

Military Manhood: Visualizing the Common Soldier in French and British Art and Culture, 1871–1914

by

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ABSTRACT

In the decades between the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and World War I (1914–1918), military artists in France and Britain increasingly focused on the motif of the common soldier. At once an individual subject, figural type, and nationalist leitmotif, the common soldier functioned as a cultural touchstone of ideal manhood during a time marked by social and political upheaval, sweeping military reforms, and intensifying globalization through colonial expansion. As investigated in the five chapters, painters reworked academic pictorial traditions, including those of the male nude and the allegorical figure or program, to convey and sometimes contest new martial ideals of health, cleanliness, and moral and racial purity as well as disease in the barracks and on campaign. Others engaged with the theme of martial suffering to express the “sorrow” of war while covering over European imperial aggression. Certain works under consideration integrate Indigenous soldiers recruited from the colonies into celebrations of European heroism. And, as discussed in the last chapter, some artists revealed the tensions between ideals of martial virility and the deterioration of the body due to aging and the effects of incarceration. Across this varied and complex body of imagery, artists exposed prevalent concerns over shifting norms of masculinity and femininity, racial difference, class hierarchies, and forms of intimacy between men paradoxically fostered and policed by military institutions.

Painters’ investments in the figure of the common soldier are seen first in France, where the defeat by Prussia in 1870 made untenable a long-standing tradition of state-sponsored battle painting that dated to the Napoleonic Empire and typically glorified French military prowess. Artists including Alphonse-Marie de Neuville (1835–1885) and Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille

(1848–1912) reconfigured the genre through canvases, exhibited at the Paris Salons, which celebrated the humanity and professionalism of rank-and-file troops over the heroism of a commander and the drama of combat. This mode of “military painting” sparked an international phenomenon, taking hold even in rival Britain. There, Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler (1846–1933), adapted the new focus on the common soldier in her acclaimed paintings, exhibited at the Royal Academy in London, which commemorated the “pathos and glory of the soldier’s calling.” Her work roused public and critical enthusiasm for battle painting, which until this time did not enjoy the same high status in Britain as in France.

Artists on both sides of the Channel addressed diverse publics with often conflicting political views through their paintings of military subjects and through the many print reproductions, book illustrations, postcards, panoramas, museums, songs, games, and films that their works inspired. This dissertation highlights the many entanglements between oil paintings and popular forms of visual culture, showing these to have been shaped by the military histories of both nations and to have had a major impact on broader political and public discourse. There is a recurring focus on the physicality and sensuality of the specifically male-coded martial body, a key component and one that gave military paintings an enduring attraction yet remains little discussed by art historians. This study foregrounds these issues, analyzing them in formal and phenomenological terms. The ways that artists visualized prevailing concepts of manhood, diverse and shifting over time, are uncovered through object-based analyses of key works of art that help anchor the ideas within broad historical trends.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

War is a man's game.¹

Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 2003

For war trains men to be free. What in sooth is freedom? Freedom is the will to be responsible for ourselves. It is to preserve the distance which separates us from other men. To grow more indifferent to hardship, to severity, to privation, and even to life itself. To be ready to sacrifice men for one's cause, one's self included. Freedom denotes that the virile instincts which rejoice in war and in victory, prevail over other instincts; for instance, over the instincts of "happiness." The man who has won his freedom, and how much more so, therefore, the spirit has won its freedom, tramples ruthlessly upon that contemptible kind of comfort which tea-grocers, Christians, cows, women, Englishmen, and other democrats worship in their dreams. The free man is a warrior.²

Friedrich Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols* (1889), 1911

A Man's Game

Susan Sontag and Friedrich Nietzsche differed considerably in their evaluations of war, but they shared a similar assessment of its gendered character. In short, both understood war to be a masculine undertaking. Numerous scholars have subsequently complicated this idea by examining the quite complex gender dynamics informing armed struggle at various historical moments. Still, the painters considered in this dissertation would likely have agreed with Sontag and Nietzsche. Most of the paintings and prints that depicted soldiers, barracks, camps, and

¹ Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 3.

² Friedrich Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols: Or, How to Philosophise with the Hammer; The Anti-Christ; Notes to Zarathustra and Eternal Recurrence*, trans. Anthony M. Ludovici (New York: MacMillan, 1911), 94–95.

battlefields that were created in France and Britain during the late nineteenth century concentrated on the experiences of men.³ The makers of such works, along with their patrons and those who collected their works, were also typically male, with important exceptions, as will be addressed below. Military service itself was reserved exclusively for men, even while women found themselves imbricated in conflicts as civilians, auxiliaries, medical personnel, camp followers, sex workers, secret agents, and irregular fighters. Men were the ones deliberating and declaring war; drafting, signing, and delivering orders; overseeing barracks and hospitals; conducting tribunals and courts martial; and deciding whose lives to preserve and whose to destroy. The overwhelming predominance of men in the political, social, cultural, and physical domains of war during the late nineteenth century more than justifies Sontag's critical observation that "war is a man's game."

Yet conceptions of manhood and the purchase of the attendant terms, manliness and masculinity, deserve more treatment than they have received in art-historical studies of late nineteenth-century military art.⁴ This was a masculinist art with an increasing pictorial emphasis

³This is especially true in the case of battle painting and, later, military genre painting. Exceptions include prints of *les cantinières* (also known as *les vivandières*), or female canteen keepers who traveled with armies on campaigns. Images of *la cantinière* as a type appeared frequently in France up until the Second Empire but are rarer in later periods. Another exception would be military genre imagery that depicts soldiers' family members or civilians. These were more common in British art, potentially due to the fact that officers in the British army were allowed to quarter with their families, which was not done in the French army. Lastly, there are paintings with military subjects that include women as allegorical figures, such as personifications of Paris, France, Britannia, etc., or of abstract concepts such as "fever." Several examples from this latter category will be addressed in chapter two.

⁴Norman Bryson's essay on Théodore Géricault's depiction of martial masculinity in crisis is foundational to subsequent analyses of French artists' depictions of Napoleonic defeat as well as my ideas. Not long after Bryson's seminal text, Joseph Kestner sought to map Kaja Silverman's conception of masculinity—as a dominant fiction open to contestation and competition—onto British depictions of imperial war, reading images of defeat as demonstrations of the "incommensurability of the penis and phallus." Kestner's discussion went little further than providing descriptions of subject matter set against passages of Silverman's (and other psychoanalyst theorists') text. Thus, while his consideration of British imperial battle imagery and, specifically, imagery of defeat, sets an important precedent for my current study, it leaves open the possibility for more historically and art-historically grounded investigations. More recently, Alison Matthews David examined print depictions of the French uniform throughout the nineteenth century in relation to masculinity and sexuality. Norman Bryson, "Géricault and Masculinity," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretation*, ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith

on the common soldier.⁵ This ever intensifying focus on the figure of the ordinary fighting man began in France, where the stunning defeat by Prussia in 1870 had made untenable a long-standing tradition of state-sponsored battle painting, which dated to the Napoleonic Empire and typically glorified French military prowess.⁶ Such thematics were viewed by contemporary

Moxey (Hanover: University Press of New England for Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 228–259. Joseph Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1995). Alison Mathews David, “Decorated Men: Fashioning the French Soldier, 1852–1914” *Fashion Theory* 7, no. 1 (2003): 3–38.

⁵ Several publications from recent years, including monographs, exhibition catalogues, and edited anthologies on the intersections of warfare, nationalism, and visual art following the Franco-Prussian War suggest a renewed scholarly attentiveness to the subject. See, for example, Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, ed., *Les Désastres de la guerre 1800–2014* (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2014). François Robichon has conducted the most extensive research on French martial imagery of the period, and his numerous books and articles have thoroughly examined artists such as Édouard Detaille, Alphonse de Neuville, and others, whose works filled the annual Salon exhibitions during these decades and were reproduced widely in print. See François Robichon, *La Peinture militaire française de 1871 à 1914* (Boulogne-Billancourt: Association des amis d’Édouard Detaille, B. Giovanangeli, 1998); *Édouard Detaille: Un Siècle de gloire militaire* (Paris: Bernard Giovanangeli, 2007); and *Alphonse de Neuville, 1835–1885* (Paris: N. Chaudun, 2010). His work was preceded by smaller scale monographs on Detaille and Neuville. See Jean Humbert, *Édouard Detaille: L’Héroïsme d’un siècle* (Paris: Copernic, 1979); and Philippe Chabert, *Alphonse de Neuville: L’Épopée de la défaite* (Paris: Copernic, 1979). June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam have co-edited an anthology on nationalism in French art of the late nineteenth century, which also includes a contribution by Robichon. See June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam, eds, *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870–1914* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). John Milner surveyed a wide array of paintings of the Franco-Prussian War by French artists in the aftermath of the conflict: John Milner, *Art, War, and Revolution in France, 1870–1871: Myth, Reportage and Reality* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). His work was followed by that of Hollis Clayson, who analyzed art-making in general during the Franco-Prussian War and the siege of Paris; though, her study did not limit its focus to military artists: Hollis Clayson, *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870–71)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002). Richard Thomson has analyzed the interfaces between military paintings and various print media, such as newspapers, periodicals, and caricatures during the 1890s and, later, positioned military paintings by Detaille and Neuville among a broader artistic interest in Naturalism, which he maintained equated to the official style of the French Third Republic. See Richard Thomson, *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); and *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). Art historians J.W.M. Hichberger and Peter Harrington have written wide-ranging and foundational surveys of nineteenth-century British military art. J.W.M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); and Peter Harrington, *British Artists and War: The Face of Battle in Paintings and Prints, 1700–1914* (London: Greenhill Books, 1993). PhD theses by Roger Stearn and Dorothy Nott have similarly covered a wide range of British depictions of battle in various media from the end of the eighteenth century until the first months of World War I. Roger Stearn, “War Images and Image Makers: Aspects of the British Visual and Written Portrayal of War and Defence, c. 1866–1906” (PhD diss., King’s College, University of London, 1987); and Dorothy Nott, “Reframing War: British Military Painting, 1854–1918” (PhD diss., University of York, 2015).

⁶ According to Robichon, the fact of defeat provided one potential explanation for what he saw as a general move away from large-scale battle paintings from earlier in the century—which often commemorated the victories of either Napoléon I or Napoléon III—and toward more modest-scale, episodic representations. Another proposed explanation for a shift from grand narratives to minute episodes has to do with changes in warfare itself. Throughout the nineteenth century, battles were becoming larger and more complex networks of operations that spanned several

critics as venerable but outmoded since the concept of martial heroics failed to address the current military reality, characterized by the trauma of defeat and revolution and marked by the increased mechanization of warfare. Artists including Alphonse-Marie de Neuville (1835–1885) and Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille (1848–1912) reconfigured the genre with canvases exhibited annually at the Paris Salons, which celebrated the humanity and professionalism of rank-and-file troops over the heroism of a commander and the drama of combat. Quite remarkably, these artists successfully exported this new focus on the common soldier to other European nations, including, perhaps most surprisingly, to Britain, France’s former enemy and current rival. There, Elizabeth Southerden Thompson, Lady Butler (1846–1933), almost single-handedly inspired public excitement over depictions of military subjects. Yet the tenor of the paintings differed from culture to culture. Whereas French artists largely moved away from depicting combat in favor of the banal experiences of soldiers in barracks, camps, and on parade, British artists preferred to commemorate the (usually futile) gallantry of regiments in historic battles or in the nation’s many imperial wars.

The depiction of male-coded figures wearing uniforms and inhabiting martial settings, of course, constituted the fundamental subject of military painting well before this period. Nevertheless, I posit that the rising importance of the common soldier in art and visual culture—as individual subject, figural type, and nationalist leitmotif—established him as a touchstone of ideal manhood during a period of years of decades marked by social and political upheaval, intensifying globalization through colonial expansion, and sweeping military reforms. Painters on both sides of the English Channel grappled with a set of visual and conceptual problems

miles. Lastly, Robichon suggested that the more intimate scale and quieter tone of military imagery in the latter part of the century may have had to do with the democratization of the army itself, due to changes in conscription laws, as the military occupied a greater role in the daily lives of many people. Robichon, *Peinture militaire*, 17–21, 77–93.

including but also going beyond reproducing the experience of battle and seeding nationalist ideologies. Artists contended with a number of issues, which I have chosen to address in the chapters that follow: how to deploy the academic tradition of the male nude to convey and sometimes contest new martial ideals of health, cleanliness, and moral and racial purity (Chapter II); the challenges of representing the effects of disease on colonial campaigns using the visual language of allegory (Chapter III); how the image of the suffering soldier could express the “sorrow” of war while covering over European imperial aggression (Chapter IV); the integration of Indigenous soldiers into artworks that celebrate European heroism (Chapter V); and how to reconcile ideals of martial virility with the deterioration of the body due to aging and the effects of incarceration (Chapter VI).

As I seek to show, these artists grappled with a range of contemporary concerns: shifting norms of masculinity and femininity, racial difference, class hierarchies, and forms of intimacy between men that were paradoxically fostered and policed by military institutions. Numerous paintings emphasize men’s discipline and resolve as they submitted to the oppressive power dynamics, hardships, failures, inequalities, and cessions of bodily and political autonomy that shaped martial experience. That a substantial number of paintings took up these issues—casting the military institutions of the day in ambivalent rather than celebratory terms and emphasizing masculine disempowerment rather than heroism—may run counter to our expectations of state-generated propaganda. We might wonder why artists who were deeply invested in the prestige of their nation’s armed forces would choose to address these unsettling realities (within limits) and how such imagery achieved decades-long staying power, especially at a time when European societies structured themselves increasingly around the possibility, indeed the inevitability, of future war.

This dissertation sorts through the tangled and contradictory meanings ascribed to the figure of the common soldier across five chapters, each of which addresses separate but interrelated moments in an expansive, complicated, certainly messy history. The following section of this Introduction tracks the development of the common soldier as a pictorial motif in French and British painting and other visual media from the turn of the nineteenth century until the turn of the twentieth. Then, I outline some of the main social, political, and theoretical issues encompassed in the notion of “military manhood,” which provides the conceptual framework for the dissertation. These expository sections serve to orient the reader to the period and to situate my claims, although they are sketched broadly and retrace certain themes and ideas addressed in current scholarship. In the last two sections of this Introduction, I delineate the project’s form and methods and summarize the chapters to follow.

Picturing Soldiers in Nineteenth-Century Art

In 1873, Neuville, then a moderately successful painter of high-society pictures and Crimean War battle scenes, submitted *Les Dernières Cartouches* (The Last Cartridges) to the Paris Salon exhibition (fig. 5.1; 1873, Maison de la dernière cartouche, Bazeilles, France). Art historian François Robichon has rightly indicated that the painting was a revelation: it surprised Salon critics used to Franco-Prussian War imagery that had, until then, consisted mainly of bleak displays of hopeless defeat.⁷ These admired Neuville’s painting for its representation of martial pathos and dignified solidarity, for it pictured an assortment of men from varied ranks and military units stoically resisting a German attack and fighting until their cartridges run empty.⁸

⁷ Robichon, *Alphonse de Neuville*, 29.

⁸ *Ibid.*

The work was reproduced widely in print over the subsequent decades and inspired generations of painters to come.

In Britain, Lady Butler would accomplish a similar feat with her entry to the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition in 1874, *Calling of the Roll after an Engagement, Crimea, 1854* (fig. 4.2; 1874, Royal Collections, London).⁹ Wilfred Meynell, the artist's brother-in-law, drew an explicit comparison between her success and that of her French counterparts: "In her, they [critics] made welcome one who, despite her sex, was to do among us what Neuville and Detaille were preparing to do in France."¹⁰ The famed artist of Napoleonic subjects and Detaille's teacher Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) expressed his esteem for Butler's work in the ambiguous statement that "England has really only one military painter, and she's a woman."¹¹ Lady Butler had met Detaille and Meissonier (and, presumably, Neuville) during several of her visits to France and their visits to England, even though she only hinted at their encounters in her autobiography.¹² Lady Butler's accomplishments opened up a space for British artists such as

⁹ Paul Usherwood and Jenny Spencer's exhibition catalogue offers one of the most sustained analyses of Thompson's work to date/ on Thompson to date: Paul Usherwood and Jenny Spencer, *Lady Butler: Battle Artist* (London: National Army Museum, 1987). Focused articles on Thompson include Matthew Paul Lalumia, "Lady Elizabeth Thompson Butler in the 1870s," *Women's Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (1983): 9–14; Catherine Wynne, "From Waterloo to Jellalabad: The Irish and Scots at War in Elizabeth Butler and W.F. Butler," *Journal of European Studies* 41, no. 2 (2011): 143–160; and Patrizio Di Bello, "Elizabeth Thompson and 'Patsy' Cornwallis West as *Carte-de-Visite* Celebrities," *History of Photography* 35, no. 3 (2011): 240–49. Works on British military art more broadly, which feature discussions of Thompson, include Lalumia, *Realism and Politics in Victorian Art of the Crimean War* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Press, 1984); Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, and Harrington, *British Artists and War*. Jo Devereux investigated Thompson's rise to prominence as a woman in the Victorian art world, focusing on the artist's depiction of motion; see "Elizabeth Butler and Motion," in *The Making of Women Artists in Victorian England: The Education and Careers of Six Professionals* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016). Nott's dissertation offers a cogent "re-assessment of Elizabeth Butler's portrayal of the individual soldier and her representation of his experience of war," discussing Thompson's focus on the pathos of warfare and her role in shifting attitudes toward battle painting in Britain; see "Reframing War."

¹⁰ Wilfrid Meynell, *The Life and Work of Lady Butler (Miss Elizabeth Thompson)* (London: The Art Journal Office, 1898), 10.

¹¹ "L'Angleterre n'a guère qu'un peintre militaire, c'est une femme." Ernest Meissonier, quoted in Usherwood and Spencer, *Lady Butler*, 177. They translate the statement: "England really has only one military painter—a woman."

¹² Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *An Autobiography* (London: Constable, 1922), 130; 261.

Robert Gibb (1845–1932), Charles Edwin Fripp (1854–1906), and Richard Caton Woodville, Jr. (1856–1927), among several others, all men, to make careers as battle painters, a career path that had scarcely been a viable option in nineteenth-century Britain.¹³ Unlike her contemporaries, however, Butler largely refused to depict combat, a choice that initially resonated positively among critics and viewers but would in time lose favor.¹⁴

The artistic and historic contexts surrounding the development of battle painting differed between France and Britain throughout the nineteenth century; nevertheless, by the last quarter of the century, professional conditions for military artists in the two countries began to resemble one another more closely. Art historian J.W.M. Hichberger has exploded the myth that the absence of a sustained British tradition of battle painting was due to the general public's antimilitarist sentiment, to which nineteenth-century writers often ascribed it.¹⁵ In the middle decades of the century, British artists had produced a number of noteworthy battle paintings. These included works by George Jones (1786–1869), Daniel Maclise (1806–1870), Orlando Norie (1832–1901), and Ernest Crofts (1847–1911). Even earlier, one of the most important antecedents to nineteenth-century battle painting had been created in London to commemorate a recent British war in North America: Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* (fig. 1.1; 1770, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa).¹⁶ Yet on the whole, battle painting seems to have

¹³ Hichberger stated, "The period from 1874, the year of the Ashanti expedition, until 1914 saw a dramatic increase in the number of battle paintings displayed at public exhibitions. Statistical analysis of the exhibits at the Royal Adacademy (sic) shows that, even allowing for the general increase in the quantity of pictures, the number of battle pictures tripled the pre-1855 figures." She continued, "The period between 1885 and 1914 was the most prolific time for the production of battle paintings and other celebrations of the military glory of the empire." Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, 75, 104.

¹⁴ Wynne, "From Waterloo to Jellalabad," 147.

¹⁵ Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, 1.

¹⁶ Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 35.

garnered less enthusiasm in Britain than it did in France, at least until the last quarter of the century.¹⁷ The piecemeal nature of British battle painting in elite circles owed much to a lack of consistent state patronage, whereas in France large-scale paintings typically enjoyed the favor of the ruling regimes.¹⁸

Late nineteenth-century British battle paintings fed into the public interest in contemporary events, as art historian Peter Harrington has argued.¹⁹ He and subsequent scholars have situated new painterly emphases on common soldiers amid a wide array of visual material, including popular prints, journals and periodicals, panoramas, and photographs, contending that there was a large and diverse public demand for imagery of conflict.²⁰ According to Harrington, the alliance between fine-art painting and press stories began with the Crimean War of 1854–1856, quickly followed by the Indian Uprising of 1857–1858, to be cemented with the series of wars in Central and South Asia and across the continent of Africa from 1874 onward.²¹ It certainly seems to be the case that public interest in military art in Britain often followed the geopolitical concerns that mass audiences followed in the news, as indicated by spikes in the numbers of paintings of a certain conflict during the years it was taking place. By contrast, artists created paintings of past wars less frequently during these decades, with Lady Butler remaining an exception.

¹⁷ Ibid., 107.

¹⁸ The exception to this being, as already mentioned, Horace Vernet early paintings of Napoleonic battle scenes during the Bourbon Restoration, which was openly hostile to the Napoleonic epic. Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*.

¹⁹ Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 161. The last half of his book discusses the connections between paintings and other media at length.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

In France state patronage would eventually drop off, too, especially after the fall of the Second Empire (1852–1870), which had based its claims to legitimacy on the mythology of Napoleonic glory. Following the regime change from the Second Empire to the Third Republic (1870–1940), French military artists had to forge their careers making small-scale works for a private market, more closely matching the situation in Britain. The modest scale and unidealized realism of the later works not only appealed to collectors domestically and abroad but also facilitated their reproduction in a rapidly expanding print market, which included single-sheet prints, journals and periodicals, even students’ textbooks, indicating a vibrant commercial demand for imagery preoccupied with the trauma of military defeat.²² The commercial success of French military art relied on a home public already primed to receive such imagery favorably as well as an international market of buyers and patrons.

Certain artists considered in this dissertation, such as German-born Hubert von Herkomer (1849–1914) and Anglo-Belgian Jacques de Lalaing (1858–1917), were foreigners in the nations whose armed forces they depicted. Their foreign status vis-à-vis their subject matter complicates any straightforwardly nationalist or patriotic reading that military imagery often elicited from critics at the time, as it has from later art historians. Such national crossovers in military imagery prove to be not at all uncommon. Both Detaille and Neuville traveled to Britain at different points in their careers and made paintings and prints of British soldiers and battles. Detaille also traveled to Russia. French artists were sometimes commissioned to render episodes from the

²² The Third Republic’s deregulation of the press had led to a veritable explosion of bookmaking in France. Christine Haynes has noted that more books were published in France at the turn of the century than in most, if not all, other nations of Europe. Christine Haynes, *Lost Illusions: The Politics of Publishing in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 234–35. Vanessa Schwartz remarked on a similar explosion of newspaper printing in late nineteenth-century Paris. News subscriptions that had numbered 50,000 copies mid-century swarmed into the millions by the 1880s. Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 30.

United States Civil War (1861–1865). In Britain, Neuville’s expertise as a military painter won him both critical esteem and numerous commissions to represent the nation’s imperial wars in North and South Africa. Butler’s first submission to the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1873 represented French soldiers suffering in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). Meanwhile, wealthy industrialists and bankers from the United States paid enormous sums for paintings such as Meissonier’s *Friedland, 1807*, which depicts a famous victory by Emperor Napoléon I (1769–1821), and Detaille’s *Defense of Champigny*, which depicts a skirmish from the siege of Paris in late 1870 (fig. 1.2; 1861–1875; and fig. 1.3; 1879, both Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Panoramas representing moments from the same conflict also gained widespread acclaim as they traveled around Europe and in the United States. These artists’ endeavors joined a spate of popular imagery and books on the arms and armies of other nations, which circulated around Europe.

Depicting clashes between groups of soldiers from different national armies prompted strategies for representing the foreign. Along with the need to distinguish different national armies through uniform, there was a parallel impulse to differentiate them by the phenotypic and behavioral characteristics that members of those nations were thought to have. Through these means, military artists helped produce a racial discourse, based on mythologies of origins, that figured powerfully in conceptions of military histories and prestige: the French could be construed as either Gauls or Latins; the Germans as Teutons or Huns; the English as Anglo-Saxons; the Russians as Slavs, etc. Pseudo-scientific constructions of fighting ability (or lack thereof) were bundled together into racial categories in visual imagery, writings by military leaders, and ethnographic studies, a phenomenon that can be observed in any region of the globe in which European nations exercised control or were at war.

Artists' focus on the everyday lives of common soldiers derived from a new mode of military genre painting, which had developed largely during the final decade of the Second Empire as a break from the genre of battle painting and had, by the 1860s, already anticipated the end of its venerated predecessor.²³ The best-known practitioners of the new genre included Isidore Pils (1813–1875), Paul Alexandre Protais (1825–1890), and sometimes Meissonier, all of whom came to be instructors and/or mentors of several military artists in the post-Franco-Prussian War generation.²⁴ The category of military genre painting eventually came to overtake and even subsume battle painting altogether, and by 1878 the term “peintre de bataille” (battle painter) had disappeared from the Salon registers as a professional moniker in favor of the semantically looser “peintre militaire” (military painter), a category into which the depictions of the common soldier readily fit²⁵ Even the rare depictions of combat from the period renounced the topographical view of the battlefield and visual emphasis on a commander, which had characterized many previous representations of war. For example, Aimé-Nicolas Morot's spirited cavalry engagement, *Rezonville, 16 août 1870, la charge des cuirassiers* (Rezonville, August 16, 1870, Charge of the Cuirassiers), places the viewer on the same plane as the French and German cavalry troops, who fight while riding at full gallop; the painting revels in the speed and chaos of the mêlée more so than in a triumphant outcome (fig. 1.4; 1886, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

In France, the figure of the common soldier had a long history in print media. Similarly in Britain, military subjects were relatively common among the lower orders of art production,

²³ Julia Thoma, *The Final Spectacle: Military Painting under the Second Empire, 1855–1867* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 281.

²⁴ For example, Pils was Neuville's teacher, and Meissonier was Detaille's.

²⁵ Robichon, *Peinture militaire*, 18.

including works by amateur painters and soldier artists.²⁶ Historian David Hopkin has usefully demonstrated that print imagery of individual soldiers dates as far back as sixteenth-century woodcuts of the Holy Roman Emperor's *Landsknecht* mercenaries, famed throughout Europe for their flamboyant sartorial displays, having been absolved of the period's sumptuary laws.²⁷ By the nineteenth century, typologies of soldiers, for example, *le soldat-laboureur* (soldier-tiller), *le troupier* (trooper), and *le Cent Garde* (Imperial Guardsman), etc., developed and flourished in the popular didactic art form *images d'Épinal*, illustrated broadsheets published by l'Imagerie Pellerin, as well as in anthologies of military uniforms and caricatures. Following Napoléon I's defeat, both Théodore Géricault (1791–1824) and Nicholas-Toussaint Charlet (1792–1845) created well-known lithographs of soldiers retreating through the snow, individually and in groups, in the dead of the Russian winter.²⁸ Géricault crafted his prints in response to the extraordinary historical moment of Napoléon I's downfall, whereas Charlet would go on to forge a career making lithographs of soldiers in everyday situations, often moralizing, which at once celebrated and satirized the lives of the military men they depicted.²⁹ Existing alongside battle

²⁶ This realm of artistic production remains almost completely unexplored in scholarship on British military art, although the collection of the National Army Museum in London contains numerous examples of amateur paintings of varying quality.

²⁷ David Hopkin, *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766–1870* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Royal Historical Society/The Boydell Press, 2003), 17. For a discussion on the *Landsknechts* and their legacy in early modern visual culture, see J.R. Hale, "The Soldier in Germanic Graphic Art of the Renaissance," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (Summer 1986): 85–114; and Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

²⁸ For analyses of Géricault's and Charlet's lithographs of Napoleonic defeat, see Sue Walker, "Battle Lines: Drawing, Lithography and the Casualties of War," in *Visual Culture and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, ed. Satish Padiyar, Philip Shaw, Philippa Simpson (London: Routledge, 2017), 71–84; and Stephen Bann, "Battles in Paint and Print," in *Parallel Lines, Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 43–88.

²⁹ For an analysis on Charlet's lithographs of soldiers and workers, as well as his painting of Napoléon's retreat from Russia, see Michael Paul Driskel, "The Proletarian's Body: Charlet's Representations of Social Class during the July Monarchy," in *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy*, ed. Petra ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel Weisberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 58–89.

paintings and prints of martial types were illustrations of military costume, including significant examples by Auguste Raffet (1804–1860), François Hippolyte Lalaisse (1812–1844), Charles-Édouard Armand-Dumaresq (1826–1895), and Detaille. These were typically available in the form of single-sheet prints, sold at print shops and by street vendors, and small, bound editions, sold by subscription. Collections of such prints by Raffet, Lalaisse, Armand-Dumaresq, and Detaille were also compiled into elephant-folio anthologies. The genre of military costume print generated and reinforced fascination with soldiers' uniforms not just in France but also across Europe, notably among military antiquarians and collectors. They also served an archival function, used as a reference by military artists (who were often collectors and historians in their own right) and sometimes included in museum exhibitions.

