments before Péan begins his surgery (in contrast with the two surgery portraits by Eakins) suggests that the subject of Gervex's painting is not the surgery for breast cancer but the hemostatic clamps about which Pean is speaking and which are mentioned in the paintings subtitle. Péan's talk is not how to perform a mastectomy, per se, but how to use the hemostatic clamps that he invented. This fact was recognized at the time. In the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS review, Maurice Hamel noted that the painting showed Dr. Péan explaining the use of his hemostats. The title of the

explaining the use of his hemostats. The title of the print in the ALBUM GONNON also indicates that the work is really about the clamps, not only about mastectomies. Its title reads, "Doctor Péan At the Saint-Louis Hospital Teaching His Discovery of the Clamping of Blood Vessels." [140] Dr. P. Dubray, reviewing the Salon for the UNION MEDICAL wrote, "An intern is administering chloroform to the young woman. The instruments and accessories of antiseptic surgery, among which a large jar filled with phenol sponges stands out. At the head of the bed, M. Pean recites what is about to happen. He shows a hemostatic clamp to his audience, of whom we can see only the most important figures. It is one of those clamps that will very soon join together in a sheaf all the holes of the blood vessels that have been cut." [141] Dubray goes to praise how well Gervex has portrayed Péan. Perhaps Dubray adds a note of sarcasm in that Gervex has indeed captured Péan's dominant features too well. "It is indeed M. Péan, dominating the entourage by his broad shoulders. He is shown in profile, a pose which preserves for his nose all its valor. It seems that one can almost hear exiting cavernously from his lips one of those aphorisms which characterize the eloquence of the surgeon of the Saint-Louis hospital.

where the portrait of the operator holds the largest place, without however being harmful to the interest of the group." [142] The group of his colleagues, assistants, students and even other members of the hospital staff could not be completely overshadowed by Pean's presence because they were important to the purpose he had for the painting. Although there is no evidence for this in Gervex's memoirs, it is unlikely that he rather than Pean chose the rest of the people who would be included with him in his portrait. That Péan wished to be surrounded by his students and colleagues is not difficult to understand. [143] The painting honors his professional standing. But how can the presence of the manufacturer, Mathieu, be explained? Why does he stand directly behind Péan? Mathieu did attend Péan's operations from time to time, but he was not Péan's assistant or intern. It seems likely that Péan wanted Gervex to paint Mathieu in both in gratitude to Mathieu and as testimony to support Pean's claim for priority in inventing these clamps. More than his unquestioned skill as a surgeon or his ability as a teacher and writer, Péan was recognized among his colleagues for these instruments. According to Faure, Péan's hemostats were useful not only in breast surgery, but in surgery in general. In his

Academy of Medicine speech, Faure calls this Péan's most glorious contribution to the field. "And it is thus that he has contributed more than even simplifying the technique of gynecological surgery but that of surgery in its entirety, in advancing up to infinity the possibilities of his action. That is the great work of Pean. And further that of which he was the most legitimately proud was that it was he who introduced his hemostats to the unlimited fields of universal surgery." [144]

Péan's claim, however, was disputed. "Some ten years ago," noted the LANCET's 1898 obituary of Pean, "he had an animated discussion with Verneuil, who disputed with him the honor of the invention." [145] It eventually became known "that the invention of the original clamp called after Péan's name belonged to the [medical] instrument-maker Charrière, but that Pean had really been the first to apply it systemically." [146] Faure, however, identified Péan's rival claimant as Koeberle, not Verneuil. And according to Faure, tension between Pean and Koeberle had actually started over a different and earlier issue. In earlier dispute, both had claimed that he had done more to make hysterectomies a successful operation. Faure adds that Koeberle also resented the growing fame of a younger

surgeon. "The name of Péan was rising then in the admiration of men, and it is understandable that the surgeon from Strasbourg [koeberle], who was only human, aware of his own merit and the anteriority of his success, was somewhat offended by the eclat and renown of his imitator [emeule]." [147] Faure believed that had it not been for the dispute over hysterectomies, the argument over hemostats would not have arisen. "Such was without any doubt, the principal cause of the misunderstandings, discussions and claims, often so strongly pursued for several years between these two men, each one of whom was worthy of equal admiration." [148]

Faure clearly sides with Péan's view, and fills in the details of the "hemostat" story:

In 1865, Koeberle himself had made a hemostatic clamp. Three years later, Péan had one constructed that was nearly the same. It seems certain, furthermore, that Koeberle had sent one of these clamps to Péan by means of a young doctor who often attended Péan's operations and who came from time to time to Strasbourg to see his father and while there watched Koeberle operate....It is very natural that Péan found Koeberle's clamp comfortable, and had similar ones made without dreaming that such a simple act could some day carry with it the most grave disputes.

In the same spirit furthermore, it is likely that Koeberle's clamp was really not original, but only a slight modification of one by Charrière, designed to make it more solid yet more springy. It can be seen in his bandaging kit, which dated from 1851, and which according to the 1859 catalogue, was used to

clasp the vessels in order to stop hemorrhaging during operations. [emphasis in the original]

...Koeberle's was a clamp fastened by a nail, which he called 'pince a cliquet [clicking],' in which the nail and the holes designed to receive it were cut obliquely. In 1864, Mathieu made, as one can see in Picehvin's work, a hook-catch. In 1868, Péan had one constructed by Gueride whose clamp was a pothanger [pince a cremaillere], a system that was superior to the others and which today is in universal use. Why should it be surprising that Charrière's instrument, more or less modified, was at Strasbourg called Koeberle's clamp and at Paris, Péan's, since one could have seen both of these men using them daily. At that time, no one was thinking of claiming the title of priority...

It is incontestable that Koeberle modified Charriere's clamp before Péan did, and that it was he who used this admirable instrument, these hemostatic clamps to which he gave his name in 1868, to effect his magnificent interventions. It is no less certain that, while using them to stop the blood flow during the course of an operation, it happened from time to time, beginning in 1865, that he let it stay, in cases where ligature was too difficult, and was able to effect a permanent hemostasy, and in this he has preceded Pean.

But it is no less certain that it was Pean, at the time that Strasbourg was torn from France, that Koeberle in despair, had slowed down his work, and it was Péan, I say, who by perfecting the size and shape of his clamps, and of which he had numerous models constructed and used and made their use general in that great theater of activity which was the Saint-Louis hospital, where I have often seen him operate and where a long line of surgeons from every country came, that it was Pean, I say, who has taught the world the immense benefits of the hemostats that could be used as a preventive, temporarily or finally. (149)

Péan holds his "pince-hemostatique" in his left hand, lecturing on their proper use before replacing it among the others in the basin of antiseptic solution.

Mathieu stands at his side and looks on approvingly as Pean lectures. It is interesting that in Murphy only brings his story back to approximately the time of Gervex's painting, perhaps evidence that a dispute over priority had arisen again in the middle eighties.

Several Salon reviewers, although realizing that Gervex's painting was a departure, tried nevertheless to place it within a tradition they knew, the anatomy painting. Roger-Ballu called it a modern

version of Rembrandt's famous ANATOMY LESSON OF DR. TULP. "It is, in sum, the subject of the ANATOMY LESSON of Rembrandt made according to modern truths, and we must know that it was Monsieur Gervex's greatest wish to be as sincere, as exact to his era as the Dutch master was in his." [150] George Lafenestre mentioned both Rembrandt's and the Feyen-Perrin's anatomy lessons in discussing Gervex's work. For Lafenestre, however, Gervex was less successful than Rembrandt had been because he had followed the modern style too slavishly. By this he meant that Gervex had become too much the reporter and too little the artist. Rembrandt, Lafenestre said, was a true artist, that is one who painted more than what anyone else might see. An artist added feeling and meaning to a scene. He did not merely make a photograph of it. "That which characterizes the work of Monsieur Gervex...is his affectation, in opposition to Rembrandt and the Dutch, not to intervene personally in any way, neither in the lighting of the room, in the arrangement of the figures, nor in the grouping of the accessories. In a word, it is to remain the pure and simple copyist of reality whether shocking or harmonious, brutal as well as delicate, irritating or interesting." [151]

Although not in direct response to

Lafenestre's criticism, Gervex did write about the artist as "pure reporter." Gervex agreed with Lafenestre's contention that a true artist must do more than simply a record what he saw; he must process the scene through his own feelings to interpret and explain it. Gervex made this view very clear in his memoires in an anecdote he related about Fantin-Latour. According to Gervex, "There was a story by Fantin-Latour about a lady who came to to his studio to sit for a portrait and said, 'I especially want, maitre, an exact likeness.' And he replied to her: 'In that case, madame, go to a photographer." [152] Thus, if AVANT L'OPERATION looks impersonal and if the characters appear uninvolved, Gervex created them that way. He was not simply photographing dispassionate attitudes. It is self-confidence, however, not indifference or impassivity. He is a surgeon/instructor/scientist rather than a healer. Pean's technical skill and expert knowledge are being celebrated, not his empathy or compassionate relationship with his patient. The painting simultaneously emphasizes his three roles: leading surgeon, clinical professor and inventor of surgical instruments. According to Gourvenec, Pean was even hailed as one of the "glories of modern science at the time." [153]

The light that streams through the hospital windows on the left brightens the faces of Péan and the five doctors who surround him, and then continues on to illuminate the patient's breast. She lies with her head and back raised. In Péan's clinical lectures, he strongly emphasized the importance to the surgery of having the patient lie in exactly the correct position. [154]

The position, of course, also gave Gervex an opportunity to paint an attractive female nude. One art historian has asked why, if Péan was about to operate on her chest, Gervex needed to have the patient's hips uncovered? According to Margaret Supplee Smith, the patient's uncovered parts are sexually suggestive and call into question the painting's value as a representation of science and medicine. She writes that "The carbolic acid apparatus and the specimen jars contribute to the progressive scientific setting, but the beautiful patient, hair falling loosely on the white sheets and the breast and hips gratuitously displayed, suggests that the erotic intent equals at least the scientific content. Moreover, the anesthesiologist staring so intensely at the woman adds further to the voyeuristic element. Compared to the Gervex painting, Eakins's

[AGNEW CLINIC] seems like a realistic document of a particular operating procedure." [155]

Gervex's work prior to 1887 includes many examples of his interest in painting the nude female. The specific erotic content of some of his canvases, especially ROLLA and THE WOMAN IN THE MASK, were controversial in their own time. Therefore, it is not unreasonable for Supplee Smith to have seen erotic content in the female anesthetized on the table. [156] But a closer observation of the painting reveals that no person in it, except for Doctor Zacharian, looks at the patient at all. Zacharian's gaze towards her face and away from her body, moreover, conveys human compassion not erotic passion. If anyone might be thought of as voyeuristic, it would only be the spectator visiting the Salon. None of the people in the canvas appears to look at the patient in a sexual way. In fact, because of Pean's strong presence and because of Zacharian's very human expression, our attention is drawn away from the patient towards the surgeon and the anesthesiologist. The patient in AVANT L'OPERATION clearly does not have the same sexual pose as Marion of Gervex's ROLLA. As Gourvennec says, "La bleme jeune femme n'est pas comme la Marion de ROLLA caressée par les rayons de l'aurore. Elle est

chloroformée, ce qui est explicitement précisé par la nature morte du premier plan a gauche...." [157]

In all accounts, AVANT L'OPERATION was a popular success at the Salon and hundreds of thousands of visitors stopped to view it. As if to answer the question before it was asked, Paul Lambert, the salonnier for LA NATION, wrote that the neither the painting's hospital setting nor the surgery about to take place should shock even the most sensitive collector. Again his review identified the real subject of the portrait as Péan the teacher, showing how to clamp blood vessels during surgery. In Lambert's words, the painting presented "Gervex's Dr. Péan, teaching at the Saint-Louis Hospital the clamping of vessels, is an appetizing subject that the most delicate art-lover would be happy to have in his living-room. The doctor is quite dignified; one regrets not hearing what he says." [158]

After the Salon exhibit, the painting entered Dr. Pean's private collection. Two years later, it was included at the 1889 Exposition's Retrospective Exhibit of Fine Arts. Gervex was one of the thirty-five judges of the selection jury, and had nine of his paintings accepted at the Retrospective. The official catalogue of the Retrospective listed the

painting's title simply as DR. PEAN. Unlike its original title which emphasized the surgical procedure, its new identification underscored the fact that the painting honored the surgeon rather than the surgery. [159] Several different prints were made of the painting, and an excellent one was included in the ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE of the 1889 Exposition. A different print published made by Barbot was published in the ALBUM GONNON and sent to members of the medical profession. The ALBUM GONNON itself reprinted the illustrations the company had been sending to doctors since 1895. Thus Pean's image was in several different places and times presented to both a wide general public and a more limited professional one. [160] Gervex wrote, although much after the fact, that Pean's family gave his canvas their complete approval. According to the artist, they were "absolutely enchanted with my idea and afterwards they always acted very friendly towards me. I recently had new proof of this. Madame Pean wrote to me that she had donated her husband's portrait to the Luxembourg Museum." [161]

Critics agreed that although Gervex's was the best at the Salon of 1887, AVANT L'OPERATION was only one of several paintings with a medical theme that could be seen at the Salon that year. Dr. Dubray

informed his mainly medical readership that, "Justement, cette année, une bonne partie des honneurs et de l'attrait du Salon revient à des oeuvres qui nous touchent de près." [162] In the Salon review for L'ARTISTE, Charles Ponsonailhe wrote that "The subjects borrowed from medical science have particularly attracted the attention of visitors to this year's Salon. Messieurs Gervex, André Brouillet among the French, Laurent Gsell and Richard Bergh among the foreigners, reproduce scenes from hospitals or clinics of experiments touching the most recent discoveries of their art." [163]

In addition, the Salon reviewers' list included some canvases that, although not depicting doctors at work, were nevertheless associated with the paintings of the new medical science. Among these, for example, was Ferdinand Joseph Gueldry's THE MUNICIPAL LABORATORY. [Figure 94] [164] In this canvas, Gueldry has painted chemists at work in the "Salle Lavoisier" (the sign is clear and legible between the two windows on the right) testing the composition and purity of products that were to be sold at the Paris markets. Salon reviewers connected the work directly to public health and new medical science and reviewed the painting in the same section as their reviews of the

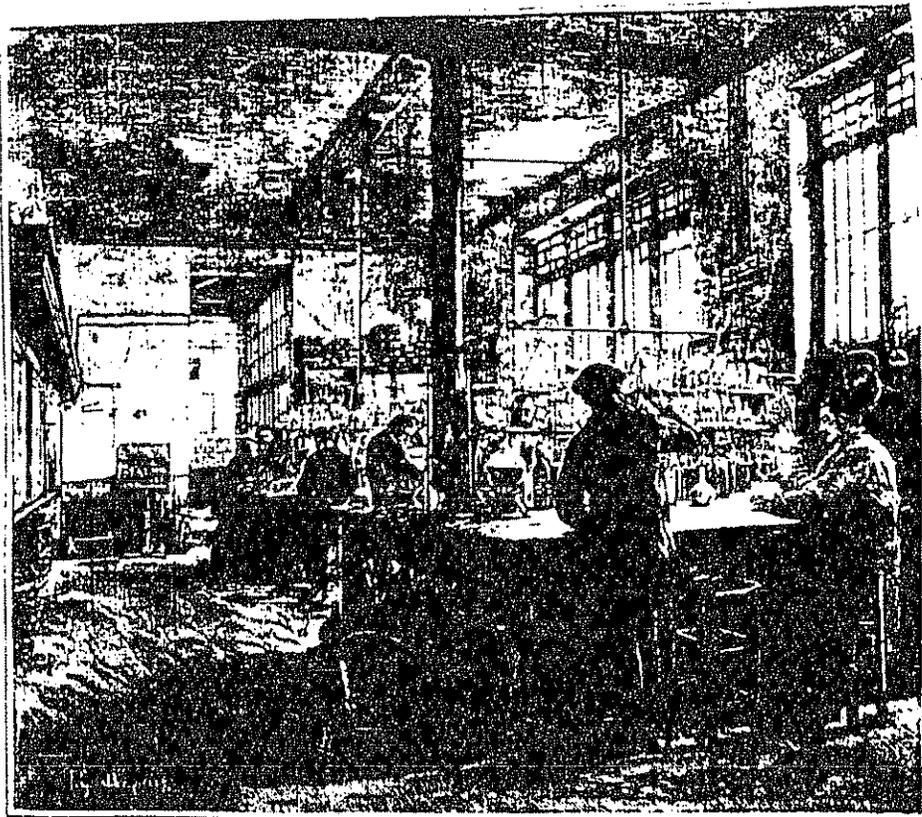


FIGURE 94 - J.-F. GUELDRY      LE LABORATOIRE  
MUNICIPALE

paintings of medical scenes.

In his review of the Salon, Ollendorf described the municipal laboratory as "this terrible laboratory to which we owe the most troubling revelations on the real nature of the foods and drinks offered to the stomachs of Paris." [165] The purity of foods consumed and beverages drunk by the people of Paris had been a matter of concern for some time. It was only in 1878 that the the Paris government finally opened the municipal analytic laboratory at which various products were tested for purity and quality. Charles Girard, director of this laboratory, published two very strong reports on "Falsifications of Alimentary Materials and the Work of the Municipal Laboratory of the City of Paris" in 1882 and 1885, [166] and Gueldry's painting refers to the work done at that municipal facility. Ollendorff praised Gueldry for telling the laboratory's story "in his documentary canvas in a perfect way with meticulous exactitude. All the flasks are methodically arranged and in their place, which allows us to see, through their transparency, the full range of colors of the chemical products." [167] Maurice Hamel agreed that Gueldry had presented a scene of modern science as it really was, but found fault because, in his view, Gueldry was

"truly too glacial in his strict documentation." [168] Hamel's term "glacial" echoes the comment in ZIGZAGS a dozen years before, "modern science coldly portrayed." Albert Wolff described the painting in similar terms. "M. Gueldry nous introduit dans le Laboratoire Municipal, d'une execution tres savante, mais un peu dure." [168a] Ollendorff particularly praised the fact that Gueldry had been able to imbue the painting with unity and harmony in spite of so many colors, and "a thousand obstacles which stood in the way of the daring of this painter." [169] In other words, Gueldry's use of a color-filled palette did not prevent him from following the academy's rules for composition and balance.

Gueldry's art education was academic. Born in Paris, May 21, 1858, he studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Gerome's atelier. He made his Salon debut when not quite twenty years old with two conventional portraits, M. G...and MME. G..... In 1880, he also showed two portraits at the Salon and in 1881, he exhibited A REGATTA AT JOINVILLE; THE START. After 1885, his paintings began to deal with contemporary work scenes. He received a Third Class medal for A FOUNDRY:-- THE MOLDERS. This painting was purchased by the State and sent to the Fine Arts Museum of Saint-Etienne.

Gueldry's THE CLEANING OF METALS (Salon of 1886) was also purchased by the State and then sent to the Amiens Museum. These two paintings, along with the MUNICIPAL LABORATORY were exhibited again at the Retrospective Art Exhibition at the World's Fair of 1889 where he received a silver medal for his work at the Fair. Gueldry won another second class medal at the 1890 Salon and a silver medal again at the 1900 World's Fair. He was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1908 and continued to exhibit well into the 1930s. [169b]

One of Gueldry's later paintings, THE BLOOD DRINKERS, exhibited at the 1898 Salon, also dealt with a quasi-medical subject. During the last quarter of the century, many people believed that drinking the blood of freshly slaughtered animals was an effective way to combat anemia. They would pay daily visits to slaughterhouses in order to get a cup of ox blood. Bram Dykstra contends that doctors recommended this blood-drinking regimen particularly to middle-class women. At the Salon, according to Dykstra, Gueldry's "painting caused a sensation and was widely reproduced." [170] Gueldry's painting, however, was not the first time Parisians had been shown visiting the slaughterhouse to get their daily cup of warm blood. An 1874 work by A. Claverie shows tuberculosis

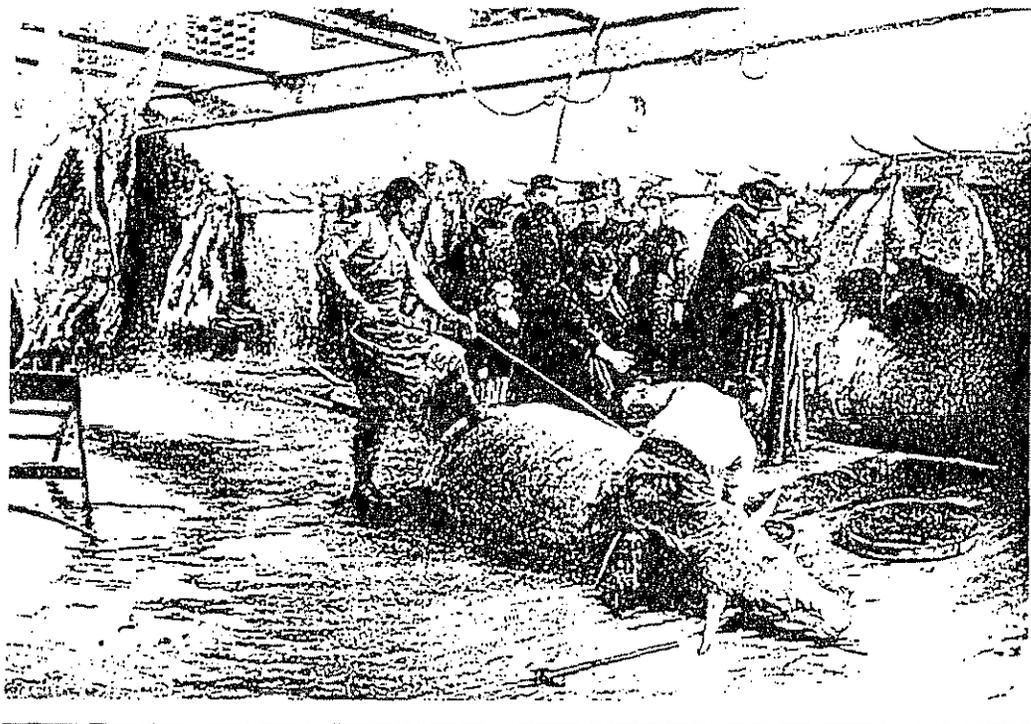


FIGURE 95 - J.-F. GUELDRY

THE BLOOD DRINKERS



FIGURE 96 - A. CLAVERIE      TUBERCULEUX BUVANT DU SANG  
CHAUD A' L'ABATTOIR DE LA VILLETTE

patients drinking the still warm blood of an animal recently killed at the slaughterhouse of La Villete. [171] Some residents of the capital had taken to drinking animal blood as a "treatment" for tuberculosis, which by the late nineteenth century, claimed more than 200,000 lives a year in France, and accounted for forty-four per cent of the mortality of those between twenty and forty years of age.

Despite the crowds in Claverie's illustration and the empty space in Gueldry's, there are elements common to both works. The large meat hooks, the butcher draining the animal's blood into the pan, gentlemen in hats drinking their glasses of blood are features used by the two artists. Children are also present as witnesses in both. In the earlier work, however, the women seem less shocked by the scene; in Gueldry's painting they appear slightly more squeamish. Leonce Benedite traced Gueldry's interest in abattoirs directly back to Gervex, but his interest in public health dates at least from the MUNICIPAL LABORATORY.

Surgery and public hygiene were only two of the medical topics in paintings at the 1887 Salon. Another major subject was hysteria and hypnotism. Pean was not the only leader of French medicine whose portrait was exhibited at the 1887 Salon. Jean-Martin

Charcot, at work in his clinic at the Salpetriere Hospital, was also the subject of a large canvas that year UNE LECON CLINIQUE A LA SALPETRIÈRE by André Brouillet.

In Dr. Dubray's review, it was the first painting to which he called the attention of his readers in the UNION MEDICAL. He noted that the public was greatly attracted to the painting, and even if they would not learn very much about hypnotism from the canvas, Dubray believed that they could at least see a very good likeness of Charcot. "First off, in Room 23, the large canvas by Monsieur Brouillet entitled "A CLINICAL LESSON AT THE SALPETRIÈRE." The public, which because of the title, expects to satisfy a certain curiosity, quickly comes here with this hope. M. Brouillet does not teach them very much about hypnotism, but he does show them, with a tactful sobriety and magisterial surety in his execution, the human face of this celebrated instruction. Professor Charcot, standing in the center of the action, his right hand half-opened in an explanatory gesture, is painted in a perfect likeness. This likeness, one can say, is true from head to foot, since it is not only the well-known face of the professor which is of an irreproachable fidelity, but also his posture, the

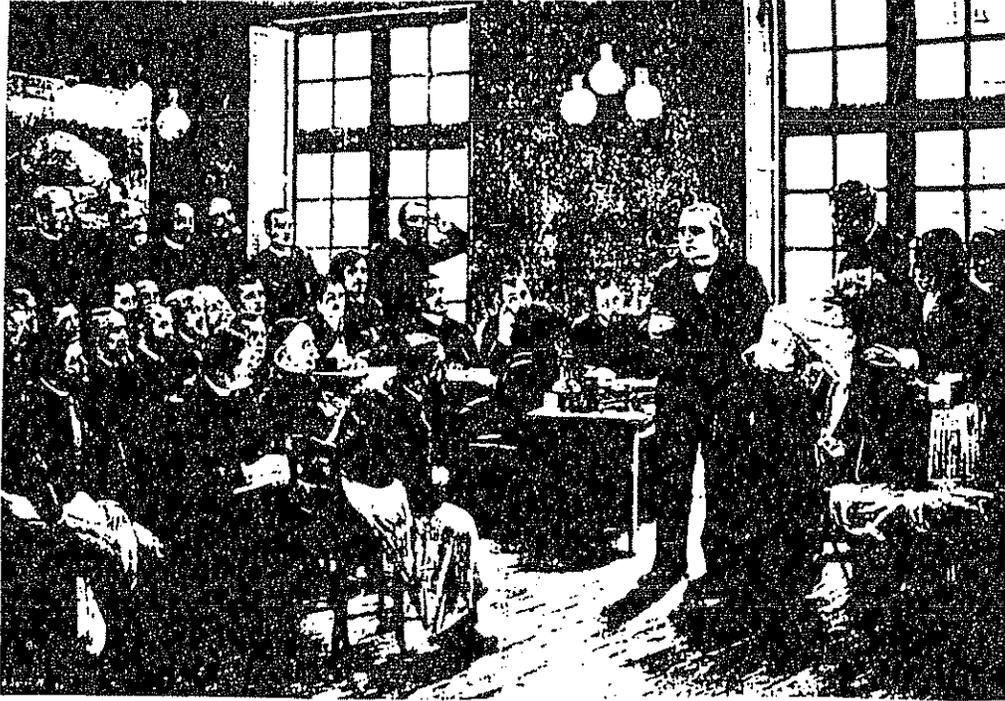


FIGURE 97 - ANDRÉ BROUILLET      UNE LECON CLINIQUE A'  
LA SALPETRIERE

pose of his legs, and everything about his person, which is taken from life." [172]

Other Salon reviewers like Jean Bertot also noted that Brouillet's LECON CLINIQUE À LA SALPETRIERE was received very well by the public. [172b] Large crowds of admiring spectators gathered in front of it. Paul Lambert noted how much the public was interested in the paintings of medical life. "From Monsieur Brouillet, yet another hospital scene; decidedly these types of subjects are in style." [172c]

Ollendorf admired Brouillet's modern tone and saw a connection between his painting and Guedry's MUNICIPAL LABORATORY. "From the laboratory to the clinic, the distance is short and the light that we see in Monsieur Brouillet's painting does not differ very much from that which we have just admired in Monsieur Guedry's painting." [173]

Brouillet's painting was, however, less successful with most other contemporary critics, who had generally preferred Gervex's painting of Dr. Pean. "I like less the large scene that Monsieur Brouillet has placed in the grande salle de clinique the Salpetriere," wrote Thiebault-Sisson in LA NOUVELLE REVUE. [174] George LaFenestre added that, "In the management of light, Monsieur Brouillet does not yet

possess the skill that one can recognize in Monsieur Gervex." [175] He continued that Brouillet had "neither concentration of effect, unity of the whole, exactitude of the details, truly too little for a work of this size....Monsieur Brouillet is one of the young men whose debuts were so promising and even difficult for themselves, that is able to progress well and for a long time; he will put his future in danger if he repeats these experiments." [176] LA LECON CLINIQUE was indeed a large canvas; with dimensions of H. 2,90 m X L. 4,30 m, it was half a meter taller and two and a half meters wider than Gervex's AVANT L'OPERATION.

For Charles Ponsonailhe also, Brouillet's painting was not painted so well as Gervex's PEAN. In his view, Gervex's was in fact the best of all the medical paints at the Salon. "Monsieur Gervex, always very skillful, does not have the weak lighting of Monsieur Brouillet. His color is soft and seductive. I thus prefer his Docteur Péan showing BEFORE THE OPERATION the advantages of pressure on blood vessels." [177] Gervex was to place Péan and Charcot together in a canvas of 1889, his PANORAMA DU SIECLE. In that painting, the two doctors are not depicted in their hospital or clinical setting but are shown face-to-face holding a private conversation, while around them,

101	... ..	102	... ..	103	... ..	104	... ..
105	... ..	106	... ..	107	... ..	108	... ..
109	... ..	110	... ..	111	... ..	112	... ..
113	... ..	114	... ..	115	... ..	116	... ..
117	... ..	118	... ..	119	... ..	120	... ..
121	... ..	122	... ..	123	... ..	124	... ..
125	... ..	126	... ..	127	... ..	128	... ..
129	... ..	130	... ..	131	... ..	132	... ..
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141	... ..	142	... ..	143	... ..	144	... ..
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149	... ..	150	... ..	151	... ..	152	... ..
153	... ..	154	... ..	155	... ..	156	... ..
157	... ..	158	... ..	159	... ..	160	... ..
161	... ..	162	... ..	163	... ..	164	... ..
165	... ..	166	... ..	167	... ..	168	... ..
169	... ..	170	... ..	171	... ..	172	... ..
173	... ..	174	... ..	175	... ..	176	... ..
177	... ..	178	... ..	179	... ..	180	... ..
181	... ..	182	... ..	183	... ..	184	... ..
185	... ..	186	... ..	187	... ..	188	... ..
189	... ..	190	... ..	191	... ..	192	... ..
193	... ..	194	... ..	195	... ..	196	... ..
197	... ..	198	... ..	199	... ..	200	... ..