Late nineteenth-century artists' innovative modes of depicting soldiers' mundane bravery and subsistence thus developed in the awareness of a prior tradition of popular imagery and, by manipulating its forms, found a solution to a set of problems that had long plagued the genre of battle painting. Large-scale battle *machines* through much of the nineteenth century had frequently elicited enthusiasm from crowds but ridicule from critics, as art historians Katie Hornstein and Julia Thoma have separately demonstrated.³⁰ The critic Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) was notoriously hostile to battle paintings, especially those produced by Horace Vernet (1789–1863); nevertheless, within a negative review of the Salon of 1859, Baudelaire would set out his/elaborated his criteria for a successful military picture: in his:

Thus, apart from pictures made for tacticians and topographers, which we must exclude from pure art, a military picture will only be intelligible and interesting on the condition that it is a simple episode from military life. This has been very well understood by M. Pils for example; and in earlier times, Charlet and Raffet. But even within a simple episode, even within the simple representation of a hand-to-hand fight in a small,

³⁰ Thoma, *The Final Spectacle*, 221–279; Katie Hornstein, *Picturing War in France, 1792–1856* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 56–57.

enclosed space, how much falseness, exaggeration, and monotony the spectator's eye has often had to endure! I own that what distresses me most of all in this kind of spectacle is not the abundance of wounds, the hideous profusion of slashed limbs, but rather the immobility within the violence, the dreadful cold grimace of a motionless frenzy.³¹

One may only speculate on what the critic would have written about a work such as *Les Dernières Cartouches*, exhibited seven years after his death, but Neuville's painting and the new genre it inspired certainly seem to exemplify Baudelaire's call for a "simple episode" and a "simple representation of a mêlée between men on a small, determined space."

Both the contemporaneity and the specificity of battle paintings made them uneasy companions to history painting, long considered the loftiest of genres.³² What critics often disparaged as an overburdened verisimilitude undermined the genre's status as Art, framed by the academic tradition of the "grand manner," which deployed classical subjects and pictorial generalization to convey elevated ideals.³³ Nineteenth-century critics steeped in the grand manner may have agreed with Roland Barthes, who contended that excess surface description is unnecessary to the overall structure of a text, for it constitutes a "narrative luxury, lavish to the point of offering many 'futile' details and thereby increasing the cost of narrative information."³⁴ Works with military subjects tended to display the exacting description of uniforms, gear, and sites, which had to hold up to scrutiny by contemporaries who may have participated in the events or otherwise had expert knowledge of them.

³¹ Charles Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1859," in *Art in Paris, 1845–1862*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1965), 177.

³² Susan L. Siegfried, "Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (June 1993): 236.

³³ *Ibid.*, 238.

³⁴ Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 141.

As tastes for verism in painting—through the so-called modes of Realism and Naturalism—grew to dominate the French art world by the last third of the century, paintings with martial subjects should have lined up closely to the newer expectations about what constituted high art.³⁵ Still, as in previous decades, French painters active in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had to confront stringent and often contradictory criteria from their diverse audiences. Their work could either appear too gruesome, or it could fail to evoke the ‘smell of gunpowder’; it could either seem too sentimental, or its subjects may have read, as they once did to critic Joris-Karl Huysmans, like puppets dressed up to look like soldiers; a painting could either be deemed factually inaccurate, or it might be considered too studied to be artistic.³⁶ All this is not to mention the genre’s awkwardly close connection to popular entertainment, which would have been considered a debasement of the forms of public edification that were ever the aims of history painting in the grand manner.³⁷ Military painters also had to walk on politically thin ice. On the one hand, a painting that was too obviously patriotic could be excoriated in a growingly vocal antimilitarist press; on the other hand, paintings that failed to convey the moral authority of the French army could run afoul of the government and even be censored from the Salon.³⁸ These artistic challenges coalesced amid a seemingly endless array of administrative mismanagements, scandals, coup attempts, and war scares that beleaguered the

³⁵ Thomson, *Art of the Actual*, 1.

³⁶ For instance, Thomson included a description by the Director of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts Larroumet of one of Detaille’s battle paintings, *The Defense of Champigny* (1879), who delighted in identifying specific details down to the soldiers’ uniforms, the setting, and even the types of weaponry. Ibid., 86–87. David, on the other hand, quoted Joris-Karl Huysmans’s response to the same painting: “The canvas doesn’t smell like gunpowder, it smells like strong glue, and, above all, it smells like cloth (*chiffons*) freshly-ironed cloth that was used to dress these puppets up as soldiers!” Joris-Karl Huysmans, quoted in David, “Decorated Men,” 14.

³⁷ Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*, 4–5.

³⁸ Humbert noted that one of Detaille’s early works was pulled from the Salon by order of the government, but he neglected to specify the reason. Humbert, *Detaille*, 9.

French army and upset the political landscape at large, much of which was covered in the news and condemned in the antimilitarist press.³⁹

Artists of the era after the Franco-Prussian defeat drew on but recast a pictorial tradition that had already proclaimed a reverence for common soldier, shown even within triumphant battle scenes ostensibly glorifying the commander. The topos of the common soldier thus drew on and helped propel a broad and continuing popular mythology surrounding the exploits of Napoléon I, frequently referred to as *l'épopée* or *la légende napoléonienne* (Napoleonic epic/legend). Art historian Susan Siegfried has argued that it was Antoine-Jean Gros's proposal to paint the battle of Nazareth in 1800 for the Napoléon-led Consulate that elevated the depiction of contemporary battles to a vaunted status akin to (albeit in tension with) history painting, a feat that had only been attempted sporadically before.⁴⁰ As Siegfried has demonstrated, Gros (1771–1835) departed from previous depictions of battle by choosing a compositional format that placed the viewer in the thick of the action, common soldiers in the foreground with the commander in the distance, a move inspired by the “patriotic militarism” of the Revolution.⁴¹ This formal decision broke away from the bird's-eye view of battle, presented by a king or general in the foreground, which had been the dominant mode for representing battles since its first use by Adam Frans Van der Meulen (1632–1690) in paintings of the wars of Louis XIV.⁴² Gros's example spurred on a paradigm shift, reconfiguring not only the aims of battle painting but also the ways in which “history” itself was conceived of and represented by artists at the

³⁹ Fae Brauer, “Contesting ‘Le corps militaire’: Antimilitarism, Pacificism, Anarcho-Communism and ‘Le Douanier’ Rousseau's *La Guerre*,” *RIHA* (July 2012), unpaginated.

⁴⁰ Siegfried, “Naked History,” 242.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 238.

Académie des Beaux-Arts. With Gros, both the contemporary soldier and contemporary war were given new importance in art.

By the time art critic and historian Arsène Alexandre penned his survey *Histoire de la peinture militaire en France* (History of Military Painting in France) in 1889, the French school of military artists boasted several distinguished alumni, including the battle painters Gros and Vernet and the lithographers Charlet and Raffet, to name a few.⁴³ Vernet had become the most famous battle painter during the Bourbon Restoration (1815–1830) and July Monarchy (1830–1848), making a lucrative career painting large-format *machines* that celebrated the achievements of the Napoleonic and, later, Orleanist armies.⁴⁴ Despite the antipathy of the Restoration government toward Napoléon I and his generals, Vernet ignited public enthusiasm for Napoleonic battle painting in the decades following the emperor’s exile.⁴⁵ The artist reached his professional apotheosis during the July Monarchy when he was commissioned by King Louis-Philippe (1773–1850) to paint a cycle of grand-format tableaux for the chateau at Versailles, being repurposed as a museum of French national history, a project that would set the benchmark of prestige for military artists to come.⁴⁶ During the Second Empire, Protais came to

⁴³ Arsène Alexandre, *L’Histoire de la peinture militaire en France* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1889).

⁴⁴ For a detailed history of Vernet’s career during these two governments, see Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*, 51–125.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 88–89. Thomas Gaehtgens published a foundational study tracking the iconographic and stylistic program of the thirty-three paintings that fill the Galerie des Batailles at Versailles, which opened in 1837, and includes works by Vernet in addition to Delacroix, François Gérard, Achille Devéria, Jean-Victor Schnetz, and Henri and Ary Scheffer, among others. As art historian Michael Marrinan wrote, Gérard’s *Napoleon at the Battle of Austerlitz* (1808) would inspire the iconography and format for Vernet’s depictions of the battles of Jena, Friedland, and Wagram. Vernet’s canvases were criticized for their prosaic approach to military history, even though they were widely admired by the public. See Thomas Gaehtgens, *Versailles, de la Résidence royale au musée historique: La Galerie des batailles dans le musée historique de Louis-Philippe*, trans. Patrick Poirot (Antwerp: Albin Michel, 1984); and Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830–1848* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 165–69. While Vernet’s three paintings of Napoleonic battles were situated among a suite of similarly large-format works by other artists, he would go on to be the sole decorator of the

focus on the suffering of soldiers in his depictions of Emperor Napoléon III's wars in Russia, Italy, and Mexico.⁴⁷ Around the same time, Meissonier turned to Napoleonic themes after a successful thirty-year career creating cabinet paintings of musketeers.⁴⁸ Meissonier's devotion to *l'épopée napoléonienne* persisted in spite of his disillusionment with the hollow grandiloquence of the Second Empire, suggesting that the legend of the Napoleonic armies was able to transcend the controversies surrounding Bonapartism during and especially after the reign of Napoléon III (1808–1873).⁴⁹ While Meissonier rarely chose to depict contemporary wars, his intricately detailed, solemn representation of military themes would loom large over the generation of military artists who came into prominence after the Franco-Prussian War. Detaille, one of Meissonier's few students, attributed his relentless pursuit of dispassionate observation to the instruction of his master.⁵⁰ When these artists formalized their association by creating the Société de la Sabretache in 1891, they elected Meissonier as its first president and when this society founded the Musée de l'Armée in Paris in 1905 (discussed in the Epilogue), it was Meissonier's collection of arms, uniforms, and militaria gathered during his half-century career that formed the core of its original collections.⁵¹

other historical galleries in Versailles, including the Salle Constantine, which commemorated the July Monarchy's invasion and occupation of Algeria.

⁴⁷ Thoma discussed Protais's sustained professional interests in suffering and wounded soldiers as resulting from a potentially antimilitarist sentiment, having served in the army and wounded three times, as well as a crisis in militarism during the late Second Empire similar to that identified by Bryson in his analysis of Géricault. Thoma, *Final Spectacle*, 292–98.

⁴⁸ Constance Cain Hungerford, *Meissonier: Master in His Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 112.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 120–21.

⁵⁰ Detaille recounted his teacher's favorite axiom: "Fais comme moi : la nature, toujours la nature." Detaille, quoted in Humbert, *Detaille*, 6.

⁵¹ There is no English translation for "une sabretache," which was a highly decorated satchel carried by cavalry officers. On the founding of the Musée de l'Armée, see Caroline Barcellini, *Le Musée de l'Armée et la fabrique de la nation: Histoire militaire, histoire nationale et enjeux muséographiques* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010).

The downfall of Napoléon III's Second Empire in a matter of weeks after a continuous string of military debacles had not followed the pattern of First Empire (1804–1815) established by his legendary uncle, which finally came to an end following decades of war with a succession of coalitions of European nations. As historian Ernest Renan (1823–1892) forcefully argued, the absolute defeat, imprisonment, and later exile of Napoléon III dealt a serious blow to the Napoleonic legend that had come to figure powerfully in French conceptions of nation.⁵² On visiting the battlefields in eastern France and western Germany, United States Army General William T. Sherman (1820–1891) recorded his perplexity at the number of poor strategic decisions carried out by French military leadership during the Franco-Prussian War, which followed on the heels of the United States Civil War (1861–1865).⁵³

In the days, months, and years following the Franco-Prussian War, tales of good conduct on the part of individual and small groups of French soldiers were used to counter stories of the many ignominious defeats suffered by the army as a whole. Painters were instrumental in popularizing these tales by giving them visual form in works that would be reproduced widely and in a variety of media. Images provided, in turn, visual models for French citizens (all male) now expected to serve in the armed forces under the nation's developing programs of universal conscription and colonial expansion. Meanwhile in Britain, paintings that sympathized with the soldier's and veteran's plight would initially appeal to publics otherwise ambivalent toward war and would eventually give way to pictures of heroic last stands in far-off imperial conflicts. Broadly conceived, pictures of men performing their duty against all odds helped put a human

⁵² Karine Varley, *Under the Shadow of Defeat: The War of 1870–71 in French Memory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4.

⁵³ William T. Sherman, "Sherman on Franco-Prussian Battlefields.: Extracts from General William T. Sherman's Diary of his European Tour in 1872," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 6 (1899), 278.

face on the growing military and colonial apparatus of the two respective states, thereby making war seem a natural part of human experience.

Military Manhood in a Time of Global War

Throughout this project, I consider the soldier both a perpetrator of violence and a victim of it, both a tool of state oppression and someone whose life was strictly circumscribed. My interest in these tensions does not imply sympathy for the European soldiers and armies of the late nineteenth century or for global military institutions today. Rather, my focus is on the ways in which images engaged with and helped produce cultural and discursive constructions of manhood at a particular historical moment, constructions that were, I argue, built on fantasies of nationhood and military power even as they were shaken by anxieties of national decline and racial degeneration. The relationship between military art and the tumultuous domestic and international politics of late nineteenth-century France and Britain fascinates me especially because it was shot through with contradictions. The French Third Republic largely disavowed large-format battle painting as a viable form of political messaging, rarely commissioning or even purchasing such works, in marked distinction to its predecessors, the Second Empire and the July Monarchy. Queen Victoria, on the other hand, was a relatively enthusiastic collector of battle paintings. Correlations cannot easily be drawn between these governments' habits of art purchasing and their habits of violence, however. France, just like Britain, was involved in unprecedented military expansion and imperial aggression.

This study frames its subject between two wars that had significant social and political ramifications for Europe, the Franco-Prussian War and World War I. While the former was much shorter and occurred across far less territory than the latter, the resulting unification of Germany

and fears of decline precipitated by the war of 1870 had large impact, impelling politicians in France and Britain to reassess their nations' status on the world stage. In French public discourse during the subsequent decades, *la revanche*—the pursuit of revenge against Germany to restore France's national honor—played a major role and drove the progressive implementation of mandatory military service and the quasi-militarization of lay education, sets of reforms inspired by German models. The strategic realities of *la revanche* were far from optimistic, as Germany continued to outpace France in military strength as in industrial production and population growth. Cultural historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch has shown that French military frustrations were channeled into the acquisition of new colonies in West Africa and Southeast Asia, a project in which the Third Republic engaged with remarkable tenacity.⁵⁴ Military historians and this current study complicate Schivelbusch's claim, as the metropolitan French army was only rarely if ever deployed in colonial wars. Still, Schivelbusch has made a compelling case that colonization was intrinsically tied to France's perceived status as a military power. In an open letter to *Le Temps* from 1885, zoologist and former Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts Paul Bert (1833–1886), a vociferous colonialist, reasoned that colonization would aid France in achieving its sought-after revenge and regaining the lost territories of Alsace and Lorraine: “A substitute is unimaginable as a consolation. But if the colonies cannot serve as a replacement for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, they could be a means of bolstering national energy so that when the time is ripe we can win back the two provinces.”⁵⁵ The parliamentarian Georges Clemenceau (1841–1829), on the other hand, contended that Prime Minister Jules Ferry (1832–1893), an early architect of the Third Republic's colonial enterprise, was a traitor who wanted to drain the

⁵⁴ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery*, trans. Jefferson Chase (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001), 178.

⁵⁵ Paul Bert, quoted in *ibid.*, 180.

very national energy Bert argued would be enhanced.⁵⁶ *Revanchistes* like Paul Déroulède (1846–1914), lawyer and poet-turned-demagogue, also denounced the government’s colonial campaigns, acerbically stating, “I have lost two children, but you, you offer me twenty servants.”⁵⁷

Reforms to the structure and function of the army were also undertaken in Britain, driven in large part by new technologies and strategies employed by the combatants in the Franco-Prussian War. Whereas Germany and, later, France conscripted armies from their entire male populations (those deemed fit to serve) and required completion of military service to grant citizenship, in Britain, enlistment into the army remained at least theoretically voluntary. The required length of service—at times twenty years or more—made it much more of a career than a temporary commitment. In 1875, Major General Sir John Adye (1819–1900) outlined the fundamentally different military exigencies facing Britain than those facing its Continental neighbors: “Whilst an insular position relieves us from the necessity of maintaining a large force at home, and protects us from the perils of instant attack, the situation of our dependencies and of the other distant scenes in which our troops are engaged, render a compulsory system practically impossible.”⁵⁸ One of the leading generals and military theorists in Britain of the late-Victorian period, Sir Garnet Wolseley (1833–1913), proposed one reason for this in the 1892 anthology *The Armies of Today*: “In England, from time immemorial, there has been an instinctive dislike

⁵⁶ Schivelbush, *Culture of Defeat*, 181.

⁵⁷ Déroulède, quoted in Peter Rutkoff, *Revanche + Revision: The Ligue des Patriotes and the Origins of the Radical Right in France, 1882–1900* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1981), 24.

⁵⁸ Major General Sir John Adye, *The British Army in 1875: A Response to Mr. John Holms, M.P.* (London: John Murray, 1875), 4.

and distrust of a standing army.”⁵⁹ The British army, especially the Home Service, thus involved only a small portion of the national population. Starting in 1870, Liberal Secretary of State for War Sir Edward Cardwell (1813–1886) initiated a series of much-debated reforms to the processes of recruiting and quartering soldiers, then seen as urgent in the wake of Germany’s stunning demonstration of military power in the Franco-Prussian War.⁶⁰

The ascension of Tory Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881) and his expansionist government in 1874 propelled Britain’s colonization efforts through the jingoist policies they advocated.⁶¹ If global war had established itself as a recurrent feature of the reign of Queen Victoria (1819–1901), its frequency intensified in her final years.⁶² French and British imperial ambitions put the two nations in contest with one another and also with the other so-called Great Powers of Europe, including Germany, Russia, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as the United States. The years between 1871 and 1914 were marked by near-continuous war around the globe, even while this was a period of relative peace among western European nations. The period also saw the development of a world-girdling media apparatus—led by the *Illustrated London News* and *Le Petit Parisien* though with many national and international competitors—which regularly reported on these wars to increasingly literate and involved publics from Tamworth, Staffordshire, to Beijing.⁶³ Although Britain never instituted universal

⁵⁹ Sir Garnet Wolseley, “The British Army,” in *The Armies of Today: A Description of the Leading Armies at the Present Time* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892), 59.

⁶⁰ Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, 72.

⁶¹ Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 9–10.

⁶² Byron Farwell has provided a veritable catalogue of these conflicts during Victoria’s reign, which increase in number by the 1880s. See *Queen Victoria’s Little Wars* (London: Penguin Books, 1973).

⁶³ The expansion of the global press and its role in the formation of nationalism was explored in Benedict Anderson’s classic text, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London:

conscription as did its neighbors, at least not before World War I, the nation-at-war still formed a sort of ambient condition of everyday life for many on the isles due, in large part, to its regular dissemination through visual culture and the press.

The body and mind of the individual soldier became topics of increasing interest among members of the international military medical sphere, while extensive institutional transformations in the French and British armed forces were championed by politicians and high-ranking generals. The feeding and clothing of soldiers became ever more systematized through major restructuring campaigns undertaken by both nations, although to differing extents and with different outcomes. To these concerns were added the significant problems of sheltering, transporting, training, and disciplining soldiers, challenges that developed exponentially for armies that came to comprise hundreds of thousands of men in peacetime and millions in the case of war.⁶⁴ The prevention of disease and the general maintenance of the troops had become so important to European military leadership that in Germany, for instance, the highest authority during peacetime was the Medical Department.⁶⁵ In his contribution to *The Armies of Today* German Lieutenant-Colonel Exner even boasted that his nation's armed forces had the least disease-related deaths of any standing army.⁶⁶ In France, too, a set of laws drafted between 1882 and 1889 placed all French military doctors in a single, autonomous health corps.⁶⁷ A wave of

Verso, 1982). More recently, Emily S. Rosenberg has explored new forms of communication, such as the press and the telegraph, her chapter "Transnational Currents in a Shrinking World," in *A World Connecting, 1870–1945*, ed. Emily Rosenberg (London: Belknap, 2012).

⁶⁴ Nineteenth-century historian Jules Richard provided the statistic that the French standing army in 1889 comprised 500,000 soldiers in peacetime and 1,200,000 in the case of war (reduced from a previous 1,800,000 soldiers able to be deployed). Édouard Detaille and Jules Richard, *Types et uniformes: L'Armée française* (Paris: Boussod, Valadon et cie, 1889), 2.

⁶⁵ Lieutenant Colonel Exner, "The German Army," in *The Armies of Today*, 101.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Charles Viry, *Principes d'hygiène militaire* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1896), 2.

construction of facilities for the army, the Republican Guard, and the firemen of Paris was seen as so remarkable that military hygiene formed a major component of the Universal Exhibition of 1889. Several pavilions presented new developments in this area, including the prominently situated pavilion of the Ministry of War, the medical pavilion, and even the pavilion of the city of Paris, in which diagrams and models of barracks and hospitals recently constructed in the capital were on display.

The health and vigor of individual citizens were associated with those qualities in the nation as a whole, just as racial superiority and advanced military power were being configured as two necessary criteria of “civilization.” The equation of the human body with the nation at large had developed into a common nationalist trope by the end of the nineteenth century. At a time when social Darwinism and eugenics gained increasing currency in political discourse, the notion of ‘survival of the fittest’ extended to international politics.⁶⁸ The army came to be seen as the ultimate visible expression of a sort of national virility.⁶⁹ Prussian general and military theorist Carl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) had posited in *On War* (published posthumously in 1832) that, following the example of the Napoleonic campaigns, modern warfare would involve not just discrete, “cabinet” armies but entire peoples.⁷⁰ Pro-military and even antimilitary theorists took a renewed interest in Clausewitz’s writings in the later nineteenth century as they came to the conclusion that future wars would constitute a contest for the existence of the species.⁷¹ Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) was, in fact, remarkably prescient when he anticipated

⁶⁸ Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 75–87.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

in the 1880s that “[e]ight to ten millions of soldiers will mutually massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe until they have stripped it barer than any swarm of locusts has ever done.”⁷² For Engels, this “extension of violence hitherto unheard of” would be made possible through the mechanization of national armies.⁷³

The standardization and universalization of conscription aided in this mechanizing process and also provided a binding agent in nations that had been relatively splintered in terms of language, ethnicity, and culture. In France, conscription into the army ideally compelled Gascons and Bretons to speak the language of Parisians, just as it brought Hessians, Saxons, Hanoverians, and Prussians together in Germany to a possibly even greater extent. This (at least theoretical) homogenizing effect of the army offered a model for broader nation-building projects. Historian Eugen Weber saw fit to include the military establishment as one of the main players in the national integration of France at the end of the century in his classic study *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*.⁷⁴ The proliferation of railways and telegraph wires further abetted processes of national integration and constituted technological advances that would prove indispensable in the waging of modern warfare.⁷⁵ The institution of universal conscription, however, added the challenge of convincing a population, which was often ambivalent if not antipathetic toward the army, that military service would be a desirable occupation even if it involved years of hard labor with meager pay and the potential for horrific mutilation and death.

⁷² Friedrich Engels, quoted in *ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷⁴ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976).

⁷⁵ Geoffrey Wawro, *Warfare and Society in Europe, 1792–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000), 136.

In addition to these structural and ideological shifts, historians have observed that discourses on ideal manliness attempted to shape but were resisted by the material conditions, social lives, and mental states of individual soldiers. Life in the barracks was the defining experience for most soldiers; this was a space in which hierarchical forms of intimacy among men were fostered, policed, and negotiated.⁷⁶ The dynamics and associations of relationships between men varied greatly depending on geographic location, from the metropolitan capital to the provincial garrison or colonial encampment. Literary historian Brian Joseph Martin has argued that the homophobic environment of the army paradoxically promoted same-sex desires among men even as it sought to disavow them.⁷⁷ Martin's work importantly disrupts any overbearing heteronormative view of the French army, configuring the French soldier—both the human individual and the cultural construction—as a locus of erotic desire for other men. I depart from Martin in that I look not only to instances of same-sex male attraction but also to multiple forms of sexual practices (heteroerotic, homoerotic, and autoerotic) among and associated with soldiers. Taking cues from these scholars, I examine the extent to which artists engaged with their martial subjects on multiple levels, from the social, psychological, and sexual experiences of soldiers to their larger cultural and ideological significance in their respective societies.

⁷⁶ See, for instance, Odile Roynette, *"Bons pour le service": L'Expérience de la caserne en France à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Belin, 2000); and Mathieu Marly, *Distinguer et soumettre: Une Histoire sociale de l'armée française (1872-1914)* (Rennes, FR: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2019).

⁷⁷ Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011), 259–63.

Form and Methods

Each of the five chapters and the Epilogue focuses on an individual painting or small groupings of thematically related works as a means of examining the tensions produced when artists attempted to merge elevated artistic themes with contemporary discourses around the armed forces. I limit the number of my objects of study, selecting especially complex, resonant, and representative works from among the great corpus of French and British military paintings and attempt to offer multivalent readings of the images by situating them in their complex historical moments. This methodology makes it necessary to limit the objects of study. I make no attempt to account for every depiction of soldiers produced in France and Britain during a forty-three-year time span. Rather than tracing the broader contours of art-historical phenomena, as scholars have very competently done before me, I take a microscopic view. Close looking at works of art is a method well adapted to the pursuit conceptions of ideal martial manhood in an era of constant warfare since, as I contend, much of the dissemination of ideas was carried out by visual means.

Painters of military themes had to navigate intricate and sometimes contradictory sets of requirements, including those of the fine arts, education, and politics, as well as the expectations of the public and military leaders themselves. With these issues in mind, I analyze paintings and their print reproductions alongside texts produced by military institutions, including books and essays by generals, doctors, and reformers. I also consider popular and didactic prints, illustrated manuals, textbooks, and caricatures since these frequently provided models of reference for artists and viewers alike. In fact, military artists authored many such publications that had an even wider audience than their oil-on-canvas paintings. Since biographical data on artists cannot always be obtained, I examine critical reviews in art journals and periodicals from a wide

political spectrum to ascertain how viewers' reception of their works was potentially guided. I read images and texts against one another, seeking out contradictions in addition to intersections.

This study is primarily object driven; however, my thoughts are informed by psychoanalytic approaches to culture and violence including those by Julia Kristeva, Melanie Klein, Jacqueline Rose, Elaine Scarry, and Carolyn Dean. Historians and theorists of gender and sexuality have also helped me frame my arguments, and classic texts by Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, Eve Sedgwick, and Kaja Silverman play significant, if cameo, roles throughout. Psychoanalytic and gender/sexuality theories have loomed large in feminist and queer histories of art, but their inclusion in studies of nineteenth-century military painting is rare. Several of the dissertation's overarching concepts, including masculinity, nationalism, empire, and race, have each generated prodigious bodies of literature, which often engage with the theoretical frameworks just mentioned and often overlap. It is not possible to provide a full bibliography here, but each chapter makes known the most pertinent scholars and ideas.

My ideas are deeply indebted to three art-historical studies: the first is Katie Hornstein's *Picturing War in France, 1792–1856* (2018), which examined the proliferation of battle paintings alongside images of war in various media and their engagement with and generation of new modes of visual culture. Her book expanded on previous works by Susan Siegfried, Christopher Prendergast, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, and David O'Brien, who established French battle painting as a subject of serious inquiry in Anglophone art history by focusing mainly on the students of the artist Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825).⁷⁸ The second publication is Anthea

⁷⁸ See Siegfried, "Naked History;" Christopher Prendergast, *Napoléon and History Painting: Antoine-Jean Gros's La Bataille d'Eylau* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); and David O'Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda under Napoléon* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Callen's *Looking at Men: Anatomy, Masculinity, and the Modern Male Body* (2018), which investigated the relationships between depictions of the male nude in painting, print, and photography and concurrent scientific and medical discourses on human anatomy. I seek to merge Hornstein's thesis on the importance and multivalent associations of military art—which went beyond propaganda—with Callen's scrutiny of the scientific and medical configurations of masculinity at the end of the century. My work also builds on that of the French art historian François Robichon, whose numerous books and articles have been foundational to any study of this topic. His thorough documentation of the material has identified certain ideological structures that underpinned military paintings; nevertheless, his reluctance to criticize those structures has diminished his work's impact on broader studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century art, especially in the United Kingdom and United States. In addition, many of his publications have been supported by the French military establishment. While the study of French military painting has benefited from this official support, including two large museums devoted to presenting the military in a positive light—the Musée de l'Armée in Paris and the Musée de la Guerre de 1870 et de l'Annexion (Museum of the War of 1870 and the Annexation) in Gravelotte, France—state sponsorship has arguably limited the types of critical discussions that can be had in regard to such imagery.

Chapters

The following chapter, Chapter II, examines three paintings that depict groups of unclothed men in martial settings. Eugène Chaperon's *La Douche au régiment* (The Shower in the Regiment) was one of, if not the first oil painting to depict naked men showering inside a newly renovated barracks (fig. 2.1; 1887, Omer M. Koç collection). Pierre-Georges Jeannot's

two versions of *Conseil de révision* (Review Board) depict young recruits undergoing a medical examination, which was the initial and most physically invasive step to military service (fig. 2.2; 1894, private collection; fig. 2.3; 1895, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau, France). These three works are exceptional in late nineteenth-century French art in pairing the academic male nude with the positivist discourse of military hygiene. They speak to an international phenomenon of military hygiene that had taken off with a reorganization of army recruitment procedures and implementation of universal conscription in France between 1872 and 1889. The joining of artistic and medical discourses in oil painting produced tensions, which reveal the undersides of both discourses to present-day viewers. Both the institutions of the fine arts and the army endeavored to banish sexual desire for the male body but were unable to do so; illicit sexual practices, especially those between men, occupied a space between vice and disease during these years when such practices were being theorized by military and civilian doctors alike. Additionally, as a comparison between Jeannot's two paintings, done a year apart, makes evident, the idealized, marmoreal flesh tones favored within the academic tradition aligned troublingly well with the exclusionary ethnic and racial tendencies of the army, which would surface in late 1894 with the trial of then-suspected double agent Captain Alfred Dreyfus.

Chapter III revisits the subject of military medicine, this time examining its implications for colonial wars fought by France and Britain across Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand's painting *La Fièvre* (Fever) serves as the entry point for this chapter (fig. 3.1; 1895, Musée du Service de Santé des Armées, Paris). It deploys an allegory of martial sacrifice—a theme deriving from a long line of battle paintings—to expose the ravaging impact of malaria during the recent French occupation of Madagascar. Legrand (1860–1947) and he expressed his his vision in gendered terms: he situated a dead soldier in an upside-down cruciform pose,

guarded by a human-reptilian female representation of “Fever,” rather obviously casting the young man as a Christlike figure martyred by a non-human, though uncannily feminine, enemy. The ambivalent critical responses to this painting suggest that the allegory of sacrifice was no longer deemed appropriate in representations of modern military subjects. Legrand grappled with a daring and difficult subject in *La Fièvre*, namely, how to represent the prevalent reality of disease in the visual language of oil painting. Diseases such as malaria, dysentery, and typhoid fever similarly pre-occupied military health professionals and leaders since they were responsible for far more deaths than actual combat. Disease hampered French (and other European) colonial ambitions, all the while undermining the rhetoric of heroism tied to military service.

Chapter IV moves across the Channel, focusing on works by Lady Butler. I consider her monumental canvas, *The Remnants of an Army*, as another painterly attempt to enlist the concept of martial sacrifice but one that presents a constructive contrast to French strategies (fig. 4.1; 1879, Tate Britain, London). Lady Butler solicited viewers’ empathy for a mid-ranking medical officer caught up in a disastrous campaign in Afghanistan from 1842, amplifying the affective intensity of her suffering soldier to a greater extent than her counterparts in France would ever have done. This focus on the suffering, specifically the pathos, of the common soldier had become a specialty for Lady Butler by this time and appealed to British publics who were otherwise ambivalent toward their government’s many imperial wars and the visual representations of them. Lady Butler’s large-scale meditation on human misery, nevertheless, conspicuously omits the Afghan opponents and even Indian soldiers who died as a result of the British invasion, demonstrating that, although she may not have been an advocate of British

imperial aggression, Lady Butler certainly offered no apology to those worst affected by it, nor did her audience expect it.

Chapter V offers a reexamination of Neuville's *Les Dernières Cartouches* (The Last Cartridges) by focusing on the figure of Saïd ben Bachir, *le tirailleur algérien* (Algerian light infantryman) on the left-hand side of the canvas (fig. 5.1; 1873, Maison de la Dernière Cartouche, Bazeilles, France). Whereas the previous two chapters each addressed a European soldier caught up in costly imperial wars, this chapter centers on a soldier recruited from the colonies caught up in a disastrous war in Europe. He has hardly been discussed by modern scholars and was also practically ignored by critics from the period despite his prominent position in one of the most celebrated and reproduced military paintings of the late nineteenth century. His presence in a painting about martial solidarity in defeat underscores the Third Republic's rhetoric of pluralism, a political philosophy that lay at the heart of French conceptions of nationhood and even military policy but was, in practice, contradicted by the segregation of the army along racial lines. Neuville's depiction of Bachir waivers between prevalent tendencies of racial stereotyping and the specificity of portraiture.

Chapter VI focuses on two paintings, one exhibited in London and the other in Paris: *The Last Muster* by Hubert von Herkomer (1849–1914) represents aging pensioners in the Chelsea Hospital in London; and *Les Prisonniers de guerre* (Prisoners of War) by Jacques de Lalaing (1858–1917) depicts young French cavalry officers languishing in a German prison (fig. 6.1; 1875, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool; and fig. 6.2; 1883, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille). The two paintings thematize state institutions' control of the bodies and movements of the men in their charge. Both paintings forcefully renounce any martial heroism. Herkomer at once celebrates the dignity of the pensioners while subtly criticizing the British state's seclusion and

near abandonment of these former soldiers. Lalaing, on the other hand, simultaneously exposes the abject failure of French military prestige, as once embodied by the flamboyantly uniformed Hussars, and takes aim at the German treatment of French prisoners after the Franco-Prussian War.

The dissertation concludes with an epilogue offering a synopsis of the years between 1900 and the start of World War I in 1914. This period of fourteen years saw the “museumization” of military history in France and the simultaneous decline of military painting as a genre. Two events led to military history taking a firm place in national mythology: the founding of the Museum of the Army in Paris in 1905 and Detaille’s commission to paint the apse of the Parisian Pantheon in the same year. These events occurred while military painting faded from prominence at the public Salon exhibitions of art: Detaille’s death in 1912 would constitute the veritable end of the genre’s cultural relevance in France. In Britain, military painting continued with relative popularity in the form of triumphalist battle paintings representing British colonial campaigns. Celebrations of British heroism during last stands in far-off wars supplanted the more ambivalent takes on British imperialism by Lady Butler (addressed in Chapter IV). In both France and Britain, imagery that offered any sort of positive view of warfare would become largely untenable for European audiences once the brutality and atrocities of war came home during World War I.

CHAPTER II

The Nude Soldier, France: Eugène Chaperon's *La Douche au régiment* (1887) and Pierre-Georges Jeanniot's *Conseil de révision* (1894/1895)

To begin with, there was the scale of the control: it was a question not of treating the body, (en masse) 'wholesale', as if it were an indissociable unity, but of working it 'retail', individually; of exercising upon it a subtle coercion, of obtaining holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself—movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body.¹

Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 1975

The man is plunged, in fact, into an environment that by dust, by waste, by the thousand products of deterioration and decay that it contains, constantly defiles the surface of his body.²

Léon Villedary, *Essai sur la question du lavage des soldats dans le caserne*, 1878

Introduction

Eugène Chaperon's painting *La Douche au régiment* (Shower in the Regiment) presents a quasi-scientific study of military hygiene and an intimate view of the closed-off world of an infantry barracks (fig. 2.1; 1887, Omer M. Koç collection). The work features a subject that was unusual for oil painting during this period: a group of nude soldiers showering. One of the painting's most intriguing aspects is that the viewing of disrobed male bodies provides the

¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 137.

² ["L'homme, en effet, est plongé dans un milieu qui, par les poussières, par les déchets, par les mille produits d'altération et décomposition qu'il contient, souille sans cesse la surface de son corps."] Léon Villedary, *Essai sur la question du lavage des soldats dans le caserne* (Paris: A. Parent, 1878), 1.

impetus for its meaning. Indeed, the lines of sight of nine figures all converge on the point where five unclothed men are being hosed down. The wide-angle perspective directs our eye to the same part of the canvas in which winter sunlight pours in through a tall, arched window, framing three of the bathers and highlighting their buttery flesh. Meanwhile, a jet of water emanates from the hands of one of the soldiers on the left before splashing onto the exposed abdomen of his nude comrade on the right, whose genitals are obscured by the spray and steam coming off a nearby barrel. It is this meeting of steam, water, and flesh that frames the complex set of issues I explore in this chapter. For here, Chaperon (1857–1938) pointed to and disrupted, perhaps unknowingly, two idealizing discourses: the positivist science of military hygiene that was developing rapidly at the time and the venerated artistic tradition of depicting the nude male as an ideal form.³

Chaperon's ideally clean figures contrast to those pictured seven years later by Pierre-Georges Jeannot (1848–1934). Jeannot's *Conseil de révision* (Review Board) sardonically

³ Art historians specializing in nineteenth-century Europe and the United States have addressed painters' interest in medical subjects; for an analysis of artists' depictions of the lives of (female) sex workers, in particular the medical procedures they underwent, see Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991). Anthea Callen has examined at length the integral relationship between fine art and photography and new understandings of human anatomy at the end of the nineteenth century in *Looking at Men: Anatomy, Masculinity, and the Modern Male Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018). This builds off her previous study of Degas's engagement with anthropometry in *The Spectacular Body Science, Method and Meaning in the Work of Degas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Mary Hunter has similarly explored the intersections of art and medicine in constructing new forms of masculinity in her intermedial book, *The Face of Medicine: Visualising Medical Masculinities in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016). The use of the idealized male nude as a marker for national health is discussed both by Callen and Fae Brauer in their co-edited volume *Art, Sex, and Eugenics: Corpus Delecti* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2008). For a discussion of representations of the nineteenth-century veil in art and their engagements with medical discourses on dust, see Marni Reva Kessler, *Sheer Presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). Amy Beth Werbel has analyzed Thomas Eakins and the intersections of academic artistic practice, contemporary developments in medicine, and the controversy over the sexual status of the male nude in *Thomas Eakins: Art, Medicine, and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). Susan Sidlauskas has joined Callen in exploring the connections between photography and medicine; for example, see "'Before and After': The Aesthetic as Evidence in Nineteenth-Century Medical Photography," in *Before-and-After in Photography: Histories and Contexts*, ed. Jordan Baer and Kate Palmer Albers (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 15–42.

renders the first and most physically invasive step of martial indoctrination, the medical examination (fig. 2.2; 1894, private collection).⁴ During this process, conscripts were scrutinized and measured by *le conseil de révision* in a semi-public procedure to determine their aptitude for recruitment into the armed forces. The group of men who undergo this process in Jeanniot's painting appear as awkward, emaciated, and sunburnt civilians, exposed for the first time to the brutal transformations of military service. While Chaperon's bathers practically epitomize the concept of the healthy martial body, Jeanniot's gaunt and blemished adolescents seem hardly ready to assume their role as defenders of the nation. Not long after creating *Conseil de révision*, Jeanniot painted another canvas with the same title in 1895, which depicts the interior of the examination hall and includes municipal, military, and medical authorities who review the conscripts (fig. 2.3; 1894, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau, France). The naked young men being examined in the later work exhibit far greater physical fitness than those in the first version, suggesting a pressure or desire to return to classical ideal nudity on Jeanniot's part, and thereby to imbue the event with a ceremonial aura.

This chapter analyzes these three paintings as exceptional works, which are rare in including nude male figures in scenes of everyday military life and therefore able to shed light on artists' interventions into public discourse.⁵ I argue that Chaperon and Jeanniot depicted, in their drastically different ways, forms of intimacy between men that were facilitated by the context of

⁴ The painting is currently titled *Les Conscrits*. However, Jeanniot first exhibited it in 1895 under the title *Conseil de révision*.

⁵ Art historians François Robichon and Richard Thompson included Chaperon's *La Douche au régiment* (and, in Robichon's case, Jeanniot's second version of *Conseil de révision*) in their studies of art that depicts everyday life in the army, which came into prominence in France following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. See Robichon, *L'Armée française*; and Richard Thomson, *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

the barracks and choreographed by new forms of hygienic technologies and procedures.⁶ Rather than representing emotional connections among comrades, Chaperon and Jeanniot both visualized martial relationships as structured by the hierarchy of the army.⁷ Their efforts coincided with intensifying attempts in the military medical establishment to surveil and police soldiers' behavior with respect to their bodies and even bodily secretions (waste, odor, and semen—what Julia Kristeva might label “the abject”) via such measures as mandated showers and medical exams.⁸ The bodies of soldiers came under intense scrutiny by doctors during this period, who were not only interested in the removal of physical dirt and microbes from the corpus and the surrounding built environment but also deeply concerned about the moral cleanliness of the rank and file. Concurrently, the martial body was characterized variously as a natural resource, an ecosystem, and a part of a larger institutional machine.

While the representation of everyday life in the army may have been considered a distinctive feature of French military painting by the time Chaperon crafted *La Douche au régiment* in 1887, the inclusion of nude figures pushed the boundaries of the genre. The first

⁶ I borrow this phrasing from Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's classic study, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985). John Potvin has rigorously analyzed the visual and cultural manifestations of male intimacy in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, contending that just as new avatars of masculinity formed around the clean, muscular, and virile man, these very dominant formations of manliness were shot through with anxieties about male same-sex desire. His work built on previous scholarship on the formation and limitations of male intimacy in Britain during the same period and off of Michel Foucault, whose discussion on the power relations of the barracks is also foundational to this current study. See John Potvin, *Material and Visual Cultures Beyond Male Bonding, 1870–1914: Bodies, Boundaries and Intimacy* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2008); and Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

⁷ Brian Joseph Martin has compellingly analyzed the development of a militaristic ideology of fraternity in the French army, which was fostered by Napoleon and loomed large over the army for much of the nineteenth century. Through readings of various genres of literature of the period, Martin investigated the slippages between sanctioned fraternal bonds in the army and unsanctioned homosexual desires and relationships. See Brian Joseph Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship: Military Fraternity, Intimacy and Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century France* (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011).

⁸ Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Léon Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

section of this chapter proposes that the choice of setting, the interior of an army barracks, was topical in public discourse at the time. A major overhaul of martial quarters was occurring around the country across the decade of the 1880s, which was tied to military reform efforts, including universal conscription for all male citizens. The second section takes on the concept of “cleanliness,” which came to be a key goal of the army’s modernization efforts thanks to the unprecedented importance given to military hygiene following the implementation of universal conscription and in face of historically excessive military losses owed to disease. The concept of cleanliness entailed, as we will see, both the physical and the moral. The third section investigates the stakes and controversies involved in representing male nudity in painting—especially military painting—in view of the longstanding history of the motif as the highest ideal for art albeit one that could be dangerously erotic. The last two sections turn to Jeannot’s two versions of *Conseil de révision*, produced in 1894 and 1895, respectively. Section four situates the 1894 version alongside imagery of conscription, which ranged from the dignified and ceremonial (in painting) to the satiric (in print). The fifth and final section considers the 1895 version of *Conseil de révision* as encoding a quasi-religious notion of martial sacrifice. In this painting, the centrally placed conscript takes on a Christlike cast, which aligns with contemporary paintings that linked Christ’s martyrdom to the sacrifice of the French soldier. This visual link between conscript and Christ resonates with newspaper reports on the trial and conviction of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, which frequently drew direct parallels between the army and the adherents of the Christian (Catholic) faith.

The Modernity of Chaperon's *La Douche au régiment*: Military Hygiene and Reform

I open my analysis of *La Douche au régiment* by invoking art historian T.J. Clark's image of steam: "Then, of course, I began to realize that steam, in the art of the last two centuries, was never unequivocally a figure of emptying and evanescence. It was always also an image of power. Steam could be harnessed; steam could be compressed. Steam was what initially made the machine world possible. It was the middle term in mankind's great reconstruction of Nature."⁹ Clark was particularly fascinated by the steam produced by a departing train in Édouard Manet's oil painting *Gare Saint-Lazare* (Saint Lazarus Train Station) (1877) which, to the scholar, emblemized simultaneously the new technologies, fast pace, and reconfigurations of social class that shaped modern life in the nineteenth century. Steam wafts its way through the barracks cleaning room in *La Douche au regiment* but what, in this different context, can it be taken to mean? Clark's analogization of steam with modernity provides a guiding metaphor for this section, which examines Chaperon's depiction of the interior spaces of an army barracks. The vapors meandering across Chaperon's canvas similarly indicate the combination of water, heat, and pressure. Here, they represent the visible byproduct of ovens, pipes, valves, faucets, barrels, all the plumbing apparatus that serve to contain, heat, and disperse water throughout newly renovated martial quarters, running through the walls rather like a hidden railway network. Steam signals the combination of industrial, military, and man-power, heralding not just the "reconstruction of Nature" but also the reconstruction of military manhood.

Chaperon first exhibited the painting at the Salon des artistes français (Salon of French Artists) (SAF) in 1887 and again at the Universal Exhibition of 1889, winning third-class medals on both occasions. It joined several other paintings that took on contemporary military subjects,

⁹ T.J. Clark, "Modernism, Postmodernism, and Steam," *October* 100, *Obsolescence* (Spring 2002): 156–57.

including Charles-Édouard Armand-Dumaresq's portrait of General Georges Boulanger, Marius Roy's episode from the battle of Magenta, Alberto Pasini's depiction of Turkish artillerymen, and Aimé-Nicolas Morot's *Rezonville, 16 août 1870, la charge des cuirassiers* (Rezonville, August 16, 1870, the Charge of the Cuirassiers) (fig. 1.4; see Introduction). Chaperon's representation of a cutting-edge facet of military medicine corresponded to current trends in contemporary art. The Salon of 1887 was noteworthy for its focus on medical subjects, which critics praised as a sign of France's international preeminence in science and medicine but which caricaturists lampooned for its almost fetishistic attention to disease, as art historian Mary Hunter has shown.¹⁰ Portraits of doctors and scientists evinced a new celebrity status for these men of science, appearing during an exciting period when theories of bacteriology and antisepsis were revolutionizing medicine (and, in turn, military procedures).¹¹ The protagonists in Chaperon's work are not the scientific geniuses featured in several canvases at the same Salon; they are instead infantrymen of modest rank performing hygienic procedures as a sign of their obedience to the army and to the nation.

The painting read as both veristic and enlightening for certain critics, such as one Salon reviewer writing in *La Lanterne*: "Let us not forget *Une Douche au régiment*, by M. Eugène Chaperon, a painting in the clear note that reproduces with goodwill a scene of military life. Everything is luminous and true in this canvas; everything indicates the praiseworthy concern for the truth on the artist's part."¹² Another Salon review, this one in *Le XIX siècle*, praised

¹⁰ Hunter, *Face of Medicine*, 1–3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6–10.

¹² ["N'oublions pas *Une Douche au régiment*, de M. Eugène Chaperon, tableau dans la note claire qui reproduit avec bonheur une scène de la vie militaire. Tout est lumineux et vrai dans cette toile, tout indique chez l'artiste le souci louable de la vérité."] "Salon de 1887," *La Lanterne*, May 2, 1887. That Chaperon's medium-scale painting was discussed in multiple Salon reviews was an accomplishment in itself; critics repeatedly complained about the

Chaperon's "bravado (*crânerie*) and spirit,"¹³ while Paul Lafage writing for *Le Soir* called it "an amusing genre painting," and a reviewer in *Paris* praised it as a "very amusing and faithful painting," stating that there is "nothing so exact as the attitudes of the soldiers, nude and clothed. It is witty without charge and very advanced."¹⁴ Critic Paul Bluysen, for his part, seemed rather befuddled by the painting in his curt, deadpan description of it in *La République française*: "La Douche, by Eugène Chaperon, exhibits soldiers lined up against the wall, all nude, and philosophically receiving a bath ... with a watering hose."¹⁵ In his survey of French military painting from 1889, historian and art critic Arsène Alexandre echoed the painting's friendly reception when he extolled the "façon spirituelle" (witty or charming manner) with which Chaperon had handled the work's martial theme.¹⁶ Meanwhile, historian and art critic Jules Richard astutely remarked that *La Douche au régiment* "seems to be the extreme limit of the insertion of the nude into the modern military tableau."¹⁷ Whereas Richard found the painting to be boundary pushing, no critics at the time expressed either shock or indignation toward it, and there is no evidence that the painting greatly disturbed the authorities, at least not in a way approaching something like Manet's *Olympia* of 1863. The opposite was true, in fact; the

massive size of the exhibition and how quickly they had to skim the works on view. There were thirty-five rooms dedicated just to painting, all surrounding a large hall of sculpture; *La Douche au régiment* hung in room twenty-eight.

¹³ "Salon de 1887," *Le XIX siècle: Journal quotidien politique et littéraire*, July 2, 1887.

¹⁴ ["tableau amusant de genre"] Paul Lafage, "Le Salon: Revue d'ensemble," *Le Soir*, May 5, 1887. ["En revanche, nous trouvons un très amusant et fidèle tableau de la Douche au régiment, par EUGENE CHAPERON. Rien d'exact comme toutes les attitudes de ces soldats, nus ou vêtus. C'est spirituel sans charge et très poussé."] Charles Laurent, "Le Salon de 1887," *Paris*, May 1, 1887.

¹⁵ ["La Douche, par Eugène Chaperon, exhibe les soldats alignés au mur, tout nus, et recevant philosophiquement un bain... à la lance d'arrosage."] Paul Bluysen, "Le Salon de 1887," *La République française*, April 30, 1887.

¹⁶ Arsène Alexandre, *Histoire de la peinture militaire en France* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1889), 328.

¹⁷ ["semble d'être la limite extrême de l'introduction du nu dans le tableau militaire moderne."] Jules Richard, quoted in François Robichon, *L'Armée française vue par les peintres, 1870–1914* (Paris: Herscher, Ministère de la Défense, 1998), 13.

painting was exhibited at two high-profile venues and won medals at both. That an army doctor saw fit to include a reproduction in his manual on new hygienic procedures indicates that the painting was held to have some documentary and pedagogical value.

What critics saw was an exaltation of the modern army, idealized soldiers set in an interior realm defined by order and cleanliness. Certainly, the composition of *La Douche au régiment* is readily intelligible, partitioned into two halves by the vertical, black pipe of an iron stove. A clearly articulated two-point perspective organizes the space while a wide angle enables a plunging vista into the bathing facility. Doorways and windows frame groupings of three figures. Chaperon insisted on the utmost pristineness of the barracks, from the shining floors to the freshly painted plaster walls. The licked surface of the canvas underscores the nearly antiseptic depiction of regimental life. A few fragments of coal have strayed from the central iron stove. These pieces of fuel strewn about along with chemises tossed over iron hooks are no doubt meant to endow the image with a sense of candidness, yet they appear too scrupulously placed to be read as actual detritus.

Chaperon's particular fascination with martial order manifests itself in another one of his canvases, painted two years earlier, *La Répétition* (The Rehearsal) (fig. 2.4; 1885, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The painting, currently accessible only through reproduction, emphasizes comportment and cooperation among soldiers at a musical rehearsal. The regimental band consists of individual members, each of whom have different though harmonious parts, serving here as exemplars of the army at large. The young soldier-musicians organize themselves into formations based on the instruments they play, all displaying their deference to the conductor, whose dark, vertical mass and advanced age make him the formal backbone of the painting just as they signal his higher rank and authority. As in *La Douche au régiment*,

Chaperon used a tightly controlled two-point perspective and the geometry of the rehearsal space to underscore the painting's visual emphasis on the logical management of soldiers' daily lives. An abandoned tuba case and a pile of books and papers in the foreground add a hint of clutter, although again, these are rather meticulously arranged.

The neat organization of the compositions of both *La Douche au régiment* and *La Répétition* in addition to their clearly arranged, well-defined figures enhance the legibility of both paintings and no doubt facilitated their reproduction in print. Chaperon thereby acted as a sort of mediator between the military establishment and society at large, demonstrating thrilling developments within the army for the benefit of a diverse viewership. Print reproductions in varying levels of quality and faithfulness appeared in contexts far beyond the walls of the Salon and the Universal Exhibition. The original painting reached the eyes of Salon-goers, whereas print reproductions of it were addressed, depending on the venue, to a middle-class, conservative reading public, future soldiers and their families, and army doctors, in addition to a broad, general public. For instance, Albert Wolff reproduced the painting in the illustrated Salon edition of one of France's leading daily newspapers, *Le Figaro* (fig. 2.5; 1887, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Reproductions could also be viewed and purchased as single-sheet prints and, in later decades, as postcards.

Chaperon may possibly have observed at first hand a showering procedure similar to the one he represented in *La Douche au régiment*, although no preliminary studies, sketches, or photographs have come to light to inform us how he constructed the scene.¹⁸ In any case, he sought to convince us that we have a transparent view onto soldiers' banal routines by saturating

¹⁸ In his preface to *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français*, Chaperon claimed to have depicted all scenes (including a portion of *La Douche au régiment*) from life. Eugène Chaperon, *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français* (Paris: n.d.), unpaginated.

his canvas with visual minutiae. He included specific information meant to establish his credibility as an eyewitness and authority in military practices such as the architectural and technological details of the bathing facility, the soldiers' uniforms and undergarments, even bars of soap. The painting has been said to depict the interior of Fort Mont-Valérien, to the west of the Bois de Boulogne just outside Paris, which housed the 39th Regiment of Infantry (made evident by the regimental number "39" visible on the uniformed men's collars).¹⁹ Military artists of Chaperon's reputation were often able to gain permission to enter these garrisons, which typically required the consent of a general or the Minister of War. The relatively sparse information we have on Chaperon's life and career suggests that he was sympathetic to and admired by the military establishment.²⁰ He had served in the army himself, volunteering for a year in the 4th Dragoon Regiment. His depictions of the goings-on in the army endeared him to military authorities and the rank and file alike. On at least one occasion, the painter embedded himself in a brigade of infantry on practice maneuvers, confusing and even infuriating the commanding general. This general later had a complete change of heart—as described by a contemporary commentator—after learning over lunch that his bourgeois interloper was

¹⁹ Robichon, *L'Armée française*, 15. The former abbey had been converted into a fortress and garrison by Napoléon I. Mont-Valérien's high elevation and strategic position made it a key node in the Parisian defense system, although it was all but avoided by German forces when they laid siege to the capital in late 1870.

²⁰ Most of his known paintings, prints, and illustrations are devoted to the life of the soldier. In 1887, Chaperon's career as a painter was on the rise. The thirty-year-old artist had studied under Detaille, under whose tutelage the pupil Chaperon no doubt nurtured his pictorial interests in military subjects. For much of his artistic career, he was referred to in the press as a military painter, although his pictorial interests also extended to modern-day civilian life, including current fashions and the goings-on of the boulevard, depictions of which appeared frequently in the artistic and fashionable journal *La Vie moderne*. He also designed backdrops for stage sets (following his father's example) and would focus mainly on his theatrical pursuits later in life.

Chaperon, a military artist renowned for “popularizing the picturesque life of the good little French soldier.”²¹

By 1887, several artists had turned to the quotidian representation of soldiers’ lives, leaving behind the depictions of Franco-Prussian War scenes that frequently appeared in the Salons of the 1870s. In his review of the Salon of 1883, which appeared in *Le XIX siècle*, critic Edmond About had announced a thematic shift toward representing the soldier at his profession rather than in combat.²² Arsène Alexandre for his part credited the military artist Henri Dupray with this revival of the representation of military everyday life. According to Alexandre, Dupray’s depiction of soldiers sitting on the sidewalk outside of a post office in *Place du marché* (Marketplace), exhibited at the Salon of 1876 (current location unknown), had “seduced the crowd” through its humorous take on the daily travails of the soldier. Alexandre called the painting a “genre loustic (joker or prankster genre),” representing the “gaiety of the barracks.”²³ Marius Roy’s *Au Quartier, huit heures et demie* (In the Barracks, 8:30 a.m.), exhibited at the Salon of 1883, aligned with About’s notion of artists’ new focus on the military profession and Alexandre’s later identification of the quaint, even amusing aspects of military life (fig. 2.6; 1883, private collection). Whereas *La Douche au régiment* thematizes cleanliness through visual aspects such as a shining floor, bright lighting, and an overall rosy cast, Roy’s painting depicts

²¹ [“vulgariser la vie pittoresque du petit soldat français !”] Yveling RamBaud, *Silhouettes d’artistes: Avec portraits dessinés par eux-mêmes* (Paris, 1899), 52.