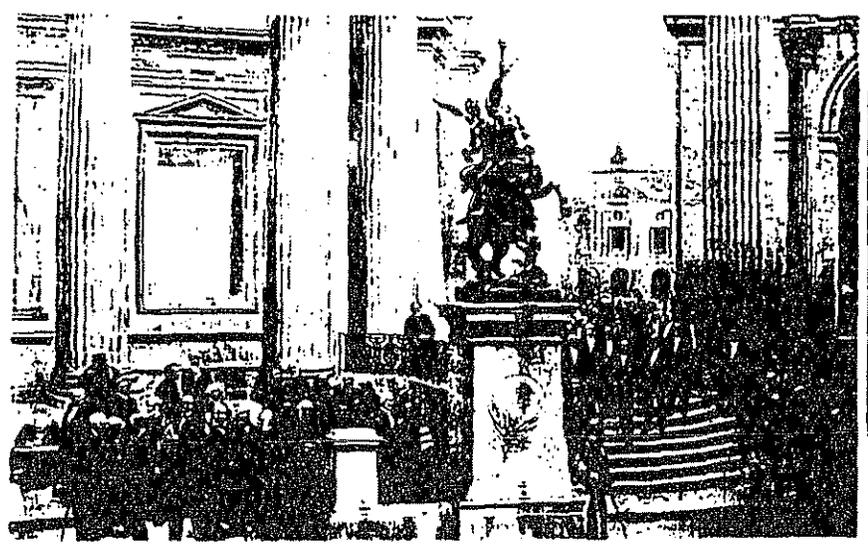
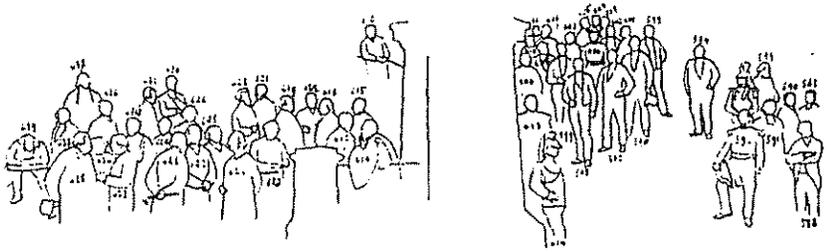


FIGURE 98 - HENRI GERVEX PANORAMA DU SIÈCLE (FRAGMENT)

outside the opera, stand other well-known figures of French cultural and political life. Louis Pasteur stands above the group, leaning against a railing. [In Figure 98, Charcot is #618, Pean is #619, Pasteur is #612. Dr. Labbé, #622 stands between Charcot and Péan and Dr. Guyon, #617 stands just to our right of Charcot. Dr. Peter, #632, Pasteur's opponent at the Academy of Medicine, stands well to the left and faces away from Pasteur.]

Brouillet's painting has become fairly well-known through its many reprints. It has appeared frequently in studies of Charcot's life. The painting itself has been the subject of several studies and was the main subject of the Museum of the Assistance Publique's exhibition, LA LECON DE CHARCOT VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE. The exhibition brought together much of the material about the painting, Charcot and the world of the Salpetriere in 1887. In addition, the exhibition clearly identified Charcot with the political ideology of the Third Republic. "Charcot est l'archetype du mandarin de la Belle Epoque; il est un protagoniste majeur de la periode fondamentale des debuts de la IIIe Republique." [178]

Pierre-Andre Brouillet was born in provincial France, in the small town of Charroux, about thirty

miles from Poitiers (Vienne), September 1, 1857.

Perhaps believing that his native town was too obscure to attract anyone's notice combined with the fact that his father, Pierre-Amedée was Curator of the Fine Arts Museum of Poitiers and Director of its School of Fine Arts, Brouillet listed himself in the catalogue for the 1883 Retrospective Exhibit of Living Artists as being from Poitiers. By the opening of the 1889 World's Fair, he seems to have got over any embarrassment over his native town and once again identified himself as being from Charroux. André's [he always signed his canvasses "André Brouillet"] interest in science and technology began at an early date and he had studied engineering before deciding on a career in art. His art training was traditional, perhaps due to his father's position. He was admitted to Gerome's atelier at the Academie Des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He later studied with J.P. Laurens, the noted history painter.

Brouillet made his Salon debut in 1879 and was recognized early as a promising artist. (Gueldry, who also studied with Gerome, was only eight months younger than Brouillet and had debuted at the 1878 Salon.) He was awarded an honorable mention in 1881 for the painting, VIOLATION DU TOMBEAU DE L'EVEQUE D'URGEL PAR LES DOMINICANS (#307 in the Salon

Catalogue), which was bought by the State for 1,800 Francs and sent to the Poitiers Museum. The Salon Catalogue contained the following note to explain the scene in the painting: "Encouraged by Pope Innocent IV, protected and supported by the King of Aragon and the King of France Louis XI, the Dominicans violated the tomb of the Bishop of Urgel, in order to burn his bones in an auto-de-fe." [180] In the political context of 1881, this painting would have been thought of as not simply a history painting about medieval France. It would have been recognized by the Salon visitors as relating to the issues of the day. Thus Gervex and Brouillet had several things in common. They both had trained in the Ecole's program, either with Cabanel or Gerome. Their canvases in the early 1880s expressed both both anti-clerical and anti-royalist themes that fit well with the Republican program. Both continued to be successful through the 1880s, Brouillet having received Salon medals in 1884 and 1886. Both artists had their paintings purchased by the State and put on display in various public buildings. [181]

For some modern writers, Brouillet's academic training actually harmed the development of his ability. J. L. Signoret, in a paper presented to the SOCIETE FRANCAISE de NEUROLOGIE (January, 1983) judged

Brouillet as certainly a skillful painter, but unfortunately too much in line with Beaux-Arts requirements. According to Signoret, Brouillet represented "'the other' painting of the 19th century, that which is called academic, official, bourgeoisie or pompier, Brouillet, contemporary of Van Gogh, Seurat and of Toulouse-Lautrec, does not appear to be a creative painter." [182] Signoret was one of the first to study the painting rigorously, and it is through his research that all thirty-one people in the painting have been identified.

According to Signoret, the painting depicts one of Charcot's Tuesday lectures. "The 'Leçon' represents a Tuesday lesson," he states explicitly. [183] But is the painting really an accurate depiction of the Tuesday sessions? Christopher Goetz seems less definite in identifying the lesson, stating only that "it remains a document of the Salpêtrière method at the time of these Tuesday lessons." [184] Nadine Simon-Dhouailly avoids taking any position, neither claiming it as a Friday or a Tuesday session. In fact, the only description of Charcot's clinical sessions cited in the Assistance Publique catalogue, VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, is taken from Guillain's description of Charcot's Friday course

at the Salpêtrière. [185]

The painting's title and the brief description that accompanied it in the Salon's official EXPLICATION DES OEUVRAGES fail to identify the day of the week of this clinical lesson. Neither Brouillet nor Charcot, apparently, have identified it, and an examination of Charcot's work habits, his routines and conduct of the clinics of the Salpêtrière in 1887 and 1888 prevent us from coming to a definite conclusion for Tuesday or Friday.

It is known that the Friday morning lessons were painstakingly prepared. Charcot often worked well into the night to research and organize these lectures. According to Guillaïn, for these sessions, "Charcot prepared his lectures with extreme care, documenting them with the entire gamut of French and foreign literature....His lectures were entirely written in longhand and could have been published without corrections. However, during a lecture Charcot never read from a text, for he had memorized the text. In this respect he resembled certain religious orators, barristers, or politicians who, while giving the impression of improvising, nevertheless have written out their speeches in advance and memorized them."

[186] Babinski has written a very similar description

of Charcot's planning and preparation. "On Friday, the professor presents patients whom he has previously examined and studied with the greatest care and reflection. His aim, however, is not restricted to showing his students cases where the clinical picture is fully elucidated and where the diagnosis is already established. He aims foremost here to inform his younger coworkers of his most recent studies and their results." [187]

On the other hand, for the Tuesday clinics, Charcot did not prepare in advance the cases he was going to discuss. In fact, he often met these patients for the first time that day. Georges Guillain, briefly describes these Tuesday sessions:

Besides these Friday lectures prepared with great pains, Charcot began at the Salpetriere a series of Tuesday clinical demonstrations, which attained a great and well deserved success. In these Tuesday lectures, he would improvise. Among the patients who were brought in that day for the first time for a hospital consultation, and who had been selected by the Chiefs of Clinic and the interns, Charcot selected cases that appeared to him to be especially interesting. He interrogated these patients before his students, classified their symptoms, made the diagnosis, and prescribed treatment. [188]

Christopher Goetz describes these presentations as "impromptu and the cases often selected from the

patient population immediately available." [189]

Babinski explained why Charcot handled these lessons so differently from his Friday lectures. "The Tuesday sessions are a newer addition to the Salpetriere and are fundamentally different in organization from the Friday lectures. As the professor himself says, 'They emphasize everyday general neurology *imaginez vous* with all its surprises and complexities.'...The patients are unknown to the professor, and he attempts to establish a diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment for the given affliction." [190] According to Charcot, impromptu lectures were appropriate for students who had recently completed their medical training and were about to enter practice, since they simulated more closely real conditions they would face. "In lectures that are carefully prepared in advance," said Charcot, "the professor leads his audience down a well-delineated path. He has carefully removed the obstructions on the road and pushed aside the thorny bushes that might make this journey difficult." [191]

The choice of Blanche Wittman as the patient in the painting is an apparent contradiction of Charcot's rule of impromptu diagnosis at the Tuesday lessons. Blanche (or Marie-Blanche) Wittmann, the famous "Witt," was probably the most well-known of all

the hysterics at the Salpêtrière hospital. She had been Charcot's patient since 1877. Her case history indicates that her first attack of epilepsy was she was a child of twenty-two months. As she grew older, her attacks (which included such symptoms as loss of consciousness, frequently dropping objects, urinating on herself) became progressively worse. When she lost her job as a result of these attacks, she was admitted to the "section épileptiques non aliénées," on May 6, 1877. [192] Charcot had been studying Wittman since that time. After Charcot died, Wittmann remained at the Salpêtrière, even though she apparently no longer suffered from attacks of hysteria. She eventually became one of the hospital's first X-Ray technicians. Sadly, she developed cancer as a result of her work in radiology and died at the hospital.

Blanche Wittman, "une des hystériques vedettes de la Salpêtrière," [193] in the words of Simon-Dhouailly, was often called on by Charcot to illustrate hypnotism and hysterical spells. She "became famous...in France and abroad." [194] James indicates that part of the attraction of being a star of the Salpêtrière held fore these women was that being "selected grandes hystériques, was as near as any working-class woman, with dreams of becoming another

Sarah Bernhardt, could hope to come to this. Charcot provided a platform, an audience, considerable male attention and a special form of respectability as well." [195] Signoret, claims however, that the rule of only new patients on Tuesday was not ironclad. He bases his conclusion on a Tuesday lesson, May 1, 1888, in which Charcot chose a patient whom he already had examined. "A female patient belonging to Charcot's service was brought into the lecture hall." [196] This unnamed patient was "une grande hysterique hypnotisable," who illustrated perfectly the three phases of hypnosis. Signoret is convinced that this patient was the one in the painting and could only have been Wittmann. During 1887, according to Signoret, Binet and Fere were studying the awareness [conscience] of movements in hysterics and that Wittman was working in Charcot's service. "This was the year of the painting."

In this context, however, the phrase "in Charcot's service," might simply refer to a patient who was being seen by Charcot, at his neurological section, rather than at any other place in the hospital. The Salpetriere was still, in the late 1880s a huge establishment, and it has been compared to a small city within a city." [197]

The one case that I have of found of Charcot's choosing for his Tuesday lessons a patient he previously examined occurs in the clinical notes of the Tuesday lesson of February 7, 1888. In them we read that Charcot had found a female patient he believed was a model of all the stages of hysteria and decided to use her at his next Tuesday demonstration. This patient had come to Charcot's attention at a preliminary examination the previous Friday. Charcot realized that this patient would make an excellent clinical subject and decided to postpone her treatment until the next week. He had claimed that cures were often effected when the doctor deliberately provoked a second attack, and hoped to treat her problem in front of his Tuesday audience. [198] Thus this "exception" does not violate Charcot's rule at all. It was a new patient, having only been through a very preliminary examination and still not having been treated when introduced to his Tuesday audience.

In summary, then, the the painting seems to contain elements of both the Friday and Tuesday lessons. Friday lessons were carefully prepared and Charcot chose his subjects from among patients long known to him. The Tuesday lessons were impromptu and the subjects seen at them were new, or almost new, to

Charcot.

Brouillet's painting is an accurate rendering of the Salpêtrière as it was in 1887. According to Signoret even the windows are painted exactly right. Brouillet has set the painting in a classroom, but this does not resolve the problem of whether we are witnessing a Tuesday or Friday lesson. According to Goetz, "From the available documents it remains unclear how the Tuesday lessons were physically organized in 1887-88. It is possible that they were held in the congestion of a classroom in the outpatient facility, so that the professor, patient, and audience sat in immediate proximity to one another....There are other reports of Charcot's teaching in a more elaborate amphitheater, where he sat on a stage in profile to the audience and the patient....Both formats were obviously used, but the dates of the amphitheater's construction and use remain vague." [199] According to Simon-Dhouailly, Brouillet placed the scene in a room that was definitely not the amphitheatre Charcot reserved for his Friday lessons. Simon-Dhouailly's conclusion is based on Guillain's description of the Friday lessons. According to this account, during the Friday lessons, Charcot gave his lecture from a raised platform. He might stand or sit, but was surrounded by his students.



FIGURE 99 - PAUL RICHER

BASEDOW'S DISEASE

This clearly does not match the scene in Brouillet's canvas. [200] On the other hand, Guillain's description does correspond very well to a sketch by Richer of a Friday lesson by Charcot on Basedow's disease. [201] Signoret, who argues that the painting shows a Tuesday lesson, believes that the scene is not the amphitheater of the Friday clinics. He comments that the painting is realistic enough that we can be certain that the lesson is not taking place in the Charcot amphitheater. "Besides," he notes, "the Charcot amphitheatre was built later." [202] He does not, however, say when exactly.

In the 1880s, Dr. Charcot was so well-known that he was recognized wherever he went in Paris. Both his admirers and detractors testified to Charcot's striking appearance and handsome features. Leon Daudet's description when Charcot was sixty mixes sarcasm and praise. Daudet wrote that Charcot

had, at the turn of his sixtieth year, a beautiful and strong face, semi-Dantesque, semi-Napoleonic, only slightly thicker. His hair was long and smoothed down, his meditative forehead [temporaux] uncovered. His eyes, strongly fixed, passed from observant flame to reasonable light, interspersed with waves of suspicion, like an Othello of the library. The arch of his mouth, taut and ironical, leaned more to the right than to the left as usually happened to those who became disillusioned. One might have believed that he had just drunk a bitter and magical liquid....Professor Charcot gave the appearance of one who thought about everything at

all times even when it was an idea he had already decided. He had a sort of encyclopedic mask, which arrests and fascinates people, and which is a sign for them of intellectual supremacy and authority. I have heard young and charming women, even young girls, say of him, on first seeing him, in tones that did not leave any doubt as to their meaning: 'Oh! He is handsome!...He has more the look of a poet than a doctor....What a sculpture [buste] one could make from him.' [203]

Souques description not only gives the same impression of Charcot, but uses many of the exact same words and phrases. "His head, modeled like an ancient Roman head, made an unforgettable impression: a pensive forehead, bordered by flat straight hair which was brushed backward behind the ears and reached downward low on the neck; frowning eyebrows, scrutinizing eyes, so deeply set in the shadow of their orbits; and lips that bespoke silence. Charcot's profile, as seen in the engraving by Vernon, is more reminiscent of a Dante than a Bonaparte." [204] Souques had known Charcot well, having had been both his student and his last chief of clinic, yet his description seems to follow a formula. Sigmund Freud, who also knew Charcot, noted some of the same features. Freud described Charcot as "a tall man...with long hair held back by his ears, clean shaven, with very expressive features and full protruding lips." [205] Freud stated that Charcot gave the appearance of "a worldly priest." [206] Jules Goncourt rather maliciously reported that it was common

talk that Charcot shaved the hair at his temples because he believed it added to his appearance as a thinker. [207] James believes that the fact that there were so many representations of Charcot in literary and pictorial works evidence that he had "an almost obsessive with his appearance." [208]

Although Charcot may adopted an imperial public image, those who knew him personally reported that he was really quite different. This private Charcot was kindly, open and warm. James writes that, "Commentators who knew him well were struck by the incongruity between the public and private sides to his character....Guinon also observed 'un autre Charcot, tres different, au moins dans les apparences, du personnage que tout le monde connaissait.'" [209] Debove remarked that those who really did not know Charcot could easily misread his countenance. Debove does not indicate whether Charcot was purposely presenting a false image but he does say that at least at one public ceremony, the gentler side of Charcot was made visible. At that event, Charcot spoke about the role of a teacher in the lives of his students. "Those who then could have watched Charcot from afar would have seen his face darken and assume a severe air, but I, who was next to him, saw a tear well in the corner

of his eye. This is an example of why he seemed so different to those who saw him from a distance and to those who observed him close by." [210]

The elite of the capital's society, "tout Paris," visited the Salpêtrière to hear Charcot and Brouillet has painted them in attendance. In fact, the audience at Charcot's public sessions was often international. "Charcot, by his 'Tuesday Lessons' and his 'Friday Clinics' attracted a crowd of spectators who came from all over the world." [211] Jan Goldstein emphasizes Charcot's showmanship. "The theatricality of Charcot's Friday lessons, where patients in nervous crisis and hypnotic trance were exhibited before an avid audience including artists and litterateurs as well as physicians." [212] In the 1920s, Leon Daudet remembered that that not only did "tout Paris attend the Tuesday sessions, but many government officials could be seen there since Charcot's views on hysteria matched their own political ideas. "A well-known painting (of which photographs can be seen everywhere) has popularized these sessions at the Salpêtrière, at which 'tout Paris' attended thirty-five years ago. Mixed in with them were writers, artists and political leaders because hysteria and cerebral localizations

were part of the laic and republican program." [213]

Signoret asks, "Did Charcot choose the spectators along with Brouillet?" [214] In my view, the question should be reversed. Did Brouillet choose the spectators along with Charcot? Brouillet was still a fairly young artist in 1887. Charcot was a powerful and successful doctor. It seems most probable that Charcot, the Caesar of the Salpetriere, who never even let any of his assistants publish without first getting his approval, would have been the one who selected the people Brouillet included in the painting.

Why would Charcot have chosen these people? Twenty-five of them, including Babinski, Fere, Pierre Marie, Gilles de la Tourette, Alix Joffroy, Edouard Brissaud, Paul Berbez, Romain Vigouroux and Albert Londe were members of the Charcot "school" at the Salpetriere. Others, like Bourneville, Claretie and Victor Cornil, although known for work outside the Salpetriere, had professional connections to Charcot and the hospital. But seven others in the painting, Alfred Joseph Naquet, Paul Arene, Edouard Lelorrain, Mathias Duval, Maurice Debove and Philippe Burty, were not part of the Salpetriere staff and their inclusion deserves some explanation. Dubray of L'UNION MEDICAL felt that the inclusion of people who he thought should

not be there detracted from the overall effect of the canvas. "MM. Jules Claretie, Alfred Naquet et Paul Arene ne suivent pas normalement, que je sache, les leçons de M. Charcot, et leur presence dans cette belle composition...augmente le piquant au detriment de l'exactitude et de la simplicitie." [215]

Duval's presence in the painting is a reference to Charcot's conflict with the Nancy school and, parenthetically to Brouillet's Academic training. Duval was a biologist, not a medical doctor. At one time he had been professor of anatomy at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. In 1887, he held the chair of Histology at the Medical Faculty. Duval was an expert on hypnosis, having contributed the article in the (1874) NOUVEAU DICTIONNAIRE DE MEDECINE ET DE CHIRURGIE PRATIQUE. Signoret points out that Duval's definition of hypnosis in the article "already contains the three stages of grand hypnotisme." He speculates that Duval may have been Charcot's instructor in the techniques of hypnosis. Charcot's decision to include Duval among the attendees at the Tuesday lesson buttresses Charcot's position in the debate over hypnosis. His description of hypnosis is similar to Duval's. Furthermore, in this painting Duval's pupil Charcot has even superseded the former teacher. Interestingly

enough, Duval's own traditional portrait was exhibited at the 1887 Salon. Dubray described it as "Portrait assis, en robe, de grandeur naturelle, ressemblant, rendant bien l'expression reflechie et presque triste de sympathique professeur; la tete un peu trop fuyante et pas assez eclairee." [217]

In the "hypnotism debate," Charcot and the Salpetriere school were opposed by Bernheim and the Nancy school, a "lutte longue et passionnee,"[218] in the words of Simon-Dhouailly. The central differences between the schools might be summarized as three-fold. They disagreed as to whether normal people or only hysterics could be hypnotized, if hypnotized subjects experienced Charcot's three stages (lethargy, catalepsy, somnambulism) and if hypnotized subjects could be induced to commit acts which they might not commit except for having been hypnotized. Bernheim's opinion was that many normal people, not just hysterics, could be hypnotized. Charcot's group disputed this claim, arguing that if a "normal" person was hypnotized, there must have been some neurological condition that had been overlooked. In addition, the Nancians claimed that if the subject did experience all three stages, it was a result of suggestion made by the doctor. Jerome Schneck has written, "Also known as the

School of Paris, the Charcot group referred to at times as the physicalists, was particularly interested in hypnotic phenomena which they felt were based on physical stimulation primarily....The stages propounded by Charcot, even in their most clear-cut manifestation...were felt by the Liebault-Bernheim faction to be based on suggestion offered the subjects....The concept of suggestion in a rather broad sense was heavily emphasized and the Nancy group is also referred to as the "Suggestionists." [219]

During the 1880s, discussions of hypnotism were not confined to the medical schools. Mary Elisabeth James, among others, points out that the questions surrounding hypnotism were widely debated among the general public. Their interest seemed mainly to center on two topics: whether innocent people could be made to commit crimes through hypnotic suggestion and if unwilling young women could be taken advantage of sexually. The public was concerned if hypnosis could undermine the moral foundations of society. Many people wondered whether criminals might successfully invoke the claim of "hypnotic suggestion" in their defense.[220] "The press had a field day," according to James. "Public opinion was deeply stirred by articles in popular journals and the daily press on the

subject of the far-reaching implications of suggestion. The press emphasized Bernheim's idea that there was no limit to the scope of immorality that a criminally inclined hypnotist might wreak." [221]

The debate over hypnotism as it was carried in the contemporary French press has been studied by Robert Hillman. Following Charcot's experiments at the Salpetriere, "an article in LA MEDECINE POPULAIRE noted that everyone was talking about magnetism, 'in drawing rooms, journals, and reviews. It is practiced in hospitals, scientific societies, theatres, and homes.'" [222] In addition to straight news articles, "magnetism was a popular subject of serial stories in newspapers and novels." [223] The same journals named Charcot as the force behind the revival of interest in experiments of hypnosis. Anatole France asked, "Aren't doctors afraid that these objective experiments will be repeated by dishonest men with a sinful goal?" [224]

In many of the sensational stories that appeared in the popular press, the villains were medical students who violated their trust as (future) physicians and took advantage of their special knowledge of medical science. Two stories that appeared in LE TEMPS in March, 1887, for example, involved sexual assaults on female hospital

patients.[225] Even if these stories were invented, and Hillman expresses some doubt about whether they really happened, the editors knew that the public was sufficiently interested in stories involving hypnotism to print them. The cover illustration of Number 343 of LES HOMMES D'AUJOURD 'HUI was designed to exploit the notoriety that Charcot and hypnotism had gained. It depicts "Le Professeur Charcot," his face inside a death's head. Both of Charcot's hands are visible. They are strong hands with elongated fingers held in macabre gestures. Together with the shading used by the artist Luque, the image gives Charcot an extremely sinister appearance. Above the skull and rising from the shade is the word, "Suggestion." [226]

UNE SUGGESTION was also the title chosen by the Swedish artist, Sven Richard Bergh, for a painting he exhibited at the 1887 Salon. Bergh, born in Stockholm in 1858, had several connections to the group of artists who were painting these new scenes of living doctors. In Paris, Bergh studied with Jean-Paul Laurens, one of Brouillet's teachers. Bergh's studio was at Rue Campagne-Premier 15, the same address at which Brouillet had had his studio. (By 1888, Brouillet had relocated to Boulevard du Mont-Parnasse 139.)[227] The Catalogue of the National Museum in Stockholm (to

LE PROFESSEUR CHARCOT



FIGURE 100 - (unsigned) "SUGGESTION" LE PROFESSEUR CHARCOT



FIGURE 101 - RICHARD BERGH      SUGGESTION  
(A SESSION OF HYPNOTISM IN PARIS)

which the painting was donated in 1915) gives the painting an alternative title, UNE SEANCE HYPNOTIQUE EN FRANCE. The change in title is clearly not simply an effort to be more descriptive. The original two-word title the artist gave his painting at the time of its submission to the Salon is certainly more dramatic, and clearly focuses on the hypnotism controversy. Bergh's painting depicts one of the home experiments of hypnosis which were very popular in the 1880s. Three young men and one young woman watch as the hypnotizer places the subject into a state of hypnosis. She is clearly under his control. All six people in the canvas are dressed very properly; we can even see the pocket handkerchief in the jacket of one of the men who watches.

Charles Ponsonailhe, writing L'ARTISTE's Salon review that year, made a direct comparison between Bergh's painting and Brouillet's UNE LEÇON CLINIQUE A LA SALPETRIÈRE. He called it fortuitous that the two paintings had been placed very near each other in the same room (paintings were assigned to rooms alphabetically, although placement within the rooms was based on the jury's verdict), since both were about experiments of hypnotism and the public would thus easily be able to contrast them. Ponsonailhe much

preferred Bergh's to Brouillet's. Compared to Bergh's, Ponsonailhe wrote, Brouillet's was rather lifeless and dull, merely "a large reproduction of the scientist's course." Bergh's on the other hand, was a picture of real human beings, "an experiment among intimate friends, and especially among those who believed in suggestion." Bergh's painting had the same attraction as a novel filled with mystery; Brouillet's, on the other hand, was "as cold as an official report." [228] Dubray could not resist joking about the proximity of Brouillet's and Bergh's paintings. "As for those people who prefer effective hypnotism, but not with a great orchestra, will find what they seek in this same room 23. UNE SUGGESTION by a Swedish painter, Monsieur Bergh, shows us a red-haired woman, with bulging and convulsive eyes, who twists herself up under the magnetic power of a man of whom we can only see his back and his abundant hair, black and disheveled....Monsieur Bergh's people could very well profit from their proximity in order to make a tour of the Salpetriere, and there to learn by making a study of hypnotism under more calm conditions." [229]

A painting which was exhibited at the 1890 Salon [Champs-Elysees], LES FASCINES DE LA CHARITÉ, by Georges Moreau de Tours, indicates that hypnotic



FIGURE 102 - G. MOREAU DE TOURS,  
CHARITÉ

LES FASCINES DE LA

suggestion even three years later was still the subject of Salon paintings. Georges LaFenestre, in the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, gave a brief description of the painting and explained to his readers that the term, fascine, meant in this context, "patients of both sexes who have been hypnotized by a spinning mirror (miroir tournant)....All the contortions, gesticulations, stupefactions of these hysterics and neurotics are not, to speak truly, very agreeable to look at for any length of time. The work is, however, one of the best observed, the best drawn and the best painted that Monsieur de Tours has done." [230] The painting was also noticed by Albert Wolff, critic of LE FIGARO. According to Wolff, "Monsieur Moreau de Tours has abandoned the past centuries and taken from modern science the motif of his painting. He shows us a meeting of the hypnotized in the Salle Louis, submitting to the effects of the rotating mirror." [231] Georges Moreau de Tours was slightly older than the artists discussed so far, but only slightly. Born in 1848 at Ivry-sur-Seine, he had studied in Cabanel's atelier. Moreau de Tours was perhaps particularly interested in the fascines since his father had been a doctor specializing in mental illnesses (alienist) and had worked at both the Bicetre

and Salpêtrière hospitals. In the painting, the chart on the wall next to the window is labeled "Phases of Hypnotism," and its three periods described by Charcot are listed: Somnambulism at the top, Catalepsy in the middle and Lethargy at the bottom. The hypnotized patients' expressions and actions also clearly illustrate these hypnotic phases. [232]

Thus it can easily be understood that if Charcot's interest was to illustrate the correctness of his viewpoint in the hypnotism controversy, Brouillet's interest would have seen that hypnotism was a subject that was both "of his own time" and sure to attract public attention to him.