²² Edmond About, “Salon de 1883,” *Le XIXe siècle*, May 25, 1883.

²³ Alexandre articulated the work’s impact on the field of military painting: “Après tout, cela n’était point d’un mauvais augure si on pouvait, sans un retour trop amer sur le passé, voir succéder aux rares échappées de sourire sardonique, de rire de malheur, un accès de bonne grosse et béate satisfaction ; si, après le soldat déguenillé et claquant de faim et de fièvre, errant à travers champs et routes, on pouvait sans invraisemblance peindre à nouveau le soldat flâneur et désœuvré des garnisons, faisant le lézard au soleil, sur un bane a la porte du corps de garde, et entre deux factions, échangeant des clins d’œil joviaux avec les passants. C’est un symbole de cet apaisement reconfortant que la foule applaudit dans la toile de M. H. Dupray.” Alexandre, *Histoire*, 314.

the barracks interior as a figurative battleground between cleanliness and filth. The work represents barracks life as almost charming, with soldiers preparing a breakfast soup presided over by a *sous officier*. However, the exposed-dirt floor, crumbling walls, and overall clutter might make one shudder in disgust to think of the conditions in which the meal is being prepared. An immense pile of lettuce and vegetables rests idly on the ground. Another soldier sits on the same dirt floor and cleans mess tins; his efforts seem at odds with the otherwise squalid conditions.

Daily life inside the barracks was especially current for military painters during the 1880s: new barracks were being constructed at a rapid pace to accommodate ever-greater numbers of personnel while existing structures were being refurbished.²⁴ The army's building campaign resulted from and contributed to a larger institutional restructuring while at the same time new martial quarters reshaped the urban topography of Paris and other garrison cities.²⁵ Such establishments helped provide industrial infrastructure even while straining the resources of a surrounding community; they were also frequently followed by the construction of (regulated) houses for female sex work.²⁶ The installation of army barracks thus had significant

²⁴ François Dallemagne, *Les Casernes françaises* (Paris: Picard, 1990), 195. Renovations to barracks were the architectural manifestations of a longstanding, Revolutionary tradition of *la levée en masse* (mass levy), realized through the implementation of a compulsory military service law in 1872, revised and expanded in 1889 and again in 1905. Alistair Horne, "Flags in the Wind: The Commune to Dreyfus, 1870–1900," in *The French Army and Politics, 1870–1970* (London: MacMillan, 1984), 4.

²⁵ Barracks were large and multi-functional complexes. An infantry barracks typically housed a regiment, which Dallemagne has stated consisted of approximately 1,300 men or more and included a wide range of special-use facilities such as a central courtyard, mess hall, dance hall, fencing hall, infirmary, armory, in addition to dormitories, lavatories, etc. Cavalry barracks, on the other hand, usually accommodated far fewer people as they also had to house horses and equipment. These complexes usually spread across hectares. Dallemagne, *Les Casernes françaises*, 195–205.

²⁶ Chanut, *Vers l'armée nouvelle*, 240.

consequences for both the economic and sexual dynamics of a city or town, just as sex was understood as an integral part of military service.²⁷

On a symbolic level, pristine and modern barracks helped rehabilitate the image of the French army—both domestically and abroad—in the years following the defeat by Prussia, serving as visual markers of a so-called “Nouvelle Armée” (New Army). For army leaders, this “Nouvelle Armée” would provide the model for a much-needed moral regeneration across French society itself. The prominent theorist and reformer General Leval (Jules Louis Lewal; 1823–1908) made this point explicitly in a comparative anthology describing the world’s leading armed forces, *The Armies of Today* (1892). In his essay, he declared: “To reconstitute the *matériel*, to reform old institutions, to renew things, is merely a question of money; but to reconstitute the *moral* of a country is a more difficult task than reorganizing its army.”²⁸ Leval advised his readers that, in order to accomplish this “more difficult task,” the army must teach not just officers but even the lowest-ranking soldiers how to be heroic.²⁹ The interior spaces of the barracks offered a prime setting for a painter to represent just such a national moral regeneration. The sweeping alterations to military procedure resulted in a stunning increase in the number of soldiers, from about 350,000 able to be deployed in wartime in 1870 to roughly

²⁷ Historian Christian Benoit has assiduously demonstrated the entangled history of military service and female sex work. Benoit aligned with other scholars who have shown that military service functioned as a transitional period from adolescence to manhood, the latter of which was intricately tied to citizenship, while adding that sexual development by means of female sex work was a critical facet of this transition. Benoit also astutely argued that the installation of new barracks in towns in the colony of Algeria not only altered the dynamics of the community but also caused friction with the local customs and religious mores of the region. See Christian Benoit, *Le Soldat et la putain: Histoire d'un couple inséparable* (Villers-sur-Mer: Éditions Pierre de Taillac, 2014).

²⁸ General Leval, *The Armies of Today: A Description of the Armies of the Leading Nations at the Present Time* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1892), 168.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 178.

1.8 million by 1886.³⁰ By 1892, France had the second largest peacetime standing army in the world after the Russian Empire.³¹

By 1887, Chaperon had developed a reputation for representing the daily lives of soldiers both in paint and in print. For instance, he helped illustrate a series of didactic manuals about life in the army, *Cahiers d'enseignement illustrés* (Illustrated Teaching Notebooks) (fig. 2.7; 1880s, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). These manuals educated a lay (perhaps young) audience about the various facets of military life, including activities such as fencing and gymnastics as well as uniforms of various cadres and foreign countries. Illustrating these publications required Chaperon to familiarize himself with the daily activities of soldiers as well as “the science” behind them. Chaperon included an excerpt from his painting in a visual guide he crafted about military life, which was geared toward a general public: *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français* (fig. 2.8; n.d., Musée de l'Armée, Paris). Chaperon explained in the preface that the book was meant to inform young men destined for military service and their families of what they could expect of daily life in the army. The author-artist assured his reader-viewers that all scenes depicted derived from on-the-spot observation, underscoring his professional credibility while advertising the orderly, disciplined, and social character of military service. The arrangement of the text and images in the “Préface” models the interest and admiration that civilian, male readers should demonstrate toward those who serve under the flag (fig. 2.9; n.d.,

³⁰ Édouard Detaille and Jules Richard, *Types et uniformes: L'Armée française* (Paris: Boussod, Valadon et cie, 1889), 100.

³¹ German Lieutenant-Colonel Exner made sure to note this in his essay for the international anthology *The Armies of Today*: “A comparison of the peace strengths of the Continental powers of Europe shows that Germany stands but third on the list, and keeps a smaller number of men under arms than either Russia or France, while it has a stronger peace army than Austro-Hungary or Italy.” Potentially to allay international fears about the Kaiserreich’s new expansionist policies, encapsulated by Kaiser Wilhelm’s philosophy of *Weltpolitik*, Exner contended that Germany had far fewer soldiers “than the force which the French Republic deems absolutely necessary to keep constantly under arms.” Lieutenant-Colonel Exner, *The Armies of Today*, 101.

Musée de l'Armée, Paris). On the left-hand side, a file of men from various classes, attired in worker's smocks, frock coats, and top hats, gaze at their soldier counterparts along the opposite margin. The text flows down the middle of the page, separating (temporarily) the civilians from the soldiers they are to become as they pursue their future distinguished military careers. A parade of military men of different ranks and cadres march down the right-hand side, from lowly and industrious private to dignified general, implying that the recruit may perhaps decide to extend his career beyond the required three years. The regimental dog at the top of the page reassures viewers that military life will also include the comforts of home while making a subtle iconographic nod to canine fidelity.

Chaperon used the medium of oil painting to visualize and convey the import of a rapidly expanding corpus of texts and theories on military reforms, illuminating the changing material conditions of daily life in the army. His print series for *Le Monde en images* depicts several aspects of the soldier's life, from the conscription process to musical rehearsals, tidying one's bed, and personal hygiene, including a shower (see figs. 2.10-2.12; n.d., Musée de l'Armée, Paris). The images in *Le Monde en images* not only exemplify the quaint pride of the soldiers who perform these duties—even standing proudly naked to be perused by the conscription review board—but also present an orderly, well-organized, and clean environment, one that repeats throughout the images and rehearses the rational and antiseptic logic of diagrams that fill contemporaneous hygiene treatises such as Doctor Charles Viry's *Principes d'hygiène militaire* (Principles of Military Hygiene) (fig. 2.13; 1896, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Several tomes on military hygiene produced during this period sprawl across hundreds of pages and include dozens of illustrations in addition to charts, graphs, and maps. This trend is a marked departure from earlier decades, when books on military hygiene were typically fairly short, with

expanses of text only broken up by occasional numerical charts. The overall expansion of textual information on the subject and the inclusion of illustrations not only indicate new importance of hygiene in military thought but also the increased role of visual imagery in communicating scientific principles.

Doctor Eugène Ravenez included a reproduction of *La Douche au régiment* in his book *La Vie du soldat au point de vue d'hygiène* (The Soldier's Life from a Hygienic Viewpoint), which suggests that the image not only conveyed the recent goings-on in the army to lay audiences but also served a documentary and pedagogical function for army doctors (fig. 2.14; 1889, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The reproduction of Chaperon's painting in *La Vie du soldat* aims to represent in diagrammatic form new hygienic procedures and technologies. In this way, the image, while appealing to art critics as witty presented to viewers a rhetoric as informative as the numerous technological diagrams that populated books on hygiene. Ravenez's book featured several more prints by Chaperon alongside reproductions of works by other painters, including Jeannot and Ernest Gatget (fig. 2.15; 1889, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; and fig. 2.16; 1889, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). In his text, Ravenez typically described the facilities and equipment of a particular location in concrete detail. However, in the caption beneath the reproduction of Chaperon's painting, the text takes on a more generalizing character: "The men place themselves in a rank, in a special location, and are showered by means of an ordinary spray pump. One can spray ninety men per hour, as fig. 31 shows."³² In this book, *La Douche au régiment* is meant to provide visual evidence of state-of-the-art hygienic

³² ["Les hommes se mettent sur un rang, dans un local spécial, et sont douchés au moyen d'une pompe ordinaire d'arrosage. On peut asperger 90 hommes à l'heure, comme le montre la fig.31."] Eugène Ravenez, *La Vie du soldat au point de vue de l'hygiène* (Paris: J.B. Baillière et Fils, 1889), 232.

procedures. The doctor thus accepted the image as a factual demonstration rather than as an artistic representation, one informed by current painterly conventions.

The increase in the use of illustrations in army manuals in which *La Douche au régiment* played a part accompanied the paradigm shift in the way hygienic measures were conducted within the army, which responded to a new preoccupation with soldier's health and wellbeing. Renovations of barracks signaled the army's redirection of priorities toward the preservation of life rather than its destruction. Since the law now required all young, able-bodied, French men to serve under the uniform, at least in principle, the army's task was no longer to preserve just the lives of *soldiers* but also those of *citizens*. A decade before Chaperon exhibited *La Douche au régiment*, the subject of hygiene spurred an intense debate between army doctors and the leaders of the engineering corps tasked with the construction and maintenance of new barracks, as historian Jean-François Chanet has demonstrated in detail.³³ I conclude this section with an account of these evolving perceptions, made evident in texts by engineers and doctors from the period.

According to army doctors, the concept of "hygiene" covered a wide variety of topics, from the design of lodgings to the administration of apparel and daily habits, including sleep, exercise, dental care, and washing, all undertaken with the preservation of soldiers' health in view.³⁴ Military hygiene as a concept was by no means new in the 1880s, but its pervasiveness

³³ Chanet, *Vers l'Armée nouvelle*, 225–40.

³⁴ The substantial literature on military hygiene from the late nineteenth century falls largely into two main categories, depending on decade: prescriptive and descriptive. For instance, treatises and books by Casimir Tolle and Léon Villedary, from 1877 and 1878 respectively, denounce the currently insufficient cleaning measures inside barracks, in addition to other subjects such as the poor design of barracks themselves. A later generation of military hygienists, including Charles Viry, *Principes d'hygiène militaire* (Paris: L. Battaille et Cie, 1896); Georges Morache, *Traité d'hygiène militaire (2e édition, entièrement remaniée, mise au courant des progrès de l'hygiène générale et des nouveaux règlements de l'armée)* (Paris: J-B. Baillièere et Fils, 1886), Prosper Jeunhomme, *L'Hygiène militaire à l'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Victor Rozier, 1889); and Alphonse Laveran, *Traité*

and complete reordering of military procedure was unprecedented. The health and hygiene of the troops became central concerns in military reform efforts during the fifteen years between the first military law of 1872 and the time Chaperon painted *La Douche au régiment* in 1887. The army was responding to a larger international movement which was generating scores of publications and expositions in addition to exchanges and gatherings among doctors from nations across Europe and North America. The maintenance of soldiers' health was an issue not just for army specialists writing in journals and publishing volumes on hygiene; it also involved generals, the Ministry of War, the engineering corps, municipal authorities, and the local populations of garrison cities and towns.³⁵

Contemporaneous writings by army physicians and reformers imply that soldiers' actual living conditions were not as hygienic as Chaperon would have us believe. They regularly describe the sickening circumstances inside barracks as one of the major hardships that army life entailed, in addition to long stretches of time on campaign and the possibilities of mutilation or death in combat.³⁶ In a lecture of 1879 delivered before colleagues, civil engineer Casimir Tollet decried the excessive mortality rates in the army, blaming poor design, lack of ventilation, and the neglect of cleanliness inside barracks. He based his observations on a survey of recent medical literature on military hygiene:

d'hygiène militaire (Paris: G. Masson, 1896), mainly describe the showering facilities within different barracks, often including comparisons to hygienic procedures in other countries.

³⁵ Historian Jean-François Chanet has usefully mapped out the complexities, expense, and politics surrounding the construction of new barracks. See Jean-François Chanet, *Vers l'armée nouvelle: République conservatrice et réforme militaire, 1871–1879* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006), 204–14.

³⁶ Historian Allan R. Skelley has found that life in British barracks was little better. The British soldier was well known to exist in dangerously unsanitary conditions, some of which were practically uninhabitable. The last half of the nineteenth century was remarkable in the reform to barracks in Britain, a period that witnessed new hygienic procedures for cleaning and food preparation, leading to the near eradication of certain diseases. Allan R. Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859–1899* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 23–29.

I do not hesitate to say, sirs, following the most authoritative hygienists, that the excessive mortality which is rife among soldiers comes first of all from the poor organization of the barracks, where agglomeration and congestion are brought to their most dangerous limits, where ventilation is negligible; then to the almost absolute absence of concern over cleanliness.³⁷

He then appealed to his readers' familial attachments and national sentiment to persuade them that the poor conditions and rampant disease inside barracks were unsustainable:

The soldier, our son or our brother, ripped from the family home for the service of the fatherland, the soldier whom we mourn always when he succumbs, but for whom we mourn much less when he expires as a hero on the battlefield than when he dies a useless victim in a hospital bed. And these are the more numerous; disease devours more men than the cannon and, if it acts less quickly than its terrible rival, that is because it knows that it can count on its accomplice: "putrid air."³⁸

Tollet protested that contemporary barracks were still designed according to the obsolete "Vauban system," developed by the celebrated engineer and Marshal of France, Sébastien le Prêtre, Marquis de Vauban (1633–1707). Vauban believed that barracks should house as many soldiers as possible and be placed near a city's fortifications to deploy the men as quickly as possible.³⁹ Tollet lamented that many in the military high command, including former president Thiers, were ardent followers of Vauban's ideas, motivated both by their reverence for Louis XIV's legendary military engineer as they were by routine. Nevertheless, the adherence to outmoded means of garrisoning troops resulted in the quick spread of disease. Tollet had framed

³⁷ ["Je n'hésite pas à dire, Messieurs, après les hygiénistes les plus autorisés, que l'excessive mortalité qui sévit sur les soldats provient d'abord de la mauvaise organisation du casernement, où l'agglomération et l'encombrement sont portés à leurs limites les plus dangereuses, où la ventilation est nulle ; ensuite au défaut presque absolu des soins de propreté."] Casimir Tollet, *La Réforme du casernement: Réduction de la mortalité dans l'Armée française: Les bains-douches* (Paris: V.A. Delahaye et Cie, 1877), 6–7.

³⁸ ["Le soldat, notre fils ou notre frère, arraché pour le service de la patrie au foyer de la famille, le soldat que nous pleurons toujours quand il succombe, mais que nous pleurons bien moins quand il expire en héros sur le champ de bataille, que s'il meurt, victime inutile, sur un lit d'hôpital. Et ce sont les plus nombreux ; la maladie dévore plus d'hommes que le canon, et, si elle agit moins promptement que son terrible rival, c'est parce qu'elle sait qu'elle peut compter sur son complice : 'le méphitisme.'"] *Ibid.*, 5–6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

the problem as a family affair to advocate that the preservation of soldiers' lives was one of the main imperatives of the state.⁴⁰

Evidently, Tollet had not had recourse to hyperbole when describing the squalor of former barracks. His words were echoed by Prosper Jeunhomme in 1889, who presented a nightmare situation in his description of past conditions:

Who does not remember the barracks, the hospital of yesteryear? The barracks: a massive construction with multiple stories, the windows rare, narrow, and latticed; enfiladed rooms; floors that one could not clean without flooding the interior stories; walls bleached with lime, a refuge for all sorts of microbes, of all the insects that disturb both the life and the sleep of the soldier; a monumental but somber staircase with uneven and worn-out steps—a real deathtrap—a kitchen filled with smoke with its enormous marmite making only the eternal soup; and this natural alchemical laboratory flanking the kitchen! One only went in there hopping in order to avoid a foot bath, and one left as quickly as possible, half suffocated; in the least sunny corner of the courtyard, in the most obscure nook, sweating from the humidity, solidly closed off; ablutions in the courtyard, under the pump; soldiers getting down into a dray to fetch water for cooking from a partially moldy cask; the guard house with its old, white-hot cast iron stove, its greasy table, its smoking candle, its lantern which, by extinguishing it, made the surrounding air unbreathable. And the infirmary, in the center of the dormitories, perpetual home of contagion. Putrid air everywhere.⁴¹

Jeunhomme continued that the barracks' "exterior was an indestructible monument seducing by way of a beautiful portico surmounted by fasces of arms and ferocious lions playing boules with

⁴⁰ Ibid., 8-9.

⁴¹ ["Qui ne se souvient de la caserne, de l'hôpital d'autrefois ? La caserne : construction massive à étages multiplies, fenêtres rares, étroites, grillagées ; pièces en enfilades ; parquets que l'on ne pouvait laver sous peine d'inonder les étages intérieurs ; murs blanchis à la chaux, asile de tous microbes, de tous les insectes qui menacent ou la vie ou le sommeil de soldat ; escalier monumental mais sombre, à marches inégales, usées—vrai casse-cou ;—cuisine enfumée avec sa marmite énorme ne faisant que l'éternelle soupe ; et ce laboratoire d'alchimie naturelle flanquant la cuisine ! On n'y entrait qu'en sautillant pour éviter le bain de pied, on en sortait au plus vite, à demi asphyxié ; dans le coin le moins ensoleillé de la cour, des réduits obscurs, suant l'humidité, solidement verrouillés ; les ablutions dans la cour, sous la pompe ; des soldats s'attelant à un haquet pour aller chercher, dans un tonneau quelque peu moisi, l'eau destinée à l'alimentation ; le poste avec son vieux poêle en fonte chauffé à blanc, sa table graisseuse, sa chandelle fumeuse, sa lanterne qui en s'éteignant achevait de rendre l'air de ce milieu irrespirable. Et l'infirmerie, au centre des chambrées, foyer perpétuel de contagion. Méphitisme partout."] Prosper Jeunhomme, *L'Hygiène militaire à l'exposition universelle de 1889* (Paris: Victor Rosier, 1889), 2.

the cannon shells.”⁴² In other words, the imposing façade served to hide from the outside world this environment filled with putrid air and bodily waste in which one had to ‘hop’ in the latrines so as not to drench one’s feet in waste water—and these were placed next to the kitchen! Jeunhomme cast these erstwhile “deathtraps” as foils to new and clean barracks currently under construction or recently finished. His description of the unsanitary and frankly revolting conditions inside the barracks may increase our disgust at Roy’s depiction of a pile of lettuce and stacks of clean mess tins arrayed on the dirt floor in *Au quartier*. Still, the men in the painting seem unbothered by any muck or odor as they prepare the morning soup. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the aroma of broth and herbs commingling with the stench of urine and feces. While Roy invited us to enjoy the daily travails of the soldier, Tollet and Jeunhomme assured us that these conditions were brutal to endure if not lethal.

The filthiness of the martial living quarters described by Roy not only runs counter to Chaperon’s almost sterile depiction but also to an emerging military ethos centered on cleanliness. By 1887, army doctors appear to have won the hygiene debate, aided by a set of laws drafted in France between 1882 and 1889 that grouped all army doctors into a single, autonomous health corps.⁴³ Doctors writing on hygiene expressed a forward-looking triumphalism. Both the medical and engineering corps worked to equip new and remodeled facilities with state-of-the-art technology to promote hygiene. In his celebration of the technological marvels on display at the Universal Exhibition of 1889, Jeunhomme singled out especially the new hygienic measures that were being incorporated into all aspects of martial organization:

⁴² [“De l’extérieur pourtant, ce monument indestructible séduisant par un beau portique surmonté de fasceaux d’armes, de lions féroces jouant aux boules avec des obus.”] Ibid.

⁴³ Charles Viry, *Principes d’hygiène militaire*, 2.

What changes between 1870 and the present day above all! The life of the man is a force that one manages; one anticipates illnesses rather than combatting them; hygiene with its marvelous achievements pervades everything. The engineer's administration, charged with the construction of our barracks and our hospitals, draws on all this progress.⁴⁴

Jeunhomme went on to describe a wave of construction of facilities for the army, the Republican Guard, and the firemen of Paris, all of which incorporated advanced hygienic technologies and were featured at the Universal Exhibition. Several pavilions in the exhibitions presented new developments in military hygiene, including the prominently situated pavilion of the Ministry of War, the medical pavilion, and even the pavilion of the city of Paris, in which diagrams and models of barracks and hospitals recently constructed in the capital were on display.

La Douche au régiment rehearses the sanitizing and rationalizing rhetoric of these military hygiene texts through its visual qualities. The painting's claims to belong to modern artistic trends—phrased through the tropes of instantaneity, contemporaneity, and a celebration of technology—and the army's forward-looking rhetoric of modernization—phrased through the tropes of cleanliness and health—mutually reinforce one another. Army doctors such as Ravenez and Jeunhomme presented stories of progress, based on empirically observable though limited and unevenly implemented measures. Nevertheless, their writings on hygiene and the images that referenced it offered more of a promise of future results than a transcription of a current reality. At least one army general lamented that some barracks' cleaning halls lacked vestibules for changing, and some even lacked towels.⁴⁵ Such narratives of technological progress in the management of soldiers' lives as put forth by Ravenez and Jeunhomme prefigure Michel

⁴⁴ ["Que de changements depuis 1870 et de nos jours surtout ! La vie de l'homme est une force que l'on ménage ; on prévoit les maladies pour n'avoir point à les combattre ; l'hygiène avec ses acquisitions merveilleuses envahit tout. La direction du génie, chargée de la construction de nos casernes et de nos hôpitaux, s'inspire de tous les progrès."] Jeunhomme, *L'Hygiène militaire*, 3.

⁴⁵ Odile Roynette, "Bons pour le service:" *L'Expérience de la caserne en France à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Belin, 2000), 161.

Foucault's thesis on biopower. Foucault described the army as an all-pervasive organizational system, which choreographed the movements and daily habits of soldiers to increase efficiency and thereby inscribed its order onto their psyches.⁴⁶ The bodily regimentation and time management of the army was to function as a microcosm of modern society itself. Ravenez and Jeunhomme were arguably more optimistic about the effects. In addition, they only discussed a small number of newly constructed barracks that were to be considered exemplars for others, which also implies that the implementation of such management techniques was a more uneven process than Foucault's model allowed.

The shift in painterly concerns toward the soldier's profession, as identified by About and Alexandre, coincided with major changes in military procedures and, perhaps more significantly, in the ways a soldier's life was understood. Ravenez articulated this shift in the preface to his text, arguing that the soldier should no longer be considered a victim of extraordinarily difficult circumstances but rather as a professional. He asserted a new responsibility for the state to look after its soldiers, to lodge, clothe, and feed them and to care for their health, especially now that all able-bodied young men were expected to serve in the army. To the army's main role of winning wars—which had been called into serious question by the defeat by Prussia in 1870—was added the role of stewarding the individuals under its jurisdiction. If the army's ability to achieve the former task was in doubt, it could and would excel at the latter.

⁴⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, quoted in Alison Matthews David, "Decorated Men: Fashioning the French Soldier, 1852–1914," *Fashion Theory* 7: 1 (2003): 24.

Order and Cleanliness

The steam in *La Douche au régiment* works in tandem with its liquid counterpart, water, to establish the concept of cleanliness (*la propreté*) as a defining feature of modernization. Industrially produced and empirically observable phenomena such as steam (*la vapeur*) and spray (*l'aspersion*) coalesce on the bodies of the soldiers and in the spaces they inhabit to produce *la propreté*, both as a state of being and as an ideal.⁴⁷ Military hygiene treatises from the period make use of at least two definitions of *la propreté*, frequently extolling the cleanliness of the body, of rooms inside barracks, and of barracks themselves. At times, however, authors slip from addressing *la propreté* as the physical “absence of dirt” to a figurative social and moral cleanliness. Hygiene texts also address its inverse concept, *la malpropreté* (uncleanliness, impropriety), which involved variously grime, disarray, disease, and immorality. The army health corps’ intensified efforts to promote hygiene amounted to a campaign against *la malpropreté*, elimination of abject elements and practices in order to prevent physical and social disease.⁴⁸ The army engineering corps, working alongside the new health corps, could mitigate cholera, malaria, dysentery, yellow fever, etc.—transmitted by means of insects such as mosquitoes or standing water, dust, and fecal matter—by improving water circulation and waste

⁴⁷ The term “*la propreté*” encompassed a range of meanings in the late nineteenth century as today. According to Émile Littré’s *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Dictionary of the French Language) (1873), the term could designate an “appropriate/suitable (*convenable*) manner of dressing, of being furnished, of preparing certain things,” a sign of one’s grace and sensibility. The term also had a painterly significance, as “the cleanness of contours, and above all that of touch, of the effect of a scrupulous care in conduct of the pencil or brush; it is the opposite of the dirty, and often the facile or the broad.”⁴⁷ Lastly, the term denoted “cleanness, absence of dirt, of odor [netteté, absence de saleté, d’ordure].” Its etymology and root form “*propre*” (clean, order, own) connected the concept of “*la propreté*” to “*le propriété*” (property, attribute). Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Hachette, 1873). *The ARTFL Project*.

⁴⁸ In an expansive volume on hygiene (including but not limited to military hygiene), Doctor Jules Arnould identified an unclean interior domestic space as the culprit for various diseases, asserting that the “impure atmosphere” of industrial cities posed a serious threat to health. Insalubrious air from factories and workshops joined fermentation, putrid water, and fecal matter were spreaders of disease. Jules Arnould, *Nouveaux Éléments d’hygiène* (Paris: J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1881), 538, 540.

removal, establishing cleaning protocols, and vaccinating the troops. Venereal diseases, such as gonorrhea and syphilis, were another matter entirely, for they involved the sexual habits of the soldiers, whether expressed alone, with one another, or with civilians and sex workers. Military hygiene treatises grouped sexually transmitted infections in with perceived moral and mental ailments, including alcoholism, same-sex attraction (inversion), hysteria, and masturbation.

This section takes the flow of water in *La Douche au régiment* as its point of departure. The jet stream emanating from the hose held by one of *les sous-officiers* serves a visual, material, and symbolic function. It pulls together the two halves of the composition, which otherwise spread apart to create a wide reach of negative space, bisected by the vertical stovepipe (fig. 2.17; detail). Our eye traces the spray of water from the clothed grouping on the painting's left to where it reaches the nude bathers on the opposite side, calling attention to the visual and conceptual roles the water hose and the plumbing technology it indexes play in the work.⁴⁹ Regulating flows of liquids involved more than just refitting martial quarters, a point that Chaperon made sure to convey. It also involved choreographing new forms of intimacy and power relationships between soldiers within the socio-institutional framework of the army—both hierarchically and laterally—made possible by new hygienic technologies and procedures. The painting also tells us that homosocial bonds in the army existed in the form of surveillance and ritual humiliation, structured and negotiated around fluids such as water, alcohol, and semen.