Among the other people in Brouillet's canvas, Edouard Lelorrain was both a Doctor of Medicine and a Doctor of Law. He was an expert on how the responsibility of hysterics before the law. In Lelorrain's opinion, hysterics believe that they are permitted to anything they please and often act upon this illusion. Medical practitioners, however, by means of a "wise repression" can dispel such beliefs and prevent their committing any criminal activities. "Thus hysteria alone is not an excuse for non-responsibility." [233] Charcot added that hypnotic suggestion also could not be claimed as an excuse. The

hypnotized subject, according to Charcot, could not be made to do anything which she could not morally do in her waking state.

The writer Paul Arene was known for his stories depicting life in the French countryside. He had been Alphonse Daudet's collaborator, and wrote the first few "Lettres De Mon Moulin." Arene was also a personal friend of the Charcot family, and a frequent guest at Charcot's Tuesday evening dinners. But bad feeling had arisen between the Charcots and the Daudets. Both personal relationships and professional matters were involved. Friends chose sides and cut relations with those in the other group. Edmond de Goncourt, for example, joined the Daudet camp; Arene stayed friendly with Charcot. [234] Signoret asks rhetorically, "was it a sort of malice to choose Paul Arene rather than Alphonse Daudet to represent literature?" [235] But who chose and whose malice was it?

Signoret expresses his uncertainty whether this malice was Brouillet's or Charcot's. But Brouillet had no reason for anger with Daudet; Charcot, on the other hand, did (or at least he felt he did). It appears most likely, that the decision to exclude Daudet and to include Arene was made by Charcot.

Phillippe Burty was both art critic and

collector. He was among the first in France to be interested in Japanese art. was also Arene's close friend. Simon-Dhouailly believes that Burty's appearance in the painting is based on the fact that in addition to having a keen interest in Charcot's work on hysteria, Charcot was treating Burty's daughter Madeleine for depression and melancholy. "On comprend mieux le sens de sa presence sur le tableau de Brouillet." [236]

Alphonse Joseph Naquet was both a physicist and a medical doctor. He was also a political leader, author of the Loi Naquet of 1884, which liberalized divorce in France. Naquet was Jewish, a radical, a freethinker and Deputy from the Vaucluse. In his early career in the Chamber, Naquet had been an activist for reform of the medical profession, proposing both the abolition of the *officiat* and of all the provincial medical schools. Naquet's connection to Charcot is, however, direct. In 1882, Naquet had been one of Gambetta's strong supporters in the Chamber of Deputies (Alfred de Mahy was the other. De Mahy had worked with Naquet during the 1870s on proposals for reform of medical education.) and had played a leading role in winning approval of the creation of Charcot's Chair at the Salpêtrière. It was Naquet who convinced the

Chamber to vote 200,000 francs for its endowment.

By 1887, Naquet had become a leader of the Boulangist party. According to Guillain, Charcot was not a political person in the narrowest sense and the only political opinion Charcot ever expressed was anti-Boulangist. "Charcot never engaged in politics. He himself was a liberal and entertained at his table and at his soirees men who had quite different political ideologies, such as Gambetta, Waldeck-Rousseau, and Cardinal Lavigerie. On one occasion only, at the time of the scandal of General Boulanger, did he fail to conceal his aversion for all dictators." [237] It thus may seem odd that the Boulangist Naquet would be included in Charcot's portrait. But it was only after April, 1887, that Boulanger began to be seen as a serious threat to the Republic. He was not "exiled" to Clermont-Ferrand until July. Boulanger's appointment as War Minister in 1886 had represented the entry of the Radicals into the Opportunist government. Goncourt has described Naquet as having "the head of a satyr." [238]

The painting does not conform in another way to what is known of the Tuesday lessons. These lessons were transcribed by three of Charcot's students: Colin, Blin and Charcot's son, Jean-Baptiste. Except for the

latter, all the interns on the Salpêtrière's training staff, Blocq, Hillemand, Valet, Thibault, Achard and Poulalion, are absent from Brouillet's canvas. [239] Only three people in the painting seem to be taking notes, Pierre Marie, Paul Berbez and Henry Berbez. Paul Richer is also shown with a pencil in his hand, but he seems to be looking past Charcot and is most likely sketching Wittmann's posture. Jean-Baptiste Charcot is in the painting, but he leans against the window casement, arms folded in front of him.

In 1887, Richer was chief of the Laboratory of the Clinic of Diseases of the Nervous System (CHEF DE LABORATOIRE) [240] having served as Charcot's intern ten years earlier. Richer was noted for his talent as an artist and is seen in the painting sketching Charcot's lecture. Pierre Marie, thirty-four years old in 1887, held the rank of préparateur. Marie had been Charcot's intern and his private secretary. In 1886, he had published an article in the Revue de Medecine on progressive muscular atrophy which is often found in families. In 1888 he was named Medecin des Hopitaux. Paul Berbez had only published his doctoral thesis in 1887, but was named Chef de Clinique of the Illnesses of the Nervous System from 1887 to 1889. Henry Berbez was an extern in Charcot's clinic. In his doctoral

thesis of 1892 he acknowledged the importance of the Tuesday lessons in his education. Considering Marie's and the Berbez' positions, it is not unreasonable to portray them taking notes. Again, however, this does not conform to what is known of the event, since they were not the ones who actually made the written record of these Tuesday lessons. During 1887-1888, Colin, Blin and Jean-Baptiste took the lecture notes.

The apparatus table in the rear center of the canvas, however, adds detail to the medical setting. Visible are a Skoda hammer and several pieces of electrical equipment. Under the direction of Dr. Romain Vigouroux, electrotherapy had been part of the Salpetriere's program since 1875. The machines invented by Vigouroux are much larger pieces of equipment. Vigouroux and Albert Londe are the only two men in the painting who wear their caps of office. Each was the head of a special service at the Salpetriere, Londe's being the photographic section.

Mlle. Bottard was also one of the "stars" of the Salpetriere. She represented the ideal nurse, someone who might serve as a model for the new nurses just entering this emerging and laicized profession. "Vous-etes, lui dit-on, l'abnegation fait femme, l'ange du devouement, la demonstration vivante de cette verite

que la charite est oeuvre de femme et non oeuvre de robe." [241] She was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1898.

The two most important women in the painting contrast in several different ways. Mlle. Bottard was recognized for her irreproachable demeanor, a "sainte laique" according to some, who in forty-eight years of service never missed a day of work and who almost never left the hospital. Her attire reflects her irreproachable morality and devotion. The second woman, Blanche Wittman, whose sexuality was part of her notoriety, is depicted semi-nude and attractively feminine. "Le corsage defait, elle se renverse en arriere dans une crispation nerveuse qui expose sa poitrine nue a la lumiere vive." [242] Bottard is discipline and order personified. Wittman is hysteria and lack of control.

Although these two appear so different, they have in common the fact that they both submit to Charcot's authority. He has taken control of both their lives, medically, physically and spiritually. Submission is the metaphor of the painting, for not only is Charcot in control of nurses and patients, the painting illustrates his authority over mental illness. Gilman argues that the painting, by placing Charcot and

Babinski in the positions held by Pinel and Pussin in Robert-Fleury's painting, implies that Charcot is the liberator of the insane.[242a] But the painting shows rather that he is their Caesar.

The painting is clearly unbalanced in its placement of the people in it. Not counting Charles Fere and Paul Richer who are at the center of the canvas, there are twenty-four men to our left and only five, including Charcot, to our right. All three women in the painting are on the right. Only Babinski, taller than Charcot, stands to our right.[243] But the painting's balance is established through the weight of Charcot's authority which more than compensates for the mass of people to our left. His single figure, with perhaps the assistance of a few aides, dominates all the rest. Charcot does not look at anyone in the painting, he looks over and beyond them, teaching not just those in his clinic but others outside, even perhaps those who challenged his ideas.

Another oil portrait of Charcot, painted in August, 1881 by the Italian artist, Eduardo Tofano, shows Charcot in his robes as a Professor at the Faculty of Medicine. It depicts Charcot with a determined gaze that extends beyond the picture plane. The painting was made one



FIGURE 103 - EDUARDO TOFANO

CHARCOT

year before his chair at the Salpetriere was created, but clearly shows Charcot as a strong and dominant figure. The Legion of Honor on his lapel as well as the glasses which hang in front of him add to his importance.

Tofano's portrait does not place Charcot in any medical milieu. Unlike the setting of Brouillet's portrait seven years later, Tofano's does not portray Charcot at work. Only the red robe Charcot wears identifies him as a member of the Medical Faculty. The difference between the portrait made at the beginning of the decade and that made in 1887 is significant.

Tofano was born in Naples in 1838, but by the time he was commissioned to paint this portrait, he had become so assimilated into the Parisian art community that in 1893, Georges Lafenestre, writing in the *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*, identified Tofano as, although Italian, among those who "living in France have more or less lost their exotic flavor and simply form a special class of Parisian artists and whom we can look upon as our own." [244] When the *Societe des Artistes Francais* and the *Societe Nationale* split apart, Tofano chose to go with the *Nationale* and exhibited at the *Champ de Mars*.

The twenty year age difference between Tofano

and Brouillet may have contributed somewhat to the difference in the way Charcot appears in the two portraits. But in the interval between their being painted, I believe, important changes had occurred which affected the way individual doctors who worked at the Paris hospitals came to be portrayed. The two paintings, among others, indicate a "before" and "after" and illustrate the change over time.

Jan Goldstein's work suggests that Brouillet's canvas was not only about hypnosis, but about hysteria. She has argued that one of Charcot's major goals was to increase the position and power of his speciality in medicine, in her words, "the territorial expansion of psychiatry." [245] In her view, the hysteria diagnosis served as a tool for the Salpetriere school to carry out their expansionist program. "Why should the incidence of hysteria have attained so high a level in the 1880s when the disease was so uncommon among Parisian asylum inmates earlier in the century." [246] According to Goldstein, Charcot argued that hysteria was a disease which could take many forms. Hysteria could resemble other illnesses and could fool physicians. In Charcot's words, "L'hysterie peut tout simuler." [247] That is it could only until Charcot had described its phases

and made it recognizable. Before Charcot hysteria had been confused for several illnesses, epilepsy for example. Only Charcot provided sure methods to differentiate hysterical illnesses from all the others. Brouillet's painting illustrates Charcot's total mastery over hysteria. In the painting, Charcot instructs the world. His long interest in art and his own use of oil paintings in retrospective diagnosis would have made him sensitive to the relationship between art and medicine. Charcot had said that "on verra, pour le plus grand profit de tous, l'art et la science marcher de concert et se donnant la main."  
[248]

Goldstein argues that Charcot's work was part of the "political fit between the political regime and the psychiatric profession." [249] In Goldstein's view, hysteria had been transformed into a vehicle for the Republican program of laicization, a program that was strongly supported by Charcot and the Salpêtrière school, Bourneville above all. Charcot had demonstrated that previously accepted religious experiences could be given secular and medical explanations. In Charcot's view, these states of "demonic possession" or "stigmata" were cases of hysteria. "The diagnosis became politicized....it was

consonant with the frenetic crusade for laicization that marked republican politics in this era." [250]

Charcot emphasizes the ideas in his lecture by pointing stiffly with the index finger of his right hand. The patient's arms are held rigidly behind her arched back, her hands in tight fists. According to Telson, she has lost muscle control. [251] Babinski holds her up and Nurse Bottard is ready to catch her if she falls. Her posture echos the arc-en-cercle on the wall and her smile displays the happy face that Charcot associated with his second phase of the hysteroleptic spell. One of Charcot's beliefs was that he could induce hysterical attacks by means of compression on a patient's "hysterogenic" points or zones. In the notes of Charcot's Tuesday lesson of February 7, 1888, we read that the patient had three such points: on her back, under her left breast and on her leg. Charcot also claimed that he could halt attacks in a true hysteric by compression on the patient's ovarian region. If one compressed this area in an epileptic, the attack would not cease. As Charcot taught,

Do this in a real epileptic and nothing will happen, showing you immediately the difference between epilepsy and hysterolepsy. In contrast to this situation, epilepsy has no direct link with the ovary. See how the attack is momentarily

suspended by abdominal compression....Now we will release the compression, and you will see how the attack promptly recommences. here comes the epileptoid phase again....Here now comes the arched back. Note the consistent pattern, always predictable and regular....Let us press again on the hysterogenic point. Here we go again. Occassionally subjects even bite their tongues, but this would be rare. Look at the arched back, which is so well described in the textbooks." [252]

By this reading of the lecture notes, the precise moment of Charcot's clinical demonstration depicted in Brouillet's painting can be pinpointed.

Brouillet did not receive any Salon awards in 1887. Fernand Cormon was the winner of the 1887 Salon's Medal of Honor. Fifteen other artists received second place awards and twenty-eight more were given third place honors. Brouillet pressured the Fine Arts administration to purchase the painting for the State, not an uncommon practice for artists. Whether Charcot's connections to the government made the difference is unknown, but the Ministry of Fine Arts finally did buy it, paying 3,000 Francs. It was one of the six works by Brouillet that were shown at the 1889 Universal Exposition. Two years later, in 1891, Leon Bourgeois, Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, sent the painting to the small provincial museum at Nice. There the museum authorities put the painting in storage. "How can we explain," asks Nadine Simon-Dhouailly, "the fame of a canvas which, during nearly

seventy five years, slept in the attic of a museum?"

[253]

That this painting should have been sent to a museum far from the Parisian medical world and stored out of sight in a museum's attic for such a long time is not really that difficult to explain. Paintings were sent to museums throughout France according to a formal system of envoi which the government of the Third Republic inherited from the Second Empire and had not changed to any large degree. Museums were ranked into one of four classes, the Luxembourg in Paris receiving the top rating. Those in important cities like Bordeaux and Marseilles also were awarded the highest rank. Newly established museums in small towns, however, were rated either class Three or Four. According to Daniel Sherman, the government tried to follow a policy of "distributive fairness" when it came to the number of paintings a museum would receive. But it did not follow the same evenhandedness when it came to distribution of paintings it considered important. Prize winning paintings were sent only to the first-ranked museums. [254] A painting by an artist from a provincial town might be sent to the museum in his hometown and these museums frequently requested the State to send it paintings by local artists. According

to Sherman, these requests were frequently fulfilled. [255] The art administration, however, would not send too many by one artist, even a "native son," to any single museum. Brouillet's family had been connected to the museum at Poitiers, his father having served as director, but the state had already sent Brouillet's 1881 canvas, VIOLATION DU TOMBEAU DE URGEL there. His 1886 Salon entry, LE PAYSAN BLESSÉ, which had been awarded a second class medal, was purchased by the art administration for envoi to the Fine Arts museum at Grenoble. [256]

The directors of the Nice Museum placed the LECON CLINIQUE canvas in storage when it arrived. Whether the directors were forced to do so by the lack of exhibition space or whether they were making a judgment about the artistic merits of the painting or expressing their independence of the Fine Arts administration in Paris is unclear. In the view of Nadine Simon-Dhouailly, the decision, however regrettable, was most probably made because the museum lacked exhibition space. According to Simon-Dhouailly, provincial museums received so many paintings, that "it is very clear that the museums could not show everything they had. In the minds of the directors, often art collectors themselves, the need was to

conserve the work of art." [257] But Simon-Dhouailly ignores the question of why the directors believed that what they already had on exhibit was more deserving to be seen than Brouillet's painting. The excuse that there was not enough room was, even by 1890, worn-out. It had even recently appeared in fiction. In Zola's novel, L'OEUVRE, published in 1886, the destitute sculptor Mahoudeau complains that even when the Arts Administration buys a piece from an artist, it remains, "emmagasinee dans quelque cave officielle, sous le pretexte que la place manquait." [258] Reviews of the painting had been generally unflattering, and the Nice Museum directors did not feel compelled to display the canvas. Maurice Hamel had written in the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS' Salon review for that "M. Brouillet has only produced a mediocre illustration. Breadth of composition cannot compensate for the sadness of his weak light, the bitterness of his tones, the weakness of the figures and the indecision of their look. As information, LA LECON CLINIQUE is only approximate; as a painting it is an error." [259]

Although the painting was stored away, prints and photographs of it were widely circulated. Leon Daudet had called it a "celebrated painting, and of which the photographs are all over the streets." [260]



FIGURE 104 - ANDRÉ BROUILLET

LE PAYSAN BLESSÉ

According to Simon-Dhouailly, it was "through its reproduction that most people discovered it. Pirodon shared with several others the privilege of making an engraving and selling copies. A later photographic reproduction of the canvas rapidly gave it the impression of its being a familiar image." [261]

Pirodon's print popularized Brouillet's canvas and, according to Howard Telson, greatly enhanced Charcot's public image as "the supreme scientist, teacher, and entertainer." [262] Certainly an interesting combination of talents, but Telson is clearly referring to the dramatic demonstration as well as to the audience. It was this print, in fact, that entered the collection of several well-known people. Sigmund Freud displayed it prominently on his office wall. In discussing Freud's ownership of the Pirodon print, Wesley Morgan not only relates the scene to the Bernheim-Charcot dispute, but speculates that it is connected to Freud's change of position from supporting Charcot to supporting Bernheim. According to Morgan, "The purchase may reflect Freud's conflict concerning the famous Bernheim-Charcot controversy over the nature of hypnosis." [263] Morgan's theory is that Freud's ownership of the print may have provided him "with symbolic compensation for the anticipated fall from

Charcot's grace that Freud's imminent change in allegiance would bring about." [264]

When the government wanted to encourage the dissemination of a print or photograph, it had several ways to do so. For example, it might grant licenses to reproduce and distribute the prints to more than one person. Conversely, when the government wanted to limit or prevent the distribution of a print, it had various means to do so. It is interesting to compare the State's encouragement of the circulation of prints of Brouillet's painting with its handling of prints made from portraits of General Boulanger, a favorite with artists at the same exhibition, but whose whose popularity the government wished to control. According to Donald English, "French painters submitted so many renditions of Boulanger to the annual Salon of 1887 that the journal LE CHARIVARI satirized the exhibition in an article entitled 'The One Hundred Portraits of the General.'" [265] One observer, watching the vernissage of March, 1887 remarked that "So great is the popularity of the subject, that whichever artist interprets it, either well or poorly, all the portraits of General Boulanger (and it appears that there are a regiment of them) were cheered as they passed by." [266] The Boulangists made prints of these portraits

and circulated them among voters. "Increasingly alarmed by the most intensive political campaign in the history of French by-elections, the government finally forbade the distribution of even certain materials produced in France." [267] At the same time, the government wanted to bring Charcot's image (his anti-Boulangier position was known) to as wide a public as possible and Pirodon was required to share his rights of reproduction and distribution. Although several different prints thus were put into circulation, Pirodon's was the most successful. Clearly, then, the government the government believed that it could benefit from the widest dissemination of the LECON CLINIQUE.

When the the Societe Nationale des Beaux-Arts split from the Societé des Artistes Francais in 1890, Brouillet stayed with the original group and continued to send his canvases to the Champs-Elysées. The Societe des Artistes Francais maintained it rule of accepting only two paintings from each artist, whereas the newer group did not limit the number of works an artist might show. At the Champs-de-Mars, an artist might even show works that had been exhibited

previously.

Albert Wolff remarked that modern life was reflected in paintings that could be seen throughout the Salon at the Champs-Elysee in 1890. "La vie moderne se reflète donc un peu partout au Salon." [268] Moreau de Tours, he wrote, had taken the subject for his painting [which he mislabeled HYPNOTISME] from modern science. This painting was very much like a scene of modern surgery, Edward Bisson's LA LITHOTRITIE. "This scientific scene," Wolff wrote about Moreau de Tours' canvas, "leads me directly to speak about several others. The first of these is a painting donated to the Necker Hospital by M. Osiris, who is seen in it extended on his bed. Standing behind the bed is Doctor Guyon. Seated in front is doctor Potain who takes the pulse of the patient who has just been operated on for stones." [268a] Bisson had originally called the painting, APRÈS L'OPERATION, a title that is perhaps a bit too general and not particularly identified with Guyon's speciality. In subsequent years, however, the painting was referred to by its more specific title. In actuality, the painting appears to be of a lithotomy, a removal of the kidney stone rather than a lithotrity, the crushing of the stones in the bladder.



FIGURE 105 - EDOUARD BISSON

LA LITHOTRIPIE

The painting had been commissioned by the patient, Osiris, to honor his surgeon, Dr. Jean Casimir Felix Guyon (1831-1920), the noted urologist. Even among his medical peers, Guyon was known as the "grand maitre actuel de la lithotritie." [269] By the time Osiris commissioned the painting, he was already noted as a generous supporter of the arts, at least of certain styles of art. He had previously offered a one hundred thousand franc prize at several Expostions Universelles for "la plus belle manifestation d'art." His view of what was beautiful in art, which perhaps explains why he selected Bisson for the painting, can be seen from his public donations. Among them were Antonin Mercier's GUILLAUME TELL to the city of Geneva and Fremiet's JEANNE D'ARC to the city of Nancy.

Edouard Bisson was born in Paris, April 6, 1856 and studied in Gerome's atelier. The author of the ALBUM GONNON'S short article about the canvas expresses a certain amount of puzzlement over how this artist, whose early Salon entries seemed to be the standard entries one might encounter there and having nothing to do with modern life, would one day be commissioned to paint a canvas with this subject? "In 1881," the article asks, "in front of the exquisite figure of CONTEMPLATION which earned him his first

award at the Salon, what art lover, even the most informed, could have foreseen that Edouard Bisson, the painter of these delicious reveries, FLOREAL, PRINTANIA, LA CIGALE, popularised everywhere by their reproductions, would undertake a scene of surgery?"

[270] The question is a valid one, although its author has asked it anachronistically about paintings that were shown after LA LITHOTRITIE. LES FLEURS DU MATIN dates from 1903, LA CIGALLE from 1904, and LA PRIMAVERA, 1905. Since these were Bisson's canvases that were contemporary to the ALBUM GONNON, the author of the article may have cited them since they were more probably familiar to its readers. But he might have cited instead Bisson's 1884 SOLITUDE or his 1889 SUR LA PLAGE and asked the same question. The question, however, is the same asked about Gervex, Brouillet and the others. These artists adhered to the rules he had learned at the Academy even when engaged in painting subjects taken from modern life. The doctors who wanted to be shown as modern and scientific medical practitioners (or, as in this case, those who commissioned the paintings in order to honor such doctors) did not choose avant-garde artists for the task. Their purpose was not to associate themselves with the margins of either the medical or the art

world, but to be connected exactly with the same universe that attended the Salon regularly. Bisson was a member of the art "establishment," became an official of the Societe des Artistes Francais and was one of the organizers of its annual Salons.

To prepare for the painting, Bisson spent time at the Necker Hospital watching Guyon operate and Wolff remarked that the painting "would make a good effect" [271] placed on the hospital's walls. It is a large painting, as its photograph in its present location shows. [272]

Dr. Norech called it the most important painting of a medical scene at the Salon. After identifying several of the people in it (Guyon, Potain, Segond and Osiris), he remarked that Guyon's habitual dignified and cold demeanor had been well-captured by Bisson. Norech pointed out that not only were we shown the pieces of the stone that had been removed, but all the tools, bottles and instruments of surgery. Clearly visible on the right, behind Osiris, are his lithotomy instruments. Guyon stands at exact center of the composition, a full head above the next tallest man, Dr. Guyot. Overall, however, Norech criticized the painting as fairly stiff. The people in it seemed to him that they were rooted to their places. "The

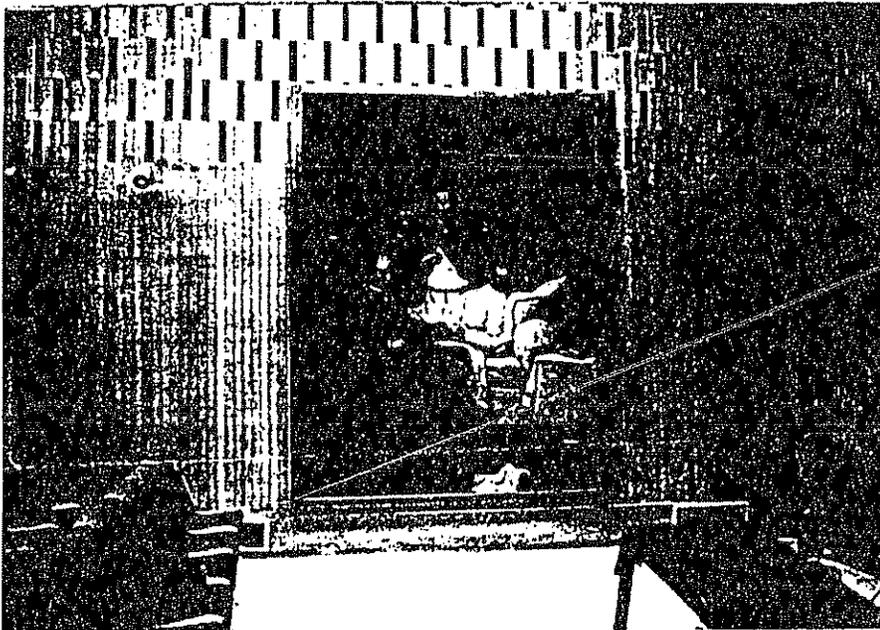


FIGURE 106 - EDOUARD BISSON LA LITHOTRITIE

surgeon is standing, in the full light, with the cold and dignified air that is habitual to him. He shows his assistants the crumbs of the stone that is contained in the reservoir of the aspirator. On the left, Monsieur Potain, painted with a striking likeness, takes the patient's pulse, while on the right Monsieur Segond, leans over the patient, who can be seen in three-quarters and who raises himself up on his shoulder. The whole of the composition is embellished with instrument holders, with bottles and a table covered with instruments and appears a bit cold. On the other hand, the portraits are of a great and striking resemblance, and one can only thank the generous donor who has offered it to the Necker Hospital, scene of Monsieur Guyon's exploits." [273]

The painting reminded George Lafenestre of both Rembrandt's DR. TULP and Feyen-Perrin's DR. VELPEAU in that it surrounded the subject with his professional colleagues in their normal workplace. It was, wrote Lafenestre, "in reality, a collection of portraits grouped together in their professional milieu, one of the tableaux called de corporation, so much in usage in seventeenth century Holland, and the taste for which has happily returned, since poor Feyen-Perrin, remembered for his LECON D'ANATOMIE of twenty-

odd years ago, which brought together on one canvas the images of the interns of the Charite in their wardroom." [273] Not only had Lafenestre's memory of Feyen-Perrin's painting faded somewhat (he may have been confusing it with Dore's decoration for the Charite Hospital which included an "Allegorie de Velpeau" in the internes' Salle de Garde), but more importantly, Lafenestre has failed to realize the important differences between those earlier paintings and Bisson's. Rembrandt's and Feyen-Perrin's were both anatomy lessons on cadavers. In Bisson's painting, Dr. Guyon has just finished the operation on a living patient. Osiris lets us know how well the surgery has gone by waking up from his anesthesia to congratulate his doctor. Bisson honors his subject's surgical skill by showing him in the operating theater, surrounded not only by his colleagues, but also by the instruments of surgery. Lafenestre does inform us that, by 1890, the taste for surgical scenes has again become widespread.

Lafenestre praised Bisson's skill in representing the main characters. He wrote that the painting "contains figures which have been carefully studied and marks a real progress in the tendencies and technique of the artist." [272] Seated on the large

chair taking the patient's pulse, is Dr. Pierre-Carl-Edouard Potain, a leading French cardiologist, inventor of a sphygmometer and member of the Academy of Medicine since 1882 (Legion of Honor in 1888. He had been Medecin de l'Hopital Necker since 1866. Two other surgeons from the Necker Hospital were depicted by Bisson. At the right of the painting is Dr. Paul Segond. In between Guyon and Potain is Dr. Guyot. Segond was born in 1851, and had already achieved some fame as a surgeon by the time of this painting. The two other men in the paintings are the composer Planquette and an unidentified relative of the patient. If the other eminent doctors included in the painting were there to bear witness to Guyon's eminence and expertise, Planquette is there for Osiris's sake, since music was another field in which Osiris had interests and involvement.

Leonce Benedite commented that Bisson's painting had continued to represent the themes of modern work and modern science that had been shown so dramatically at the World's Fair of the previous year. The Universal Exposition, he believed, had certainly intensified feelings about work and science, if not actually engendering the glorification of these subjects. Bisson's painting of Dr. Guyon reflected

both themes. The surgeon is shown in his usual workplace, mastering modern science in order to operate successfully. "To misery and to illness which also have their representations, we must add another essentially modern inspiration, the glorification of work and of science. This was an inspiration that was manifested so strongly at the last great international fair. This year we also see workshops and laboratories: A CHEMISTRY LESSON AT THE MEDICAL FACULTY by Monsieur Laurent Gsell travels along the path traced by Messieurs Brouillet and Gervex, as does the very interesting canvas by M. Bisson: AFTER THE OPERATION, a canvas that is traditional in its art qualities. In its composition it recalls the Dutch school, by its life and its clarity it is truly modern." [275]

Although Benedite only traces the roots of these paintings back to the Salon of 1887 rather than to that of 1886, his judgment is accurate in seeing that these artists have combined academic principles and modern subjects.