⁴⁹ The decade of the 1880s witnessed the invention of the vertical shower, powered by pneumatic pumps, first developed for barracks and later for hospitals, prisons, and working-class bathhouses, finally introduced into domestic homes by the twentieth century. The institution of showering in the army coincided with doctors' evolving understandings about the importance of using hot water to rid the body's surface of contaminants, as cultural historian Georges Vigarello observed. The mechanical shower allowed for the development and regulation of bathing protocols at a time of major reforms and expansion of the French armed forces. Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 220. Chaperon did not depict an overhead shower, however. He represented a spraying method akin to that referenced by Viry. The English title for the painting in the Salon catalogue of 1887: *Regimental Pumping*.

In this section, I draw on Julia Kristeva's theorization of the abject, which she has described as a site of fascination and horror, "a vortex of summons and repulsion."⁵⁰ Specifically, I take her point that religious ceremony extricates the abject from the subject so that the "self and clean" can be elevated above the material world. As she wrote: "The purification rite appears then as that essential ridge, which, prohibiting the filthy object, extracts it from the secular order and lines it at once with a sacred facet."⁵¹ I propose that newly implemented showering protocols in the regiment embodied an analogous "purification rite" as discussed by Kristeva. Chaperon's painting of a shower transformed the secular process of a mundane routine into an almost sacred observance. Cleaning protocols served not only the literal function of ridding the body of waste, microbes, and other forms of physical filth but also metaphoric and moralizing functions.

Chaperon's was the only painting at the Salon of 1887 to represent men showering or even bathing, whereas eight canvases on view depicted women at their baths and five depicted women at their toilettes. A comparison between *La Douche au régiment* and one of its closest antecedents, Alfred Aublet's *Le Lavabo des réservistes* (The Reservists' Washbasin), demonstrates the uneven extent of the changes in soldiers' cleaning protocols (fig. 2.18; 1879, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Aublet's earlier work, exhibited at the Salon of 1879 and reproduced in *Le Monde illustré* that year, represents a group of reservists who wash their arms and heads and shave in a communal trough. Outside this work, Aublet (1851–1938) rarely chose the army as a subject, specializing instead in Orientalist and mythological themes. Still, the painting was notable enough to receive a brief mention in Arsène Alexandre's history of French

⁵⁰ Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

military painting published a decade later. Alexandre claimed that Aublet had witnessed this scene on the spot. To Alexandre, Aublet figured as a kind of military tourist, one of those artists who “have, on occasion, sketched a scene that entertained them whether during voluntary service, whether during a period of twenty-eight or of thirteen days.”⁵²

The elevating power of cleanliness is exemplified in a poem by Adrien Dézamy, which accompanied Lepère’s reproduction of Aublet’s painting in *Le Monde illustré*. Image and poem complemented one another in the newspaper and so I provide a translation of it here in full:

In the barracks of Cherbourg
The trumpet sounds, the tambourine
Beats the reveille out of the blue.
The sun gleams in the distance;
It is five o’clock in the morning...
Let’s go, get up reservist!

Struck by such a quick awakening,
With eyes all puffy from sleep
They go down into the courtyard with an agile step;
The basin is there, which waits,
A vast mirror in which, at the moment,
Reflects the blue heavens.

Bend over, torso forward,
Low tunic, chest in the wind,
Pants tight on the hip,
Above the great sink;
Lather well, to be handsome,
The white foam of your soap!

Half-dressed, short hair,
Plunge your forehead, plunge your arms
In this beneficent and fresh water:
Go cheerfully! Cleanliness
Gives strength to the most exhausted,
A good mood to the most churlish.

⁵² [“C’est à ce point que des artistes adonnés à des genres tout différents ont, à l’occasion, croqué telle scène qui les avait amusés soit pendant un volontariat, soit pendant une période de vingt-huit ou de treize jours.”] Alexandre, *Histoire de la peinture militaire*, 326.

Then, following you with his eyes,
 The sergeant will cry out, happily:
 "What a real trooper, dammit!
 "If he polishes his kit
 "Like his body, definitely
 "France runs no risk!"⁵³

From this poem, we learn that Aublet's scene occurs at 5:00 a.m. in the courtyard of a barracks in Cherbourg, a punishing time of day when the sun has barely risen. The poem and the image that inspired it both express the gaiety and exhaustion simultaneously felt by the reservists in these difficult circumstances. As the poem clarifies, Aublet did not merely represent a group of reservists at their morning ablutions; rather, the cleaning ritual he depicted was meant to conjure up the overarching ideal of cleanliness itself. The poem endows the notion of cleanliness with special powers: "Cleanliness / Gives strength to the most exhausted, / A good mood to the most churlish." Cleanliness behaves in both poem and painting as an animating force that "gives strength (*rend la force*)" to the men. However, the cleanliness referenced by Aublet is mostly superficial: the glistening, opaque surface of the water in the basin—the "vast mirror"—obscures the dirt and microbes that gather below.

At the time Aublet painted the soldiers splashing water on their faces, the practice of soldiers undressing indoors in order to clean their entire bodies was uncommon. In summer, soldiers could bathe in nearby ponds, rivers, or streams, a subject taken up by the celebrated

⁵³ ["Dans la caserne de Cherbourg / Le clairon sonne, le tambour / Bat la diane à l'improviste. / Le soleil luit dans le lointain ; / Il est cinq heures du matin... / Allons, lève-toi, réserviste ! / Ébahi d'un si prompt réveil, / Les yeux tout gonflés de sommeil / Descends dans la cour d'un pas lesté ; / Le bassin est là, qui attend, / Vaste miroir où, par instant, / Se reflète le bleu céleste. / Penche-toi, le torse en avant, / Tunique bas, poitrine au vent, / Pantalon serré sur la hanche, / Au-dessus du grand lavabo ; / Fais bien mousser, pour être beau, / De ton savon l'écume blanche ! / Demi-vêtu, les cheveux ras, / Plonge ton front, plonge tes bras / Dans cette eau bienfaisante et fraîche : / Vas-y gaîment ! La propreté / Rend la force au plus éreinté, / La bonne humeur au plus revêché. / Alors, en te suivant des yeux, / Le sergent s'éciera, joyeux : / « Quel vrai troupière, nom d'une brisque ! / « S'il astique son fournement / « Comme son corps, décidément / « La France ne court aucun risque ! »"] Adrien Dézamy, "Le Lavabo des réservistes," *Le Monde illustré*, July 26, 1879.

military painter (and Chaperon's teacher) Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille (1848–1912) (fig. 2.19; 1880, Musée de l'Armée, Paris). However, few options existed for such thorough cleaning in winter. Even the mode of ablutions depicted by Aublet had only been universally implemented that same year.⁵⁴ Despite this new policy's foundation in current medical wisdom, Léon Villedary, doctor and professor at the Val-de-Grâce military hospital, denounced the practice of washing only the hands and face as insufficient in his *Essai sur la question du lavage des soldats dans le caserne* (Essay on the Question the Cleaning of Soldiers in the Barracks), published the year before Aublet exhibited his canvas. Whereas the civil engineer Casimir Tollet had attributed the army's excessive mortality rates to the poor and outdated design of its barracks, Villedary decried soldiers' bodies as the source of disease. The doctor blamed the rancid smell from soldiers' unwashed feet and genitals as a primary culprit, evidently working with the prevalent miasma theory in mind (which would soon be superseded by germ theory).⁵⁵ To make his point, he described a hypothetical military parade at which a spectator views a column of soldiers file down a street while their resplendent uniforms mask the filth that encrusts their bodies.⁵⁶ Villedary conjured up the disgust and disbelief this spectator would experience at the discovery of the putrefying martial body below.

In his magisterial account of Nazi masculinity, *Male Fantasies*, theorist Klaus Theweleit conceptualized the military uniform as a kind of barrier against dangerous flows. To Theweleit, the uniform provided a form of psychic armor against *external* contamination from substances such as blood, dirt, viscera, or excrement, which emanate from the other and threaten the hard,

⁵⁴ Chanet, *Vers l'Armée nouvelle*, 237.

⁵⁵ Villedary, *Essai*, 11.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

masculine, martial subject with their formlessness. As he stated, “(w)hen confronted with contamination, (soldiers) become afraid of falling prey themselves to ambivalence and amorphousness.”⁵⁷ For him, the fear of “commingling” with such materials is deep-rooted in the soldier’s psyche, for it not only represents an apprehension toward the loss of a discrete subjectivity but also points to the overwhelming, uncontrollable forces of revolution and warfare. In a provocative analogy, Theweleit connected the humiliation of military defeat to that which would be experienced in acts of public defecation.⁵⁸ Blood, dirt, viscera, and excrement would have fit neatly into the constellation of substances under the purview of military hygiene. These references are wholly absent from both Aublet’s and Chaperon’s paintings. The few pieces of errant coal at the center of *La Douche au régiment* may stand in for the organic matter that was coming to be vigorously regulated by the army health corps but would have never been represented explicitly by an artist like Chaperon, even if he were otherwise invested in the intimate details of the soldier. Blood and dirt may have logically appeared in battle paintings of the period but not usually outside of depictions of the battlefield, whereas elements such as viscera and excrement would have been unconscionable in a work destined for public exhibition at the Salon and which were typically approached as lighthearted genre paintings.

⁵⁷ Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Stephen Conway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 385. Although writing on different subjects and in different contexts, both Theweleit and Kristeva engaged with a longstanding philosophical construction of the (male) body as hermetically sealed against foreign invasion and outward flow, which derived from the Enlightenment and specifically the writings of Immanuel Kant. On Kant’s writings vis-à-vis the body, see Heather Merle Benbow, “Ways In, Ways Out: Theorizing the Kantian Body,” *Body and Society* 9:1 (2003): 65–69. Since the Enlightenment, the human body was analogized with the nation, a rather a common nationalist trope by the end of the nineteenth century. Additionally, for European nations during this period, the army came to be seen as the ultimate visible expression of a sort of national virility. Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1993), 75–87.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 397.

Standing water was an ambivalent substance, whereas moving water was considered healthy. Bodily immersion in still water served as a powerful metaphor in Christianity in the form of baptism, ceremonially cleansing the soul of past sins.⁵⁹ Despite the doctors' new understanding of its salubrious effects, immersive bathing remained a source of anxiety as it was seen by the French medical community and the public alike to have potential sexual effects. Attitudes were shifting by the late nineteenth century, but the superstition persisted that spending long periods immersed in hot water was a morally perilous activity.⁶⁰ Hot water was considered to enervate the muscles, while the solitude of the bath potentially invited erotic thoughts that could lead to masturbation.⁶¹ Both side effects would have been especially dangerous for soldiers, whose abilities to safeguard the nation relied on their physical strength, mental prowess, and virility.⁶² Male masturbation in particular was configured as anti-patriotic since it robbed men of their semen, a necessary resource for reproduction and the reversal of a long-declining birthrate.⁶³ In contrast to such abject, death-dealing matter as dust or feces, the life-sustaining liquids water and semen were configured as precious resources that needed to be managed and

⁵⁹ Villedary recounted that almost every culture in history had understood the beneficial power of bathing, from the ancient Greeks and Romans, the medieval Franks, Teutons, and Berbers. He also included as justification the importance of ablutions in Islam as a sign of devotion to the "greatest glory of Mohammed" ["la plus grande gloire de Mahomet]." Villedary, *Essai sur la question*, 7–8.

⁶⁰ Vigarello suggested that this was more often the case in the upper classes and aristocracy who, paradoxically, would have had greater access to personal baths. Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, 175.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁶² Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 214. For a discussion of masturbation according to the nineteenth-century French medical community, see Gérard Jorland, *Une Société à soigner: Hygiène et salubrité publiques en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 2010).

⁶³ Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 112. Jean Stengers and Ann van Neck argued that masturbation was a major cultural preoccupation through much of the century. The period also witnessed the transition from Catholic sanctions against masturbation as a sin against God toward medical and social understandings of the activity as detrimental to the health of the individual and, by extension, society and the nation. Jean Stengers and Ann van Neck, *Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror*, trans. Kathryn Hoffmann (New York: Pallgrave, 2001).

preserved even as they were generators of medical and moral anxiety. The life-preserving properties of both water and semen were encapsulated by the nineteenth-century sexual pun “eau-de-vie” (water of life), that is, sperm, also the name of a type of brandy that was commonly found in barracks.⁶⁴ The so-called “Crime of Onan” also concerned medical authorities because it occurred beyond the controlling gaze of the state; like dangerous microbes gathering on the skin, masturbation was pervasive but occurred out of view.⁶⁵ The shower, however, kept the soldiers physically upright, their bodies erect and thereby immune from the lassitude and obscene musings that the horizontal bath was thought to inspire. It further transformed a facet of individual daily hygiene into a collective and *visible* procedure.

The immersion bath also required a prohibitive amount of water and combustible materials for heating, rendering it impractical for bathing large numbers of men. Ravenez rationalized that for this reason most barracks employed spraying methods.⁶⁶ The shower thereby suited the army’s penchant for discipline and regimented timing, allowing for a large number of people to bathe quickly while preserving water.⁶⁷ Ravenez had described Chaperon’s painting as demonstrating the speed and efficiency with which men could be cleaned. He followed up his statement with a brief description of the facilities at the newly constructed Schomberg barracks in Paris before outlining at some length the spraying system developed by an inventor with the surname Herbet. This system, which used steam power to warm the water, similarly required the soldiers to line up in a rank to be hosed down by a *sous-officier*, probably the *maréchal des logis*.

⁶⁴ Alfred Delvau, *Dictionnaire érotique moderne par un professeur de langue verte* (Bâle: Karl Schmidt, 1864), 144.

⁶⁵ Brauer has examined state efforts to catalogue and control masturbation in early twentieth-century France in her essay “Eroticizing Lamarckian Eugenics: The Body Stripped Bare during French Sexual Neoregulation,” in *Art, Sex and Eugenics: Corpus Delecti*, ed. Fae Brauer and Anthea Callen (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 97–138.

⁶⁶ Ravenez, *Vie du soldat*, 230.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

An industrial print by Laurent Victor Rose in Georges Morache's *Traité d'hygiène militaire* (Treatise on military hygiene) demonstrates this new method of group cleaning (fig. 2.20; 1886, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). *Le maréchal des logis* stands at a remove from those being hosed down, in a manner similar to that employed in Chaperon's painting. The highly choreographed poses of the figures in Rose's print testify to the synchronized process of showering. The *sous-officier* in Rose's print stands on a dais, which literally establishes his higher status and provides him with an overarching view of the men he is currently responsible for cleaning.

The thin column of water—which appears in both Rose's print and Chaperon's painting—also establishes an asymmetrical power relationship between the clothed and unclothed soldiers, the ones who spray and those who are sprayed on. The wide-angle perspective of *La Douche au régiment* further creates a hieratic scale between clothed and naked figures. Chaperon underscored these power dynamics by juxtaposing the five nude figures with nine others who are in varying states of dress, pointing both to the timed nature of the showering event and to the levels of social stratification that it indexed. Two men in off-white smocks either wait their turn for the shower or have recently finished while two additional figures in the background appear either to remove their clothes or put them back on. The staff sergeant (*maréchal des logis*) and three non-commissioned officers (*sous-officiers*) are explicitly identified by their undress uniform (*petit tenue*), which consists of indigo tunics, coutil trousers, and red caps (*képis*). That certain men have kept on their uniforms during the procedure suggests higher administrative status, separating them from the subjects of martial hygiene. Tricolor uniforms clothe their bodies with the authority of the French Republic.

The prominent hose and the water that emanates from it easily transform into signs of the phallic domination of individual soldiers by the military apparatus of the state, the slender shape of the instrument and the liquid it emits finding analogy in an ejaculating or urinating penis. The staff sergeant holds the hose near his waist and sprays water onto the abdomen of a private, potentially implying a homoerotic encounter between an agent of military authority and a subservient. The water hose establishes a visual hierarchical relationship, underscoring the physical one, as the sergeant also gazes onto the body of his inferior who looks down in the direction of his genitals, hidden by a wisp of steam. The discharge of water would have needed to touch every inch of the body's surface for it to become fully clean. Chaperon more than hinted at this by representing one soldier bent over with his buttocks facing almost directly outward from the picture plane, leaving us to think that he—and, by extension, his comrades—would have to hold that pose while the staff sergeant hosed down his backside, all while being observed by their comrades and NCOs. The artist has perhaps revealed his anxiety over this reading by depicting the intergluteal crevice of the soldier bending over as merely a thin, brown slash, the barest of visual means required to signal the bodily opening. As presented by Chaperon in this scenario and given the communal nature of bathing in the barracks, army members acquired a knowledge of each other's bodies that would likely have been unfamiliar to most bourgeois viewers of the painting. Nevertheless, the image may have conjured possibly uncomfortable memories for viewers who had served in the army and been subjected to this form of martial discipline.

I grant that an eroticized interpretation of the water hose may be incommensurate with Chaperon's thoughts or ambitions. On the other hand, Belgian artist Félicien Rops (1833–1898) made just such a connection overtly in his gouache-and-tempera *La Douche périnéale* (Perineal

Douche) (fig. 2.21; 1879-81, Musée Provincial de Félicien Rops, Namur, Belgium). In this work, an aproned doctor stands behind a copper partition and hoses down a woman, presumably a sex worker, whose body is made visually and physically available to him. Rops's image posits that the medical and the sexual gazes are one and the same. The doctor's eyes and the spray of the water both converge on her pubic region. His expression is not unlike the distracted gaze of the young sergeant in Chaperon's painting, who grasps the hose at his waist (provocatively close to his genitals) (fig. 2.22; detail). The hose in Rops's painting extends out from the partition at the exact place where the doctor's penis would be. It attaches to a chair on which is written "douche périnéale," which leaves the viewer to imagine a time when the woman will occupy the seat and be sprayed in her perineal area. To drive home his point, Rops included a showerhead over the woman's head and another hose just behind her buttocks, as though the cleansing fluid that emanates from this doctor will reach every centimeter of the woman's body. Although both artists were based in Paris at the time, Rops and Chaperon traveled in quite different professional circles, and we can only guess as to whether Chaperon saw Rops's picture. Still, both lived and worked in a culture in which sexualized notions of the shower would have been understood.⁶⁸

Chaperon's painting documents and distills a singular moment during a period of rapid developments in military hygiene of which the shower was a prominent signifier. By taking up the subject of martial cleanliness, the painting paradoxically forces us to consider all that was

⁶⁸ As art historians have demonstrated in relation to works by Manet, Edgar Degas, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, the need for regular bathing and medical examinations were well-known features of the life of a female sex worker just as they came to be for a soldier. See, for instance, Norma Broude, "Edgar Degas and French Feminism, ca. 1880: 'The Young Spartans,' the Brothel Monotypes, and the Bathers Revisited," *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 4 (1988): 640–659; Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Clayson, *Painted Love*; Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), and "Edgar Degas and the Representation of the Female Body," in *Readings in Nineteenth-Century Art*, ed. Janis Tomlison, (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), 164–80; and Callen, *Spectacular Body*.

unclean about a soldier's life. These aspects were far from unknown to audiences who had experience in the army and likely even to those who did not. However, the literal and figurative filth that engulfed the soldier rarely made its way into military paintings, despite their claims to documentary truth, and even Chaperon's goes only so far.

Picturing Martial Nudity

The institution of regular showers was meant to remedy the previous lack of full-body cleaning for soldiers and in the process the shower generated a new context in which soldiers must be naked together indoors and on a repeated basis. Nude men inside a military barracks were a rare if not unprecedented subject for oil painting when Chaperon exhibited *La Douche au régiment* at the SAF in 1887. Indeed, we might recall Richard's statement that *La Douche au régiment* "seems to be the extreme limit of the insertion of the nude into the modern military tableau."⁶⁹ What was this "extreme limit" that he thought the painting tested? In other words, what stakes—artistic, political, and moral—were involved in representing nude male figures in this purportedly modern form of military art?

La Douche au régiment hints at its maker's anxieties over the propriety of the male nude, as Chaperon regulated the painting's sexual power dynamics to ensure that it would not offend the sensibilities of either military leaders or Salon-goers. The observing of undressed soldiers in an intimate activity like showering must always enable the uneven optical privilege of voyeurism; however, this does not permit either for a carefree or for a polemically homoerotic interpretation of the painting. Chaperon himself interrupted any such reading: the evident

⁶⁹ ["semble d'être la limite extrême de l'introduction du nu dans le tableau militaire moderne."] Jules Richard, quoted in François Robichon, *L'Armée française vue par les peintres, 1870–1914* (Paris: Herscher, Ministère de la Défense, 1998), 13.

stiffness of the figures, their well-ordered environment, and the establishment of clear hierarchies engage with but also resist the implicit homoeroticism of the situation that, nevertheless, cannot be fully purged but only managed. All figures in the painting are absorbed in their ritual of communal cleaning, unaware and/or unbothered that their activities are being watched. The studied indifference *sans pudeur* of both onlookers and bathers signals that this was a regular part of military routine and a semi-public affair.

The nude figures are among the most striking features of *La Douche au régiment* and the focal point of the canvas's left half, highlighted as they are by the winter sunlight pouring in through the window (fig. 2.23; detail). The metal grill beneath their feet and the wooden partition to their right similarly catch the light, producing a subtle mandorla effect around the bathers. Even so, the figures occupy the middle ground some distance from us, their physically fit, though delicate-appearing forms, encased between the hard, black, industrial stove and the dark, vertical, authoritative form of *le sous-officier*. Save the one seated figure, all the bathers are bound within the rectangular area taken up by the metal grill, which serves the functional role of drainage but also visually and conceptually circumscribes them. The exigencies of hygiene here box in the men under its official care, restricting their access even to the barracks space they inhabit, if only momentarily. The creamy yellows, soft tans, and muted pinks that describe the bathers' flesh tones nearly blend in with the similarly pinkish, yellowish, beige plaster walls that envelope the scene. Such visual strategies begin to suggest that Chaperon sought to camouflage his nude figures and tuck them away in a corner. Indeed, other than the halo of light around the figures, few other formal characteristics distinguish them from their surroundings. They catch our attention primarily due to their nudity.

In this section, I consider the implications of Richard's statement that Chaperon's painting "seems to be the extreme limit of the insertion of the nude in the modern military tableau," examining the work vis-à-vis three separate but interrelated categories of imagery: the neoclassical male nude, an emergent, quasi-medical realist nude, and pornography. Long considered the highest ideal of "respectable" art, the painted and/or sculpted male nude would seem to be the very antithesis of the furtive, pornographic image, which flourished in the late nineteenth century through easily reproducible and circulatable prints and photographs. However, as my synoptic history of the male nude below sets out to demonstrate, the boundary between fine art and pornography could be troublingly permeable as these three modes of imagery participated in similar tropes and themes, and all were known to implicate figures from classical antiquity as well as soldiers. I propose that these three categories of imagery, which operated in different registers, formed "avatars" of masculinity that would have shaped the artist's representation of the nude soldier as well as viewers' responses to it.

Chaperon innovated on the male group bathing scene, which artists usually set outside near a pond or river, by moving it indoors. The rhetoric of the group bathing scene was often that of carefree leisure among friends in a licensed context for viewing several naked men together. Even so, the depiction of the naked male body on its own and/or in groups was a fraught subject by 1887. We might briefly examine the case of Frédéric Bazille (1841–1870), whose painting *Le Pêcheur à l'épervier* (Fisherman and the Casting Net) was rejected from the Salon of 1868, whereas his *Baigneurs (Scène d'été)* (Bathers [Summer Scene]) was accepted the following year (fig. 2.24; 1868, Arp Museum Bahnhof Rolandsdeck, Remagen, Germany; fig. 2.25; 1869, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts). The Salon of 1868 had refused the first

ostensibly for its lack of classical references to justify the nudity of the main figure.⁷⁰ That the Salon of 1869 accepted the second was due perhaps to the homosocial setting and the fact the men are all at least partially clothed, downplaying the otherwise blatant male nakedness that had caused problems the previous year. The figures in the later picture are also engaged in leisurely activities of swimming, resting, and boxing, whereas the fisherman in the earlier work is naked while also engaged in labor. Years later, Philadelphia-based artist Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) reveled in the theme of homosocial leisure in *Swimming* (fig. 2.26; 1885, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth). In this provocative work, Eakins not only depicted the swimmers fully naked, as opposed to Bazille’s men garbed in swimsuits, but Eakins also introduced a visible age discrepancy among the bathers. These three works all share a summertime, outdoors setting, which more or less justifies the figures’ lack of clothing.

La Douche au régiment relies on the artistic legitimacy of the male group-bathing scene to justify its subject, although it completely reconfigures the subgenre’s significance. The title of the painting, “the shower in the regiment,” refers to an activity adjacent to but understood at the time as fundamentally different from bathing. Meanwhile, the interior of the barracks is a far cry from the pastoral countryside in which the bathing scene often takes place, providing an idyllic backdrop for untroubled homosocial leisure. The barracks cleaning room is indoors; it is industrial; it is ordered by rationalized architecture as it is by the tightly controlled two-point perspective used by the artist. To underscore the pervasiveness of male washing and further distance his painting from the outdoor bathing scene, Chaperon subtly but unmistakably situated his scenario in winter, as indicated by the gray skies and leafless trees that peak through the floor-to-ceiling window.

⁷⁰ Barber, “Caillebotte, Masculinity, and the Bourgeois Gaze,” 149.

As I have mentioned earlier, the depiction of nude men bathing indoors was an infrequent subject for artists, even though men bathing outdoors was appearing with some frequency by the late nineteenth century, with notable examples by Bazille, Gustave Caillebotte (1848–1894), and Eakins, among others.⁷¹ This rarity of interior male bathing scenes has made Caillebotte’s provocative *L’Homme au bain* (Man at His Bath) a focus of art-historical attention, given its frank depiction of a working-class man in an intimate moment of cleaning himself (fig. 2.27; 1884, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).⁷² Here, Caillebotte represented the anonymous male figure as not only assertively unclothed but also denuded of the heroically classical vocabulary that had previously informed depictions of nude men, in the nineteenth century and earlier.⁷³ Caillebotte’s picture doubly stuns due to the silhouette of the man’s scrotum, an indication of the man’s sex that spurns the period’s codes of decency in art. The man’s discolored hands and neck along with the dirt tracked on the floor unmistakably mark his working-class status. It is improbable that Chaperon knew of *L’Homme au bain* since Caillebotte first exhibited the painting in 1888.⁷⁴ Chaperon may have been familiar with Caillebotte’s earlier tableau of quiet, absorbed, masculine labor, *Les Raboteurs de parquet* (The Floorscrapers) (fig. 2.28; 1875, Musée d’Orsay, Paris).

⁷¹ Callen, *Spectacular Body*, 145.

⁷² As Callen and others have pointed out, nude men bathing outdoors was a commonly represented activity in late nineteenth-century European and American art, although depictions of men bathing indoors appeared much less frequently. Callen, *Spectacular Body*, 147; Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 29.

⁷³ Garb brought in Delaunay’s *David Triumphant* as a counterpoint to *L’Homme au bain*, an example of the norm of contemporary academic painting against which to view Caillebotte’s much more daring iteration. Garb, 26. Nevertheless, the two are opposite points on an ellipse, with Delaunay’s slim, erect, and ephebic David occupying a similar outer orbit as Bouguereau’s Christ or Frederick Leighton’s Icarus, while Caillebotte’s working-class, sculptural figure might occupy the other aphelion along with Alexandre Falguière’s wrestlers or Henri Gervex’s coal hauler.

⁷⁴ Fiona Barber, “Caillebotte, Masculinity, and the Bourgeois Gaze,” in *Art and Its Histories: The Challenge of the Avant-Garde* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 147.

The lean musculature of Chaperon's bathers in *La Douche au régiment* indeed recalls the empathetically rendered anatomy of the working-class men in *Les Raboteurs*.⁷⁵

Although Chaperon presented undressed men bathing in perhaps less brazen terms than did Bazille and Caillebotte, the depiction of soldiers in the nude was a gambit in view of artistic and political controversies over nudity and public decency in France as well as across Europe and the United States.⁷⁶ The nude male subjects of Bazille and Caillebotte had either been rejected from or were shown outside the official Parisian art channels. Like Bazille's *Pêcheur à l'épervier*, Caillebotte's *Raboteurs* had also been refused from the Salon of 1875, although it was later accepted in 1877. Caillebotte never showed *L'Homme au bain* at the Salon. Even across the Atlantic, Eakins had recently been in conflict with his superiors at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Art for allowing, on the one hand, female students to be in the presence of naked male models in his studio and, what secured his ouster, for allowing his female students to pose nude for each other and in photographs; he was famously forced to resign his post as professor.⁷⁷ The disputed status of the male nude in various national professional contexts suggests that fine art

⁷⁵ Maximilien Luce took a similar interest in working-class physiology in *La Toilette* as Caillebotte did in *L'Homme au bain* and *Les Raboteurs*. Exhibited at the Salon des Indépendents, the painting draws our focus to the exhausted visage of a middle-aged man who appears lost in thought as he bends over a ceramic bowl to wash his upper body. The man's anatomy references the ideal nude male form in that the exposed muscles of the torso and arms are all clearly defined. However, Luce suggests that this man achieved his muscular vigor through years of backbreaking labor, not as the result of sport or military training.