How has Bisson represented the Necker Hospital and this particular operating theater? Guyon, like Pean and Charcot were associated with particular hospitals. Lafenestre's review of the painting remarked particularly that the scenes of hospitals that

were now being exhibited at the Salon no longer weighed viewers down with the melodramas taken from the lives of the poorest and most miserable people. These were the canvases that had been associated with naturalism. Lafenestre found that instead, the new paintings showed scientific activity and human charity that now was part of the modern hospital experience. The modern surgeon could be both a scientist and a humanitarian; hospital care was no longer to be feared. "A la ville comme à la campagne, sauf de rares exceptions, nos peintres n'ont plus trop le gout des scenes ultra realistes, des drames et melodrames; nous les en felicitons. S'ils nous presentent assez souvent des interieurs d'hopitaux, c'est plutot pour nous y montrer des formes de l'activitie scientifique et de la charité humaine que pour nous y appesantir sur des misères lamentables." [276] According to the author of the article in the ALBUM GONNON, Bisson had been visiting the Necker hospital and observing Guyon at work in the year prior to the painting's Salon exhibition. The hospital is shown as a comfortable place, certainly not the forbidding house of horrors of its reputation earlier in the century. The bed seems comfortable, with ample pillows behind the patient. He is not strapped down to a table, as even the patient in

Gervex's AVANT L'OPERATION had been. Although no nurses are present nor are any hospital orderlies visible, Guyon still wears his white tablier and the surgical instruments are present, so it appears that this was the where the operation took place; Osiris is not simply recovering in another room. The full draperies above provide privacy; the patient is fully covered as well. The painting is certainly a fine advertisement for the comfort, care, science and expertise to be found at the Necker.

At the 1892 Salon, Jules Adler, exhibited LA TRANSFUSION DU SANG DE CHEVRE. Adler was only twenty-seven years old in 1892, but had already been exhibiting at the Salon since 1885. Born at Luxeuil, he came to Paris to study in 1882. He stayed for a short time at the Ecole des Arts Decoratifs, but left very soon for the Academie Julian and the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts in Yvon's course. He competed twice unsuccessfully for the Prix de Rome. At the Academie Julian, he studied with Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury. But the influence of his friend, Dagnan-Bouveret, was able to shift somewhat the thrust of this completely academic training. "If one examines the already important work of the artist," wrote the author of the short piece in the ALBUM GONNON, "one can easily



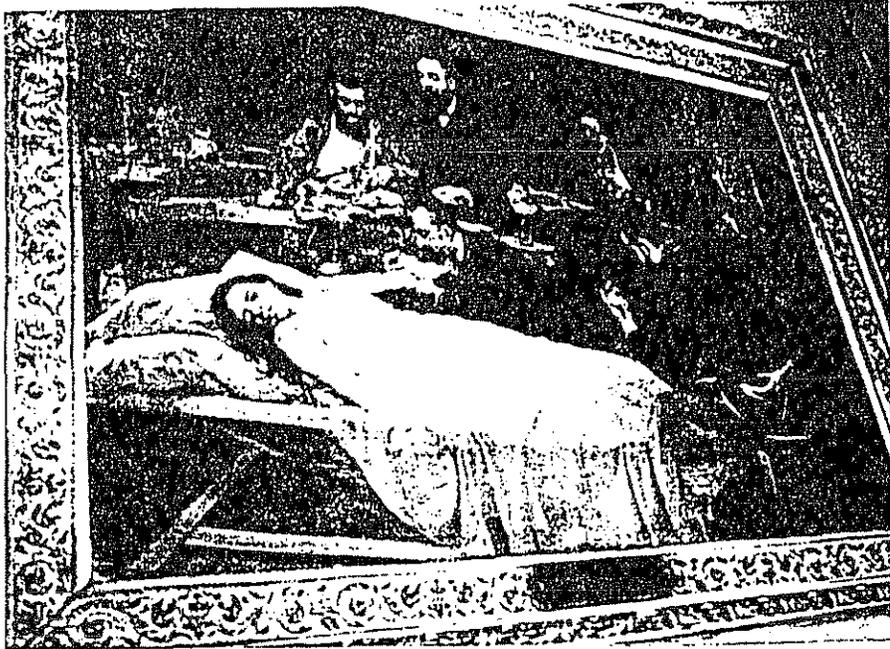


FIGURE 108 - JULES ADLER      TRANSFUSION DU SANG DE  
CHEVRE (PHOTOGRAPH BY BERT HANSEN)

read in it that the first two maitres represent for him l'Ecole, the first steps towards the knowledge of his art. But Dagnan-Bouveret is his true teacher of choice who has had an irresistable attraction for him." [277] If Dagnan-Bouveret's attraction was irresistable for Adler's art, it may not have been for the artist. When the Salon split in 1890, Adler chose to stay with his teachers Bouguereau and Tony Robert-Fleury at the Champs-Elysées rather than with his friend Dagnan-Bouveret at the Champs de Mars.

The painting is a portrait of Dr. Bernheim, shown supervising his experimental procedure. In the 1870s and 1880s, doctors were experimenting with blood transfusions, including animal-to-human transfusions. Despite the known dangers that studies of transfusions had revealed, doctors continued to do them. Louis K. Diamond writes that "The studies of the fate of infused blood in heterologous transfusions, especially in the thorough experiments and analyses of Landois [1874, RW], should have banished forever the use of animal blood for humans. After a lag of a few years, this occurred almost worldwide. However, as late as 1928, a monograph appeared in France by Cruchet, Ragot, and Caussimon, again advocating transfusion of the blood of animals into humans." [278] Dr. Norech, indicated

that animal-to-human transfusions were no longer being done in France, at least not those involving goats. "Oh! I almost finished the review and omitted reporting one canvas. It remains to us to mention that a very moving scene THE TRANSFUSION OF A BLOOD TAKEN FROM A GOAT, by Monsieur J. Adler. A young tubercular female, still in a fairly healthy state, is lying on a stretcher in a laboratory and is receiving in her left arm blood furnished by a poor animal who is tied to a table. We must say that this subject is no longer in occurrence." [279] Bernheim stands between the patient and the goat from whom the blood is being taken. Three of his four assistants wear tabliers whereas Bernheim is dressed in suit and tie. The patient has only her arms uncovered. She looks away from the procedure and with her right arm, clutches the rail of the hospital cot.

Even before he began to paint, Adler intended his painting to be sent to the Salon. His commission stipulated that if the painting was accepted by the Salon, he would be paid 1,500 francs; if it was refused, he would receive only 1,200 francs. [280] The painting was so large that Adler had to move to a new studio to accomodate the canvas. The PETIT JOURNAL published a photograph of the painting, and even though

described by Barbedette as "fort mediocre du point de vue artistique," [281] a large-size reproduction of it was made. It was due to this reproduction that made the painting fairly widely known. In spite of the painting's being overlooked by Salon reviewers, in Barbadette's words, it "obtint meme une très large publicité." [282] Copies of it were used to decorate the merchants' stalls in various outdoor markets. For them, it was the healing powers of the goat's blood (sold at the stalls) rather than the skill and science of Dr. Bernheim that was being advertised.

André Brouillet returned to the subject of doctors at work for a painting he sent to the Salon of 1895. This time the doctor was the famous Emile Roux, and the patients were the young subjects of his experiment with the anti-diphtheria serum. Brouillet's canvas LE VACCIN DU CROUP illustrated the early tests conducted by Roux who, with Alexander Yersin, had discovered the serum therapy for diphtheria. In the early 1880s, he had worked very closely with Pasteur in developing the rabies vaccine and had been responsible for originating several important laboratory techniques. At that time, most honors had gone to Pasteur as head of the laboratory. Events since 1885 had served to establish Roux's great

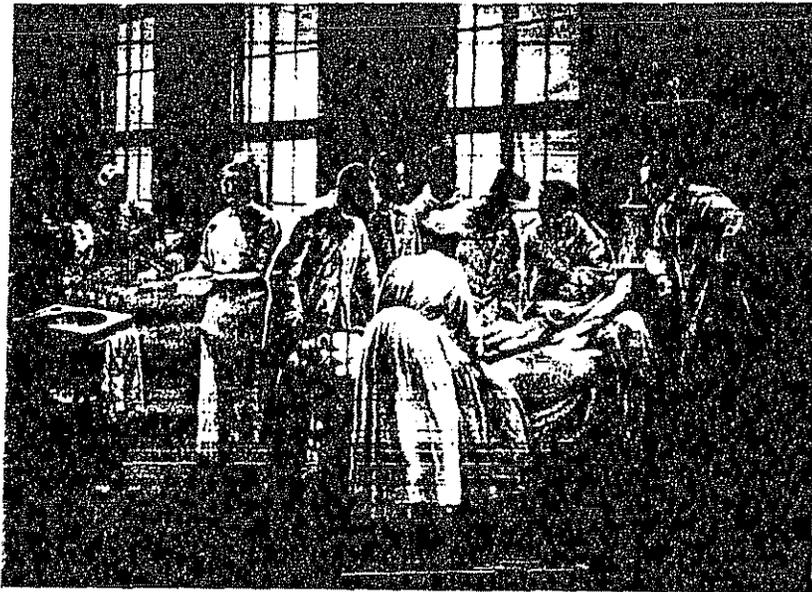


FIGURE 109 - ANDRÉ BROUILLET      LE VACCIN DE CROUP

importance in French medicine. In 1894, Roux had presented his paper on serumtherapy at the medical Congress at Budapest and 1895 seemed to be his finest year. He was confirmed as second in command at the Pasteur Institute in 1895 and the Paris Municipal Council presented him with gold medals from both the Department of the Seine and the City of Paris. In his acceptance speech, Roux said, "Et cela messieurs, grace à vous qui, representants de la grande ville, avez foi en la science et ne redoutez pas les decouvertes nouvelles." [283]

Also on view at the Champs-Elysees in 1895 were Laurent-Desrousseaux's LA MATERNITÉ, LA PESÉE DE CINQ HEURES and Loblrichon's LE PESAGE AUX ENFANTS ASSISTÉS, two other paintings which illustrated the medical care for very young children. In addition, at the Societe Nationale's exhibit on the Champ-de-Mars, Duez exhibited L'HEURE DE LA TETÉE DES ENFANTS DÉBILÉS A LA MATERNITÉ. All these paintings were reflective of the anxiety among the French about their population, or more precisely at the slow rate at which it was growing. But how each depicted hospitals and their staffs provides a vivid contrast between the new portrayal of medicine and science and an older conception of medical care. Brouillet's painting is a



FIGURE 110 - E. DUEZ L'HEURE DE LA TETÉE DES  
ENFANTS DEBILÉS A' LA MATERNITÉ



L'illustration H. 2722  
April 27, 1915, p. 3

FIGURE 111 - LOBRICHON LE PESAGE AUX ENFANTS  
ASSISTÉS

portrait of Dr. Roux, as both scientist and physician at work alongside other elite doctors of the Trousseau hospital. The canvases painted by Duez, Laurent-Desrousseaux and Lobrichon simply show child care provided in a hospital setting. Although nurses abound, there is no doctor to be seen in Duez's or Lobrichon's painting.

In the mid-1870s, France's population was just under 37 million. At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, her population had still not reached 40 million. During the 1880s and 1890s, many in France felt that the country could never consider itself recovered from the effects of 1871 until its population began to grow more rapidly. High infant mortality was the most important cause cited for the slow growth. [284] Efforts to increase population growth, including the better care of infants and children, were encouraged. "En cette fin du XIXe siècle, la medecine de l'enfance est à l'ordre du jour." [285] The administration of the Assistance Publique had taken several steps in the new field that they called puericulture. The government opened the Goutte de Lait de Belleville in 1894. [286b] Since the middle of the century, the number of young patients admitted to Paris hospitals had grown at nearly twice

the rate of adult patients. [286] The Assistance Publique created several new hospitals that modernized its facilities for these young patients. The old Trousseau Hospital, the one in Brouillet's painting, was replaced by three new ones. The original Trousseau Hospital was founded in 1674 as the Hospice des Enfants-Trouves du Faubourg Saint-Antoine. In 1848, it was renamed the Hopital Sainte-Marguerite and renamed again in 1854 as the Sainte Eugenie. In 1880, it received the name of Trousseau. In 1900, as the Universal Exposition was about to open, the new Hopital Trousseau at the avenue du General-Michel-Bizot, the Hopital Bretonneau at the rue Carpeaux were inaugurated. At the same time, the Hopital Herold at the place du Danube, was switched from a hospital for adults to one for children. [287]

Duez painting was acclaimed by reviewers as the most important of the "baby-care" paintings. For Charles Yriarte, they all showed the new baby hospitals that had been established by the government were all clean and modern. Yriarte remarked that "there were not fewer than three paintings at the expositions this year representing a scene analogous to that of Monsieur Duez....They are a reflection of the new tendencies in the present practice of medicine, of the creation of

the day nursery [pouponniere], of the development that the Hospice de la Maternite has taken and of the results of the new methods that have been experimented with there. Monsieur Duez...has painted his canvas from life. One should notice the cleanliness of these rooms, the spotless whiteness of everything. On the right section of the tableau, one is shown the progress each infant has made. They have been put on a scale to establish how much weight they have gained. Statistics must be kept." [288] If Duez's painting placed the scales on the the margin of the painting, Lobrichon bathes his infant scale in the sunlight streaming through the window. The Hospice des Enfants Assistes, located on the avenue Denfert-Rocherau, had begun to expand its care for the children of the district, beginning to take them also as out-patients. In addition to illustrating the clean uniforms of the nursing staff, Lobrichon's painting depicts the care provided by the city government. Laurent-Desrousseaux's canvas is also set at the Maternity Hospital and shows the five o'clock weighing. All the nurses in painting wear their professional caps; none of them is a from a religious order. One nurse holds a baby under each arm. Three women are visible breast-feeding infants. One woman who does not wear the

nurse's uniform (is she an anonymous doctor?) weighs an infant. Both Duez and Lobrichon have made the ordinary physician as anonymous as possible. We know there must be a doctor in charge of the nurses and nannies, but he is not in the painting.

George Lafenestre agreed that Brouillet's and Duez's paintings were the two most important of this group, yet they seem to contrast with each other. The serious of the scientific experiments Roux is conducting at the Trousseau hospital is the extreme opposite of the maternal joy of the Maternity Hospital. Both artists have told their story through skillful composition and intelligent use of color. "There are two hospital scenes, one at the Champs-Elysees by Monsieur Brouillet, LE VACCIN DU CROUP A L'HOPITAL TROUSSEAU, the other at the Champs-de-Mars, L'HEURE DE LA TETEE DES ENFANTS DEBILES A LA MATERNITE, by Monsieur Duez. They are indeed both painters. Monsieur Brouillet, in his canvas, a little too large but skillfully arranged and Monsieur Duez in his more controlled composition, using differently, diversely but delicately all sorts of whites, say to us equally that which they want express. The white of the walls, of the curtains, of the bed sheets, of the aprons and dresses, combines with pink splotches or a brownish

color, the faces, chests and hands. At the Trousseau hospital, this simple orchestration of whites is sufficient. It is calmer and quieter and imparts a touching seriousness to the doctors and the nurses who look with anxiety at the small patient. At the Maternite it is more alive, and spread out through this troop of nannies who offer both breasts to a swarm of starving young citizens, like to Gargantua, with an indescribably healthy and lively air that is quite enjoyable. One has the right to put good humor into one's painting when one fills it so." [289]

Thiebaut-Sisson's Salon review was critical of Brouillet's work, praising only its documentary merit, an accurate portrait of a famous doctor at work. He thought it was nearly devoid of feeling, echoing the theme of modern science coldly portrayed that had been heard for twenty years. In addition, he considered the canvas's dimensions much too large for the subject. Its popularity came not from any artistic merit, but from the fact that Dr. Roux had been in the news lately. The public was curious about him and wished to see his experiments. "L'INOCULATION DU VACCIN DU CROUP A L'HOPITAL TROUSSEAU, enlarged by Monsieur Brouillet into unmeasured dimensions, has left this critic cold and has only created a mediocre enthusiasm among the

public. It may be counted among the canvases that one looks at, not because it is an example of good painting, but because it places famous men before us. And Doctor Roux, inventor of the new process of serumtherapy, is one of the celebrities of the year. He has refused, until now, with a disdain that is indeed rare among famous men, to do anything for glory. His portrait, then, has a documentary value, and the public says: 'One must see it.' But once its curiosity is satisfied, it leaves without caring further about the painting. Truly the artist, in spite of his real skill and careful observation, is not intense enough and has shown in the execution of this large canvas only negative qualities. His color has always been a more lifeless and hollow than is usually the custom in a vast scene. His people have no consistency and do not relate to each other; none of them is three-dimensional, none pulls your attention to him. Their grouping is artificial, and, if one sees portraits in them, one does not see an ensemble in this juxtaposing of portraits. It is an enlarged drawing suitable for an illustrated journal, a photograph translated into painting." [290]

Gustave Haller, on the other hand, had a much more favorable opinion of the work. He believed that

the painting was an excellent portrait of Dr. Roux as well as accurate in its representation of the hospital scene. "It is fitting to classify among the portraits Monsieur Brouillet's work, VACCIN DE CROUP A L'HOPITAL TROUSSEAU, an informed study, in which all the doctors, very well-known personalities, are painted with a striking resemblance." [291] Roux stands at the right supervising the work of his assistants, the nurse Madame Gigot and doctors Martin, Moisard [sometimes spelled Moizard], Perregaud and Chaillou. The serum was brewed in a healthy horse and then injected under the patient's skin, as is portrayed in the canvas. The apparatus for keeping the medical instruments clean is clearly visible and each doctor wears a hospital coat over his street clothes. In addition, the hospital beds are set widely apart so that the young patients cannot cause each other any harm.

It is curious that Brouillet chose the Trousseau Hospital for the painting's setting. Roux's experiments with the serum were conducted at the Paris Hospital for Sick Children, the Hopital des Enfants Malades. Roux lived in an apartment at the Pasteur Institute located close by the Enfants Malades and according to Paul Weindling, the proximity of the Institute to the Hospital for Sick Children played a

pivotal role in the development of the serum. "Given the initial lack of clinical facilities, the location near the Hospital for Sick Children (Hopital des Enfants Malades) was fortuitous as this brought the Pasteur Institute in contact with the interne Alexandre Yersin, who alerted Roux to the problem of diphtheria." [292] The curious and controversial part, however, was that the patients at the Trousseau Hospital were not given the serum and served as Roux's control group. [293] Between February and July, 1894 there were 300 cases of diphtheria reported at the Enfants-Malades Hospital, of whom seventy-eight died (26%). During the same months (actually, February to June) there were 520 cases at the Trousseau Hospital of which 316 (60%) died. In cases where tracheotomy was needed, the death rate at the Trousseau Hospital was even higher, eighty-six percent. [294] Thus, it may be that Roux wished to show that if the death rate in these young patients was higher than that at the Enfants Malades, it could not be blamed on their not receiving the best care possible at that time. The quality of the attention these infants received, that of four experienced doctors working directly under Roux's observation, is manifest. Their role in the experiment, moreover, would help uncounted children in the future.

Roux worked very hard to get the medical world to accept his anti-diphtheria serum not only because he believed it would save lives, but because he knew that it would strengthen the connection between medicine and (Pasteurian) science. One of Roux's interests was the relations between physicians and the Pasteurians, and in his paper, "The Medical Work of Pasteur," written the following year, he tried to explain why there had been a division between members of the medical profession and Pasteur. "Many physicians, in fact, and not the least conspicuous ones, saw at first with stupefaction and then with indignation this chemist with so much assurance overthrow medical doctrines....There is nothing astonishing in the fact that Pasteur and they could not understand each other. They were imbued with that medical spirit made up at the same time of skepticism and of respect for traditions." [295]

Doctors were reluctant to accept what they believed was another encroachment on their territory by the Pasteurians. "The recognition of serumtherapy was a difficult affair," Weindling wrote. "Opposition to the treatment was, I think, underestimated by the commentators who consider serumtherapy as a triumph of the 'Pasteurian revolution.'" [296] The Pasteurians,

however, hoped to convince doctors that the anti-diphtheria serum would enable them to make use of the most recent discoveries of science. Here was a definite answer to the question doctors had been asking about what usefulness all this new science was to them. Why, for example, did they need to study so much of it even before entering their formal "medical" studies? But the science which now came from Pasteur's laboratory would be definitely useful to doctors in their traditional role as healers. Vaccines were preventive and were more closely linked to biochemistry than to medicine. Sera were curative. Weindling calls Roux's role in promoting the serum therapy as a way science could help doctors treat their patients "crucial in opening up relations with pediatricians." He adds that it "transforms laboratory research into clinical treatment. Roux's success in the treatment of diphtheria made of him a great man, if one judges him by the standard of humanitarianism which is the lessening of suffering." [298]

Roux also worked industriously for public acceptance of the anti-diphtheria serum. There had been criticisms of the way his team had handled some aspects of the serum's development. They had been accused of a breach of accepted standards because they

were simultaneously prescribing and selling the medicine, a possible conflict of interest. When some patients died despite receiving the serum, there were doctors who blamed the serum rather than the disease for causing death. Twenty years later (1914), a defense of the serum by a contemporary British doctor indicated the nature of the attacks by Roux's detractors. Stephen Paget wrote that "Not that the [anti-toxin] method is perfect; not that the antitoxin may not cause a rash and pains in the joints, and a rise in temperature; not that its use, all over the world, in many millions of cases, has never caused a death. Only, this we know, that diphtheria-antitoxin has by this time, taking one country with another, saved more than a quarter of a million lives. [299]

A strong public criticism could interfere with Roux's plans for production and distribution of the serum and he became personally involved in publicizing his discovery. "He mobilized popular enthusiasm and the public authorities were well-disposed towards him....Roux was its untiring advocate, and beginning in September, 1894 a public subscription campaign for 'the croup vaccine' was launched by LE FIGARO. Starting in March, 1895, the distribution of the serum was subsidized by the State." [300] Despite

Roux's well-known dislike for personal publicity, he consented to have his portrait done by Brouillet. Roux's decision, then, has several explanations. It confirmed the fact that, even though the patients at the Trousseau Hospital were not receiving the serum, they were getting the best care available otherwise. Roux also wished to have the publicity that a portrait would provide him among the Salon going public. He hoped they would contribute to the subscription to develop the diphtheria serum. He hoped as well to strengthen the connection between the Pasteur Institute and the medical profession. He also thought these ends would be met more easily by having his portrait made showing him both as scientist and hospital physician. It is not without significance that the painting is set at the Trousseau Hospital rather than at the Pasteur Institute. When the Paris municipal council purchased the canvas, they sent it to the Lariboisiere Hospital where it remained until 1956 when it was returned to the Fine Arts Administration. It has since disappeared. [301]

Roux and the anti-diphtheria serum did achieve some measure of popularity and Roux also became the main subject of a painting *SERUM THERAPY* by Charles Maurin [Figure 112] painted just slightly after



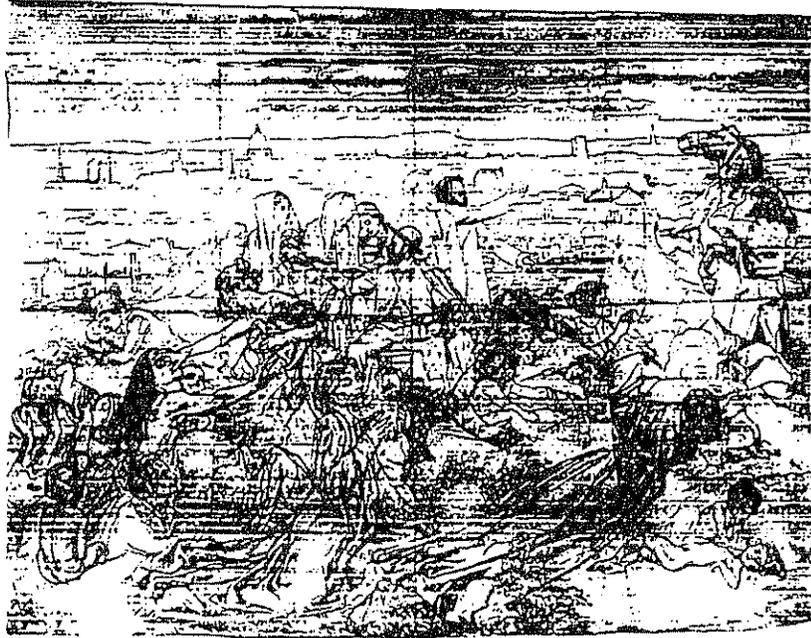


FIGURE 113 - CHARLES MAURIN      SERUM THERAPY (STUDY)

Brouillet's, between 1895 and 1896. Although the painting is allegorical, Maurin's portraits are very accurate and the people in it identifiable. Yersin and Martin stand behind Roux and with heroic gestures, call the horse from whom they will draw the serum. Below the horse, bearded and facing Roux is another Pastorian, Chantemesse. Sacre Coeur is visible in the background and the mothers, heads covered as if attending a religious service, bring their infants to the good doctor, who sits enthroned at the very center of the painting. They may indeed be nuns bringing orphans to Roux rather than the children's own mothers. Roux touches the infants in what seems to be a reprise of the Royal Touch. With his left hand, he blesses the head of the boy at his knee. The outstretched arms and hands throughout the painting (for example, Mme. Chantemesse who faces her husband) repeat Roux's gestures. Maurin's painting clearly elevates Roux, and by association the Pastorians, was sent to the Musee des Hospices Civils in Lyons where it could be displayed before the medical community of France's second city.

In 1897, Marguerite Delorme exhibited AU VAL DE GRACE, a painting of her father, Dr. Edmond Delorme (1847-1929), about to commence a rare and dangerous

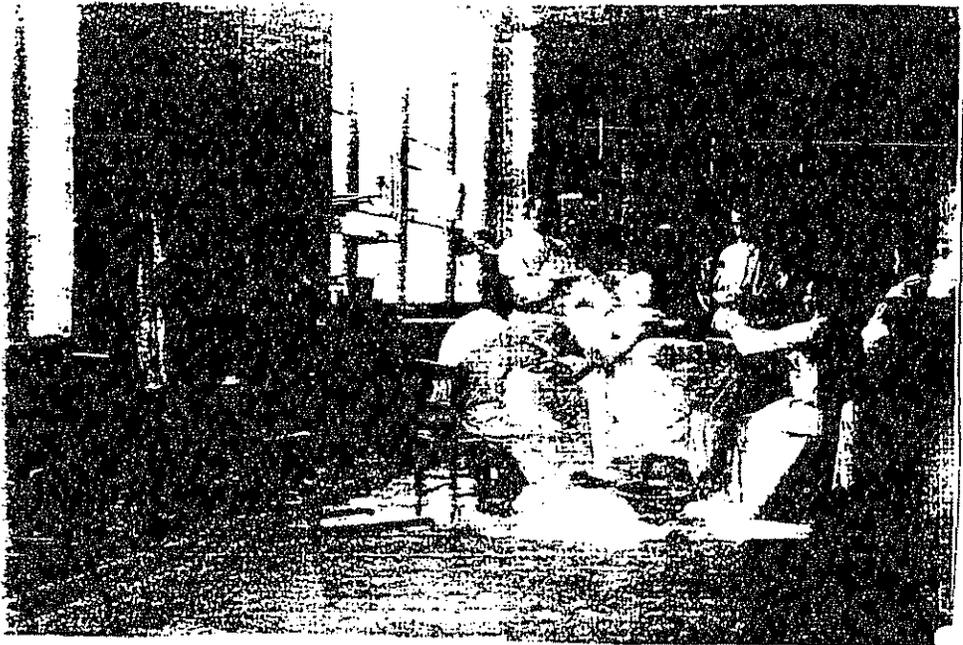


FIGURE 114 - MARGUERITE DELORME

AU VAL-DE-GRACE

operation at the Paris military hospital where he was director and professor of clinical surgery. The artist who has shown him instructing his surgical students his new process of pulmonary decortication. Delorme had been a President of both the Societe Nationale de Chirurgie and the Comite Consultatif de Sante. He was a member of the Academy of Medicine and an Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. "Au lit du malade, Delorme etait un educateur remarquable. Le maitre parlait sans notes, d'une voix nuancée, claire, lente."

[302] Delorme's eminence as both surgeon and teacher are confirmed in the painting. The artist actually witnessed the surgery in 1894 although Mlle. Delorme made the painting in the early months of 1897, the same year her father was elected to the Academy of Medicine.

Marguerite Delorme was born at Luneville. In Paris she studied with Luc-Olivier Merson and Raphael Collin. Collin had studied with Cabanel and Merson with Pils. Merson won the Prix de Rome in 1869 and was awarded the Legion of Honor in 1881. Delorme's art training was thus under teachers who themselves had strong grounding in traditional Academy principles. According to one source, Mlle. Delorme had wanted to paint her father's portrait but he claimed not to be able to take time out from his work to pose for her.

They therefore decided together to paint him while at work at the military hospital. It is almost certain that both father and daughter were aware of the paintings that had shown surgeons at work which had been exhibited at the previous Salons. Edmond Delorme was a talented artist. When he had time free from his duties at the military hospital at Lille, he would attend classes at the city's Fine Arts school, even taking first place in one of its competitions. Carolous-Duran extended an invitation to Delorme to work in his atelier when he returned to Paris. In addition, Delorme was an admirer of Pean and it is not unlikely that he was impressed with Gervex's portrait, AVANT L'OPERATION. While head of the Saint-Martin (later Villemin) hospital in the 1880s, he paid frequent visits to the Saint-Louis hospital to watch Pean operate, and was one of the speakers at Pean's funeral, comparing him only to Dupuytren in terms of his skill as a surgeon. Like Péan, Delorme was also self-made man (his father was a furniture maker and his mother did day-work as a seamstress), a doctor who had risen to the highest ranks of society under the Republic. [303]

Their choice of the pulmonary decortication as the operation to be shown in the painting was

logical. It confirmed Dr. Delorme's priority as the first surgeon to perform this surgery. In his report to the Surgical Congress of April, 1893, *A LA CHIRURGIE DE LA POITRINE*, Delorme wrote that the first such operation was accomplished in May, 1892 and should thus be called 'Operation de Delorme.' [304] L. Jame, former Director of the Army's Health Service, called him, "Le pere de la chirurgie thoracique." [305] Delorme was the first surgeon to introduce antiseptics to the military hospitals, although he continued to operate without wearing gloves, "les mains nus, mais ne touchait la plaie operateure qu'avec les instruments, jamais avec les doigts." [306] Pulmonary decortication was an extremely dangerous operation and only attempted if the patient seemed to be beyond hope. Most French surgeons were not won over by Delorme's campaign to have the operation more widely accepted. "Delorme undertook a sort of crusade at the Medical Society of the Hospitals of Paris and in several publications which he illustrated abundantly...But his views did not convert many followers in France. On the other hand, they appeared very attractive to German and American surgeons." [307] Thus the painting can be seen not only in celebration of Delorme's accession to the Academy of Medicine, but as part of his crusade for

the operation. It shows him at the forefront of modern surgery and as a eminent teacher of future surgeons.

The painting shows only the preliminary steps of the operation. The patient is about to be anesthetized. Two assistants hold his arms as the third gets ready to administer the anesthesia. Dr. Delorme is shown explaining the procedure he will follow to the medical students seated on the benches at the right of the painting. The artist has cut off approximately three-fourths of the tiers of seats and the painting clearly places the observer behind the last row of benches, near the door through which the patient has been brought in. We see the chair on which he was carried on the left. Everyone visible is wearing the white hospital garb. Delorme and the two assistants holding the patient's arms also have on their surgical tabliers. Although one or two overhead lamps can be seen, Delorme conducts his operation in the brilliant sunlight which streams through the window behind him.

Two other works that showed doctors actually in the midst of operations rather than before they had begun should be mentioned. The first [Figure 115], was exhibited in the Salon's section of engravings and prints. In the other [Figure 116], the



FIGURE 115 - F. DESMOULIN

L'OPÉRATION (ETCHING)

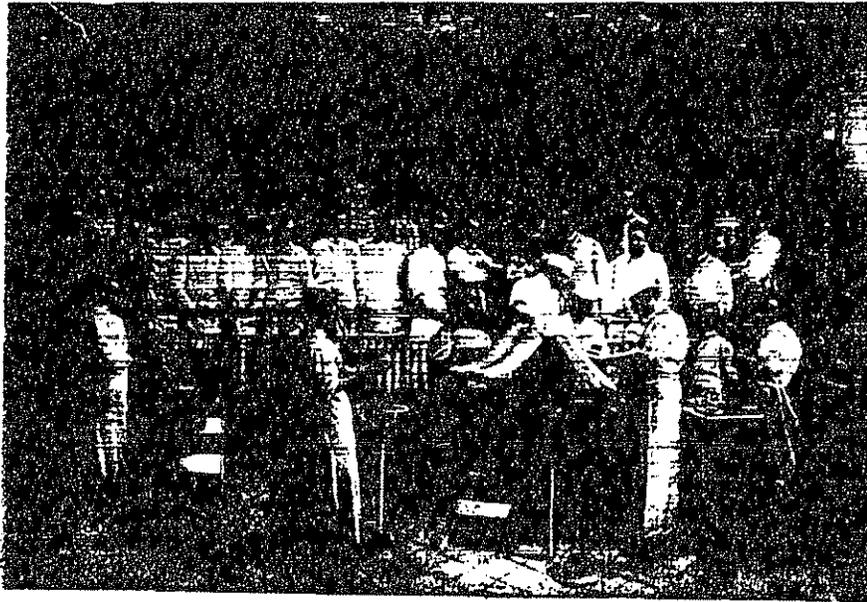


FIGURE 116 - (?)

UNE LAPARATOMIE A' BROCA (LE DR.  
POZZI)

artist remains unidentified, but the surgeon is Dr. Pozzi (more well-known from his portrait by John Singer Sargent) while performing a laparotomy at the Broca hospital. F. Desmoulin's L'OPERATION exhibited at the Salon of the Societe Nationale on the Champs-de-Mars, and the exhibition catalogue gives the information that the work (#2166) depicts Dr. Doyen demonstrating his procedure of craniectomy to the doctors attending the Medical Congress at Moscow. Works of art illustrating the increasingly close relations between France and Russia had become popular at the Salon, and this engraving in which the latest surgical knowledge was being shared by a French doctor with his Russian colleagues must be considered part of that development. A painting by Georges Chicotot, LE TUBAGE (1904) [Figure 117], is a very exact depiction of the intubation procedure used to treat croup. Croup (the word was used interchangeably with diphtheria) was a disease which most often struck children under the age of ten. The larynx became inflamed and a false membrane was formed. Breathing became difficult, the pulse rapid and weak. Before the general use of the diphtheria serum, the illness was treated either by tracheotomy or by intubation, but even after Roux's serum became available, intubation might still be



FIGURE 117 - GEORGES CHICOTOT

LE TUBAGE

indicated, to allow the patient to breathe while awaiting the effects of the serum. One contemporary commentator wrote that, "no one today is ignorant of the discovery due to Pasteur and to his disciple Dr. Roux in the fight against croup. But what one knows less, is that it is precisely this operation of tubage which has brought the discovery to so happy a conclusion. Since the beginning of the use of the serum it was still necessary, if the patient was brought in too late, to do a tracheotomy to prevent him from suffocating. This dangerous and uncertain operation was so terrible that many refused it. Intubation, on the other hand, was without any overflowing of blood, but by the simple introduction of a tube into the larynx, permitted the child to breathe through it freely. It also made feeding him possible, and finally to receive the liberating serum with success." [308]

The painting's accuracy was remarked on at the time. The author of the short article about the painting in the ALBUM GONNON, read widely among the French medical profession, wrote of the "truthfulness of the canvas, so clearly rendered....the scene which is taken from life, that is to say in a hospital room....is a work of art that not only has

incontestable artistic merit, but also a precious document for our grand-nephews who will, in the future, want to study the state of science at the beginning of this century." [309]

The intubation procedure was complex. The small patient was held upright in the lap of an assistant. The patient's head was held upright and placed against the assistant's left shoulder. The assistant also had to make sure that the patient's arms were immobile. This was usually accomplished, as shown in Chicotot's painting, by the nurse who grasped the patient by the elbows, but was sometimes accomplished by tying the patient's arms. A second assistant (in this painting it is Dr. Toffemer) stood behind the patient and firmly held his head so that the body, neck and head did not move from a straight line. Dr. Toffemer is also hyper-extending the patient's neck, a normal practice during intubation.

Chicotot personally wrote the short explanation which accompanied the painting's listing in the official Salon catalogue. He informed the public that the operation took place at the new Bretonneau Hospital on the rue Carpeaux, (giving it another connection to Brouillet's painting of Dr. Roux at the Trousseau, since, as mentioned earlier, the Bretonneau

was one of the three new children's hospitals that replaced the old Trousseau where part of Roux's experiments had taken place). Dr. Albert Josias is inserting the tube into the diphtheria patient, and is demonstrating the correct procedure for removing the tube-inserter. He fixes the breathing tube with the index finger of his left hand. At the right, a doctor prepares a syringe with the diphtheria serum. According to Chicotot, "intubation has suppressed the bloody tracheotomy operation which had caused so much fright for the families and has given the time to inject the serum, preventing the little patients from dying of asphyxiation from croup." [310]

Chicotot is at the rear of the painting, third from the left. His head is higher than anyone else's and he seems to be in charge of the students who watch Dr. Josias. The ALBUM GONNON took note of "the tension of [Chicotot's] jaws, which squeezed one against the other, allows to see that he is holding his breath while regarding the pain of the little patient. Ah! How necessary it is to preserve the calm of the doctor in spite of the emotions which at this moment so vividly express the soul of the artist!" [311]

Chicotot was thus able to incorporate at least two important ideas in his painting. The first was

that Pastorian medicine and traditional medicine might help each other in serving sick children. It is Roux's serum that stands ready on the table at the right. Intubation here is being used in conjunction with the serumtherapy. The doctor's expertise, the painting affirms, still has a major role to play for the most effective treatment for the patient, but so do the new discoveries emanating from the Pasteur Institute. Secondly, Chicotot has placed himself standing behind the group of young doctors. He remains an observer whose role is educational rather than therapeutic. He has painted himself as instructor of the next generation of doctors. The ALBUM GONNON's author points out the real worry and concern on the doctor's face. But the role of the doctor as a healer of a young child was only one important point in the canvas. Hospital doctors not associated with the Faculty also had a teaching scientific role and were well-situated to combine science and traditional healing.

According to the ALBUM GONNON, the painting attracted a great deal of attention at the Salon. [312] The author of this article must have been referring to the many visitors who stopped to look at the painting, since it received no notice from the Salon reviewers. Neither Chicotot nor the painting was mentioned in the

Salon reviews of THE GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, LA NOUVELLE REVUE, the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, L'ART, LES ARTS, and L'ART ET LES ARTISTES. The artist received no medals or other awards for his work and it was not among those acquired (at the time) by either the State or the City of Paris. Chicotot kept the painting in his own collection, but the ALBUM GONNON'S author stated that he would much prefer to see it hanging either at Carnavalet Museum or at the Pasteur Institute. In any case, on a nationalistic note, it hoped that "at least an American museum should not get it by the strength of its bank-notes." [313]

Although many doctors whose portraits have been already discussed were talented amateur artists, no professional artist was more suited to the task of combining art and the contemporary medicine than Georges-Alexandre Chicotot. Chicotot was both a decorated artist and a successful doctor. He eventually devoted all his professional time to the medicine rather to painting. The ALBUM GONNON's author noted with some approval that Chicotot had two professions. A modern writer, also a doctor, calls Chicotot "The Doctor With Two Heads," his reference the French term bicephale, which indicates two professions. [314]

Georges-Alexandre Chicotot was born in Paris in 1855. He listed his teachers as the academics, Hanoteau, P.-J. Blanc and Hebert. and Chicotot made his Salon debut in 1880. The first painting that Chicotot exhibited of any medical interest was one he made in 1886, PAUL POIRIER STUDYING ANATOMY. [315] Poirier was professor of anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine and Chicotot had studied with him. Poirier's text, DU DEVELOPPEMENT DES MEMBRES was published in the same year as Chicotot's painting and the canvas clearly celebrates Poirier's eminence as a professor and author of medical texts, not as a surgeon. The sight of a cadaver hanging from a ladder would not have been thought strange in 1886, since it was not an uncommon practice during the nineteenth century, although an 1889 painting by Annie Stebler-Hopf shows Poirier at work on a cadaver which lies stretched out on a dissection table. Poirier is examining the muscles and bloodvessels of the left hand. The cadaver's thorax has been cut open in order to allow preservative fluids to be injected. Poirier is shown with his small anatomy text on the table in front of him, open to the same section as the large anatomy atlas on the three-legged stool in front of his table. The subjects being studied are the muscles and nerves of the left hand.



Vesalius' text, open at the feet of the cadaver, recalls the traditional anatomy scenes.

In 1905, the year following LE TUBAGE, Chicotot once again made a painting of a doctor dissecting a cadaver, L'AUTOPSIE AU XXe SIECLE [Figure 119]. This time, the dead body was that of a young child. Chicotot wrote the explanation which accompanied the painting's listing in the Salon catalogue. As before, he used the livret to give the public a short medical lesson. "The organs are left in place in order not to contaminate them by outside contacts. The liquids of the different organs are collected with the aid of pipettes and are sown in sterilized tubes which contain cultures propitious to the development of microbes which are examined later under a microscope." [316] Chicotot wanted his non-medical audience to understand what they were seeing, to gain some knowledge of aseptic methods and to know what modern doctors really did.

The painting was unusual in several ways. Paintings of dissections in which the dead person is an infant are not common. I have located only one other, the Dutch painter Jan van Neck's 1683 ANATOMY LESSON OF PROFESSOR FREDERIK RUYSCH. Chicotot's depicts an autopsy, not a lesson for medical students.



FIGURE 119A - GEORGES CHICOTOT      AUTOPSY AT  
THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY



FIGURE 119B - JAN VAN NECK      ANATOMY LESSON OF  
PROFESSOR FREDERIK RUYSCHE

Dr. Tollemer, conducting the autopsy, is searching for the cause of death. This is not an academic study of the body's organs, muscles and nerves. The author of the short piece about the painting in the ALBUM GONNON made the interesting comment that in the modern democratic republic, the State was interested in everyone's cause of death, whereas in previous regimes it had been interested only in that of royalty or the nobility. Autopsies had been commonly performed in the seventeenth century, "but not as today with a medico-legal objective, and as a means of investigation in criminal procedures. They were reserved fore princes and the great, as a preliminary to embalming and because, under the ancien regime, everything in the lives of kings had to be public, from their birth until their deaths." [317] So even an autopsy scene could transmit a republican message, even if understood by only a few who saw. But the public did seem to realize that the painting illustrated another public service performed by the medical community. Criminal activities could be uncovered by medical science and even murder could be found out. Conversely, if the cause of death had been natural and an innocent person accused of the crime, the doctor's investigation might clear him of any wrongdoing.

Gerald Weissmann has translated the painting's title as AUTOPSY: AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, correctly emphasizing its application of modern science and medicine. He identifies Dr. Tollemer as the "pathologist [who] is shown aspirating the thoracic cavity of an infant in order to establish a bacteriologic diagnosis. Chicotot has painted himself in the act of plating out the cultures. A nurse, coiffed and capped, surveys the scene." [318] Perhaps the painting's dreadful subject was the reason Salon critics ignored it.

Chicotot's Salon paintings for 1906 and 1907 were not "medical." His 1906 entry, L'AIGLE DE MEAUX, shows two priests in a field, one standing with his arms outstretched, the other on his knees. Between 1906 and 1907, Chicotot moved his studio from the Rue Fromentin to the nearby Rue Blanche.

In 1908, after two years painting other subjects, Chicotot returned to contemporary medicine for a subject of an oil painting. This was the first time he painted himself as the doctor who was treating his patient, not simply observing or assisting another doctor. It was also the last time he submitted a scene depicting a medical subject to the Salon. His Salon entry of 1908 was LES RAYONS X; -- TRAITEMENT DU CANCER.



In the note accompanying the painting's catalogue listing, he identified himself and the hospital in which the treatment took place very simply, "Le docteur Chicotot traitant un malade a L'Hopital Broca." The former Lourcine Hospital had been renamed Broca in 1892. It continued to be one of the smaller hospitals administered by the Parisian Public Assistance, containing only 277 beds. Chicotot was its head of radiotherapy in 1908 and was among the first French physicians to utilize X-rays in the treatment of cancer. Despite all the strange-looking equipment he has painted, equipment which he must have known would interest the Salon public, he did not bother to write any further explanation. The procedure of LE TUBAGE, which would have been familiar to a great many more people is described in some detail. That of the TRAITEMENT DU CANCER is left unexplained. Chicotot was not interested in informing people about the new process that he had developed; he did not mind telling them the details about a treatment such as intubation that was already practiced by doctors all over. Although he wanted to show that he was the leader in such treatments, he was keeping the details of his own methods to himself. He did not even include any medical students in the painting.

The public's interest in cancer had been growing in the years just before this painting. What was known about its causes and descriptions of the various treatments that existed had become the subject of many newspaper and journal articles during the first decade of the century. At the exact time of Chicotot's painting, a court case involving Dr. Doyen's false anti-cancer vaccine was a topic in many Parisian conversations. [318b] Nine different articles in the NOUVELLE REVUE between August, 1907 and December, 1910 dealt with cancer. In March, 1909, the journal published the Doctor S. Banzet's article, "The Local Treatment of Cancer," which explained X-Ray therapy. Dr. Banzet explained that X-Ray therapy was in its earliest stages and that although there were some hopeful indications, so far the use of X-Rays had only moderately useful in treating many different cancers. "The discovery of X-Rays, the verification of their very special action on tissue, has given hope that we have found in them an agent very capable of curing cancer....But this action has been limited to superficial cancers, to small skin tumors which develop slowly. For subcutaneous cancers and cancers of the mucous membranes, we have had nothing but set-backs. It must be noted, however, that many surgeons make use

of X-Rays after the removal of certain cancers and think that this consecutive radiotherapy gives the patient greater chance of avoiding a recurrence." [319] Banzet, however, had not yet become convinced of the effectiveness of the X-Ray treatment. He wrote that only surgery had so far proven effective in treating breast cancer. "Every internal medication, every serum proposed against cancer has been ineffective. It is local or surgical treatment which has been in use for a long time, that up to the present, alone has been successful....Every surgeon has had, from time to time, the joy of seeing once again one of his former patients on whom he has operated, cured and remain cured for a longer or shorter time." [320]

The painting, despite any absence of an explanation from Chicotot, is probably an accurate depiction of his equipment and earliest procedures in the radiation treatment of breast cancer. Chicotot is heating a Crookes tube with the burner he holds in his right hand. In his left hand, he holds a pocket watch with which he times the exposure. Electrical equipment around the hospital room repeat Chicotot's straight vertical lines which cut through the patient's lower extremities. The X-Ray apparatus descends parallel to the doctor but stops at her skin. The tube of the

horizontal of the patient and her hospital bed. A parallelogram is completed.

We can see that the anesthetized patient is, or at least has been, married. Her wedding band is prominent on her left hand. Her reddish brown underclothes lie on a green cloth which covers a table at the side of her bed. Chicotot gazes so intensely at his timepiece, he seems almost not to notice her. He is a paragon of detached science. As Weissmann points out, his top hat remains on his head, symbolic of his medical calling. [321]

Although the painting was reproduced in Baschet's ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE of the Salon and thus was afforded a wider audience than just those able to attend the exhibition, it was not mentioned in the Salon reviews that year. Nor was another scene of a doctor working in his regular workplace that was exhibited that year, L. Alleaume's PORTRAIT DE M. JULES OGIER, DIRECTEUR DU LABORATOIRE DE TOXICOLOGIE [Figure 121]. J. Story's LABORATOIRE DE PHYSIOLOGIE CLINIQUE A' ST.-LAZARE also seems to have escaped comment. Perhaps medical had become so ordinary that they no longer were especially noted by the art critics of the day. According to Weissmann, Chicotot's painting

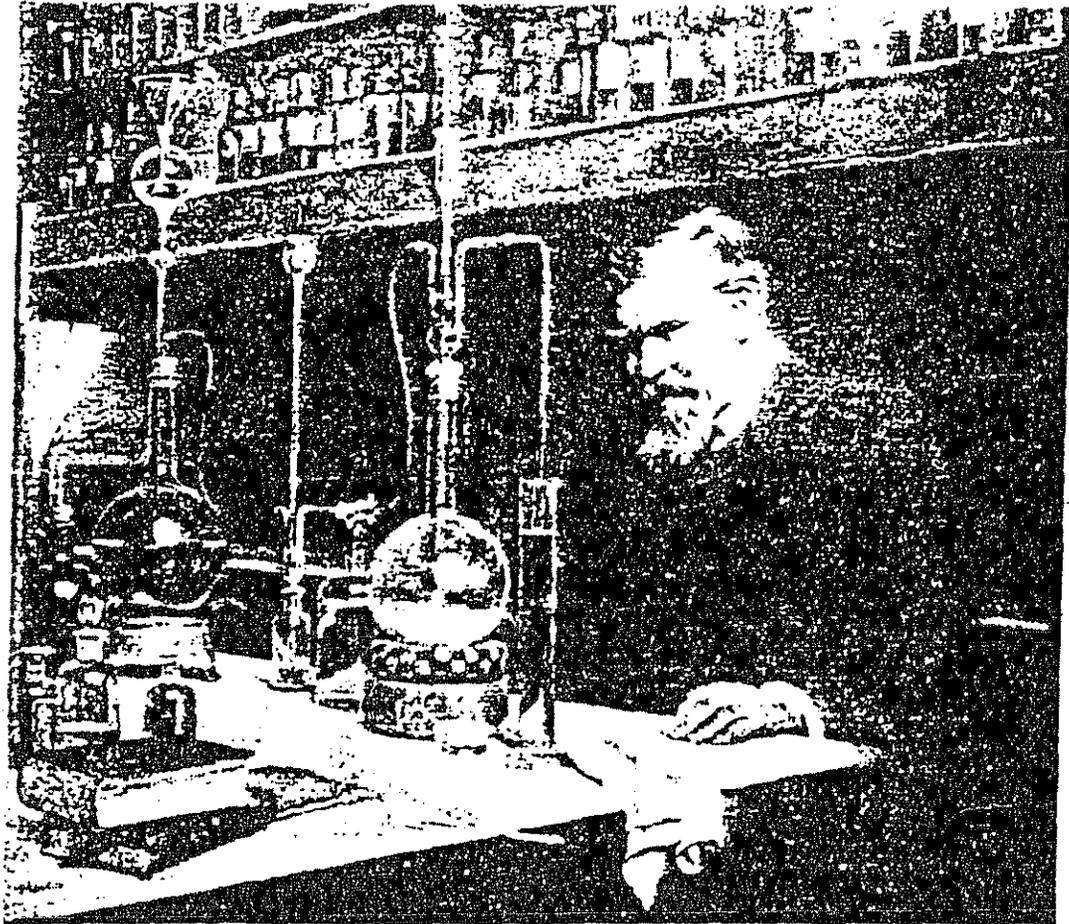


FIGURE 121 - L. ALLEAUME                      PORTRAIT DE M. JULES  
OGIER, DIRECTEUR DU LABORATOIRE DE TOXICOLOGIE



FIGURE 122 - J. STORY      LABORATOIRE DE PHYSIOLOGIE  
   CLINIQUE A' ST.-LAZARE

reflects a political and cultural match between the medical profession and the republic. For him, it is much more than a scene of X-Ray therapy in a hospital setting. He writes that the painting "is not only an icon of clinical research but also an emblem of the liberal, bourgeois republic of Clemenceau, the republic of doctors." [322] Jack Ellis has demonstrated how the Third Republic may have been truly described this way. Their views matched the progressist views of the government. According to Ellis, for doctors, "liberty and science were keys to solving the social question." [323] Even during the early 1900s, they wholeheartedly supported Clemenceau's actions against labor unrest. "To each socialist challenge of Clemenceau's use of force to crush strikers, the physicians in the Chamber responded with overwhelming votes of confidence, with even higher proportions than at the time of Anzin and Decazeville strikes in the 1880s." [324]

In addition Weissmann sees other relationships in the painting, that between the youthful and adult Chicotots, "between the young bohemian and the older bourgeois, between the artist and the scientist." [325] But Weissmann may have got Chicotot's life story reversed. His earliest days as a student were not spent as a young bohemian. They were

at the École des Beaux-Arts and the Salon. It was his medical career that was in the vanguard of scientific progress. Chicotot, in fact, easily went back and forth between painting academic subjects or scenes of modern medicine. He could be the artist of both a CATHERINE OF SIENNA and an TREATMENT OF CANCER WITH X-RAYS. In this he was similar to the other artists who, like Brouillet might paint LA LECON CLINIQUE A LA SALPETRIÈRE one year and L'AMOUR AUX CHAMPS the next.

Chicotot, like Laurent-Gsell, Brouillet and a number of the artists discussed in this chapter created more than one painting which portrayed doctors at work in hospitals, clinics or laboratories. They returned to the subject and several even became thought of as specialists in the field, although they never restricted themselves to such scenes exclusively. In the year following submitting a "medical" scene to the Salon, the artist might send only portraits or religious scenes or paysages to the Salon.

Gustave Dore's picture of the Interne's Room at the Charite Hospital [Figure 123] shows us how it appeared at mid-century. Doré's image shows portraits of France's then leading doctors who look down on the internes who, having recently completed their surgical



rounds, relax there. The internes are still wearing their hospital aprons, whereas each of the more than thirty doctors whose portraits make up the frieze above them is dressed elegantly in suit and tie, the conventional garb of formal portraiture. The contrast between the two groups is striking. While it might be permissible for internes to be pictured in hospital clothes, formal portraits required "correct" attire and a timeless pose. Towards the end of the century, the Charite hospital underwent important renovations and to decorate the new interne's room, the young doctors called on their artist friends to paint the canvases which would adorn the walls. These paintings reflect the changes that had already taken place in the portrayal of doctors at work. "In 1890, when the internes' room of the Charite Hospital became a doctors' cloak room, the new room was made for them. For its decoration, they called on some of their friends who were painters, four students of J.P. Laurens: Bellery-Desfontaines, Olivier Bon [sic], Isaac d'Hatis and Quatre." [326] These new decorations, Bon's INTERIOR OF A LABORATORY and two by Bellery-Desfontaines, INTERNES' ROUNDS and AUSCULTATION showed doctors at work in the hospital and laboratory. Before being sent to the hospital, the canvases were shown at

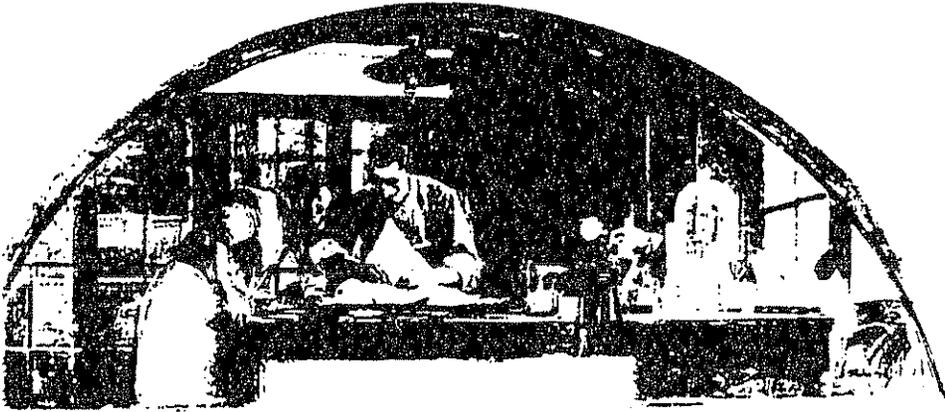


FIGURE 124 - OLIVIE-BON IN THE LABORATORY (AT THE CHARITÉ HOSPITAL)

the 1890 Salon and the reviewer for L'ARTISTE, Tausserat-Radel, noted how these paintings were truly different and that they were indeed suited to decorate the newly renovated hospital for which they had been commissioned. "How much more interesting they are in their frank and sincere touch and color. These two motifs are appropriate to the building which is about to receive them: THE INTERNE'S ROUNDS by Monsieur Bellery-Desfontaines, and IN THE LABORATORY by Monsieur Olivie-Bon. These canvases were commissioned by the Charite Hospital. These type of subjects are researched willingly and painstakingly by their young painters, who find in the numerous details of their setting, in the arrangement and lighting of the furniture and of the people, an excellent pretext for many curious studies. We remeber the impression produced by, among others, in the Salon of 1887, THE MUNICIPAL LABORATORY of Monsieur Gueldry, and the next year by THE MUSEUM of Monsieur Gelhay." [327] Gustave Larroumet also praised the two artists for the skill with which they had portrayed the way doctors really worked. "LA CONTRE-VISITE DE L'INTERNE de M. Bellery-Desfontaines et AU LABORATOIRE de M. Olivie-Bon, destines l'un et l'autre a l'hopital de la Charite, mettent la meme precision dans une observation plus

large." [328] Thus, by 1890, young painters, art critics as well as doctors and hospital administrators had all recognized that the traditional way of portraying doctors, either as the physician wearing his "official" costume of the formal portrait or as the professor conducting an anatomy lesson would no longer suffice. Modern medicine needed to show the doctor at work in the hospital or the laboratory. In the next chapter, I will discuss more precisely when this change took place.

NOTES CHAPTER FOUR - MODERN SCIENCE COLDLY PORTRAYED

1. Alexandre, Arsène. FIGARO SALON, 1899, p. 6

Albert Wolff, in LE FIGARO, joked that if more artists were to send paintings of illnesses to the Salon resembling the one sent by Monsieur Gautier, the jury would need to set aside a room especially for contagious diseases. "Un artiste français, M. Amand Gautier, a choisi de son coté un bien aimable sujet: des cholériques qui se roulent dans les contorsions de la douleur. Si le peintre a pensé arreter le public avec cette excentricité, il se trompe. On se détourne de son ouvrage avec un certain dégoût, et si ce genre devait s'implanter au Salon, on demanderait au jury de créer une salle speciale pour les maladies contagieuses." Wolff, Albert, FIGARO SALON, 1887, p. 62.

2. Lafenestre, Georges. "Le Salon de 1887," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 81, June 1, 1887. p. 632

3. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, p. 7

4. De Ritzenthaler, Cecile. L'ECOLE DES BEAUX ARTS AU XIXE SIECLE, LES POMPIERS. Editions Mayer, Paris. (1984) p. 174

5. De Langenevais, F. "Le Salon de 1875," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, V. 9, June 15, 1875, p. 918. "M. Gervex aime Corot tout autant que Prud'hon et n'en fait pas mystère. Son tableau DIANE ET ENDYMION est cottoneux, embrouillé, decousu, et pourtant a une saveur charmante. La Diane, sous les indecisions part trop reveuses de son dessin, a de l'elegance, et dans le torse d'Endymion il y a des parties finement modelees."

6. "Cabanel était un professeur merveilleux," wrote Gervex in his SOUVENIRS (p. 16). H. Barbara Weinberg discusses Cabanel as a teacher in THE LURE OF PARIS, chapter 6, "Cabanel's Atelier," pp. 131-153. She notes that at the time Gervex was a student, there was a rivalry between Cabanel's atelier and that of Gerome, his next door neighbor at the Ecole Des Beaux Arts.