⁷⁶ Significantly, the female nude was at the center of a censorship scandal around this time. Heather Dawkins has carefully outlined the government censoring of the exhibition catalog *Le Nu au Salon de 1888*, which offended because it displayed a nude female figure—a “nymph”—on its printed cover. The controversy pointed to double standards based on media, that is, fine-art oil painting versus print intended for mass circulation, but it also demonstrated that the female nude could upset the fragile and shifting ecosystem that was bourgeois propriety. Dawkins' fascinating study also shows us that, despite the near ubiquity of the female nude at the Salons by this point, their official censoring undermined the supposedly uninhibited and all-pervasive power of the desiring, heterosexual, male gaze. Heather Dawkins, *The Nude in French Art and Culture, 1870–1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁷⁷ Werbel, *Thomas Eakins*, 126–27.

and mythology were decreasingly able to cover for the male body's potential erotic charge and potential class politics.

In *La Douche au régiment*, Chaperon courted some of the controversies surrounding the male nude, although he negotiated them in several ways. The critic Edmond Deschaumes, writing in *La France*, commented jokingly that the painting may have been a response to recent controversies surrounding the nude at the Louvre: "It's likely that M. Eugène Chaperon only composed *Douche au régiment* to annoy M. Ravaisson. This functionary superimposed vine leaves on the statues at the Louvre. M. Chaperon substitutes them with a surplus of water. We only see steam."⁷⁸ The picture's setting and the figures' evident youth were doubtless meant to provide alibis for our viewing of naked men. The artist situated the scene inside a barracks cleaning room (*salle de propreté*), a setting where a group of men could believably be unclothed together. He also idealized the figures: their athletic, if lean, physiques and immaculate bodily surfaces evoke the allegorical associations typically inscribed on the academic nude. They are free of the muck that Caillebotte's bather must clean off, appearing hardly to need a shower at all. Their homogenously pale skin and cropped hair allude to a nineteenth-century European artistic tradition of rendering the male body as sculptural, sturdy, and clean, conventional means from which artists rarely deviated.⁷⁹ Such physical qualities as depicted by artists also aligned, conveniently for Chaperon, with the uniformly healthy bodies desired by the army.⁸⁰ Art

⁷⁸ ["Il est probable que M. Eugène Chaperon n'a composé *Douche au régiment* pour embêter M. Ravaisson. Ce fonctionnaire imposait des feuilles de vigne aux statues du Louvre. M. Chaperon les remplace par l'inondation. On n'y voit que du feu."] Edmond Deschaumes, "Chroniques du Salon: Les Gloires," *La France*, May 6, 1887.

⁷⁹ Michael Hatt, "Muscles, Morals, Mind: The Male Body in Thomas Eakins' *Salutat*," in *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture since the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 68.

⁸⁰ Scholars have analyzed discourses surrounding the formation of the soldier's body through gymnastics and team sports, both of which gained wide international appeal at the turn of the century. For example, see Fae Brauer,

historian Anthea Callen has demonstrated that artists depicting nude men drew on famous classical models, including the sinewy and sturdy *Borghese Gladiator*, the svelte and supple *Apollo Belvedere*, and the brawny and pugilistic *Farnese Hercules*.⁸¹ Chaperon's nude figures would seem to evoke the Apollonian ideal.

Chaperon left the ages of the figures ambiguous, although we are clearly meant to apprehend them as youths. Whereas beardless faces and hairless bodies may indicate their adolescence, conscription protocols would have required that they be at least eighteen or more likely twenty years old.⁸² The figures have an Apollonian liveness to them, although their movements and bodily proportions appear somewhat awkward, especially their outsized hands. These figures' too-large hands along with the and jaunty poses interrupt the grandeur and exquisiteness otherwise associated with the young, athletic, male body as conveyed through the Apollonian ideal. Smocks, trousers, and *képis* drape over wooden partitions and on iron hooks, reminding us that these modern men, flesh-and-blood human beings, have just taken off their clothes.⁸³ Their evident disrobing compels us to view them not as otherworldly heroes but as sensual bodies, not as generalized forms but as specific, socially classed bodies. Moreover, these bodies belong to France's soldiery. Once we approach these figures as naked soldiers—naked *men*—we must address the anxieties about the male body that surfaced both in art criticism and in the army. We are viewing humans who must be sheltered, paid, clothed, fed, kept clean and

“Contesting ‘Le corps militaire’: Antimilitarism, Pacificism, Anarcho-Communism and ‘Le Douanier’ Rousseau's *La Guerre*,” *RIHA* (July 2012), unpaginated.

⁸¹ Callen, *Looking at Men*, 14, 42, 167.

⁸² Roynette, *Bons pour le service*, 183.

⁸³ Kenneth Clark's classic distinction between naked and nude has been examined by subsequent art historians. Whether the showering figures in *La Douche au régiment* can be understood as nude or naked remains open for interpretation. See Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

healthy. Additionally, they are humans capable of and even prone to sexual desire. It is this last aspect that I suggest troubled Chaperon's homosocial martial utopia. The artist admitted his concern for modesty by concealing the figures' penises: a cleverly positioned iron stove, two turned backs, and a whiff of steam all opportunely shield the spectators' eyes from any anatomical indication of the men's sex.

Well before Chaperon painted *La Douche au régiment*, the heroic male nudity that had been the organizing concept of neoclassicism had given way to examinations of the male body as such rather than as a metaphor for Enlightenment principles. Whereas neoclassical artists had strived to resolve the underlying tensions associated with the naked body by idealizing their figures—smoothing over the facture, rendering the body as impossibly healthy and muscular, in the prime of youth, and often godlike—several painters by the middle of the century executed a sort of pictorial pendulum swing, consciously *un-idealizing* them. Increasingly veristic approaches to the male body accompanied a move toward realism and later naturalism in the French art world more broadly, characterized by a renunciation of classical subjects and a focus on the depiction of contemporary life observed or at least theoretically observable by the artist. Aspirations to represent a timeless body, which had a long tradition rooted in Greco-Roman philosophy and culture, thus gave way to a reveling in the temporally specific and distinctly classed body. Nevertheless, the interrelated disciplines of art and anatomy maintained a classicizing veneer in their visualizations of the male body even into the twentieth century.⁸⁴

Significantly, the infantry drew primarily from the working-class populations of France and was a correspondingly working-class branch of the army, lacking the glamor of the mounted divisions such as the hussars and *chasseurs à cheval* or the technical expertise required by the

⁸⁴ Callen, *Looking at Men*, 14.

artillery and engineering corps. Chaperon generalized the figures visually by providing only summary details of their anatomy and by giving them all similar phenotypic characteristics (possibly drawn from the same model). The infantryman thus served for the artist as an ideal martial “everyman.” Ruddy hands and faces differentiate themselves from the marmoreal tones of the bodies, implying hours spent out in the sun. Their sunburnt faces and arms underscore the hard work of the military profession—especially the infantry—while declaring that these are *not* godlike heroes immune to the hardships of labor and the elements. The artist’s summary brushwork, on the other hand, obscures our apprehension of the figures’ precise anatomy. Subdermal veins and strands of hair are hinted at but not rendered clearly. The brushstrokes are too broad and the facture too thick to allow for microscopic detail. This relative lack of specifics helps signal a recession in space as the anatomical features of the hands and faces are more clearly described on the dressed figures closest to the picture plane. The paint handling is also tighter there. The staccato facture that composes the bathers’ skin becomes disruptive only if our eyes get too close to the canvas. The forms integrate visually better when taken from a distance.

The rendering of the physical penis in neoclassical painting could not adequately represent man’s patriarchal authority, as conceptualized by art historian Abigail Solomon-Godeau, who wrote: “...the power of the patriarchy is so much in excess of its anatomical representative that the actual organ fails to carry its symbolic weight.”⁸⁵ Art historian Tamar Garb, on the other hand, considered the figure’s back-view in Caillebotte’s *L’Homme au bain* as a form of pictorial castration since the viewpoint serves to obscure most of the figure’s genitals.⁸⁶ On a conceptual level, these formal decisions underscore the patriarchal authority of the army

⁸⁵ Solomon-Godeau, *Male Trouble*, 143.

⁸⁶ Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 50.

over the bodies of its soldiers. The visual neutering of the young men—whether responding to pictorial convention or to concerns for public decency—is another attempt to elevate them to the domain of the symbolic. The removal from sight of the men’s genitalia dispels the notion that they are sexed and/or sexual beings, circumventing any potential confrontation (to a male viewer) or possibility of arousal (to a female or male viewer).

The painting simultaneously traffics in and pokes fun at concurrent martial pedophilia in which the young soldier, potentially a recruit, was idolized and fetishized rhetorically as the future of the nation. The ephebic youths in Chaperon’s painting occupy a border between the masculine and the feminine. They are at a crucial stage when they will be required to prove their virility—translated into ability to defend the nation as her proper sons—or they will fail and thus fall into effeminacy and ambiguity. The ability to bear with patience the humiliation of the shower functions as but one regularly occurring initiation rite into the world of male citizenship along with its honors and entitlements. The flourishing facial hair on some of the observing soldiers, including luxurious mustaches and a positively bountiful red beard, signal not only shifting tonsorial regulations within the army (General Boulanger allowed soldiers to grow beards, which had previously been prohibited), but they also indicate that these men have passed their tests and gained entry to post-pubescent military manhood.

In this, Chaperon’s painting draws on pan-European tropes of innocent, masculine youth conveyed through supple, naked bodies. We might compare the youths in *La Douche au régiment* to those who appear in the internationally marketed photographs of German Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856–1931). Like the paintings of young men bathing, including those by Bazille and Eakins (educated in Europe), von Gloeden’s photographs promise an untroubled utopic world drenched in sunlight and defined by homosocial freedom and plenitude (fig. 2.29; c.

1895, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles). Chaperon re-envisioned this homosocial utopia as one of martial order and discipline, established through banal acquiescence to hierarchies as it was by modern industry and architecture. Such imagery relies on the agreed-on innocence of youth as well as references to classical antiquity to make the viewing of a group of naked adolescents publicly licit. Even so, von Gloeden's photographs were well understood to be erotic, and the innocence of youth masked a contemporaneous fascination with pederasty made explicit through such literary works as Thomas Mann's novella, *Der Tod in Venedig* (Death in Venice) (1912), in which the aging Austrian author Gustav von Aschenbach becomes enamored of the svelte, sculptural teenager Tadzio. Pederastic fantasies were legitimated through model relationships from antiquity such as the older philosopher Socrates and his pupil Alcibiades, the (philhellene) Roman Emperor Hadrian and his young (Greek) lover Antinous, and even the immortal god Zeus and his adolescent paramour Ganymede. More than just licensing cross-generational, same-sex desire, these ancient models evinced the refinement and erudition of their nineteenth-century admirers even as they sanctioned considerable power differentials between men.

Soldiers could also be objects of erotic desire, a phenomenon studied by psychiatrists interested in same-sex sexual behaviors within and involving the army. For instance, in 1893 Albert Moll wrote that '*uranistes*' (a nineteenth-century term to describe men who experience same-sex attraction) seemed to have a penchant for the soldier, particularly drawn to his uniform.⁸⁷ *Uranistes* (Uranians) were understood to be upper-class, masculine-presenting men who expressed a preference for ephebic youths. Moll therefore hinted at a class, age, and power differential between the eroticizing subject and the erotic object, the soldier. Another

⁸⁷ Albert Moll, *Les Perversions de l'instinct génital: Étude sur l'inversion sexuelle* (Paris: Georges Carré, 1893), 58.

psychiatrist, H. Fournier, recorded one of the so-called “observations” of Doctors Jean-Martin Charcot and Valentin Magnan, which reinforces Moll’s point. A thirty-one-year-old man studied by Charcot and Magnan, who was given to bouts of hysteria, confessed the origins of his illness:

My sensitivity . . . has manifested itself since the age of six by a violent desire to see boys of my age or men nude. One day (I was perhaps eight), I saw a soldier who was masturbating, I imitated him, and I experienced, alongside the pleasure of my imagination which settled on this soldier, the physical pleasure of a very strong tickling sensation. Around the age of 15, I induced an erection and its aftermath as much by my imagination as by the movement; it happened more than once that by the sight alone of the male virile member I had an erection, passionate convulsion, and discharge of sperm. I absolutely ceased masturbation at twenty, but despite all my efforts I was never able to stop the excitements of my imagination; young men, handsome and strong, still provoke a strong sensation in me; a beautiful statue of a nude man produces the same effect; the *Belvedere Apollo* makes a huge impression on me.⁸⁸

This patient’s account lowers both the perceived elevated status of the army and of the fine arts to the level of pornography. To the patient, the memory of a soldier in a moment of autoerotic pleasure and the sculpted form of the *Apollo Belvedere* both served as the models for and the generators of his allegedly perverse obsessions. Perhaps coincidentally, the patient ceased to masturbate at twenty, the exact age he would have begun his obligatory military service.

Psychiatric studies such as Charcot and Magnan’s allow us to see, where Salon criticism perhaps does not, the possibility for sexualized interpretations of these two otherwise disparate artistic zones and, significantly, brings them together to form one man’s constellation of masturbatory stimuli. Books published by army doctors from the period include frank

⁸⁸ [“Ma sensibilité, dit-il ; s’est manifestée dès l’âge 6 ans par un violent désir de voir des garçons de mon âge ou des hommes nus. Un jour (j’avais peut-être 8 ans), j’aperçus un soldat qui se masturbait, je l’imitai et j’éprouvai, a côté du plaisir de l’imagination qui s’arrêtait sur ce soldat, le plaisir physique d’un chatouillement très fort. Vers l’âge de 15 ans, je provoquais l’érection et ses suites, autant par l’imagination que par le mouvement ; il m’est arrivé plus d’une fois d’avoir l’érection, la convulsion amoureuse et la perte de sperme à la seule vue membre viril d’un homme. Je cessai absolument la masturbation à 20 ans, mais je ne suis jamais parvenu malgré tous mes efforts à arrêter les excitations de mon imagination ; les hommes jeunes, beaux et forts, provoquent toujours chez moi une vive émotion ; une belle statue d’un homme nu produit le même effet ; l’*Apollon du Belvédère* me fait beaucoup d’impression.”] Quoted in H. Fournier, *De l’Onanisme: Causes, dangers et inconvenients pour les individus, la famille et la société ; Remèdes* (Paris: J.-B. Baillière et Fils, 1893), 40–41.

discussions of activities considered to be detrimental to health such as hiring sex workers, alcoholism, same-sex activities, and masturbation. Medical texts such as Fournier's were licit given their claims to scientific inquiry, although they were usually published under the proviso that only doctors or patients should buy them.⁸⁹ There was a slippage between the study of sexual practices and the incitement of sexual fantasies, aided and abetted by the explosion of book publishing by the 1880s.⁹⁰ Male eccentricity fascinated psychiatrists, popular novelists, and art critics and inspired a new field of sexology, pioneered by psychologists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Sigmund Freud.⁹¹ While the concepts of inversion and perversion allowed for the possibility of sexual acts to transpire between men, the possibility of "love" between men was only newly being theorized.

By no means an isolated case, Charcot and Magnan's observation exemplifies a broader understanding within the psychiatric community and even law enforcement that both soldiers and artistic depictions of nude men could elicit desire and lead to masturbation.⁹² The studies by Moll, Fournier, and Charcot and Magnan all engaged with a concurrent rethinking of same-sex desire and masturbatory pleasure not as a repertoire of illicit activities but rather as coherent, recognizable, psychiatric conditions, both the symptoms and causes of mental illness. The police officer François Carlier had likewise discovered that the image of the soldier could arouse sexual

⁸⁹ Vernon Rosario, *The Erotic Imagination: French Histories of Perversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 9–10.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹¹ Callen, *Looking at Men*, 127. Nineteenth-century dictionary definitions granted some space between the notion of the sexual, usually confined to the biological and anatomical, and the erotic, understood under the purview of love. By 1864, the alliance between the sexual and the erotic was made in the form of Delvau's *Dictionnaire érotique moderne*. Literary dictionaries such as Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* maintained a distinction between the two, locating "l'érotique" in the realm of love and, at times, psychological disorder (*érotique délire*), while "la sexuelle" existed in the realm of the biological, having to do with the instincts, systems, and organs of animals and plants.

⁹² Nye, *Masculinity*, 110.

desire. Carlier published his findings the same year as Chaperon exhibited *La Douche au régiment* at the Salon. In it, Carlier went so far as to claim that the soldier (understood in the plural), needing money and “lacking in moral sense,” constituted another class of sex worker.⁹³ One particular passage recounts Carlier’s investigation of the home of a “criminal” who lived near the École Militaire; this man frequently took up residence near military establishments in order seek out sexual encounters with soldiers. Carlier described the interior of the man’s apartment as evidence of his then-considered deviant proclivities:

[T]he bedroom is literally papered with obscene drawings, mixed with photos of the marshals of France, officers, non-commissioned officers of all ranks, and foot soldiers; three huge paintings representing the officer corps from three regiments; and painted engravings representing a collection of uniforms from the French army.⁹⁴

With the exception of the obscene drawings, this inventory is remarkably analogous to descriptions and images of the studios of contemporaneous military artists—which also included arms, armor, uniforms, paintings, and photographs of soldiers—as described by and depicted in an article from *L’Illustration* featuring Édouard Detaille’s studio with accompanying photogravure (fig. 2.30; 1886, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). What the comparison between Carlier’s passage and the image of Detaille’s studio suggests is that enjoyment of the visual representation of soldiers fell along a spectrum and that the enthusiastic interest of the amateur could turn dangerously sexual.⁹⁵

⁹³ François Carlier, *Les Deux Prostitutions (1860–70)* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1887), 415.

⁹⁴ Carlier, *Deux Prostitutions*, quoted in Martin, *Napoleonic Friendship*, 261.

⁹⁵ If same-sex desire was a sort of “known secret” in French martial culture, it was much more widely discussed in Wilhelmine Germany, at least by the early twentieth century. Nye has argued that male homosexuality was less theorized by the French psychiatric community than it was in Germany and England. Art historians have likewise shown how the American painter Marsden Hartley was completely enamored with the manly splendor of the German Kaiser Guard—attending much speculation at the time as today that he was in love with a young lieutenant—which was both indicative of his own individual erotic enjoyment of the uniforms and physiques of military men as it was a broader cultural phenomenon. The Kaiser Guard were reportedly not allowed to wear their uniforms in public off duty, as they were so known to arouse lewd attention to the point they were considered

Chaperon was playing, consciously or not, with the uncomfortable associations between male nudity, on the one hand, and hierarchy, sexuality, and humiliation, on the other. These are reasons why his painting was remarkable for its time, given that it at once sacralizes and abases the soldier just as it idealizes and debases the male nude. The elevated bulwarks of martial homosociality, French nationalism, hygiene, and the male nude are besieged by the allusions to muck, disease, same-sex attraction, and masturbation. Even the *Apollo Belvedere*, which the naked figures evidently reference—long seen as the surpassing model of classical male nudity—was never fully able to break free from perceptions of the unsettling carnality of the naked human body.

Jeannot's *Conseil de révision*, First Version: Measuring Men

In this section, I argue that in the painting *Conseil de révision* (fig. 2.2) Pierre-Georges Jeannot represented the cruelty of the “normalizing judgement” of the state by focusing on the humiliation suffered by its victims to a much greater extent than had Chaperon. Foucault’s analysis of the purpose of the military examination provides a guiding idea for the discussion that follows. As he stated:

The examination combines the techniques of an observing hierarchy and those of a normalizing judgement. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is highly ritualized. In it are combined the ceremony of power and the form of the experiment, the deployment of force and the establishment of truth.⁹⁶

analogous to if not equated with sex workers. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor*, 103–108; Patricia McDonnell, “‘Essentially Masculine:’ Marsden Hartley, Gay Identity, and the Wilhelmine German Military,” *Art Journal* 56, no. 2 How Men Look: On the Masculine Ideal and the Body Beautiful (Summer 1997), 62–68.

⁹⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 184.

Jeanniot referenced the profoundly invasive nature of the medical examination as the likely immediate future for the reticent youths that populate his canvas. Caricatures of the period, on the other hand, rendered explicitly the embarrassment, sexual vulnerability, and racism that graphic artists imagined this facet of military procedure to engender, which the last part of this section will investigate.

Whereas Chaperon had preserved some of the idealizing tendencies of the academic male nude, Jeanniot dispensed with them altogether. In *Conseil de révision*, six young men huddle together in a visual mass of diverse, imperfect, even grotesque bodies. Jeanniot pictured these youths in a situation that requires them to be naked and exposed to our view—and that of their friends, municipal officials, and military authorities and physicians—while simultaneously downplaying their erotic desirability. Whereas Chaperon had idealized his disrobed soldiers submitting to the hierarchies and humiliation of their hygienic duty, Jeanniot amplified the bodily imperfections of his young conscripts. Chaperon also represented his figures as mostly homogenous, whereas Jeanniot emphasized corporeal difference. The right-hand side of *Conseil de révision* presents a kaleidoscope of white flesh tones while the left-hand side, populated by the darkly uniformed *gendarme*, an unlit hallway, and the castaway black, brown, and gray civilian clothes of the conscripts, has an abysmal quality. Having little in common with one another, the young men are brought together for the purpose of serving the nation. While Chaperon's soldiers may have grown accustomed to communal nudity through regular showers, the recruitment medical examination may have been many men's first encounter with such bodily exposure. The slouched poses and closed-off gestures of the unclothed youths in *Conseil de révision* suggest their potential shame and amplify their physical and psychological vulnerability during this process.

Conseil de révision follows several of Jeanniot's paintings that express a profound ambivalence toward the army. In it, we find the artist's keen fascination with the young male recruits who undergo a humiliating procedure (which Jeanniot himself likely would have experienced) as well as an examination of its pitiless effects.⁹⁷ Jeanniot's other depictions of army life and combat equivocate over the notion of martial bravery, which distinguished him from his peers such as Chaperon, Roy, and Detaille. In the 1883 canvas *Les Élèves caporaux* (Student Corporals), Jeanniot had helped establish a new vogue for banal subject matter and a candid approach to military everyday life, a vogue extolled by critics such as Edmond About (fig. 2.31; 1883, private collection). Jeanniot's ambivalent view toward military life is expressed overtly in his striking depiction of the trauma of combat, *Ligne de feu* (Line of Fire) (fig. 2.32; 1886, Musée départemental de la Guerre de 1870 et de l'Annexion, Gravelotte, France). In this painting, extreme fear and utter vulnerability consume the two main figures, infantry privates situated in the center foreground. The closest figure, who is panic-stricken, coils up and grasps his ears as bullets whizz by him. His companion behind freezes in shock. The only protection these two have from the unseen enemy barrage is a derelict cannon and mounds of dirt. The rest of their company fills the upper-left quadrant and stand their ground while a colonel standing imposingly at the center orders his men to return the Germans' fire. The image catches us in this crossfire. Smoke from the guns fills the upper-right register, and the flat terrain and bright sunlight intensify the sensation of exposure that the painting conjures. Critical reviews of this work were rather terse, although none (that I have found) critiqued the painting as antimilitarist.

⁹⁷ Brauer, "Contesting 'Le corps militaire.'"

In 1889, Arsène Alexandre's overall laudatory account of military painting acclaimed Jeanniot as "an excellent painter with a wise and penetrating spirit."⁹⁸

Jeanniot's paintings, illustrations, and a few details about his biography and affiliations provide an outline of his life and career but are not sufficient to ascertain his political convictions with certainty. He had enlisted in the army at the age of twenty, serving during the Franco-Prussian War. His military career lasted until at least 1881, at which time he was promoted to the rank of captain. During these years, he also created works of art and submitted them to the Salon exhibitions. Much of his artistic output during the 1880s included military subjects. He was better known for his illustration work, which included caricatures in satiric journals such as *Le Rire* and Samuel Schwartz's irreverent and anarchist *L'Assiette au Beurre*, the latter of which was often acerbically critical of the army. Jeanniot also illustrated the 1893 edition of Émile Zola's *La Débâcle*, a novel about the Franco-Prussian War that oscillates between sympathy for individual French soldiers and condemnation of the institution of the army and of the Second Empire, which drew fierce rebuttals from generals and veterans.⁹⁹ By the twentieth century, Jeanniot would mostly cease to depict military subjects in painting and would turn instead to scenes of upper-class life in Paris, yet during World War I, he would follow the examples of Jacques Callot (1592–1635) and Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) by making a set of prints that excoriated the horrors of warfare.

While Chaperon had chosen an unusual subject for *La Douche au régiment*, Jeanniot's depiction of conscripts fit into a longstanding print tradition. *Images d'Épinal* highlighted variously the departure and/or misfortunes of the conscript, taken from his family and thrown

⁹⁸ Alexandre, *Histoire de la peinture militaire*, 328.

⁹⁹ Émile Zola, *La Débâcle* (Paris: Charpentier, 1893). The novel predictably caused a scandal and drew fierce rebuttals from army leadership.

into the harsh life of army service (fig. 2.33; 1892, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; and fig. 2.34; 1891, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).¹⁰⁰ The conscript as a figural type also appeared frequently, indicated by his parochial attire, large hat, and lottery ticket (fig. 2.35; 1888, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The persistent representation of the figure as a bumpkin traversing the countryside on his way to the regiment reinforced the notion that conscription primarily affected the provinces. Jeannot departed from *les images d'Épinal* by focusing on the state's empirical cataloguing and analysis of the bodies of its male citizens. In 1842, Honoré Daumier prefigured Jeannot when he portrayed gawky and pathetic teenagers who line up to have their bodily dimensions quantified in his lithograph version of *Conseil de révision* from *Caricatures du jour* (Daily Caricatures) (fig. 2.36; 1842, National Gallery of Art). The aging doctor raises his eyebrows in evident dismay at the disappointing physical proportions of one of these youths who appears to be, nevertheless, in better shape than his gangling and diminutive companions. The caption drips in sarcasm: "It is a glorious spectacle to see this noble French youth, full of ardor, strength, and elegance, compete for the honor of serving the fatherland under the flags of Mars!"¹⁰¹ The print ridicules the process of conscription and the physical state of France's youth in one gesture. If the conscription process was tacitly the measure of a man's virility, the paltry results made evident in Daumier's lithograph bade as poorly for these future soldiers as they did for the nation.

Fifty years later, Jeannot updated Daumier's print by bringing it in line with the current political circumstances and elevating its message by expressing it in the medium of oil painting.

¹⁰⁰ For a study on conscription that includes popular imagery and painting, see Michel Bozon, *Les Conscrits* (Paris: Bibliothèque Berger-Levrault, 1981).

¹⁰¹ ["C'est un glorieux spectacle que de voir celle [noble jeunesse, pleine d'ardeur, de force et d'élégance, se disputer l'honneur de servir la patrie sous les drapeaux de Mars !"]

It was perhaps little surprise, then, if his depiction of *le conseil de révision* included nude men whose bodies were scrutinized by representatives of the state. The term “conseil de révision” referred both to the men who made up the review board, drawn from local municipal and military authorities, and to the process of examination itself. The main purpose of the event was to aggregate the conscripts into two groups, those who were “bon pour le service” (fit for military service) and those who were not. First, *le conseil* would review possible grounds for exemption, dispensation, deferment, or disqualification.¹⁰² The conscripts would be naked during the entire process and then weighed and measured in front of the municipal and military authorities of their home communities and peers of the same age. If a soldier failed to meet the height requirement, which was over one and a half meters, he would not be eligible for service. The conscript would be further classed into one of the various branches of the army—infantry, artillery, cavalry, etc.—according to his height. Other physiological and psychological factors were also considered, including weight, muscular strength, the circumference of the chest, and general bodily proportions.¹⁰³

The ritual procedure referenced by Jeannot occurred some months following the lottery ceremony, at which point the recent draftees would report to *le conseil de révision*. Historian Odile Roynette has explained that *le conseil de révision* was meant to do more than simply ascertain an individual’s aptitude for the army; it also determined the recruit’s status as a man and as a citizen.¹⁰⁴ As Roynette described, the event generated both joy and anguish on the part

¹⁰² Disabilities, adverse health conditions, and certain occupations (such as a clergy member or student) allowed one to be exempted or dispensed from his duty to enlist, whereas a criminal record immediately disqualified him. Roynette, *Bons pour le service*, 180.