According to Weinberg, the fact that "Cabanel served on seventeen Salon juries between 1868-1888 reflects the large number of artists he taught; it was the artists who elected the juries. His presence on the juries intensified his appeal to students, who could

anticipate Salon acceptance through their affiliation with him." (p. 131)

For Gervex's being recognized as a young artist with promise, see, for example, Charles Yriarte in the *GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS* of 1876, who wrote that Gervex "has started out on an excellent path" (p. 712). In *L'ARTISTE* of August, 1876, pp. 94-95, Georges LaFenestre wrote that "As for Parisians of Paris, the most interesting, this year, appear to us to be first Monsieurs Gervex and Beraud...."

7. Benedite, Leonce. *LA PEINTURE AU XIXe SIECLE*. Flammarion, Paris (1909), p. 189. "Des 1876 il abordait une serie de sujets, qui surprisent d'abord, mais qui bientot firent école. Gervex peignait des portraits, et en particulier des portrait groupés, animé par une action déterminée, dans le jour clair des interieurs et meme sous les effets du plein air. Son premier tableau dans ce genre test 'L'AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL DIEU' (1876)."

See figure 85. (L'AUTOPSIE A L'HOTEL DIEU 3.02m X 2.32m) The painting was formerly at the Limoges Museum. Its present whereabouts are unknown. Gabriel Weisberg thinks it may have been destroyed during World War II

Hollis Clayson discusses Gervex's early career, indicating that a list "of his Salon exhibits through 1878 verifies two important aspects of his career: his early success and his calculated switch in 1876 from mythological or religious to modern-life subjects." *PAINTED LOVE* (1991, Yale Univ. Press); fn. 93, p. 171.

8. Gervex, Henri. *SOUVENIRS*, op. cit., p. 26.

9. Gervex, *SOUVENIRS*, p. 26. "Ce sujet realiste entre tous, n'avait pas été choisi par moi, il m'avait été fourni par le hasard. J'avais decouvert, au cours de mes flanerries, la salle d'autopsie du vieil Hotel -Dieu comme les Parisiens decouvert les coins pittoresques ou peu connus de leur ville. Et j'avais été bouleversé de ma trouvaille." Gervex noted that this room had been built during the reign of Louis XIII and originally had housed lepers. The idea of visiting places where one could view dead bodies was not simply a peculiarity of artists. Visits to the Paris morgue were, through much of the nineteenth century, something like a family expedition, in a way, like the visits to the sewer

networks. See Bruno Bertherat, "Les Visiteurs De La Morgue," L'HISTOIRE, No. 180, September, 1994, pp. 16-21.

10. Gourvennec, Jean-Christophe. EXPOSITION HENRI GERVEX (1852-1929) CATALOGUE/EDITION: Paris-Musee, 1992. p. 97. Gourvennec calls the older student in the painting, "the professor." Gervex calls them both "carabins."

11. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, ibid. p. 28

12. Gervex, Henri, SOUVENIRS, ibid. p. 30

13. LaFenestre, Georges, "Les peintres de la vie moderne," L'ARTISTE, August, 1876, pp. 94-95

14. Gervex, SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 28. "Quelle scene! me disais-je interieurement. Si je puis parvenir a en fixer les principaux traits, a les noyer dans un jour a la Granet, en conservant la modernité de la chose et des details, j'aurai fait une oeuvre."

14b. Gervex, SOUVENIRS, ibid., p. 28

15. Gourvennec, Jean-Christophe. EXPOSITION: HENRI GERVEX op. cit, p. 97. "Il est assez paradoxal de constater que Gervex, qui jure ses grands dieux qu'il veut faire oeuvre de modernité, choisissé Granet pour ses effets de lumiere. Quant a la 'modernité de la chose,' s'il fait reference au theme de la scene d'autopsie, elle ne nous semble pas depuis Rembrandt si manifeste."

Francois Marius Granet (1775-1849) taught at the Academy and was a friend of Ingres.

16. Zola, Emile, "Le Salon de 1879," originally published in LE MESSENGER DE L'EUROPE (July, 1879) and reprinted in SALONS RECUEILLIS, ANNOTES ET PRESENTES par F. W. J. Hemmings et Robert J. Niess. Librairie Minard, Paris (1959), p. 228

"Les vainqueurs de cette année. Les peintres dont la critique s'occupe et qui attirent le public, ce sont Bastien-Lepage, Duez, Gervex; et ces artistes doués doivent leur succes a l'application de la methode naturaliste dans leur peinture....Gervex, lui aussi, est un élève de Cabanel [as had been Bastien-Lepage. RW] qui a été emporté par le souffle de l'heure et

qui subit en ce moment une transformation fort intéressante....Je ne dis pas que Gervex copie les peintres impressionnistes, mais là encore il me paraît évident qu'il réalise ce que ces peintres ont voulu exprimer, en se servant des procédés techniques qu'il doit à sa fréquentation de l'atelier de Cabanel. N'est-il pas curieux de voir comment le souffle moderne gagne les meilleurs élèves des peintres académiques, les oblige à renier leurs dieux et à faire la besogne de l'école naturaliste avec des armes prises à l'École des Beaux-Arts, le sanctuaire des traditions?" pp. 227-229

Gervex has been identified as the artist Fagerolles in Zola's novel, *L'OEUVRE*, written between 1885 and 1886. Friendly with the artists of the new "plein air" school, he secretly desires to win the Prix de Rome and become materially successful. "Pendant qu'il fouettait leur esprit de révolte, il prenait justement la ferme résolution de travailler désormais à obtenir le prix de Rome: cette journée [when they visited the Salon des Refusés RW] le décidait, il jugeait imbecile de compromettre son talent davantage." *L'OEUVRE*, Livres de Poches edition, 1985, p. 161

17. Zola, "Le Salon de 1879," *ibid.*, p. 229

18. Boime, *THE ACADEMY AND FRENCH PAINTING*, *op. cit.*, p. 16

19. Boime, *THE ACADEMY AND FRENCH PAINTING*, *ibid.*, p. 16

20. Mainardi, Patricia. *THE END OF THE SALON*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge and New York (1993), pp. 134-135

21. Boime, *THE ACADEMY AND FRENCH PAINTING*, *op. cit.*, p. 16

24. Ambroise Vollard, *DEGAS, AN INTIMATE PORTRAIT*, 1927. p. 47

Degas's words are quoted slightly differently by Hollis Clayson. In *PAINTED LOVE*, Clayson cites Degas' words as, "Mais ce carabin qui prend des notes quand le professeur parle, ou as-tu vu cela? Il roule une cigarette." Clayson goes on to record that "According to [Felix] Feneon's interview with Gervex, Degas's words were: 'Alors vous savez que les carabins ne

s'emeuvent pas pour un corps ouvert. Faites donc tout simplement rouler a votre bonhomme une cigarette.' In either case, Gervex took the advice."

What Degas and Gervex may have deemed nonchalance on the part of the medical students may have been their method of counteracting the odors of the dissecting room.

25. The monumental study of paintings of anatomy lessons is Wolf-Heidegger, G. and Anna Maria Cetto, DIE ANATOMISCHE SEKTION IN BILDICHER DARSTELLUNG, Basel, 1967

26. Parry, Elwood C. III. "The GROSS CLINIC As Anatomy Lesson and Memorial Portrait," ART QUARTERLY, v. 32, 1969. p. 388, note 17. "Eakins participated in the international revival or intensification of interest in Rembrandt as traced by Seymour Slive, 'Rembrandt and His Critics,' ART NEWS ANNUAL, Vol. XXII, 1953. Also Johns, Elizabeth. HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, *ibid.*, p. 72

27. Johns. HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, *ibid.* p. 72

28. Johns. HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, *ibid.* p. 72

29. Terry, James S. "Artistic Anatomy and Taboo: The Case of Thomas Anshutz," ART JOURNAL, Summer, 1984, p. 149

30. Bertherat, Bruno. "Les Visiterus De La Morgue," L'HISTOIRE, no. 180, Sept., 1994, p. 16. Bertherat cites A. Guillot's PARIS QUI SOUFFRE, LA BASSE-GEOLE DU CHATELET ET LES MORGUES MODERNES, Paris, Roquette, 1887, reed. 1888. "Although it seems shocking to us, in the 19th century it was one of the most visited spots in the capital."

31. Sue, Eugene. LES MYSTERES DE PARIS. English translation originally published by G. Routledge and Sons, London (1887), reprinted by Howard Fertig, Inc. New York (1987). p. 692

32. Sue, Eugene. LES MYSTERES DE PARIS. *ibid.* p. 696

33. Terry, James S. "Artistic Anatomy and Taboo: The Case of Thomas Anshutz," *op. cit.* p. 150.

In an earlier article, Terry linked "the macabre quality" of dissecting room photographs he has

uncovered, to "notions of taboo....Moreover, the psychological association between dissection and grave-robbing may well have persisted long after the actual practice of the latter had ceased." "Dissecting Room Portraits: Decoding An Underground Genre," HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY, Volume 7, Number 2, April-June, 1983, p. 96

34. Johns, Elizabeth, HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, op. cit., p. 73

In another article, Johns makes it clear that it was Eakins, not Dr. Gross who chose the setting and the pose. Elizabeth Johns, Men Ought To Be Painted': The Social Context of Eakins' PORTRAIT OF PROFESSOR GROSS (THE GROSS CLINIC) and THE AGNEW CLINIC," THOMAS EAKINS: IMAGES OF THE SURGEON, Walters Art Gallery Exhibition Catalogue June 9-July 30, 1989 Commemorating the Centennial of Johns Hopkins Medicine. p. 9: "It was surely Eakins who proposed that Dr. Gross and his supporting team be depicted in the act of performing surgery rather than simply standing in the amphitheater, or even carrying out a dissection."

35. Johns, op. cit, p. 73. Johns also writes that "as Gross was no mere anatomist, Eakins did not choose an outdated convention to honor him."

36. ZIGZAGS A LA PLUME A TRAVERS L'ART, #4, May 21, 1876, p. 2: "La scene a deja été representée avec beaucoup de talent par M. Feyen-Perrin, il y a des années. Personne n'a oublié son beau tableau a l'amphitheatre au milieu de ses élèves. M. Gervex a dramatisé la même action tout autrement, mais il n'ya pas moins réussi."

ZIGZAGS was only one of several new Salon reviews and catalogues that were published in the decades beginning with the late 1870s. One may see the growth of these critical journals as evidence of the increased attendance and interest in the Salon by a public that wanted to be informed.

37. Johns, Elizabeth, HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, op. cit., p. 73

38. Gourvennec, Jean-Christophe, EXPOSITION HENRI GERVEX, op. cit., p. 99.

39. See, for example, the illustrations of anatomy lessons in Figures 86, 87 and 88. Johns notes that

Feyen-Perrin, followed the convention when he "chose to present Velpeau in the role of an anatomist, even with a text in evidence." p. 73 She also notes that in Eakins GROSS CLINIC, the artist, by substituting the clinical recorder for the traditional anatomical text, emphasized the modernity of the new surgical techniques: "There is no authoritative anatomical text, as in the format of the anatomy lesson (typified by Rembrandt's ANATOMY LESSON OF DR. TULP,...where the text is open at the feet of the cadaver." HEROISM OF MODERN LIFE, op.cit., p. 67

40. Parry, Elwood C. III, "THE GROSS CLINIC As Anatomy Lesson and Memorial Portrait," THE ART QUARTERLY, v. 32, 1969, p. 380

41. Parry, Elwood C., THE GROSS CLINIC, *ibid.*, p. 380

42. These identifications are based on the Feyen-Perrin's painting which belonged to the Musee de la Ville de Tours and reproduced in Wolf-Heidegger, G. and Anna Maria Cetto, DIE ANATOMISCHE SEKTION IN BILDICHER DARSTELLUNG, op. cit., pp. 329-330 and p. 541.

The sketch of the painting (See Figure 89b), which belongs to the Assistance Publique Museum, is quite different as can be seen from the Assistance Publique's own reproduction. The authors of the Museum's catalogue insist, however, that "L'esquisse du Musee de l'Assistance Publique, identique quant a sa composition generale a l'exception de quelques details....(pp. 106-107).

43. Gabriel Weisberg (THE REALIST TRADITION, p. 180) calls particular attention to the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS Salon Review of 1864 in which Leon Lagrange "raised some questions about Feyen-Perrin's use of the two figures in the foreground: 'Why was he forced to add two other figures to the foreground: One is an assistant in the amphitheatre, the other a student who holds a list of names on which is found the word Charite....'Lagrange was calling attention to an awkward placement of individuals in the foreground of the composition. Actually, the assistant, dressed in a blue hospital gown, has just pulled back the sheet and revealed the corpse, and the student establishes the exact location, la Charite, the hospital where Doctor Velpeau (1795-1867), the most famous surgeon then in Paris, performed surgery and held discussions for students and

colleagues." p. 180

According to Paul Busquet, however, the Charnuys were not brothers. The name, moreover, was Charnay and he was painted twice simply to avoid having thirteen in the painting. Charnay was one of Velpeau's students. The cadaver was "played" by the nephew of General Loysel. Busquet, Paul and A. Gilbert, LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, J.B. Balliere et Fils, Paris, vol. 5, 1931, p. 388.

45. Gervex calls the attendant, "Alexandre le philosophe." His jobs included receiving the parents of the deceased when they came to identify the body. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 29

46. Cherbuliez, Victor, "Le Salon de 1876," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 15, June 15, 1876, p. 868. "Le mal est qu'il ne s'agit pas ici de la LECON D'ANATOMIE. Le cadavre a été pris dans le tas, les praticiens aussi, et le garçon de salle ressemble à tous les garçons de salle."

47. Cherbuliez, Victor, "Le Salon de 1876." ibid., p. 868

48. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 26 En service, depuis un ou deux siècles peut-être, elle était d'une couleur étonnante qui n'était pas celle du plomb primitif, mais du vieux cuivre, et usé par le frottement des générations d'étudiants et de professeurs qui s'étaient penchées sur elle."

49. Gervex, SOUVENIRS, ibid., p. 26. "Même sans cadavres, elle était effroyable à regarder.

50. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 26

51. Miquel, Antoine, ELOGE DE XAVIER BICHAT, Paris, 1823. Cited in Erwin Ackerknecht, MEDICINE AT THE PARIS HOSPITAL 1794-1848, p. 52.

During the 1870s and 1870s, medical students, after successfully completing an examination in bone science, dissected cadavers during the winters of their second and third years. In 1876, it was still usual for several students to share a cadaver. According to Pierre Darmon, "In 1878 a better system of apportionment permitted each student to have his own entire cadaver for the year." But after 1890, when the

Paris Municipal Council no longer paid for certain expenses, the number of cadvers available then diminished by half." LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DU MEDECIN PARISIEN EN 1900, Hachette, Paris (1988) pp. 66-67.

Bichat's career is surrounded by myths. Ackerknecht uses the term "supposedly" when reporting the 600 autopsies he did during the winter of 1801-1802. Even if one considered the entire months from November through March as the winter, it would mean that Bichat did four autopsies per day every day. Jack Kevorkian, in a short book THE STORY OF DISSECTION, accepts the number 600, but does not seem to assign them all to a single year. (p. 65) Kevorkian states that Bichat's "unbelievably productive but frail life was cruelly snuffed out at the age of 31 by tuberculosis." (p. 64) Busquet's biography of Bichat relates that the 600 figure comes from Buisson who says these were studied in only a few months. LES BIOGRAPHIES MEDICALES, vol. 3, 1929, p. 42

Ackerknecht expresses some doubt of this diagnosis, writing that Bichat "died after a few days of acute illness, probably from tuberculosis meningitis, in the arms of his friends Roux, Esparron, and Mme. Desault, on July 22, 1802." (ibid., pp. 51-52).

Pierre Darmon, contends, however, that Bichat died of septicemia. "Les hommes de l'art travaillent effectivement sur des cadavres en voie de decomposition. Les miasmes putrides qui s'en exhalent representent un danger mortel et la moindre ecorchure constitue une porte ouverte à l'inoculation veneneuse, à la septicemie dont Bichat mourut prematurement." "Les Vols De Cadavres Et La Science (XVIIe-XIXe Siecles), L'HISTOIRE, No. 48, Septembre, 1982, p. 36

52. SALON DE 1876 93e Exposition Officielle. Ministere de L'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts, Direction des Beaux-Arts. EXPLICATION DES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, SCULPTURE, ARCHITECTURE, GRAVURE ET LITHOGRAPHIE DES ARTISTES VIVANTS, EXPOSES AU PALAIS DES CHAMPS-ELYSEES LE PREMIERE MAI 1876. (Paris) Imprimerie Nationale.

There were approximately 9,000 daily visitors for the Salon. ZIGZAGS notes that the 2,095 canvases admitted comprised 57.99% of those that had been submitted. This represented an increase from the 51+% that had been admitted in the two previous years. Between 300 and 350,000 visitors came on the fifteen free days.

In 1873 there were 435,055 visitors; 1874, 507,000; 1875, 463,849. (May 14, 1876, #3, p. 6)

53. Gervex, SOUVENIRS, p. 32. "Ma toile a eu le plus grand succes et m'a valu un renouvellement de deuxieme medaille, qui, au Salon, me placait hors concours." Gervex was, perhaps, particularly keen to make this point since, by the Salon's own rules, his canvas, ROLLA, should have been accepted.

54. Yriarte, Charles, "Le Salon de 1876," GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, vol. 13, p. 712. "L'AUTOPSIE est certainement une des meilleures toiles du Salon, une de celles animees du meill' r esprit, et l'artiste est dans une excellente voie.

55. Yriarte, Charles. "Le Salon de 1876," ibid., p. 712.

56. ZIGZAGS, May 21, 1876, #4, pp. 2-3

57. ZIGZAGS was among the first to report that L'AUTOPSIE was awarded a Rappel de Deuxieme Classe in its June 4th issue. The article continued, "Nous sommes heureux de redire tout le bien que nous pensons du tableau de M. Gervex; nous avons foi dans le talent du jeune artiste, nous lui predisons un brillant avenir et nous sommes assures qu'il ne nous fera pas mentir." (No. 6, June 4, 1876, p. 3)

58. ZIGZAGS, #4, May 21, 1876, p. 3

59. See Figure 91, LE LABORATOIRE D'ANATOMIE COMPAREE AU MUSEUM was #1092 at the Salon. Gelhay also exhibited #1093, UNE CUISINE, that year. EXPLICATION DES OEUVRAGES. Gelhay was not only a student of Tony Robert-Fleury, but exhibited and sold some of his paintings from Robert-Fleury's studio at the rue de Douai. (Gelhay's own studio was Rue Blanche, 81)

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

61. In 1876, Gervex's had his studio at 8 rue Coustou in the 18th Arrondissement, near the Moulin Rouge. As he achieved success, he first moved to the Eighth Arrondissement, 62 rue de Rome not far from the Gare St. Lazare. By the end of the century, he had settled in a the even more fashionable 197 Boulevard Malsherbes.

At the Salon of 1877, Gervex exhibited PREMIÈRE COMMUNION À L'EGLISE DE LA TRINITE. This work, too, was noticed by several of the Salon reviewers, an excellent accomplishment for a young painter. Some comments noted that he straying from his Academic roots, favoring perhaps the impressionist style. Henry Houssaye saw this as an unfortunate development for Gervex. Writing in the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, Houssaye argued that the PREMIER COMMUNION lacked both feeling and style, that Gervex had, in place of creating a "symphony in white major, had ended up with one "in gray." Houssaye warned Gervex that if he continued to grant simple genre subjects large canvases that were usually reserved for history paintings, his art, for all his talent, would soon be worth no more than that of Caillebotte, Monet, Degas, Renoir and "the other impressionists. All his talent will not save him." Houssaye, Henry. "Le Salon de 1877," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, p. 607-608:

1878 was also a significant year for Gervex. This was the year of the scandal surrounding his painting, ROLLA. The story of the painting, its refusal by the jury of the official Salon and Gervex's strategy of exhibiting it privately nearby have been commented upon, most recently in Hollis Clayson's PAINTED LOVE PROSTITUTION IN FRENCH ART OF THE IMPRESSIONIST ERA, pp. 79-93. She indicates that she was able to find nineteen contemporary articles which discuss the painting, either from an artistic point of view or from a social point of view "because the removal from the Salon was a social as well as an artistic event." Gervex had won second place medals in two previous Salons and should have been, according to the Salon's own rules, hors concours.

62. Guillaume, Eugene. "Le Salon de 1879," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, Vol. 34, July 1, 1879, p. 194: "Si l'on desire des contrastes, on rapprochera M. Jules Breton, le maître qu'inspirent nos campagnes, de M. Gervex, le peintre de la vie à Paris." Gervex's 1879 Salon paintings were RETOUR DE BAL and PORTRAIT DE MME. VALTESSE DE LA BIGNE.

Emile Zola singled Gervex's work out for particular praise. "This year his canvas, RETURN FROM THE BALL, which depicts a jealous scene between a lady in tears and a gentleman in tails in the act of nervously removing his gloves, is painted with great faithfulness

from life and renders extremely vividly the impression of the Parisian beau monde." Zola, Emile. "Salon de 1879," Originally published in LE MESSAGER DE L'EUROPE (July, 1879). Reprinted in SALONS, RECUILLIS, ANNOTES ET PRESENTES par F.W.J. Hemmings et Robert J. Niess. Librairie Minard, Paris (1959). p. 228:

Gabriel Weisberg called her "a product of the Third Republic; she was the mistress of a rich banker who...entertained frequently and since she took an interest in literature, art, and politics, her gatherings included representatives from all these different worlds." Apparently, Mme. Valtresse de la Bigne moved easily among the financial and artistic world's of nineteenth century France.

According to Edmond de Goncourt, there had been an even closer connection between Gervex and Mme. Valtresse de la Bigne. Mme. de la Bigne's (actually Lucie Delabigne, 1850-1910) other lovers included the artist Meissonier and Professor Robert Ricatte, notes that she had been an "actrice des Bouffes-Parisiens" between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. She had been able to "ruine le prince de Sagan, trompe Detaille avec Gervex, tient un salon Bonapartiste dans son hotel du bd. Malesherbes, inspire NANA de Zola et REINE SOLEIL d'Harry Alis." GONCOURT JOURNAL, vol. III. pp. 795 and 1458. (Fasquelle and Flammarion, Paris, 1956)

She was the model for Irma Becot, a character in Zola's novel L'OEUVRE.

63. Fouquier, Marcel. "Le Salon de 1888," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, v. 52, p. 643

64. The SOUVENIR DE LA NUIT DU 4, one of Gervex's entries at the 1880 Salon expresses an anti-Bonapartist sentiment. The official Salon Catalogue, [SALON DE 1880 EXPLICATIONS DES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, etc. p. 158, #1600. 3.25mX2.55m] included the line, "The young man had received two bullets to the head" supposedly taken from Victor Hugo. Zola informed the public that the SOUVENIR DE LA NUIT DU 4 was "un sujet emprunte a la piece de vers ou Victor Hugo raconte le meurtre d'un enfant, lors du coup d'Etat de decembre, 1851. L'enfant, mort, a été rapporté chez sa mère, stupide de douleur; un medecin l'a deshabilité et l'examine, pendant que plusieurs personnes, des emeutiers et des bourgeois, occupent le fond du tableau." Zola, Emile.

"Le Salon de 1880," originally published in LE VOLTAIRE from June 18 to 22, 1880 and reprinted in Hemmings and Niess, op. cit., p. 248. Despite the fact that Zola did not care for the painting ("la peinture me paraît sourde"), Gervex remained for him "à la tête du groupe des artistes qui se sont détachés de l'École pour venir au naturalisme." ibid. p. 248

65. Frank Polliot, in "Les Décors des Mairies," LE TRIOMPHE DES MAIRIES, Editions Paris Musees. Novembre 1986, pp. 115-118, deals with Gervex's entries in the open competition. "Lors du jugement des esquisses, le 1er février 1880, la première prime fut accordée à Gervex et Blanchon, la seconde à Emile Levy, la troisième à Besnard....Le jugement des cartons, le 10 mars 1880, reproduisit le même classement: Gervex et Blanchon recurent donc le prix d'exécution."

66. Gervex, H. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 40: "Je puis dire ici un mot de ma décoration, à la mairie du XIXe arrondissement, de la salle des mariages. Ce fut le premier concours ouvert par la ville de Paris...Au lieu de présenter les éternels sujets mythologiques à la David, nous avons erré dans les quartiers de la mairie...et nous avons relevé dans notre promenade tous les détails pittoresques...par exemple, les coltineurs de charbon du canal Saint-Martin nous ont fourni un motif important." Gervex exhibited LE BASSIN DE LA VILLETTE;--DECHARGEURS DE CHARBONS and the BOUCHERS DE LA VILLETTE at the Salon of 1882. According to Gabriel Weisberg, "it was for this work that Gervex received the Legion of Honor." (THE REALIST TRADITION, p.292). The DECHARGEURS DE CHARBONS, a very large painting - 3m70 X 2m20 - was the one painting by Gervex chosen for the Retrospective exhibit of the works of living artists held at the Palais des Champs-Élysées from 15 September to 31 October, 1883. (#312)

67. Winock, Michel. "1893: Au Secours Les Socialistes Arrivent!," L'HISTOIRE, No. 163, February, 1993. p. 61

68. Wright, Gordon. FRANCE IN MODERN TIMES, p. 242. Wright continues a few paragraphs later, "The extremists in both camps were louder and more aggressive;...the mutual provocation was to dominate the political life of France from the 1870s to the end of the century, and to some degree even until the First World War." (p. 243)

No general study of France in the early years of the

Third Republic fails to discuss the struggle between State and Church authorities. A worthwhile short summary can be found in Jean-Marie Mayeur, LES DEBUTS DE LA IIIe REPUBLIQUE 1871-1898, (Editions du Seuil, 1973) pp. 111-119 and 134-145

Chapter 6, "De l'ordre moral a la Separation," in René Remond's L'ANTICLERICALISME EN FRANCE DE 1815 A NOS JOURS, Editions Complexe, 1985, pp. 171-223 includes quite a few primary sources. In addition to Gambetta's speeches, Remond quotes Paul Bert's speech, "La Science Contre La Religion."

69. Vaisse, Pierre. "Mairies et Palais: Gervex decorateur de la 3eme Republique," EXPOSITION GERVEX, op. cit. p. 243. "En realitie, la commande passée a Gervex et Blanchon montre bien que les preferences municipales se portaient vers cette forme de realisme qui passait pour conforme a l'esprit republicaine."

70. Placed on the opposite wall, at the rear of the salle des mariages was its pendant, LA DECLARATION DE NAISSANCE, probably painted solely by Gervex's partner, Emile-Henri Blanchon. Blanchon was also most likely completely responsible for two other paintings which decorated the mairie, the MARCHE AUX BESTIAUX and L'ECOLE D'ADULTES, also called COURS DU SOIR.

71. The BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE was listed as #1032, H. 3m,00 X L. 4m,30 in the Salon Catalogue. The artist signed it "H. Gervex" in the lower left [not H.G. as appears in the reproduction]. The painting was placed in room 23.

72. At the time Gervex was working on the decorations for the Nineteenth Arrondissement, an article in LE FIGARO of March 27, 1881 reported that:

One of our readers who has signed his letter and given us permission to name the doctor involved if we needed to, wrote us a kind of memoire from which we quote this passage:

Dr. D., visiting a poor, sick and infirm old lady during these last few days, very moved by her distress, promised to recommend her to the Bureau de Bienfaisance of the district. Which he did immediately. The Bureau sent someone to the poor old woman's home.

On entering, the visitor noticed a crucifix at the head of her bed; attacked by a sort of rage, the envoy of the Bureau de Bienfaisance declared to the old sick woman that she was nothing but a fanatic and that the Bureau would not give her and anyone like her any help at all. With these words, she left and the poor woman got nothing.

This was extreme intolerance and even more odious since every month the Bureau de Bienfaisance takes collections in all the churches of Paris. And, to take money from the faithful, to solicit charity from Catholics and to use charity as an act of atheist and radical propaganda, and to refuse to help Catholics - this is a monstrous act.

The article was signed "P.B."

73. Gourvennec, Jean-Christophe. EXPOSITION GERVEX. op. cit., p. 139

74. About, Edmond. QUINZE JOURNEES AU SALON DE PEINTURE ET DE SCULPTURE (ANNEE 1883). Librairie des Bibliophiles, Paris. 1883, pp. 27-28

75. Saint-Juirs. GUIDE ILLUSTRÉ DU SALON DE 1883, SUPPLEMENT DU JOURNAL LE CLAIRON. p. 25

76. Houssaye, Henry. "Le Salon de 1883," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 57, June 1, 1883. pp. 612-613

77. About, Edmond. QUINZE JOURS, op. cit., p. 28.

78. Peladan, Josephin. LA DECADENCE ESTHETIQUE. I. L'ART OCHLOCRATIQUE SALONS DE 1882 & DE 1883. (Camille Dalou, Editeur. Paris, 1888). pp. 74-75: "...mais quel plaisir pour les gens du dix-neuvieme arrondissement qui est pauvre, de se recréer les yeux a voir peint leur misere et l'aumone qu'on leur fait. Il vaudrait mieux leur donner la vue féerique d'un palais ruisselant d'or; mais cela ne les moraiserait pas, dira-t-on."

79. Roger-Ballu and Guillaume Dubufe, fils. "Dialog Sur Le Salon de 1883," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, May 15, 1883. pp. 464-466

80. Clayson, Hollis. PAINTED LOVE PROSTITUTION IN FRENCH ART OF THE IMPRESSIONIST ERA, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1991, p. 174

81. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 32

82. Gervex, ibid., p. 32 In 1884, Gervex exhibited a Portrait of Alfred Stevens (#1033; CATALOGUE ILLUSTRÉ DU SALON, p. xxvii).

1885 was the year he exhibited UNE SEANCE DU JURY DE PEINTURE, a group portrait which the art critic, Henry Havard predicted would become one of the "hits" ["clous"] of the Salon. Havard identified some of the jury-members Gervex painted: Feyen-Perrin, Jules Lefebvre, Guillemet, Henner, Pille, Cabanel, Bonnat, Harpignies, Rapin, Duez, Carolus Duran, Francois Maignan. Havard also asks if Gervex did not show some malice in painting Neuville and Detaille in the distance, watching the vicissitudes of the contests taking place on the ground floor. [SALON DE 1885, Goupil et Cie., pp. 6-7]. For H. Maystre, in the NOUVELLE REVUE, however, the painting had "too many canes and umbrellas raised in the air, too many of those dress hats expressively called stove pipes, too many jackets and coats jumbled together: c'est bien un jury, mais c'est aussi, un peu, un vestiaire." [V. 34, June 1, 1885, p. 610]. Gervex also exhibited a single portrait, MME. G.... Gervex was of course to return to the group portrait in 1887.

In 1886, Gervex submitted LA FEMME AU MASQUE ("Il y a de grace et de valeur réelle dans la FEMME AU MASQUE de M. Gervex" wrote Alfred de Lostalot in the GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS (v. 33, second series, p. 470) that year). The painting was, perhaps, too real because according to Gervex, a certain gentleman who thought he recognized his wife as the model for the nude in the canvas challenged Gervex to a duel. "Mon adversaire fut blessé au bas-ventre et je faillis perdre un oeil." [SOUVENIRS, p. 37].

83. AVANT L'OPERATION was #1027 in the Official Salon Catalogue. (EXPLICATIONS DES OEUVRES, Societe d'Imprimerie et Librairie Administratives et Classiques, Paris. Paul Dupont.)

84. Bournand, Francois. PARIS-SALON 1887. E. Bernard & Cie, Paris, 1887. p. 29 [this was #14 in a series of annual Salon reviews published by Bernard and Co.. Bournand was editor-in-chief of the journal BLANC ET NOIR and was replacing the previous reviewer, Louis Enault]. "La nouvelle toile de M. Gervex doit être

classé dans la grande peinture et est certainement un des succès du Salon. Si je ne me trompe, cette oeuvre puissante va le classer parmi nos premiers maîtres, car c'est du grand style qu'il a fait là."

85. Hamel, Maurice. "Le Salon de 1887," GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS (1887)

86. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 251. "Le nom de Péan évoque pour moi de bien lointains souvenirs. Je vois encore la forte carrure, les gestes solennels de ce grand chirurgien."

87. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, ibid., p. 251. "Il m'avait demandé de faire son portrait et j'hésitais sur la pose, l'attitude que je devais lui donner, quand l'idée me vint d'aller le voir faire son cours à Saint-Louis."

88. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 252

89. Didier, Robert. PEAN, op. cit., p. 38: "Sur une photographie de Reutlinger, faite à la date de son entrée à l'Académie, où son col disparaît sous les fourrures de sa pelisse, il a vraiment belle prestance, un air satisfait et imposant."

90. Thiebault-Sisson. "Le Salon de Peinture," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, v. 46, May-June, 1887. p. 788: [Gervex] a fait le portrait du Dr. Péan et de ses aides, dans une des salles de l'hôpital Saint-Louis, au moment où le chirurgien, avant de tailler dans le sein nu d'une femme anesthésiée, dont le buste s'enlève lumineux sur les étoffes sombres des vêtements, explique aux assistants par le menu opération qu'il va faire.

91. Faure, Jean-Louis, "L'Oeuvre de Pean," op. cit. p. 384

92. Ollendorff, Gustave. LE SALON DE 1887, op. cit., pp. 51-52: Quand un professeur enseigne dans nos salles d'hôpital, les élèves, attentifs, l'entourent, les infirmiers de service qui ont apporté le malade se retirent et l'on ne voit pas traîner sur le lit les courroies de leurs attelles. Enfin, puisqu'il s'agissait d'une oeuvre qui sera conservée, qui devra, suivant l'expression à la mode aujourd'hui, servir de document, nous aurions voulu que la patiente ait gardé le bonnet d'hôpital. Les cheveux en désordre, qui s'étaient sur le drap blanc...font faire fausse route

au spectateur." Ollendorf commented that her hair was more suitable to a hysteric at the Salpêtrière than to a patient about to be operated on at the Saint-Louis.

93. The reference to the "old student in grey eyeglasses and sidewhiskers is from Charles Ponsonailhe, L'ARTISTE, June, 1887, p. 445: "La tête expressive, de l'aide-chirurgien plein d'avidité curieuse, la tignole enluminée du vieil étudiant à lunettes grises et favoris grisonnants, qui suit avec flegme les explications du professeur...."

94. Nadine Simon-Dhouailly's LA LEÇON DE CHARCOT VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, p. 19: "On y reconnaissait M. Mathieu, fabricant d'instruments de chirurgie, ami et collaborateur de Péan; le Dr. Brochin, rédacteur en chef de LA GAZETTE DES HOPITAUX; les Drs. Collin, Aubeau, Larrive, élèves du maître; M. Zacharian, qui tient une main de la malade, ami de Gervex, docteur en médecine et peintre." The ALBUM GONNON's reproduction of the painting, "D'après l'estampe originale éditée par AM. Barbot," p. 75, has a superscript above the picture with the names of five people: from left to right: Dr. Brochin, Dr. Péan, Dr. Colin (sic), Dr. Zacharian, Dr. Aubeau.

Simon-Dhouailly lists the canvas's dimensions as "H. 0,42m X L. 1,88 m." This is clearly a misprint. The canvas's actual dimensions are 2.48m X 1.88m.

95. Lambert, Paul. LE SALON DE 1887 PARU DANS LE JOURNAL LA NATION (avril, mai, juin). p. 41. "Les accessoires sont charmantes; des instruments sanguinolents, des éponges dans un bocal. Sur la droite un homme joue du cornet à piston pour égayer la situation."

96. Ollendorf, Gustave. LE SALON DE 1887, op. cit., p. 52. In addition, Ollendorf felt that Gervex had erred by paying too much attention to Dr. Collin's portrait. "Il faut dire encore que le groupement général est confus et qu'on explique mal, dans un drame familial de ce genre, la note gaie que le jeune artiste, toujours gouaillieur, a voulu jeter dans la composition en soignant outre mesure le portrait d'un très vieil étudiant." It is perhaps because of this note, which Ollendorf considers too lighthearted for the seriousness of the painting, that causes him to refer to Gervex still as the young artist, despite his being in his mid-30s and 1887 having been fourteen years

since he first exhibited at the Salon.

97. The "partial or cut-off view," as Linda Nochlin labels it, was one of the basic formal strategies of Impressionism." Nochlin, Linda. THE POLITICS OF VISION, Harper and Row, New York, (1989), p. 81.

98. Thiebault-Sisson. "Le Salon de Peinture," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, op. cit., p. 788-789

99. Ollendorf, Gustave. LE SALON DE 1887, op. cit., p. 51: "Notre oeil s'est trouve invinciblement arrete par lui, non pas sur le personnage principal, celui qu'il s'agit d'operer, non pas sur le personnage secondaire, mais dont le role est encore important, l'operateur; mais sur une table ou figurent les accessoires de l'operation, quelques instruments epars - et un merveilleux bocal d'eponges. Nous avons obei a l'artiste et nous avons regarde les eponges. Elles sont bien peintes, ces eponges, et tres vraies....Le bocal a eponges pouvait faire l'objet d'un tableau isole. Dans la leçon de M. Péan, il nuit au tableau."

100. Didier, Robert, PEAN. Maloine, Paris (1948). p. 9: "il reste le seul chirugien français de son époque connu du grand public et du monde entier ou son nom, comme celui de Charcot, jouissait d'une notoriete sans rivale. Il partagea meme avec le grand Duputren ce semblant de loire populaire que donne aux foules des dimanches la reclame des fetes foraines."

101. Didier. Robert, PEAN, ibid. pp. 12-13

102. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary for Jules Pean," LANCET (London), February 5, 1898, p. 389.

103. Didier, Robert. op. cit. p. 15

104. Didier. ibid. pp. 16-38

105. In a letter to his friend Dubarry, Pean wrote: "I am happy to learn that your health is good and that your dear son has begun a career in medicine. He need only follow in the footsteps of his dear father. I hope that he will not have his route barred by foreigners, like that Greek oculist on the Faculty, or by ignoble cretins like those of the Institute, represented by Velpeau." Letter quoted in Didier, Robert, PEAN, p. 210

106. Pean, Jules Emile, THESE: DE LA SCAPULALGIE, ET DE LA RESECTION SCAPULO-HUMERAIRE.

107. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary," op. cit. p. 389

108. Segal, Alain. "Jules Emile Pean," LA MEDECINE A PARIS DU XIIIe AU XXe SIECLE. Editions Hervas, Paris. 1984. p. 442

109. "Bulletin de la Semaine," CONCOURS MEDICAL, No. 11. March 13, 1880. pp. 121-122

110. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit. p. 251: "Il avait conserve la tradition de l'habit noir et endossant toujours celui-ci, meme pour operer (en ce cas une serviette nouee autour du cou protegeait le plastron et la cravate blanche.)"

111. Faure, Jean-Louis. "L'Oeuvre de Pean," op. cit., p. 386

112. 82. 83. Bert, Dr. Paul. CONCOURS MEDICAL, No. 6. August 9, 1879. pp. 68-70. "M. P. Bert rend compte a l'Academie des Sciences [meeting of July 21, RW] des resultats que deux habiles praticiens, MM. les docteurs Labbé et Péan, ont obtenus en employant la methode qu'il a propose pour l'anesthesie."

113. Readers of the NOUVELLE REVUE learned about nitrous oxide and other anesthetics in an article by Dr. Edouard Heckel, "Les Anesthetiques et la Douleur." (No. 14, Jan.-Feb., 1882. pp. 80-90). Heckel traces medical science's (and chemistry's) conquest over pain since the days of the ancient Assyrians. "Le protozyde d'azote fut solennellement rehabilite, il y a quelques annees seulement, par les recherches de Paul Bert, que le genie de Davy et de Priestly est venu si heureusement inspirer." (p. 86) After briefly discussing anesthetics he considered imperfect, ether and chloroform, Heckel concluded that "L'avenir appartient au protoxyde d'azote." (88) Overall, Heckel's main point is that "Les anesthesique ont arrache a la physiologie son caractere de cruauté..." and that anesthesia is certainly symbolic of progress in medical science.

114. Bert went on to report that the operation was performed "dans la grande chambre de toile de l'etablissement du docteur Daupley." Péan, however, did not rely at that time on any single type of anesthesia,

using a variety of chemicals as he saw fit. An article entitled, "The Surgical Clinic of Dr. Pean at the St. Louis Hospital," [CONCOURS MEDICALE, September 27, 1879 (No. 13), p. 147] reported that Pean used nitrous oxide and later ether, "a l'aide d'appareils dus au Dr. Rottenstein," to operate on a women who had been in labor for more than sixty hours. In another operation, Pean used chloroform to anesthetize a seven-year old girl who had been born with a sixth finger on her left hand. Although it had been removed at birth, there was at present a growth the size of a lima bean in its place. Pean remarked that "un fait qui prouve la tenacite des prejuges vulgaires, est l'explication que la malade donne de son vice de conformation. Sa mere pendant sa grossesse aurait vu une grenouille a six doigts." (p. 149)

Heckel is very critical of Morton's claim for priority in the use of ether. "Nous voyons, en effet, un vulgaire dentiste de Boston, imitant en cela l'exemple de Wells a l'egard de Davy pour le protoxyde d'azote, s'emparer de l'ether sulfurique, usurper une decouverte scientifiquement etable par Jackson dans des experiences restees celebres, et vouloir ensuite, par un exces d'audace trop commun, en monopoliser l'usage a son profit." (86)

This article appeared just as Hinckley, the American artist studying with Carolus Duran, began his painting of "The First Operation Under Ether."

115. Faure, Jean-Louis, "L'Oeuvre de Pean," BULLETIN DE L'ACADEMIE DE MEDECINE, SEANCE DE 25 NOVEMBRE, 1930. Vol. CIV, #37, p. 367. Faure claimed that, "Je suis de ceux qui ont connu Pean, qui l'ont vu a l'oeuvre qui souvent ont ete regarder de leurs yeux travailler ce grand ouvrier de notre art!"

116. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary," op. cit. p. 389

117. CONCOURS MEDICAL, No. 12, March 20, 1880, p. 136  
In a letter of December 17, 1880 to his friend, Dr. Dubarry, Pean wrote: I am again presenting myself to the Academy of Medicine to fill the placed which, on the death of Broca, has just been declared vacant in the section of surgical medicine. During the trip to Dampierre that I had the pleasure to take with you, you were nice enough to say that I could count on you as before and in all circumstances. You know further how much, on my part, I would be happy to do something to help you. And, you also told me that you were

particularly close to Chatin, Director of the School of Pharmacy, who has great influence on the nominations to the Academy. I know that if your relations with him are good enough to get him to support my candidacy, you would not fail to do so. That is why I decided to write to you, while he is on holiday in the country, so that you can warmly intercede with him on my behalf." Quoted in Didier, Robert, PEAN, op. cit, p. 207

118. CONCOURS MEDICAL, *ibid.* "Tandis que les autres concurrents sont malheureusement pour la section [of surgical pathology, RW] des gens tres occupes et tres repandus...M. Labbé est en compagnie d'un des chirurgiens les plus occupes de Paris, M. le Dr. Pean...Nous sommes convaincu qu'un jour viendra ou nous aurons la satisfaction de voir au nombre des academiciens M. Péan..."

119. Segal, Alain. op. cit., p. 442. "Son succes fut considerable et éveilla de nombreuses inimitiés venant de mediocres et de jaloux. 'Dire qu'il faut que j'aïlle a l'etranger pour que l'on me rende justice.'"

In material terms, Péan's success was considerable, if a second-hand report by Edmond de Goncourt is reliable. Goncourt notes in his journal for Sunday, January 3, 1892 that Maurice de Fleury told him that when he had worked as Pean's anesthetist, Pean told him that he had earned 700,000 francs that year.\*

Only a week later, January 11, Goncourt noted that Leon Daudet had just spoken to him about how Pean earned so much money. He reported that Péan split his fees with doctors who recommended Pean to their patients. According to Daudet, Pean paid 500 francs to "la petit medecin de province" and from 2500 to 5000 francs "pour le medecin de Paris qui faisait parvenir le malade à Péan." [Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *JOURNAL*, v. III. Fasquelle et Flammarions, Paris. 1956. Robert Laffont, "Bouquins" 1989. pp. 651-653.] In the *LANCET* obituary, Péan is said to have had an income of 40,000 pounds sterling per year.

In the same letter to Dr. Dubarry cited in note 106, Pean remarked that, "The fruits of my labor have permitted me to build, at my own expense, a private hospital for poor people at 11 rue de Santé."

[\*Fleury went on to describe a new "magical remedy" for weakness, a simple injection of water in which globules

of blood were swimming. Perhaps Fleury had also spoken to Zola about this remedy, so reminiscent of Dr. Pascal's own injections.]

120. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary," op. cit. p. 389

121. Segal, Alain. op. cit., p. 442: "Péan n'avait pas la parole facile et son éloquence était autre: celle de l'acte opératoire."

122. Faure, Jean-Louis. "L'Oeuvre de Pean," op. cit., p. 376

123. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary," op. cit., p. 389. "Pean expressed himself with a kind of glaciality which gave point to the provincial accent which he never lost."

124. For example, CONCOURS MEDICAL, No. 7 of August 16, 1879 gives a detailed reports of different operations performed at the "Clinique Chirurgicale Dr. Péan Hopital Saint-Louis, clinique du 19 juillet, 1879." Others are reported in CONCOURS MEDICALE, No. 13, Sept. 27, 1879, pp. 147-149: "Clinique Chirurgicale du Dr. Péan, Hopital Saint-Louis (26 juillet 1879)" and in the CONCOURS MEDICALE #21, Nov. 22, 1879, p. 243: "M. le Dr. Péan a présenté trois malades sur lesquelles il a pratiqué la gastrotomie et qui se portent fort bien aujourd'hui."

125. Péan to Dr. Dubarry, August 2, 1892. Quoted in Didier, Robert, PEAN, p. 210. Didier remarks, however, that "Not one of Pean's students (even thought they had a cult for him) left one book dedicated to his memory." p. 9

126. Faure, Jean-Louis, "L'Oeuvre de Pean," op. cit. p. 376

127. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary for Jules Pean," op. cit., pp. 389

128. "Bulletin de la Semaine," CONCOURS MEDICALE, No. 16, October 18, 1879, p. 183.

129. CONCOURS MEDICAL, No. 16, 1879, *ibid.* p. 183: "Enfin, il n'est pas jusqu'à l'appareil instrumental si perfectionné aujourd'hui par les hommes qui ont mis l'ovariotomie en honneur, et parmi lesquels il serait injuste de ne pas citer M. Péan, qui s'entre pour une

large part dans les succes obtenus par les chirurgiens contemporains."

130. Velpeau's statement is reported in CONCOURS MEDICAL, No. 16. *ibid.* p. 183: "L'extirpation des ovaires malades est une operation affreuse qui doit etre proscrite."

131. CONCOURS MEDICAL, NO. 18, November 1, 1879. p. 207

132. Rideout, Blanchard L. THE MEDICAL PRACTITIONER IN THE FRENCH NOVEL 1850-1900. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. 1936. "Those novels which blamed the surgeon for race suicide generally enjoyed great popularity. All the novelist had to do was to put the two fashionable questions of race suicide and ovariectomy together and make one the result of the other." pp. 198-199

133. For example, Agnew's statement about these operations parallels Velpeau's earlier one about ovariectomies. "Carcinoma was an 'opprobrium' to surgical intervention and eventually would yield to methods of treatment not then discovered." Quoted in Margaret Supplee Smith, "Not Cheerful for Ladies to Look At," PROSPECTS, Volume II. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1987.p. 166]

134. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary," *op. cit.* p. 390

But Pean would also operate on those without money. In a letter dated October 25, 1881, Pean wrote to a colleague, Destureau, about "Madame M., a laquelle j'ai enleve une ancienne tumeur cancereuse ulcereee du sein. Bien que l'operation ait ete faite beaucoup trop tard, elle avait reussir a sauver la malade. Mais la recidive s'etant produite sur un point limite, cette interessante malade est revenue a St.-Louis longtemps apres que je l'avais prevenue a nouveau du danger, et aujourd'hui son etat est deplorable....Elle voudrait etre a nouveau opereee a St.-Louis....La position de fortune de la malade ne lui permettrait guere que nous fassions ensemble cette triste besogne dans une maison de sante comme la premiere fois. L'etat moral exige qu'on ne l'abandonne pas completement." Quoted in Didier, p. 212

135. Supplee Smith, Margaret. "Not Cheerful for Ladies to Look At," PROSPECTS, Volume II. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York, 1987. p. 176. Supplee

Smith notes another connection between the paintings, that Eakins canvas "documents the increasingly more successful development of hemostatis, or arrest of bleeding. Agnew helped to introduce the artery clamp, an invention considered by some scholars to almost as important as anesthesia and asepsis for the type of operation being performed." (p. 165) The author cites George W. Corner's TWO CENTURIES OF MEDICINE, A HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA to support this statement.

Judith Fryer calls Gervex's painting "a likely model for THE AGNEW CLINIC." The article, however, contains at least one serious error about Gervex's painting. "Radical mastectomy was introduced by Dr. William Halsted, professor of surgery at Johns Hopkins (the same doctor who diagnosed breast cancer in Alice James, and whose hemostatic clamps are the subject of another anatomy lesson in a painting of 1887 by Henri Gervex....) "'The Body In Pain' In Thomas Eakins' AGNEW CLINIC," MICHIGAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, Volume XXX, Number 1, Winter 1991, p. 199. Gervex's painting was most definitely about Pean's clamps.

136. Murhy, Dr. James, "Obituary," op. cit. p. 389

137. Ollendorf, Gustave. SALON DE 1887, Societe Des Artistes et Cie., Lodovic Baschet, editeur. Paris (1887) p. 51: "M. Gervex se rattrape sur certains artifices destines quand meme a fixer l'attention sur ce qui doit etre important dans le tableau; mais pense-t-il serieusement qu'en grossissant outre mesure la tete du professeur qui fait sa leçon au second plan, il lui ait donne sa veritable valeur?"

138. Ponsonailhe, Charles. L'ARTISTE, op. cit., p. 445: "Le personnage principal, M. Pean, est egalement un peu trop officiel et pontifiant."

139. Didier, Robert. PEAN, op. cit., p. 38: "Pean a toujours vecu en habit; il operait en habit, et si ce que cette tenue avait de solennel et d'inconfortable peut fair sourire, on ne peut nier qu'elle contribua a la celebrite du maitre."

140. ALBUM GONNON, op. cit., p. 75

141. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," L'UNION MEDICAL, vol. 43, #62, May 14, 1887, p. 756

142. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," *ibid.*, pp. 755-756
143. Although Ollendorf did wonder why Gervex had included so many unnecessary characters in his painting, people whom he said played no part in the operation. "Les personnages du fond ne font pas partie de la scene, et puisque M. Gervex a cherche la verite, il aurait du les supprimer." (p. 51)
144. Faure, Jean-Louis, "L'Oeuvre de Pean," *op. cit.*, p. 376
145. Murphy, Dr. James. "Obituary," *op. cit.* p. 389.
146. Murphy, Dr. James, *ibid.*, p. 389. Murphy notes that Pean was also involved in another controversy over priority. His former pupil, Doyen, claimed to be the inventor of vaginal hysterectomy in cases of pelvic suppuration.
147. Faure, Jean-Louis. "L'Oeuvre de Pean," *op. cit.*, p. 373
148. Faure, Jean-Louis, *ibid.*, pp. 375-376
149. Faure, Jean-Louis, *ibid.* pp. 373-375
150. Ballu, Roger. L'ILLUSTRATION, 1887. quoted in "EQUIVOQUES" PEINTURES FRANCAISES DU XIXe SIECLE, Musée Des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, (1973) (n.p.): "C'est en somme le sujet de la LECON D'ANATOMIE de Rembrandt mis au point de la verité moderne, et il faut savoir gre a M. Gervex d'avoir ete aussi sincere, aussi exact a son époque le maître hollandais a du l'être a la sienne." Ballu's admiration for the painting is based "non seulement de ses tres fine qualites de coloration, mais encore en raison du principe d'art qu'elle fait triompher." These principles include the harmonies among the blacks of the clothing and the restrained perspective Gervex employs. "Allons! l'art moderne a du bon."

Ballu was an Inspecteur des Beaux Arts and for the World's Fair of 1889, was appointed to the Commissariat Special des Beaux-Arts, Inspecteur principal de l'Exposition decennale (sections etrangeres). [EQUIVOQUES hyphenates Roger-Ballu. Contemporary citations in the 1880s do not.]

151. LaFenestre, George. REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 81, op. cit., p. 632-633: "Ces reunions de savans [sic], au-dessus plane toujours le souvenir de la LECON D'ANATOMIE....Ce qui caracterise l'oeuvre de M. Gervex, comme les oeuvres du meme genre faites d'apres les purs principes de l'ecole nouvelle, c'est l'affectation, par opposition avec Rembrandt et les Hollandais, de n'intervenir personnellement en aucune façon ni dans l'eclairage de la salle, ni dans la disposition des figures, ni dans le groupement des accessoires, c'est de rester, en un mot, le pur et simple copiste de la realite dans ce qu'elle a de heurte ausi bien que d'harmonieux, de brutal ausi bien que de delicat, d'irritant ausi bien que interessant."

152. Gervex, SOUVENIRS, p. 56. Gervex conclusion is "ce qui prouve que tout, en art, est dans l'interpretation." (p. 57) On copying as part of the Academy curriculum, See Boime, THE ACADEMY AND FRENCH PAINTING, esp. pp. 122-132

153. Gourvennec. EXPOSITION GERVEX. p. 165

154. It can at least be certain that Pean is not going to operate on the uterus. In several clinical lectures on uterine operations, Pean described the exact position in which the patient must be placed.

In "Clinique Chirurgicale Du Docteur Pean Hopital Saint-Louis, Clinique du 19 Juillet 1879," (CONCOURS MEDICALE, No. 7, August 16, 1879, p. 75) it was noted that "M. Pean attache la plus grande importance a la position du malade. Le decubitus dorsal sur un plan incline, la tete plus basse que le tronc doit etre rigoureusement exige. C'est grace a lui que l'on eviter les complications."

In another note, Pean wrote, "Position a donner a la femme -

1. On fait rapprocher la femme au bord du lit, et l'on place sous son siege un coussin resistant, qui facilitera l'abaissement du pavillon de sone. Les membres inferieurs sont ensuite enveloppes dans des couvertures chaudes, pour eviter le refroidissement, puis ecartes et a demi-flechis sur le bassin. En laissant ainsi la femme dans le decubitus dorsal, on realise, comme le fait remarquer Schroeder, la position dans laquelle l'entree spontanee de l'air dans l'uterus est le moins facile." (CONCOURS MEDICALE, No. 19, November 8, 1879, p. 223)

155. Supplee Smith, Margaret. "Not Cheerful For Ladies to Look At," op. cit., p. 176

156. Discussions of the representation of female nudes and the erotic content of French art have appeared in various monographs. Sander L. Gilman's "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," CRITICAL INQUIRY 12 (Autumn, 1985) 1, pp. 204-242. A recent general discussion of the female in French art, including a note on "Spectacle et Sexualite," "Femmes et Images Apparences, Loisirs, Subsistence, and "Representations," is by Anne Higonnet in Genevieve Fraisse and Michelle Perrot's HISTOIRE DES FEMMES, vol. 4, LE XIXe SIECLE, (Plon, 1991). Chapters 11 (pp. 248-275) and 12 (pp. 276-341). See also Chapters 2 and 3 in Hollis Clayson's PAINTED LOVE (1991)

157. Gourvennec, EXPOSITION GERVEX CATALOGUE, op. cit., p. 166

158. Lambert, Paul. LE SALON DE 1887, op. cit., p. 41. "Le docteur Pean enseignant a l'hopital Saint-Louis le pincement des vaisseaux par M. Gervex, est un sujet appetissant que l'amateur le plus delicat serait heureux d'avoir dans son salon. Le docteur est tout a fait digne; on regrette de ne pas entendre ce qu'il peut bien dire...."

159. World's Fair of 1889, Official Catalogue, Vol. I, Imprimerie L. Danel (Lille) p. 27. Gervex exhibited (#642-#650): ROLLA, PORTRAIT DE MME. VALTESSE, PORTRAIT DE MME BLERZY, PORTRAIT DE M. ALFRED STEVENS, LA FEMME AU MASQUE, LE DOCTEUR PEAN, LES MEMBRES DU JURY DU SALON DE PEINTURE, PORTRAIT DE MLLE DE BEYENS, PORTRAIT DE M. HAUCH;-ETUDE EN PLEIN AIR. The Catalogue entry entitles the painting Le docteur Pean and notes that it belongs to him.

For the admissions' jury: Meissonier, President; Bouguereau, Vice-President; T. Robert-Fleury, Rapporteur; Humbert, Secretaire. There were thirty-seven other members of the jury, most of whom were "artiste peintres" but a few who were not but otherwise closely connected to the art world, i.e., the Beaux-Arts (like Etienne Arago, conservateur of the Luxembourg Museum, Henry Havard, Paul Mantz, Andre Michel, and Antonin Proust). Figure 92a is the print

from the CATALOGUE, WORLD'S FAIR OF 1889, RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBIT OF FINE ART, p. 144. The print appears to have been taken from an engraving by H. Auguste Leveille.

160. For the Album Gonnon's print, See figure 92b. ALBUM GONNON ICONOGRAPHIE MEDICALE 1895-1908, Lyon (1908?). The photograph of it available from the CMT of the Assistance Publique cuts off the bottle of sponges on the left.

161. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS, op. cit., p. 252. "La famille de docteur Péan fut enchantée de mon idée et par la suite me temoigna toujours une grande amitié; j'en ai eu une preuve recemment; Madame Péan m'a écrit qu'elle avait fait don au Musée du Luxembourg du portrait de son mari - et il y figure, en effet." Gervex does not mention whether Mme. Pean sold the canvas or donated it to the Museum, although according to Nadine Simon-Dhouailly, the painting was purchased by the State and then put on display at the Luxembourg. It was soon afterwards transferred to the Museum at Versailles. In 1936, it became the property of the Musée de L'Assistance Publique where it remained until it was sent to the Orsay Museum, where it is at present.

162. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," 1887, op. cit., p. 753

163. Ponsonailhe, Charles. L'ARTISTE, op. cit., p p. 444-445: "MM. Gervex, Andre Brouillet parmi les Francais, Laurent G'sell [sic] et Richard Bergh parmi les etrangers, reproduisent des scenes d'hopitaux ou de clinique, des experiences touchant aux plus recentes decouvertes de cet art...M. Gervex, toujours tres habile, n'a pas l'eclairage blafard de M. Brouillet. Sa couleur reste moelleuse et seduisante. Je prefere donc son docteur Péan expo sant AVANT L'OPERATION les avantages du pincement des vaisseaux sanguins."