¹⁰³ Ravenez, *Vie du soldat*, 13–28.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

of the recruits whose comportment throughout the proceedings came under scrutiny; the man's ability to bear up under the trial of public inspection was thought to foreshadow his adaptability to the hardships of military life.¹⁰⁵ The conscription process thus functioned to diagnose the state of France's young, male population who, if deemed fit, would enjoy full access to citizenship, which included both the right to vote and the *right* to serve in the army.¹⁰⁶ Doctor Ravenez argued for the necessity of *le conseil de révision* by contending that the success of the army lay not just in the strategy of its commanders but also in the fighting capabilities of its individual soldiers.¹⁰⁷ According to Ravenez, to be a soldier was neither a romantic adventure nor a great misfortune; it was rather a profession that required certain aptitudes and skills.¹⁰⁸ The ceremonial aura of the conscription process functioned much like a ritual cleansing of a sort proposed by Kristeva. The matter being removed during *le conseil de révision* was not dirt or waste that collected on the body; rather, unfit men were removed from the set of bodies viewed as acceptable by the army and, by extension, the state. This is not to say that all men viewed military service and even French citizenship as worthy goals. For instance, the 1889 conscription law was met with determined opposition in the antimilitarist anarchist press, as art historian Fae Brauer has noted.¹⁰⁹ However, from the army's perspective, following this new biological- and social-engineering logic, those not physically or socially fit for service represented an abject,

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ The process also set up an equation between the status of a man's physical body and his status as citizen. Those who were unapt, whether because of a disability, health condition, or criminal record, were excluded from one of the main entitlements of citizenship. Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen*, 214.

¹⁰⁷ Ravenez, *Vie du soldat*, 7.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Brauer, "Contesting 'Le corps militaire,'" unpaginated.

unusable excess. The universal and compulsory nature of conscription meant that the violative and merciless scrutiny of one's manhood was largely involuntary and theoretically inescapable.

Jeannot referenced this homogenizing effect sought after by the army through the pile of unceremoniously discarded clothes on the left-hand side of the painting. Articles of clothing signal the regional and class differences that shaped these young men's lives but have now been (at least temporarily) cast aside. Slouch hats, bowler hats, and flat caps join leather boots and wooden sabots to signal the mingling of city dwellers with rural laborers. Even the typically isolated Bretons are not exempt. Men from all of France's provinces—now districts—come together to serve the nation. One alleged effect of this redistribution was the integration diverse provinces, ethnicities, cultures, and dialects into one (militarized) nation.¹¹⁰ Jeannot referenced this aim to reorganize the physical and cultural geography of the country in the form of a map of France on the wall behind the recruits. A black splotch on the far right of the map covers over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, reminding viewers that the reasons these young men were being called into the army were the reclamation of France's lost territories and the restitution of its honor. The synoptic rendering of the map depicts the now-truncated French hexagon organized into military rather than the traditional provinces. Both the land and its people had, by this time, been structured around military service.

Jeannot instilled little confidence that these awkward and reticent youths would be able to defeat the German war machine when the time came. Critics fixated on the disappointing

¹¹⁰ Scholars in a range of fields have addressed the major changes to conscription laws in France during this period. See Roynette, *Bons pour le service*; Crépin, *La Conscription en débat*; Bozon, *Les Conscrits*; Thomson, "The Army under the Republic;" Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); David Ralston, *The Army of the Republic: The Place of the Military in the Political Revolution of France, 1871–1914* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967); Rachel Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France 1870–1914* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010); Alistair Horne, *The French Army and Politics*; and Thomson, *The Troubled Republic*.

corporeal states of the nude men when Jeanniot exhibited the painting at the Salon nationale des Beaux-Arts (National Salon of the Fine Arts) on the Champ du Mars in Paris.¹¹¹ A critic writing in *Le Spectateur militaire*, a paper oriented toward a military professional readership, praised Jeanniot's dexterity as a painter but took issue with how he treated the overall subject:

Excellent study of anatomy! But how much more striking, more complete would it be if the talented painter who had conceived the original idea had mixed, among the types that he took pleasure in presenting to us, ridiculous, anemic, deformed bodies, already old at twenty years, some handsome specimens of youth and strength, of vigor and virile suppleness! What instructive contrast would result! What healthy lesson for many of our adolescents and perhaps also even for their parents! It seems to us, in addition, that such a tableau, composed in the way we just indicated, would have been closer to the truth; for, fortunately for France, not all our conscripts resemble the degenerate beings that M. Jeanniot features on his canvas, otherwise sketched out with as much skill as conscientiousness, but really too pessimistic.¹¹²

This reviewer commented on a missed opportunity for Jeanniot to educate his young, male viewers how to maintain their health in order to prove apt for military service when the time came. The reviewer also disapproved of the evident relish with which Jeanniot depicted “deformed” and “degenerate” bodies. The critic felt the need to defend the truth, or at least a pro-military version of it, that not all French men were so puny and unworthy as Jeanniot's painting suggests. A reviewer describing the Salon in *L'Éclair* enjoyed the joke more so than their counterpart in *Le Spectateur militaire*:

It is a treat, given that it must be done against good fortune, that *Conseil de revision* (sic) by M. Jeanniot. These meager or rough-hewn torsos, these legs of civilized people, these

¹¹¹ The Société nationale des Beaux-Arts was founded by Meissonier as a somewhat more progressive and inclusive counterpart to the Société des artistes français. Their Salons occurred annually on the Champ du Mars.

¹¹² [“Excellente étude d’anatomie ! Mais combien elle serait plus frappante, plus complète si le peintre de talent qui en a conçu l’idée originale, avait, parmi les types, qu’il s’est complu à nous présenter, de corps débiles, anémiés, déformés, déjà vieux à vingt ans, mêlé quelques beaux spécimens de la jeunesse et de la force, de la vigueur et la souplesse viriles ! Quel contraste instructif en serait résulté ! Quelle saine leçon pour beaucoup de nos adolescents, et peut-être aussi pour leurs parents mêmes ! Il nous semble, en outre, qu’un pareil tableau, composé ainsi que nous venons de l’indiquer, eut été plus près de la vérité ; car, heureusement pour la France, tous nos conscrits ne ressemblent pas aux êtres dégénérés que M. Jeanniot fait figurer sur sa toile, brossée d’ailleurs avec autant d’habileté que de conscience, mais par trop pessimiste vraiment.”] “Promenade militaire au Salon du Champ de Mars,” *Le Spectateur militaire*, June 15, 1894, p. 448–49.

arms without muscles, one must laugh since these are or were ours. It is true that we have moral beauty: the good gendarme embodies it, who watches over these Milons without lions, these Hercules offended by labors, this cannon fodder—the cannons eat very poorly!¹¹³

The Salon review in *L'Univers illustré* repeated these sentiments by calling attention to the “amusing truth” in seeing the young, disrobed men embarrassed before they face the review board, while *Le Gaulois* asked, rhetorically: “Nothing but the natural and witty in this episode of manners. Eh! Great God! Is it not permitted to laugh after one has cried?”¹¹⁴

The artist emphasized the irregularity of muscles, of bones peeking through flesh, of shoulder blades forming sharp angles. Each young man has a different facial structure, a different haircut, a different height. One of the figures appears almost abnormally tall while the figure next to him, just below the map of France, might not make the minimum height requirement for military service. These anatomical juxtapositions imply corresponding disparities among the social milieux of the young men called to serve the nation. Nevertheless, Jeannot presented a rather narrow range: the ruddy faces and necks of most of the youths indicate lives spent toiling in the sun. Indeed, the central figure could almost be Courbet’s young man from *The Stonebreakers* without clothes (fig. 2.37; 1849, destroyed in World War II). Although we can only see his back, it is apparent his body is the most physically fit and at ease of the group. The others crouch over and tense up as they anticipate negative judgment; some timidly cover their genitals. The central figure, by contrast, stands with modest deference, head bowed but shoulders

¹¹³ [“C’est un régal, étant donné qu’il faut faire contre fortune bon cœur, que le *Conseil de revision* (sic) de M. Jeannot. Ces torsos maigres ou mal dégrossis, ces jambes de civilisés, ces bras sans muscles, il faut en rire, puisque ce sont ou ce furent les nôtres. Il est vrai que nous avons la beauté morale : le bon gendarme l’incarne, qui surveille ces Milons sans lions, ces Hercules indignés de travaux, cette chair à canon—les canons se nourrissent bien mal !”] “Le Salon du Champ de Mars,” *L’Éclair*, April 25, 1894.

¹¹⁴ “Les Salons de 1894,” *L’Univers illustré*, May 5, 1894. [“Eh ! grand Dieu ! n’est-il pas permis de rire après qu’on a pleuré ?”] “Salon du Champ de Mars 1894,” *Le Gaulois*, April 24, 1894.

back and muscles generally relaxed. He is full-fleshed, evidently well-fed, while the figure to his left looks half starved.

Unheroic, unglamorous, and ambivalent, *Conseil de révision* aligns with the broader tenets of realism in both its theme and composition. The floor rakes steeply upward at an impossible angle. The play on perspective, unsettling angle, and interest in youth in captivity all align with Edgar Degas's ballet imagery. As had Degas in several of his ballerina paintings, Jeannot also explored a cross-generational power differential in the figure of *le gendarme*. The youths are set in contrast to this much-older, columnar, clothed figure, who calls roll while the prospective recruits wait in anxious expectation of their assessments to come. This figure takes the place of Degas's dance instructor in the rehearsal room scenes and *les abonnés* (subscribers) in the stage scenes. The connection between Jeannot and Degas is closer than just a few formal and conceptual similarities between their paintings. The two were lifelong friends; Degas's profound impact on Jeannot's pictorial interests and themes has been noted by art historians.¹¹⁵ Degas purchased *Conseil de révision* from the Galeries Durand-Ruel in 1895.¹¹⁶ He also owned an engraved reproduction as well as several other painted and printed works by Jeannot.¹¹⁷ Louis Vauxcelles, writing under the penname Pinturricchio, crafted a realist lineage for the painting in his account of the auction of Degas's collection after the artist's death in 1918:

And finally, Jeannot, who had the honor of seeing his best painting, *The Recruit's Medical Examination*, hung in the rue Victor Massé. If life had not forced him to "create illustrations," Jeannot might have numbered among our strongest realists. He was encouraged by Manet and Degas. In his youth, while he was still an infantry officer, he

¹¹⁵ Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880-1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 48.

¹¹⁶ Ann Dumas, Colta Ives, Susan Alyson Stein, and Gary Tinterow, eds., *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 329.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

took the chance of submitting his work to Manet; the latter told him, “My friend, you’re one of us.” And that simple remark filled him with justifiable pride.¹¹⁸

Their friendship might help explain Jeanniot’s staccato brushwork used to render the flesh of the figures in *Conseil de révision*, which arguably recalls Degas’s representations of female nudes at their bath. The visibility of the mark-making—in Degas’s case monotype and pastel—is in tension with the eroticism that an image of a sex worker bathing might otherwise elicit, as art historian Carol Armstrong has argued.¹¹⁹

Jeanniot’s young conscripts have reason to be tense. The threat of bodily penetration looms over the painting. Indeed, a man’s posterior is our visual entry-point into the canvas, which I would argue establishes from first glance an anxiety over the penetrability of the male body. This centralizing of men’s backsides derives from Bazille’s, Caillebotte’s, even Chaperon’s depictions of nude male figures. Tamar Garb asserted that the back-view in Caillebotte’s *L’Homme au bain* invites a “sodomitical fantasy.”¹²⁰ If the naked *Rückenfigur* motif allows for the commingling of fantasy and anxiety, then such commingling presents itself as a key concern in *Conseil de révision* in which five out of six nude figures expose their backsides to our view. The medical examination that awaits them in the next room will likely probe the deep recesses of their bodies. For some, this may even be their first experience with a medical professional. Doctor G. McRache’s *Extrait du dictionnaire encyclopedique d’hygiene militaire* (Extract from the Encyclopedic Dictionary of Military Hygiene) offers a sense of the thorough and invasive nature of the medical examination.¹²¹ McRache provided a list of one

¹¹⁸ Pinturricchio (Louis Vauxcelles), “Studio Diary: King Lear; Living (Artists) in the Collection; Manets in the Collection” *Le Carnet de la semaine* 4, no. 148 (April 7, 1918), 8, quoted in *ibid.*, 329.

¹¹⁹ Armstrong, *Odd Man Out*, 163–64.

¹²⁰ Garb, *Bodies of Modernity*, 50.

¹²¹ G. McRache, *Extrait du dictionnaire encyclopedique d’hygiene militaire* (Paris: G. Masson, 1873), 737–42.

hundred diseases, illnesses, and conditions that would preclude one from military service along with definitions and related conditions. While likely not every army doctor perused the conscripts for all one hundred of the conditions listed in this dictionary, the document helps us apprehend the ideal level of detail of the examination process and the wide scope of physical and mental traits and conditions considered unacceptable by the army. What is more, certain items on the list indicate the conscious gender and sexual exclusivity of military service by declaring intersex people and men who receive anal penetration unfit.¹²²

Knowledge of the bodily invasion and humiliation entailed in the army medical examination was not limited to the professional circle. Satiric journals such as *L'Assiette au beurre* poked fun at these facets of the conscription process. The January 16, 1904 issue by Georges (Geo) Dupuis includes a lithograph of *le conseil de révision* in which a hefty army doctor faces a naked draftee and presumably grabs the young man's genitals while commanding him to "cough!" (fig. 2.38; 1904, Musée de l'Armée, Paris). The young man's body stiffens; his gluteal muscles contract; his shoulders rise; and the mark-making that describes the top of his head and back of his neck suggests his hair stands up from the shock. The caricatures executed by multiple artists conjure up a variety of prevalent issues including bodily diversity, variously pride and shame in one's nudity, refusal for religious exemptions to the all-nudity regulations, and nepotism (see figs. 2.39-2.45; 1906; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). One lithograph

¹²² McRache's text offers a sense of the thorough and invasive nature of the medical examination. It provides a list of 100 diseases, illnesses, and conditions that would preclude one from military service along with definitions and related conditions. The list prioritizes chronic and terminal diseases including syphilis (#3), diabetes (#5), and consumption (#6). Mental illnesses fall somewhat further down, including cretinism (#27), "mental alienation" (#28), and epilepsy (#29). Physical deformities and abnormalities appear at different points on the list and include hypertrophy of the upper lip (#66), a pronounced stutter (#70), flat feet (#96), and ingrown nails (#98). Among these physical abnormalities are listed genital ones, including anal scarring and ulcers (#84), lack of urethra (#86), and hermaphroditism (#87). The description for #84 also includes a "fallen rectum," which suggests an "unnatural anus [anus contre la nature]." This explicit detail implies not only that army doctors examined the rectums of the conscripts but also the understanding that a deformity was a potential sign of anal penetration. Ibid.

takes on the racially exclusionary tendencies of the army, recently come forcefully into the public light through the Dreyfus Affair (addressed further in the following section) (fig. 2.42). A doctor looks away from a prospective recruit, his arms outstretched in a gesture of repudiation. This doctor declares: “No need to look at you, for one can see that you are Jewish!”¹²³ Even while lampooning the army doctor’s antisemitism, the print represents the rejected conscript as anti-virile and therefore contrary to the martial ideal. His slouching shoulders, gaping mouth, receding hairline, and a hooked nose read as the stereotypical identifiers of the man’s alleged Jewishness, which disqualify him from military service more quickly than his visual impairment, made evident by the monocle he sports. Here, physiological exaggeration and racial profiling are two visual mechanisms meant to contribute to the print’s humor.

A poster from 1900 satirizes the sexual viability of the conscripts (fig. 2.46; 1900, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The prominent, central cartouche declares the naked young men “good for the girls” (*bons pour les filles*),” a clear riff on the army refrain “bons pour le service.” While an old gendarme and army doctor measure and visually examine two undressed young men to ensure that they are both fit for military service and heterosexual procreation, the print also stages a homoerotic visual encounter. On the left-hand side, the gendarme takes the measurements of the draftee in his charge. He looks down wide-eyed in surprise, his gaze falling near to the conscript’s naked buttocks, which are shielded from our view by this man’s hands. The young man grabs his backside and looks suggestively over his shoulder with eyebrows raised. While Jeanniot’s conscripts recoil from the shame of the examination, this conscript seems to enjoy the attention.

¹²³ [“Y a pas besoin de vous regarder, pour voir que vous êtes juif!”]

The medical examination provided fodder for caricature by the turn of the twentieth century. Daumier may have perceptively noted the subject's potential for humor and irony in 1842. However, by 1894, the political and social landscape of France looked completely different. Conscription was no longer the burden of the unfortunate few who drew a bad number; it was now a requirement for all men and a key facet of citizenship. As the next section will show, it did not take Jeanniot long to decide that conscription was no laughing matter.

Jeanniot's *Conseil de révision*, Second Version: The Return to Ideal Nudity

In his second version of *Conseil de révision* (fig. 2.3), completed in 1895, Jeanniot reworked the theme entirely. While both versions reference the medical examination—the first before the examination and the second in process—comparing the form and iconography of the two paintings reveals a stark ideological shift. This section posits that Jeanniot's second version engages more closely with the biological and social engineering projects of the army, the same with which Chaperon engaged eight years earlier. What is more, Jeanniot imbued the second version with an almost Christological cast, referencing the same conscription process but elevating the concept of martial sacrifice to the level of Christian martyrdom. Lastly, this section puzzles over the question: why revise the theme in this way, especially if Jeanniot had considered the 1894 version one of his most successful works and perhaps his best?

My suggestion is that the shift in the anatomy of the figures between the two paintings indicates a painterly response to the trial and conviction of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, which had occurred only months after Jeanniot exhibited the first version at the Salon nationale on the Champ de Mars. The conviction of Dreyfus launched a series of events that would come to be known collectively as the Dreyfus Affair, which lasted nearly a decade and involved courts

martial, public trials, conspiracies, cover ups, assassinations, and suicides, and which polarized French society around the turn of the century. The Affair and the scholarship it has generated are both highly complex, and I can only provide the barest account here. By January 1895, Dreyfus, a young Jewish artillery captain from Mulhouse, was charged with espionage, court-martialed, degraded in the courtyard of the École Militaire, and sentenced to life in prison. The degradation ceremony, represented in a print by Henri Meyer published in *Le Petit Journal*, stripped him literally of the uniform and figuratively of the honors and prestige it signified (fig. 2.47; 1895, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).¹²⁴ With the escalation of the Dreyfus Affair, these were exposed as explicitly anti-Semitic. His conviction exposed virulent anti-Semitic sentiments both in the French army and in society at large. This was fueled by the fact that in the 1890s leadership of the army and its main public supporters were typically Catholic.¹²⁵ There was no easy equation at the time between Catholicism and anti-Semitism; however, in the discourse surrounding the Dreyfus Affair, the two were often connected.¹²⁶ The trial, conviction, and degradation of Dreyfus were covered in major news outlets in 1894 and 1895 and drew conflicting opinions.

The public divided itself into pro-Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. The latter category consisted overwhelmingly of nationalists and militarists. It is difficult to say with certainty whether Jeannot was anti-Dreyfusard or anti-Semitic himself. The limited biographical record and his own writings are silent on these issues. His two main friendships were split as well:

¹²⁴ This image, along with a wide array of other visual material on the Dreyfus Affair, is the subject of a recent dissertation. See Kathryn Blaine Trittipio, "A Visual Affair: Popular Culture and L'Affaire Dreyfus" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2016).

¹²⁵ Christopher Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 21.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 67.

Degas became a fervent anti-Dreyfusard, while Zola, another friend, became one of the most famous and vociferous supporters of Dreyfus.¹²⁷ It was Zola's famous incendiary essay "J'accuse" and subsequent trial in 1898 that caused the Affair to rip through French society. The Dreyfus Affair notoriously broke up friendships and even families. I suggest that the controversy had an impact on Jeannot's artistic production during the interval of a year that separated the creation of these two versions of *le conseil de révision*. The second image may not have been read as explicitly anti-Semitic, but it did align with certain Christian-based ideas revolving around sacrifice and martyrdom, which were common within the army and were put to use by the anti-Dreyfusards. The notion of sacrifice also played a major role in the Third Republic's construction of patriotism. Patriotic sacrifice underpinned and ultimately justified universal conscription. Patriotic sacrifice increasingly took on the character of Christian martyrdom with the retrenchment of Catholicism in the leadership of the military, who came under attack as Dreyfus's innocence became evident.

Jeannot's second version of *Conseil de révision* restores the conventionally ceremonial aura of the recruitment procedure, focusing on the solemnity of the event and the dignity of the conscripts. The composition of the second version lacks the improvisational quality of the first. The construction of space is stabilized here; the rules of perspective are more closely obeyed than in the first version. A conscript stands front and center while the military doctor puts an ear to his chest. In the second version, the clothed uniformed officers outnumber the two main visible naked men. We also see more of the room's architecture, with the two pillars, the recessed window (partially screened), the ceilings, the corner of the room. The left-hand side of

¹²⁷ Linda Nochlin, "Edgar Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 142.

the painting contains a dark mass of suited bourgeois magistrates who watch this process while on the right *gendarmes* corral the other naked recruits at the back of the room. There is an architectural dynamism established by the raised podium on the left and the men seated at the table in the lower right. The space is crowded yet legible and hierarchized.

Jeannot did not exhibit the painting until 1909, when he entered it in the Salon nationale des Beaux-Arts on the Champ du Mars, the same venue in which he had first shown the 1894 version. Fewer critics reviewed *Conseil de révision* in 1909—the painting was fourteen years old by then—than had engaged with its brand-new predecessor in 1894. The reviews are also generally quite brief. What is significant is that none noted any humor in the later version. Critics still praised Jeannot for his perceptiveness and observation. Camille Le Senne, writing in *L'Événement*, called the painting a “modern Daumier,” declaring as two masterpieces “the bestial profile of the mayor who presides over the performance and the back of the military intendant who witnesses it.”¹²⁸ *L'Intransigeant* included only a brief praise of the painting, calling it “penetrating [aigu]” and “ferocious.”¹²⁹ Significantly, none called attention to the anatomy of the nude figures, which had drawn the majority of critics’ attention at the Salon of 1894. Critics then had seen the exaggerated and diverse mass of bodies as an evident joke, if not a problematic critique of the conscription process, whereas in 1909 they evidently found little out of the ordinary in Jeannot’s depiction of disrobed recruits.

Critics likely reserved comment on the anatomy of the nude figures because Jeannot returned to the idealizing principles of the classicizing, academic nude, which he had largely abandoned in the first version. The first version is populated by an assembly of bodies in various

¹²⁸ [“Deux purs chefs-d’œuvre : le profil bestial du maire qui préside la séance, et le dos de l’intendant militaire qui l’assiste.”] Camille Le Senne, “Le Salon de la Nationale,” *L'Événement*, April 14, 1909.

¹²⁹ “Le Salon de la Société Nationale,” *L'Intransigeant*, April 18, 1909.

states of physical development. In the second version, the central focus is still young recruits, but these figures stand dignified and reserved. A statuesque central figure is the fulcrum around which the entire composition spins. He is bathed in sunlight that filters through a shuttered window in the upper left background; his pale flesh and white smock contrast starkly to the dark mass of bodies surrounding him. His companion several steps behind, currently being measured on a *toise* (measuring rod) by *un gendarme*, is highlighted even more strongly.

Both of Jeanniot's depictions of *le conseil de révision* acknowledge the army's interests in biological and sociological engineering, albeit in opposite ways. In the first version, Jeanniot knew that countering both the ideal bodily proportions hoped for by army doctors and those promoted by the tradition of the male nude would raise eyebrows. In the second version, rather than poking fun at these ideals, he conformed to them. In fact, he not only restored the classical ideal nudity of the conscripts in this version, but he also made the figures appear almost Christlike. The central figure appears analogous to contemporaneous representations of Christ from the Passion such as Guillaume-Adolphe Bouguereau's *Flagellation de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ* (Flagellation of Our Lord Jesus Christ) (fig. 2.48; 1880, La Rochelle, Musée des Beaux-Arts). Bouguereau's oil-on-canvas altarpiece offers a contemporaneous example in which the spot-lit figure of Christ takes center stage. Suspended by ropes, Christ's fluorescent skin bears no blemishes even as the darker-skinned Romans beat him with barbed flails. His otherworldly body is unscathed by the implements of his tormenters.

This conceptual mingling of patriotic sacrifice with the trope Christian martyrdom emerged across a diverse visual field. It was oft repeated in the press. The Sunday supplement to one of France's most widespread periodicals, *Le Petit Journal*, maintained a rhetoric of

neutrality, although its Catholic leanings remained apparent.¹³⁰ The cover image on its December 23, 1894 issue made an overt connection between Christ's death and French military authority (fig. 2.49; 1894, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France). Henri Meyer's image depicts Captain Dreyfus as he defends himself before the tribunal. Above the members of the high command, the issue of the Jewish captain's innocence or culpability is adjudicated by an image of a crucified Christ, which is a painting of a wooden crucifixion planted in the countryside. Historian Christopher Forth has contended that the anti-Dreyfusard press often drew on the biblical gospel of Matthew, which emphasized the Jews' role in the conviction and execution of Christ.¹³¹ Jean Joseph Weerts's *Pour l'Humanité, pour la patrie* (For Humanity, for the Fatherland) also makes a direct visual connection between Christ's sacrifice and that of the French soldier (fig. 2.50; 1895, Musée de la ville de Paris, Petit Palais). I would argue that the image is also anti-Dreyfusard or that the painting at least lends itself to an anti-Dreyfusard position. Christ and the French army are conjoined in their martyrdom, which Christ first suffered when executed by the Romans, and then, the image proposes, on the battlefields of the Franco-Prussian War, and yet again with the Dreyfusard attack on the trustworthiness and prestige of the army. With this reading, the *toise* in *Conseil de révision* takes on the role of the cross as the instrument of the future soldiers' martyrdom for the state.

Christ's body, flawless and sculptural, with visual representations rooted both in French academic classicism and the Catholic cult of saints, could be adapted to function as an antidote to physical and moral imperfections embodied by stereotypes of those coming to be deemed degenerate according to the French military establishment: homosexual men, masturbators, and

¹³⁰ Forth, *Dreyfus Affair*, 21. Trittipio disputed Forth on this point and argued that the editors and artists involved even in the major journals were aware of their role in forming public opinion on the issue. "A Visual Affair," 31.

¹³¹ Forth, *Dreyfus Affair*, 68.

Jews. All three categories were construed as effeminate and weak, unfit for military service.¹³² From a nationalist perspective, these bodies were symptoms of metaphorical diseases that sapped the strength of the army and the nation.¹³³ They were managed by series of quasi-ritual procedures. *Le conseil de révision* was one such ceremony whereby healthy and acceptable bodies were differentiated from the imperfect, anti-virile bodies, which were subsequently removed from the armed forces. Weekly showers within the barracks and regular medical examinations further removed filth and disease from the bodies of individual soldiers. With the Dreyfus Affair, the ceremony of degradation became a symbolic means to remove Jewish bodies from the ranks. It was for this reason in part that historian Zeev Sternhell pinpointed the origins of fascism in late nineteenth-century French military culture.¹³⁴ On various levels, from the physical to the symbolic, these measures sought to banish elements perceived as abject and to preserve the healthy homogeneity of the army from any future illness.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined three rare examples of male nudity featured in late nineteenth-century French military painting. Two of the works considered, Chaperon's *La Douche au régiment* and Jeanniot's first version of *Conseil de révision*, were found by critics to be amusing or witty. In Chaperon's case, the humor of his tableau likely originated to the humiliating

¹³² Forth discussed stereotypes about Jewish men as sedentary and effeminate, which surfaced during the height of the Dreyfus Affair and drew on medical and racial conceptions of the nation. *Ibid.*, 70–76.

¹³³ Fae Brauer remarked on a similar connection between anti-Semitism in art and medico-nationalist discourses: "In aestheticizing health, art was able to inscribe fitness as natural, evolved, civilized and beautiful. Conversely, by framing illness, disease, disability and deformity alongside racial and Semitic difference as the binary opposite, the 'degenerate' body became inscribed as abject, contagious and dangerous." Brauer, "Introduction," 7.