164. This reproduction is from the CATALOGUE WORLD'S FAIR OF 1889 RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBIT OF FINE ARTS, op. cit. p. 161. The painting was #1121 in the Salon Catalogue.

165. Ollendorf, Gustave. SALON DE 1887, op. cit., p. 62. Ollendorf calls the painting, L'INTERIOR DU LABORATOIRE MUNICIPALE. "ce terrible laboratoire duquel nous devons les plus troublantes revelations sur la

nature reelle des comestible et des boissons offerts au ventre de Paris...."

166. Leonard, Jacques. ARCHIVES DU CORPS LA SANTE AU XIXe SIECLE. Ouest France, 1986. p. 199. "Paris ouvrit, en 1878, un laboratoire d'analyses et autorisa, en 1880, le public a venir y faire tester des produits; en quelques mois, les experts de ce laboratoire, sous la direction de Charles Girard, furent debordes par les demande des consommateurs, mais aussi vilpendes par des negociants en colere." For Girard's reports, see pp. 187-188.

167. Ollendorf, Gustave. SALON DE 1887, ibid., p. 62 "ce tableau documentaire avec une meticuleuse exactitude et une parfaite methode. Tous les flacons sont a leur poste, methodiquement ranges et nous laissent voir, a travers leur transparence, la gamme coloree des produits chimiques."

168. Hamel, Maurice. "Salon de 1887, La Peinture Illustre," GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, vol. 35, June, 1887. p. 486

168a. Wolff, Albert. FIGARO SALON, Boussod, Valadon et Cie., op. cit., 1887, p. 67

169. Ollendorf, Gustave. SALON DE 1887, ibid. p. 62

169b. Benezit, vol. 5, p. 265.; CATALOGUE GENERAL OFFICIEL, vol. 1, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE INTERNATIONALE DE 1889 A PARIS, op. cit., p. 28. Gueldry's first Salon entries were two portraits, M. G... and Mme. G.... He again exhibited two portraits in the Salon of 1880. In 1881 Gueldry's Salon entry was A REGATTA AT JOINVILLE; THE START. In 1885, Gueldry's paintings began to deal with scenes of contemporary life and he received a Third Class Medal for A FOUNDRY: THE MOLDERS. the painting was purchased by the State and sent to the Museum of Saint-Etienne. Gueldry's 1886 Salon painting, THE CLEANING OF METALS was also purchased by the State and sent to the Amiens Museum. [Gueldry's entries at the Fair are numbers 707, 708 and 709.]

After 1890, Gueldry remained with the Societe des Artistes Francais at the Champs-Elysees, again showing UN JOUR DE REGATES which George Lafenestre praised for its animated and brilliant composition. (REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, V. 99, June 1, 1890, p. 667)

170. Dijkstra, Bram. IDOLS OF PERVERSITY FANTASIES OF FEMININE EVIL IN FIN-DE-SIECLE CULTURE. pp. 337-338
171. See Figure 96, TUBERCULEUX BUVANT DU SANG CHAUD A' L'ABBATTOIR DE LA VILLETTE, A. CLAVERIE, 1874.  
(Source: Jacques Leonard, ARCHIVES DU CORPS, p. 89)
172. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," 1887, op. cit., p.754
- 172b. Bertot, Jean. LES CALVADOS AU SALON DE 1887, C. Marpon and E. Flammarion, Paris, 1887, p. 7
173. Ollendorf, Gustave. LE SALON DE 1887, op. cit., p. 62
174. Thiebault-Sisson. "Le Salon de Peinture," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, v. 46, May-June, 1887, p. 789
175. Lafenestre, Georges, REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, V. 81, June 1, 1887, p. 634
176. Lafenestre, Georges, ibid., p. 634
177. Ponsonailhe, Charles. L'ARTISTE, April 24, 1887, p. 445

178. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. LA LECON DE CHARCOT VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, Exhibition Catalogue, Musee de l'Assistance Publique, 17 septembre-31 decembre 1986, p.7
179. Lafenestre, Georges, REVUE DES DUEX MONDES, June 1, 1887, op. cit., p. 634
180. EXPLICATION DES OEUVRAGES, 1881. For an interesting study of nineteenth century French history painting which uses sixteenth and seventeenth century religious quarrels to express not very disguised opinions of disputes in the artist's own period, see Michael Paul Driskel, "To Be Of One's Own Time': Modernization, Secularism and the Art of Two Embattled Academicians," ARTS MAGAZINE, vol. 61, #4, December, 1986, pp. 80-89
181. In the Salon of 1883, Brouillet exhibited AU CHANTIER, 3m30 X 2m50; in 1884 he entered two paintings, #374, L'EXORCISME: MUSICIENS ARABES CHASSANT LE DJINN and #375, PORTRAIT DE M. ODYSSE BAROT; in 1885, Brouillet again had two paintings at the Salon, LA TANIA - LA NOCE JUIVE A CONSTANTINE and PORTRAIT DE M. DE FOURCAUD. J. Noulens wrote some words of encouragement for the young artist in a small guide to the Salon: "C'est en persistant dans cette voie que M. Brouillet marchera surement a la maitrise et a la notoriete. ARTISTES FRANCAIS ET ETRANGERS AU SALON DE 1885. E. Dentu, Paris (1885). [He again showed both these paintings at the 1889 World's Fair]; in 1886 he won a second class medal for LE PAYSAN BLESSE which the State bought and sent to the Grenoble Fine Arts Museum [Brouillet showed this painting also at the 1889 World's Fair]; in 1888 Brouillet exhibited #396, L'AMOUR AU CHAMPS and #397, PORTRAIT DE Mlle. DARLAND. He had recently moved his studio to Bd. du Mont-Parnasse, 139. After the split between the Societe des Artistes Francais and the Societe Nationale, Brouillet stayed with the Champs-Elysees group.
182. Signoret, J.L. "Une Leçon Clinique A` La Salpetriere," REVUE NEUROLOGIQUE (Paris), V. 139, #12, 1983, p. 690
183. Signoret, J.L.. "Une Leçon Clinique A La Salpetriere," op. cit. p. 690
184. Goetz, Christopher. CHARCOT THE CLINICIAN: THE

TUESDAY LESSONS, EXCERPTS FOR NINE CASE PRESENTATIONS ON GENERAL NEUROLOGY DELIVERED AT THE SALPETRIÈRE HOSPITAL IN 1887-1888. Raven Press, N.Y. (1987). p. 68

185. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. LA LECON DE CHARCOT, op. cit., p. 62

186. Guillain, Georges. J.-M. CHARCOT HIS LIFE-HIS WORK, edited and translated by Pearce Bailey. Paul B. Hoeber, Inc. (1959) pp. 55-56

187. Babinski, PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT, quoted in Goetz, CHARCOT THE CLINICIAN, Raven Press, N.Y. (1987). p.XV

188. Guillain, Georges. J.-M. CHARCOT, op. cit, p. 57

189. Goetz, Christopher. CHARCOT THE CLINICIAN, op. cit., p. xiii

190. Babinski, PREFACE, op. cit., pp. XV-XVI

191. Charcot, Lesson of Tuesday, October 23, 1888. Goetz, p. XXVI

192. Signoret, J.L., "Une Leçon Clinique A La Salpêtrière," op. cit., p. 691. According to Georges Guinon, Chef de Clinique and Sophie Woltke, both of whom conducted research at the Salpêtrière in 1890: "Witt...est à la Salpêtrière dans la service de M. Charcot depuis plus de dix ans." NOUVELLE ICONOGRAPHIE DE LA SALPÊTRIÈRE Le Crosnier et Babe, v. 4 "De L'Influence des Excitation Sensitives et Sensorielles Dans Les Phases Cataleptique et Somnambulique Du Grand Hypnotisme." p. 78

193. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, op. cit., p. 20

194. James, Mary Elizabeth. THE THERAPEUTIC PRACTICES OF JEAN-MARTIN CHARCOT (1825-1893) IN THEIR HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Essex, September, 1989. p. 290

195. James, Mary Elizabeth. THE THERAPEUTIC PRACTICES OF JEAN-MARTIN CHARCOT (1825-1893) IN THEIR HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT. *ibid.*, p. 291

196. Signoret, J.L. "Une Leçon Clinique À La Salpêtrière," op. cit. p. 693

197. Micale, Mark. "The Salpêtrière in the Age of Charcot: An Institutional Perspective," *JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY*, v. 20. (1985) pp. 703-731. See especially pages 713-717
198. Goetz, Christopher. *CHARCOT THE CLINICIAN*, op. cit., Chapter 5, "Lesson of Feb. 7, 1888," pp. 102-109
199. Goetz, Christopher, *ibid.*, p. xxviii. Signoret's remark about the windows is on p. 690
200. Simon-Dhouailly, *VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE*, p. 62; Guillain, p. 54
201. See Figure 201. (Paul Richer's sketch of Charcot lecturing on Basedow's disease)
202. Signoret, "Une Leçon Clinique," op. cit., p. 690
203. Daudet, Léon, "Le professeur Charcot ou le Caesarism de Faculté," *LA REVUE UNIVERSELLE*, Paris, 1921. p. 278
204. Souques, A. "Charcot Intime," *PRESSE MEDICALE*, no. 42, May 27, 1925.
205. Freud, Sigmund. quoted in James, *THE THERAPEUTIC PRACTICES OF JEAN-MARTIN CHARCOT* op. cit., p. 274
206. James, Mary Elizabeth. *ibid.* p. 274
207. Goncourt, Jules. quoted in James, *ibid.*, p. 274
208. James, Mary Elizabeth, *ibid.* p. 274
209. James, Mary Elizabeth. *ibid.* p. 280
210. Debove, G. M. "Eloge de J.-M. Charcot," *SÉANCE ANNUELLE DE L'ACADEMIE DE MEDECINE*, Decembre, 1900. Quoted in Guillain, p. 19.
211. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine, *VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE*, op. cit., p. 21
212. Goldstein, Jan. *CONSOLE AND CLASSIFY*. Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 379
213. Daudet, Leon, "Le professeur Charcot ou le Casesarism de Faculté," p. 279

214. Signoret, J. L. "Une Leçon Clinique A La Salpetrière," op. cit., p. 692
215. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," L'UNION MEDICAL, 1887, P.755
216. Signoret, J. L., "Une Leçon Clinique A La Salpetriere," op. cit., p. 699
217. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," 1887, op. cit., p. 756
218. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. LA LECON DE CHARCOT, op. cit., p. 85
219. Schneck. "The School of the Hopital de la Charite in the History of Hypnosis," JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, Summer, 1952, p. 273
220. Ruth Harris adds that "one of the major concerns voiced by all commentators on the possible abuse of hypnotic manipulation in either immoral or unprofessional hands was that women could be forced to yield up intimate and secret details of their lives, contravene marriage vows, sign over property, and commit crimes, all actions which they had been encouraged to perform during experiments conducted at the Salpetriere...." (p. 170)
- She concludes, nevertheless, that "Despite these mutual accusations of dubious scientific procedure, the fact remains that both schools were convinced, at some level unconscious suggestion could be dangerous." MURDERS AND MADNESS, MEDICINE, LAW, AND SOCIETY IN THE FIN DE SIECLE, Oxford Univ. Press, New York. (1989)
221. James, Mary Elizabeth. THE THERAPEUTIC PRACTICES OF JEAN-MARTIN CHARCOT (1825-1893) IN THEIR HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Essex, September, 1989. op. cit., p. 172
222. Hillman, Robert G. "A Scientific Study of Mystery: The Role of the Medical and Popular Press In The Nancy-Salpetriere Controversy On Hypnotism," BULLETIN OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, Vol. 39, 1965. p. 165
223. Hillman, Robert G., *ibid.*, p. 168

224. Anatole France, "La Vie À Paris," LE TEMPS, No. 9089, March 21, 1886, p. 2. quoted in Hillman, op. cit., p. 177
225. Anatole France, *ibid.*, pp. 178-179
226. See figure 100. ("SUGGESTION" LES HOMMES D'AUJOURD 'HUI
227. Figure 101. (UNE SUGGESSTION)EXPLICATIONS DES OEUVRAGES. Societe d'Imprimerie et Librairie Administratives et Classiques. Paul Dupont (Paris). The painting is listed as #191 in the Catalogue. Bergh's studio was at Rue Campagne-Premiere 15.
228. Ponsonailhe, Charles, L'ARTISTE, July, 1887, "Le Salon. Peinture II." pp. 48-49: "L'une j'ai dit, est la grande reproduction photographique du cours d'un savant, la seconde est une experience entre intimes et surtout entre convaincus."
- "Il y a , de la toile française au tableau étranger, la difference de la froideur d'un rapport officiel à l'attrait attachant, passionnant d'un roman plein de mystère." He particularly referred to the works of Edgar Allen Poe which he claimed had been so popular in the nation of Swedenborg.
229. Dubray, P. "Promenades Au Salon," 1887, op. cit., p. 755
230. Lafenestre, Georges. "Les Salons de 1890," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 99. June 1, 1890. p. 667
231. Wolff, Alfred. FIGARO SALON, 1890, p. 37
232. Moreau de Tours had previously exhibited a painting which related to Charcot's work using the representation of mentally ill people in art. At the Salon of 1885, he showed UNE STIGMATISE AU MOYEN AGE.
233. Lelorrain, E. DE L'ALIENE AU POINT DE VUE DE LA RESPONSABILITE PENALE, Sauvigne, Vienne, 1882, quoted in Signoret, J.L., "Une Leçon Clinique A La Salpêtrière," op. cit., pp. 698-699
234. According to Leon Daudet, Charcot finally got over his anger at Alphonse Daudet and was even able to reconcile him with Paul Arene. ("Caesar of the Salpêtrière" p. 287)

235. Signoret, J.L., "Une Leçon," op. cit. p. 698
236. Simon-Dhouailly, VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, p. 39. James, p. 21. Goncourt JOURNAL, vol. 3. pp. 35 - 36. May 5, 1887. The "gossipy" tone of many of the entries in the Goncourt Journal can be seen in the fact that Mme. Burty had also complained to Goncourt that her husband had thrown her out of the house and was presently sleeping with their maid.
237. Guillain, op. cit., p. 25
238. GONCOURT JOURNAL, Friday, February 23, 1888. v. 3, p. 922
239. Goetz, Christopher. CHARCOT THE CLINICIAN, op. cit., p. 157. Goetz reproduces their photographs taken from the intern album at the Salpêtrière. These included Blocq, Hillemand, Valet, Thibault, Achard and Poulalion in addition to Colin and Blin.
240. CHEF DE LABORATOIRE was an Assistant Professor in charge of either a clinical or pathological laboratory. He was assistant to a Medecin Des Hopitaux who in addition held the rank of Full Professor.
- PREPARATEUR simply signified Assistant Professor. Pierre Marie was Preparateur.
- CHEF DE CLINIQUE required that one had already completed his internship and was appointed by a Faculty professor. The appointment was not based on a competitive exam.
- MEDECIN DES HOPITAUX required that one had already served as a Chef De Clinique for at least two years and then took the competitive exam. (These identifications are based mainly on Signoret)
241. "Brochure editée à l'occassion de la remise des Palmes academiques a Mlle. Bottard," Montevrain, Paris (1898). Quoted in Knibiehler, CORNETTES ET BLOUSES BLANCHES, p. 60.
242. Ollendorff, Gustave. SALON DE 1887 CATALOGUE ILLUSTRÉ, Goupil and Co., Paris, 1887, p. 63
242. Gilman, Sander. SEEING THE INSANE, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1982, p. 213

243. Leon Daudet, who had served his internship under Babinski, wrote about Babinski, "sa haute taille, sa figure ouvert, son oeil rapide, sa forte voix, son rire clair, le rendaient sympathique a tous." "Le professeur Charcot," op. cit., p. 285.
244. Lafenestre, Georges. "Les Salons de 1893, La Peinture Au Champ-de-Mars," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 118, July 1, 1893. p. 174.
245. Goldstein, Jan. CONSOLE AND CLASSIFY. op. cit., p. 369
246. Goldstein, Jan. ibid, p. 323
247. NOUVELLE ICONOGRAPHIE DE LA SALPETRIERE, vol. 4, 1891, CLINIQUE DES MALADIES DU SYSTEME NERVEUX, Sous La Direction du Professeurs Charcot, Paul Richer, Gilles de La Tourette, Albert Londe. Le Crosnier et Baber, Paris, 1891.
248. NOUVELLE ICONOGRAPHIE, ibid., vol. 3, 1890, p. 20. It was originally in the LECONS DU MARDI, 30 Oct, 1888.
249. Goldstein, Jan. CONSOLE AND CLASSIFY,. op. cit., p. 361
250. Goldstein, Jan., ibid., pp. 369-371
251. Telson, Howard. JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE AND ALLIED SCIENCES, v. 35 (1980) p. 58
252. Goetz, Christopher. CHARCOT THE CLINICIAN, op. cit., pp. 104-105. For Mary Elizabeth James, the ovarian compression had a sexual component. She claims that it was used in the vast majority of cases in younger and more attractive patients, only rarely in older or not so attractive ones. James, p. 130
- 253.. Simon-Dhouailly, LA LECON DE CHARCOT, op. cit., pp. 17-18
254. Sherman, Daniel. WORTHY MONUMENTS, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1989, pp. 37-39
255. Sherman, Daniel. ibid., p. 42
256. The State paid 1800 francs for it. For LE PAYSAN BLESSE, see Figure 104.

257. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. LA LECON DE CHARCOT, op. cit., p. 19
258. Zola, Emile. L'OEUVRE, LIVRE DE POCHE edition, Fasquelle, Paris, 1985, p. 264
259. Hamel, Maurice. "Le Salon De 1887'" GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS. 1887, p. 479
260. Daudet, Leon. "Le Professor Charcot," op. cit., p. 289
261. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. LA LECON DE CHARCOT. op. cit., p. 18
262. Telson, Howard W. "Une Leçon Du Docteur Charcot A La Salpetriere Lithograph by Eugene Pirodon after a painting (1887) by Andre Brouillet," JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE AND ALLIED SCIENCES, #35, 1980, p. 58.
263. Morgan, Wesley G. "Freud's Lithograph of Charcot: A Historical Note," BULLETIN OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, 1989, No. 63, p. 271
264. Morgan, Wesley G. ibid., p. 271
265. English, Donald E., POLITICAL USES OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC 1871 - 1914, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor (1984). p. 116
266. Morel Charles, LE MONDE ILLUSTRÉ, March 19, 1887. Quoted in Simon Dhouailly, VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, p. 14. According to Albert Wolff in the FIGARO SALON, Debat-Ponsan's equestrian statue of Boulanger was the most popular of his portraits. "Le plus grand interet de cette vaste toile est la curiosité du public a contempler le brillant general, qui est du reste, fort ressemblant." [FIGARO SALON, 1887, p. 35]
267. English, Donald, POLITICAL USES OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC 1871 - 1914, op. cit, pp. 112-116 Censorship rules were slightly different for materials printed inside France and those printed elsewhere.
268. Wolff, Albert, "Le Salon de 1890," FIGARO SALON, op. cit., p. 37

- 268a. Wolff, Albert. *ibid.*, p. 37
269. ALBUM GONNON, *op. cit.*, p. 31
270. ALBUM GONNON, *ibid.*, p. 31
271. Wolff, Albert. "Le Salon de 1890," *op. cit.*, p. 37
272. See Figures 105 and 106. I am grateful to Bert Hansen for this photograph (Figure 106).
273. Lafenestre, George. "Les Salons de 1890," *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*, vol. 99, June 1, 1890. p. 667.
274. Lafenestre, George. "Les Salons de 1890," *REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*, vol. 99, June 1, 1890. p. 667.  
Evidently Lafenestre's memory of Feyen-Perrin's painting had faded. He might have been thinking of Gustave Doré's decorations.
275. Benedite, Leonce. "Salon de 1890," *NOUVELLE REVUE*, *op. cit.*, p. 177. In the "domaine de travail presque toutes les industries [etaient] representees, ...ciseleurs...fondeurs...macons...couturieres...."
276. Lafenestre, George, "Les Salons de 1890," *op. cit.*, p. 667
277. ALBUM GONNON, *op. cit.*, p. 139
278. See Diamond, Louis K., "A History of Blood Transfusions," p. 673, in Maxwell M. Wintrobe, *BLOOD, PURE AND ELOQUENT*. McGraw Hill Book Co. p. 673.
279. Norech, P. "Promenades Au Salon," *L'UNION MEDICAL*, No. 75, June 30, 1892, pp. 890-891
280. Barbedette, L. *LE PEINTRE JULES ADLER*. Editions Sequania. Besançon. (1938) p. 26 This was a method that had been used to increase the value of a painting.
281. Barbedette, L. *LE PEINTRE JULES ADLER*, *ibid.*, p. 75
282. Barbedette, L. *LE PEINTRE JULES ADLER*, *ibid.*, p. 75
283. Roux, Emile. Quoted in *L'UNION MEDICAL*, 4TH Series, Vol. 1, #27, July 6, 1895, p. 324. The report concerned the meeting that had taken place the previous

week.

284.. Jean-Marie Mayeur. LES DEBUTS DE LA TROISIEME REPUBLIQUE. Editions de Seuil, Paris. (1973). pp. 55-56

285. Sainte Fare Garnot, Nicholas and Nadine Simon-Dhouailly. UN PATRIOT AUX ORIGINES DE LA PUERICULTURE GASTON VARIOT MEDECIN ET MECENE. Catalogue, Exposition Organisée Au Musée De L'Assistance Publique De Paris 15 Mai-15 Decembre, 1984. p. 39 (Sainte Fare Garnot wrote this statement.)

286. Tourtel, Roger. CENT ANS DE L'ASSISTANCE PUBLIQUE A PARIS. Administration Generale De L'Assistance Publique A Paris. Paris, 1949. "Repartition Des Lits Dans Les Etablissements Hospitalieres." [Chart #9]. non-paginated.

286b. In addition to distributing milk, the Goutte de Lait served as a medical dispensary for the very young of this working class district. By 1905, the Gouttes de Lait had expanded to such a degree, that an international conference of their representatives was held in Paris at the Pasteur Institute.

287. Tourtel, Roger, *ibid.*, p. XVIII

288. Yriarte, Charles. FIGARO SALON, #3, May 15, 1895. p. 96

289. La Fenestre, Georges. "Les Salons de 1895," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 129, June 1, 1895. p. 661

290. Thiebault-Sisson. LE SALON DE 1895. Librairie D'Art, Baschett & Cie. Paris. 1895, p. 30

291. Haller, Gustave. LE SALON, DIX ANS DE PEINTURE. vol. 1, 1892-1896. Calmann, Levy, Paris. 1902. p. 262

292. Weindling, Paul. "Scientific Elites and Laboratory Organisation in fin-de-siecle Paris and Berlin: The Pasteur and Koch Institutes Compared." THE LABORATORY REVOLUTION IN MEDICINE, Cunningham, Andrew and Perry Williams, editors, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York. (1992) p. 179

293. Weindling, Paul. "Emile Roux Et La Diphterie," L'INSTITUT PASTEUR CONTRIBUTIONS A SON HISTOIRE, sous la direction de Michel Morange. Editions La

Decouverte, Paris (1991), p. 140. Roux wrote, "dans ces conditions l'experience clinique presentait la rigueur d'une experience de laboratoire."

294. Paget, Stephen. PASTEUR AND AFTER PASTEUR, Adam and Charles Black, London (1914), pp. 97-98.

295. Roux, Emile. "The Medical Work of Pasteur," (1896), translated by Erwin F. Smith. THE SCIENTIFIC MONTHLY, Vol. XXI, p. 387

296. Weindling, Paul. op. cit., "Emile Roux Et La Diphtherie," p. 140

297. Weindling, Paul, ibid., p. 143.

298. Weindling, Paul. ibid, p. 143

299. Paget, Stephen. PASTEUR AND AFTER PASTEUR, Adam and Charles Black, London (1914), pp. 99-100. See also Weindling, "Emile Roux Et La Diphtherie," op. cit., pp. 139-140.

300. Weindling, Paul. "Emile Roux Et La Diphtherie," op. cit., p. 143 The term vaccine used for the diphtheria serum helped make it more closely connected to the successful and well-known rabies vaccine.

301. Simon-Dhouailly, Nadine. VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE, Musee De L'Assistance Publique, 1986, p. 16

302. Blaessinger, Edmond. QUELQUES GRANDES FIGURES DE LA CHIRURGIE, DE LA MEDECINE ET DE LA PHARMACIE MILITAIRES. Librairie Scientifique et Technique. A. Blanchard, Paris, 1952, p. 217

303. Dr. Edmond Delorme, 1847 (Luneville) - 1929 (Paris). Professeur de Clinique Chirurgicale au Val-de-Grace. Membre et Ancien President de la Societe Nationale de Chirurgie. President du Comité Consultatif de Sante. Membre, Academie de Medecine. Grand Officier, Legion d'Honneur.

304. Quoted in Blaessinger, Edmond. QUELQUES GRANDES FIGURES, p. 226

305. Jahre wrote the preface for Blaessinger's book.

306. Blaessinger, Edmond. QUELQUES GRANDES FIGURES, p. 216

307. Blaessinger, Edmond. QUELQUES GRANDES FIGURES, ibid. p. 234
308. ALBUM GONNON, op. cit., p. 182
309. ALBUM GONNON, op. cit., p. 181.
310. EXPLICATIONS DES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, etc. p. 43. LE TUBAGE was listed as #413 at the Salon.
311. ALBUM GONNON, op. cit., p. 181
312. ALBUM GONNON., ibid., p. 182. "son oeuvre, qui fut tres remarquee au Salon de 1905[sic]...." The article, which deals with LE TUBAGE, misdates the painting.
- Gerald Weissmann claims that the Chicotot's "paintings at the annual Salons turned more and more to medical themes, provoking LE CORRESPONDANT MEDICAL to claim that his gripping scenes 'attracted the attention of the general public, which is fascinated by the subject of our art.'" THE DOCTOR WITH TWO HEADS, p. 9. Unfortunately, Weissmann does not footnote this citation, nor in his appendix labeled "Sources," does he include any references to which particular number of LE CORRESPONDANT MEDICAL he refers.
313. ALBUM GONNON, ibid. p. 182
314. Weissmann, Gerald. THE DOCTOR WITH TWO HEADS AND OTHER ESSAYS. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. (1990). p. 9. Chapter 1 deals with Chicotot. It is essentially a word-for-word repeat of Weissmann's earlier article, "The Seine Also Rises," HOSPITAL PRACTICE, vol. 23, Number 4, April 15, 1988. pp. 65-85
315. Chicotot sent no paintings to the 1883 Salon. His 1884 Salon entry was a study for his painting LES GRANDS CHENES. Between 1888 and 1891, Chicotot exhibited four paintings based on stories he took from the PETITES BOLLANDISTES Life of Catherine of Sienna. He called the 1888 canvas, LA CHARITE. His entry in the Salon Catalogue [#578] informed the public, "Elle etait si bonne qu'elle donnait tout à qu'elle possedait." The second painting, exhibited in 1889, was entitled, LA FOI. The Catalogue description [#569] read, "Notre seigneur lui apparait, et pour la recompenser de sa charite envers les malades, lui, permet d'appliquer sa bouche sur la plaie de son cote."

In 1891, Chicotot submitted MORTE DE SAINTE CATHERINE DE SIENNE, accompanied in the Salon Catalogue [#348] with the note, "Après avoir recite elle-meme la priere des morts elle rendit le dernier soupir en contemplant le crucifix que le bien-heureux Raymond de Capone, son confesseur, lui presentait." In 1895, Chicotot's painting (at the Champs-Elysees) was MARIAGE MYSTIQUE DE SAINTE CATHERINE DE SIENNA.

316. EXPLICATIONS DES OEUVRAGES, 1905, p. 37. The painting was listed as # 438, Salon Des Artistes Francaises.

317. ALBUM GONNON, op. cit., p. 99

318. Weissmann, Gerald. THE DOCTOR WITH TWO HEADS, op. cit., p. 10

318b. Darmon, Pierre. "Cancer et Escroquerie Medicale en 1900," L'HISTOIRE, #95, December, 1986, pp. 64-71

319. Banzet, Dr. S. "Le Traitement Local De Cancer," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, March 1, 1909. p. 129

320. Banzet, Dr. S. ibid., pp. 127-128

321. Weissmann, THE DR. WITH TWO HEADS, op. cit., p. 8

322. Weissmann, Gerald. THE DR. WITH TWO HEADS, op. cit., p. 8

323. Ellis, Jack. THE PHYSICIAN LEGISLATORS OF FRANCE, p. 131

324. Ellis, Jack. THE PHYSICIAN LEGISLATORS OF FRANCE, p. 131

325. Weissmann, Gerald. THE DOCTOR WITH TWO HEADS, op. cit., p. 9

326. In 1859, Gustave Dore was one of the principal decorators of the Salle de Gard of the Internes at the Charite Hospital. Others included Harpignies, Achard and Stephane Baron. The reproduction appeared originally in LE MONDE ILLUSTRÉ, January 21. 1860. CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEE DE L'ASSISTANCE PUBLIQUE DE PARIS, Yvonne Saint-Geours, P. Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot and Nadine Simon-Dhouailly, 1987, pp. 141-145.

327. Tausserat-Radel, A. "La Peinture Au Salon des

Champs-Elysees, L'ARTISTE, vol. 3, #17, May, 1892. pp.  
323-324

328. Larroumet, Gustave. SALON DE 1892, Goupil,  
boussod, Valadone et Cie., Paris. 1892, p. 39