¹³⁴ Zeev Sternhell, *La Droite révolutionnaire, 1885–1914: Les Origines française du fascisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997).

circumstances in which a group of young soldiers find themselves, that is, stripped naked to be hosed down by a superior. Their playful attitudes and the indifference of the other clothed soldiers served to counter any sense of shame that such a situation might otherwise inspire. In Jeanniot's case, the unidealized, naked bodies of young conscripts and their blatant embarrassment serve as the targets of the joke. Although the two works vary drastically in formal terms, both point to contemporary unease about the painted depiction of the nude male body, which drove certain critics to read the works as humorous. In his second version of *Conseil de révision*, Jeanniot removed any hint of drollery and restored the ceremonial aura of the conscription process, figuring nude conscripts as emblems of a quasi-religious martial sacrifice. Jeanniot's return to conventional pictorial means in this later picture points to a retrenchment of nationalist, promilitary, antisemitic sentiment. The artist's precise rationale for creating two widely disparate versions of the same theme less than a year apart—which I have suggested pertained to the trial and conviction of Alfred Dreyfus—and the fact he did not exhibit the later work until 1909 both deserve more investigation.

During the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, representations of all-male nudity in barracks, locker rooms, and prison showers and during the conscription process have proliferated in art, literature, and film. The number of possible interpretations for such scenes are many and range from humiliation and vulnerability, the comedy of embarrassment, erotic enjoyment, and the threat or reality of sexual violation. Before 1887, depictions of soldiers showering were rare, and Chaperon's only reference to the subject would possibly have been technical prints and diagrams found in hygiene treatises. On the other hand, conscription had appeared in prints long before Jeanniot crafted *Conseil de révision* on canvas. Prints depicting conscripts frequently pictured them as the victims of unfortunate circumstances. Both Chaperon's and Jeanniot's

paintings of nude soldiers could be understood variously as amusing, didactic, or patriotic, although lying beneath the surfaces of all three canvases are anxieties over improper nudity, “unnatural” sexuality, bodily violation, and racial degeneration. The artists engaged with developing techniques for biological and social engineering promoted under the guise of hygiene. Ideals of male health and virility became tethered to citizenship by means of universal conscription laws and were later exposed during the Dreyfus Affair as racially exclusionary. Military hygiene involved modes of coercion that were hardly “subtle,” as the epigraph quotation by Foucault might suggest, but were shown in paintings and even more so in caricatures to be humiliating and likely quite traumatic.

CHAPTER III

The Diseased Soldier, France/Madagascar: Paul-Emmanuel Legrand's *La Fièvre* (1896)

Yet it is hardly possible to take up one's residence in the kingdom of the ill unprejudiced by the lurid metaphors with which it has been landscaped.¹

Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 1979

Introduction

Paul-Emmanuel Legrand's painting *La Fièvre* (Fever) represents the ravages of disease during France's colonial wars as a monstrous personification of "fever" who has just laid claim to the body of a dead marine (fig. 3.1; 1896, Musée du service de santé des Armées, Paris). The young man sprawls serenely across the foreground in an upside-down cruciform pose. But it is the monster—a slime-covered hybrid creature, featuring the head and arms of an old woman and hindquarters of a monitor lizard—who truly arrests our attention, not the least because she stares down the viewer with a penetrating, venomous gaze. She beams out from the painting, even while her inhuman, gray complexion blends in with the overall gray, tan, and brown color palette, and her reptilian features merge her into the swampy environment that surrounds her. As striking as the monstrosity that Legrand (1860–1947) brought into being are the minimal means with which he crafted his tale of pathogenic homicide. Loose, frothy brushwork describes a desolate plain that scoops up into a hill on the left-hand side of the composition. The foreground contains a marsh, pierced by a trail that extends back toward the high horizon line where black

¹ Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3.

splotches of paint indicate stretcher bearers (*brancardiers*) on the way to retrieve their comrade. Heavy, gray clouds fill the upper register, pushing down on the scene and joining with the standing water that pervades the marsh to give the image a palpable humidity.

La Fièvre confounds what perhaps we thought we knew about the genre of military painting of the period. Military painters active during these years rarely included such fantastical beings in their work, preferring instead to base their compositions on close observation and research inside barracks and camps, on parades, and through resources on military history. *La Fièvre* presented its maker with an intriguing pictorial dilemma, one that few military painters engaged with: how to visualize rampaging fever and, by extension, disease, something invisible to the naked eye and which resists representation. In other words, the paradox posed for Legrand was how to encapsulate the material, conceptual, and socio-political dimensions bound up in the notion of disease, all while working within the means and conventions of oil painting. As we will see, the painting's equivocal reception suggests that Legrand's use of the allegorical mode to resolve this paradox garnered only limited positive response.

La Fièvre stands out amid Legrand's oeuvre. Even though some of his most noteworthy paintings touch on martial themes, he by no means dedicated his career to depicting military subjects. Moderately well-known during his lifetime, he is mostly forgotten today.² Piecing together a coherent picture of the artist's biography and his oeuvre therefore remains challenging, although we do know some details. He was born on August 16, 1860, in Vitry-sur-

² Scholars who have discussed his work have mainly focused on his painting *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille* (1897), addressed below. These include François Robichon, *La Peinture militaire française de 1871 à 1914* (Boulogne-Billancourt: Association des amis d'Édouard Detaille, B. Giovanangeli, 1998); Richard Thomson, *The Troubled Republic: Visual Culture and Social Debate in France, 1889–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Fae Brauer, "Contesting 'Le corps militaire': Antimilitarism, Pacificism, Anarcho-Communism and 'Le Douanier' Rousseau's *La Guerre*," *RIHA* (July 2012); and Katie Hornstein, *Picturing War in France, 1792–1856* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

Seine, just southeast of Paris, putting him in the same age group as Eugène Chaperon, discussed in the previous chapter. Like Chaperon, he was a member of the Société des artistes français (Society of French Artists) (SAF), the privately managed heir to the government-sponsored Salon exhibitions from earlier in the century, the director of which by 1896 was the famed military painter Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille (1848–1912). Legrand executed *La Fièvre* in his Paris studio at 42, rue d’Orsel, near the base of the hill of Montmartre, directly south of the Sacré-Coeur basilica still under construction.³

This chapter proposes that Legrand produced another paradox by alluding to French imperial power through a scenario of masculine disempowerment. Legrand’s allegorical highlighting of the true enemy “fever” and her human prey permitted him to reflect on the cost of war and subtly to denounce the military’s handling of disease in colonial wars, even while allowing viewers of different political cast some interpretive latitude. Pro-imperialist viewers could interpret disease as a diabolical, nature-aligned foe to be feared and overcome for empire-building to continue, whereas those opposed to imperialism might have been incensed by the tragic loss of (white, European, French) life. While Legrand blatantly condemned the evils of disease, I would argue that his image does not necessarily impel us to question the rightness of colonial war itself.

The chapter’s four sections take on the painting’s four main elements: the monster, the soldier, the landscape, and the overarching concept of fever. Each formal and conceptual element gives entry into broader cultural issues surrounding ideal gender roles, France’s military power, and its vaunted medical establishment, which, however, failed to prevent the deaths of thousands of soldiers sent on colonial campaigns. The first section investigates the allegorical monster as

³ *Catalogue illustré de peinture et sculpture, Salon de 1897* (Paris: Librairie d’Art, 1897), unpaginated.

the perpetrator of the marine's death. The androgynous and ambiguously shaped ghoulish figure resists classification while she invokes "fantasies of feminine evil," to borrow literary scholar Bram Dijkstra's evocative phrase.⁴ The second section positions the dead marine as a martyrial figure, an emblem of martial sacrifice (*le sacrifice du soldat*). The marine is pictured as the monster's opposite: young, securely male, and discretely separated from his environs, in contrast to the old, de-sexed, and formless creature who now perches on top of his body. In the third section, I contend that the work simultaneously references the French occupation of Madagascar, which began in 1895, and leaves the precise setting open. Viewers would have insinuated a connection to Madagascar through two concurrent projects to make the island knowable, the natural historical and geographic research of Alfred Grandidier (1836–1921) and the journalistic work and forms of popular entertainment, including dioramas and a panorama, of Louis Tinayre (1861–1942). Lastly, the fourth section examines some of the means by which the medical field sought to control disease—specifically malaria, which pervaded the Madagascar campaign—including documenting symptoms on the human body, preparing maps and charts, and investigating microbes with the help of microscopic imagery. Such scientific images help us understand not just what Legrand necessarily omitted from *La Fièvre* but also what potential truths about disease his terrifying allegory was meant to convey.

The Personification of Fever: "Fantasies of Feminine Evil"

This section begins to decode Legrand's allegory by examining the creation of the female personification of fever. The swamp monster is the most eye-catching aspect of *La Fièvre*, a

⁴ Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-siècle Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

deliberate move on the artist's part. The violent clash between this creature and the marine (who did not survive the encounter), which we thus witness in its aftermath, provides the primary narrative action of the work. One critic from the period suggested that simply to have depicted the dead marine alone beside the swamp would have sufficed to carry the work; he regarded the monster as gratuitous.⁵ Yet each figure, it can be argued, relies on the other to make its own significance legible: they are two facets of the same process, one the cause, the other, the effect. Without some way of rendering disease visible, the nature of the soldier's death would be left ambiguous. Conversely, without the dead soldier stretched across the canvas, the half-woman, half-lizard would be a floating signifier, with little context and with only a tenuous association to figures in mythology or literature, not to mention in the real world. Even if viewers, through the title, understood the monster as a personification of disease, any notion of the impact of disease on humans, specifically France's colonial forces, would have been absent. The killing of the marine is what gives the monster its reason for being. And now she holds us in her cruel, sphinxlike gaze, threatening to leap out of the canvas and claim us as her next victim.

The swamp creature no doubt had its impact on visitors to the 1896 SAF on the Champs-Élysées in Paris, where the picture competed for attention with nearly 5,000 other paintings, sculptures, and *objets d'art*. Legrand's medium-scale canvas stood out for another critic who was equally disturbed by its monstrous allegory:

the cruel souvenir of our campaign in Madagascar which he shows us must turn cold those of us who have lost friend or relative in that fever-breeding country. In truth it is "La Fièvre," which on the brink of a pestilential pool outstretches one of our unfortunate soldiers, while his comrades are disappearing in the distance near the arid horizon, leaving him abandoned, like so many another. The artist might well have stopped at this, but, fearing perhaps that his conception might not fully be understood, he has attempted

⁵ "Paris: Salon of the Champs Elysées," in *The American Architect and Building News*, June 6, 1896.

to personify fever itself, and so has placed near the dying man a horrid monster which has the bust of an old woman with crocodile body, all flabby and slimy.⁶

This unnamed reviewer, who was French but wrote in English in *The American Architect and Building News*, felt that the use of allegory was discordant with the work's overall brutal subject. The reviewer continued, "Was this worth while?" before responding with a negative assessment, "For my part, I feel that this bit of allegory detracts from the telling impression that the picture makes, and deprives it of all human sympathy."⁷ Whereas allegory had traditionally functioned in oil painting to elevate a subject, this reviewer thought it did the opposite.⁸ The reviewer accused Legrand of participating in a larger trend of sacrificing art for special effects: "If I describe this picture it is not because it is better than the others, but because there can be discerned in it the anti-artistic results that follow these searchings after schemes that will attract the public, and this general abandonment of simplicity."⁹

What had bothered this reviewer was neither the painting's bleak subject nor the use of allegory as a pictorial mode per se but instead the particular way it was deployed. To him, the "horrid monster" was little more than an obvious device to capture viewers' attention rather than a means to convey the tragedy of disease-related deaths among the colonial troops. A reviewer in the leftwing Parisian daily *La Lanterne* was more sympathetic:

Among the canvases, there is one nevertheless that deserves to be highlighted because its subject is taken from the colonial wars, a mine not yet exploited, and also because it shows our soldiers in a struggle with their terrible enemy, fever. M. *Paul Legrand* represents fever in the guise of a greenish beast who has just come out of a neighboring

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ According to William Olander, during the late eighteenth century, allegory helped elevate both portraiture and contemporary history painting by bringing it out of the realm of the mundane and temporally specific. William Olander, "Pour transmettre à la postérité: French Painting and Revolution, 1774–1795" (PhD diss., New York University, 1984), 39–40.

⁹ "Salon on the Champs-Élysées."

marsh to slaughter a soldier wearing a pith helmet across the road. He lies, already stiffened by death, and the monster poses on his chest, in a gesture of conquest and satisfied ferocity, its fingers crooked and venomous. Just on the horizon, the battalion continues its march, and one imagines that all along this road that he traces through the desert, other greenish monsters will arise and snatch up other beings young and full of life.¹⁰

The reviewer in *La Lanterne* had generally disparaged canvases with “patriotic” subjects, although he praised Legrand’s canvas for taking on disease, which was one of the chief causes of death in the colonial wars and had been largely ignored by painters. These two critics thus agreed on the tragedy of the subject but differed in their assessments of the appropriateness of allegory to represent it.

Literary scholar Angus Fletcher conceived of allegory in a broad sense as something that “says one thing and means another. It destroys the normal expectation we have about language, that our words ‘mean what they say.’”¹¹ He clarified that the author of allegory “necessarily exerts a high degree of control over the way any reader must approach any given work.”¹² Susan Sontag opened her book *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (a response to her own *Illness as Metaphor*) with a definition of metaphor strikingly analogous to Fletcher’s characterization of allegory: “‘Metaphor,’ Aristotle wrote, ‘consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else.’ Saying a thing is or is like something-it-is-not is a mental operation as old as philosophy and poetry, and the spawning ground of most kinds of understanding, including scientific

¹⁰ [“Parmi ces toiles, il en est une pourtant qui mérite d’être signalée parce que son sujet est emprunté aux guerres coloniales, mine non encore exploitée et aussi parce qu’elle nous montre nos soldats en lutte avec leur terrible ennemie, la fièvre. M. *Paul Legrand* représente la fièvre sous les traits d’une bête verdâtre qui vient de sortir d’un marais voisin pour abattre au travers de la route un soldat coiffé du casque de liège. Il gît, déjà raidi par la mort, et le monstre pose sur sa poitrine, dans un geste de conquête et férocité assouvie, ses doigts crochus et venimeux. Au bout de l’horizon, le bataillon continue sa marche, et l’on devine que tout le long de cette route qu’il trace dans le désert, d’autres monstres verdâtres vont surgir et happer au passage d’autres êtres jeunes et pleins de vie.”] “Les Salons aux Champs-Élysées,” *La Lanterne: Journal politique quotidienne*, May 4, 1896, 2.

¹¹ Fletcher, *Allegory*, 2.

¹² Angus Fletcher, quoted in Nochlin, “Courbet’s Real Allegory,” 113.

understanding, and expressiveness.”¹³ While Fletcher’s and Sontag’s texts may rarely be thought of in the same context, the two authors propose a tension in metaphorical thinking that shapes my analysis in this section, one between authorial invention and control of meaning, on the one hand, and the broad interpretive latitude allowed by allegory and metaphor, on the other.¹⁴ Legrand, as I will show, relied on a long-established, commonly accepted allegorical visual language even while his particular use of it was idiosyncratic.

La Fièvre follows a dualistic pattern of allegory in that its message would seem to be both direct and open-ended, allowing for a circumscribed set of readings. We are clearly meant to perceive the image as a violent encounter between a vicious monster and a colonial marine, yet the precise message we are to divine from this clash remains open to interpretation. We may interpret fever as a demonic beast responsible for the deaths of young, French, colonial soldiers, yet our response to that message depends on our particular viewpoints and politics vis-à-vis France’s colonial wars.¹⁵ Even so, we are able to discern rather clearly the power dynamics of age and gender at work in the painting. The otherworldly aggressor is depicted as old and

¹³ Susan Sontag, *AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1989), 5.

¹⁴ Scholars have parsed the similarities and differences among allegory, metaphor, and symbol, some seeing the three as distinct and others as similar. With Fletcher’s and Sontag’s definitions in mind, I see allegory and metaphor as conceptually related. The relation of symbol to these two terms does not figure strongly into my thinking in this chapter.

¹⁵ Theories and histories of allegory have proliferated since at least the eighteenth century and have involved early thinkers such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Charles Baudelaire who, with the exception of the latter, mostly disparaged the mode as artificial, abstract, cold, and intellectual, as opposed to the symbol. Twentieth- and twenty-first-century philosophers and theorists have engaged extensively with these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers, including Walter Benjamin, Paul de Man, Angus Fletcher, and Frederic Jameson, among others. Their works, in turn, have generated a vast array of subsequent studies across a broad range of academic disciplines. Given the richness of this field of inquiry, it is little wonder that the concept has taken on a wide variety of significances, including dialectical, historical, rhetorical, temporal, literary, visual, cognitive, philosophical, religious, aesthetic, and political. See, for instance, Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: Verso, 1998); Paul de Man, “Pascal’s Allegory of Persuasion,” in *Aesthetic Ideology*, ed. Andrzej Warminski (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Angus Fletcher *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964); and Frederic Jameson, *Allegory and Ideology* (London: Verso, 2019).

female-coded (if androgynously so), while the martial victim is young and resolutely male. Allegory facilitated a rhetorical strategy with which to highlight the prevalence of disease among the colonial armed forces while refusing to take a political side, in essence removing the artist's message, as art historian Linda Nochlin might phrase it, "from the immediate present and (setting) it in the vast, unclarified spaces of History and Universal Truth."¹⁶

The unnamed reviewer in *The American Architect and Building News* alluded to a historically specific, iconographic sense of allegory, that is, as a motif in which a fantastical or mythological, typically female-coded being is used to represent an abstract, otherwise intangible notion. Not coincidentally, disease was frequently coded as feminine in nineteenth-century French culture and popular discourse. In *Illness as Metaphor*, Sontag described a romantic literary environment of nineteenth-century Europe permeated by references to illness, specifically tuberculosis (consumption). Even though she cited numerous literary examples of men suffering from the disease, she associated the idealization of illness with femininity. According to Sontag, the slow wasting away, accompanied at points by pallor and at other points by the flush of fever, created "an appealing vulnerability, a superior sensitivity . . . while great men of the mid- and late nineteenth century grew fat, founded industrial empires, wrote hundreds of novels, made wars, plundered continents."¹⁷ Like tuberculosis, the widespread venereal disease syphilis also dominated nineteenth-century cultural imagination and was frequently

¹⁶ Linda Nochlin, "Courbet's Real Allegory: Representing the Painter's Studio," in *Representing Women* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 119.

¹⁷ Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 29.

associated with anxieties over dangerous femininity, deemed the scourge wrought on society by female sex work, as numerous scholars have shown.¹⁸

The feminine gendering of the allegorical figure in *La Fièvre* followed in a tradition of personifying abstract concepts as feminine, including Paris and France, figures who proliferated following the Franco-Prussian War though with roots in the Revolution of 1789. Also doubtless figuring in and helping to determine the form *La Fièvre* took was a contemporaneous fixation on female creatures, celestial beings, monsters, and *femmes fatales* in art and culture.¹⁹ In the immediate aftermath of the war, artists such as Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) had turned to allegory to make sense of the conflict’s devastation.²⁰ *Le Siège de Paris* centers a female personification of Paris surrounded by gallant male defenders fighting and dying at her feet (fig. 3.2; begun 1870, reworked 1884, Musée d’Orsay, Paris).²¹ The soldiers who surround the human embodiment of the French capital wear the uniforms of the National Guard, scrupulously observed by Meissonier and reminiscent of his experience as a lieutenant colonel in one of the ad-hoc Parisian defense forces during the siege.²² The herculean figure of Paris,

¹⁸ Some of the most extensive studies of this phenomenon include Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of Ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); and Andrew Israel Ross, *Public City/Public Sex: Homosexuality, Prostitution, and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019).

¹⁹ For an extended discussion on the role of allegorical depictions of Paris during and just following the siege by the German army, see Hollis Clayson, “Gender and Allegory in Flux,” in *Paris in Despair: Art and Everyday Life under Siege (1870–71)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 114–62.

²⁰ The defeat by Prussia was conceptualized variously as an amputation (referring to the cession of Alsace and Lorraine) and as a rape of France, framed as the national “mother” whose honor and bodily integrity had both been violated. The commonly used phrase “la Mère Patrie” encapsulates the nation’s confusing gender roles; it is difficult to translate “the Mother Fatherland” into English without either eliding or exposing the contradiction in terms.

²¹ See Constance Cain Hungerford, *Meissonier: Master in His Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 139–43.

²² *Ibid.*, 138.

complete with lionskin mantle, serves here as a protector; her muscular frame and attributes of the Greco-Roman demigod of strength are metaphors for the stone-and-mortar walls that girdled the capital and allowed for a four-month resistance to the German onslaught (fig. 3.3; detail). Meissonier's personification of Paris borrowed from public sculptures that commemorated the Franco-Prussian War and specifically the siege of Paris, which represented the city as a muscular woman who stands defiantly while male soldiers collapse heroically around her feet. One of the most famous examples was Louis-Ernest Barrias's winning submission for the state-run competition to design a sculpted monument to the siege. His *Monument à la Défense de Paris* (Monument to the Defense of Paris) depicts a broad-shouldered figure of Paris who dons a decidedly masculine garment, a bulky, double-breasted greatcoat, along with a crenellated crown and a sword, all the trappings of armed *civitas* (fig. 3.4; 1879; Place de la Défense, Paris).²³ Barrias's sculpture contributed to a new vogue for allegorical depictions of women that swept through France during this period, all meant to personify various elevated ideals: Marianne, France, Liberty, Victory, the Republic, etc.²⁴

While referencing this tradition of heroic female personification, Legrand's allegory of fever diverges from that tradition by configuring the allegorical figure not as a protector but as an

²³ As art historian Michael Dorsch has usefully explained, Barrias updated an iconographic precedent set by the sculptor-prodigy Antonin Mercié, who managed to synthesize the figures of the Pietà, David and Goliath, and the *Winged Victory of Samothrace* into a single elegy of pathetic heroism in *Gloria Victis*. Barrias favored a realist idiom as opposed to Mercié's overt use of allegory. Michael Dorsch, *French Sculpture Following the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–80: Realist Allegories and the Commemoration of Defeat* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 81–130. Additional studies that helpfully explain the use of female personification in nationalist sculpture following the Franco-Prussian War include June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam, eds, *Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870–1914* (Washington: National Gallery of Art; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); Karine Varley, *Under the Shadow of Defeat: The War of 1870-71 in French Memory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

²⁴ Eric Hobsbawm discussed the proliferation of imagery of Marianne as the mass production of tradition in Third Republic France. Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 272. Such uses of allegorical imagery in painting, public sculpture, and architecture were more than simply popular trends in France at the turn of the twentieth century. These references were deeply embedded in French ideals of the Republic, passed down from the Revolution of 1789.

aggressor, transforming the stalwart and herculean woman into a shriveled and slimy, sphinxlike monster. Painter and illustrator Gustave Doré (1832–1883) used the mythological creature of the sphinx to allude to the destruction of war as a great mystery, monstrous and unpredictable. He created three grisaille canvases that depict a female personification of Paris—this time as a young woman garbed in antique drapery and sporting wings—to represent the brutality of the siege of the city in the winter months of late 1870 and early 1871. The perhaps best-known of the three, *L'Énigme* (Enigma), presents the figure of Paris shooting a beseeching gaze into the unmoved eyes of the sphinx while the foreground is littered with the dead bodies of soldiers and civilians, including a mother still embracing her infant; the physical city smolders in the distance (fig. 3.5; 1871, Musée d'Orsay, Paris). Unlike Legrand's monster, the sphinx in *L'Énigme* evinces neither overt hostility nor compassion toward her allegorical companion's evident agony. The creature rests an immense leonine paw on the winged woman's shoulder, a comforting gesture that we are keenly aware could at any point turn lethal.

Whether Legrand had Doré, Barrias, or Meissonier specifically in mind when he created *La Fièvre* is not precisely my point. Rather, I argue that Legrand took part in a culture that had been steeped in such allegorical references for at least the past twenty-five years. He exhibited an eclectic range of subjects between 1880 and 1900, including idealized, female-coded beings meant to represent abstract concepts, in addition to depictions of children, landscapes, and Orientalist scenes. His preference for these subjects likely owed something to his tutelage under the academic artists Gaston Casimir Saint-Pierre (1833–1916) and Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904).²⁵ Legrand's artistic training would also have versed him in several classical tales that pit a

²⁵“Legrand, Paul-Emmanuel,” in *Dictionary of Artists/Bénézit* (Paris: Gründ, 2006), 750; John House and Mary Anne Stevens, eds., *Post-Impressionism: Cross-Currents in European Painting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), 88–89.

young, male hero against a female-coded monster, such as Oedipus's battle of wits with the sphinx and Perseus's decapitation of the Gorgon Medusa. In these stories, the hero always emerges victorious over his half-woman, half-animal adversary, usually resulting in her death. Painterly depictions of these mythological creatures, such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's and Gustave Moreau's tableaux of Oedipus confronting the sphinx, often combined feminine beauty with terror, if not evidenced by the creature's leonine bodies and aquiline wings then by the appendages of victims that crop up in the foregrounds of both paintings.²⁶ Legrand, by contrast, reveled in the ugliness of his swamp creature, rendering not a youthful, feminine beauty attached to an animal body but an androgynous, old woman with a threatening stare and barely perceptible fangs, who makes even Doré's "enigma" appear comforting by comparison. Legrand also reversed the power dynamics presented by these stories in *La Fièvre*. It is the male protagonist who occupies the passive role, having died, while the monster is the active, victorious counterpart.

By 1896, Legrand had established a specialty in depicting female-coded, fantastical beings meant to embody abstract concepts, even though the military subject of *La Fièvre* was somewhat new to him. For instance, his painting *Mélancolie*, created four years before *La Fièvre*, depicts "melancholy" as a veiled woman playing a boat-shaped harp or sambuca—also inhabiting a swamp—while an ethereal, winged, female figure emanates from the strings and

²⁶ Art historian Peter Cooke argued, following Susan Siegfried, that Moreau adopted Ingres's "post-narrative" form of painting in *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, packing most of the drama of the work into the intense exchange of gazes between hero and monster. Legrand departed from these works by including a discernible narrative in *La Fièvre*, if a rather simple one. Peter Cooke, *Gustave Moreau: History painting, Spirituality and Symbolism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 49; Susan Siegfried, *Ingres: Painting Reimagined* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 35.

whirls in the air with her supernatural companions (fig. 3.6; 1892).²⁷ Legrand's use of a female figure or, in this case, multiple female figures, to signify the state of melancholy prefigures the similar painterly move he made in *La Fièvre* four years later. The two classically inspired beings in Legrand's *Mélancolie* constitute the two versions of what Dijkstra characterized as the tropes of the natural woman, one as a solid and enthroned maternal figure, a combination of mother nature and the Virgin Mary, and the other as a diaphanous and weightless nymph.²⁸

Legrand had exhibited *Mélancolie* at the first Salon de la Rose † Croix (Salon of the Rose + Cross) (R † C) at the Galerie Durand-Ruel.²⁹ The fashionably melodramatic event combined art, music, and theater and was hosted by the Ordre Laïque de la Rose † Croix du Temple et du Graal (Lay Order of the Rose + Cross of the Temple and the Grail), an esoteric revivalist group led by the author and impresario Joséphin Péladan (1858–1918). The main prerequisite for acceptance to their inaugural Salon was a pictorial commitment to the beautiful, the eternal, and the archetypal and a rejection of the mundane.³⁰ The criteria for admittance were based primarily on subject matter while the organizers encouraged an open range of styles, media, and

²⁷ The title *Mélancolie* potentially situates the painting amid a long tradition of imagery depicting the four temperaments personified, with Albrecht Dürer's *Melencolia* being one of the noteworthiest antecedents.

²⁸ Dijkstra presented numerous paintings to demonstrate that this was a frequently occurring dualistic pattern in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art, among which he situated another work by Legrand, *The Snow*. Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity*, 84–85.

²⁹ Scholars have recently taken interest in the Salons and the Order of the Rose † Croix. The events ran from 1892 to 1897 and featured an international array of participants, such as the Swiss-born Nabi Félix Vallotton (1865–1925) and the Belgian symbolist Jean Delville (1867–1953). Péladan was an eccentric celebrity in his own right, a devout Catholic who was also immersed in the occult and an avid admirer of German composer Richard Wagner. He styled himself variously as Grand Maître and Sâr Merodack, all while sporting an Assyrian beard, both fabricating a distinctive public profile and signifying his self-appointed role as art's high priest. See Lucien Midavaine, "Music and the Convergence of the Arts in Symbolist Salons: From the Salons de la Rose † Croix to the Salons d'Art Idéaliste," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 2019), unpaginated. A recent exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum displayed numerous works once exhibited at the Salons de la R † C; see Vivien Greene ed., *Mystical Symbolism: The Salon de la Rose + Croix in Paris, 1892–1897* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2017).

³⁰ *Exhibitions of the Rosicrucian Salon*, xliii.

formal techniques. The Order cast allegory as the antithesis of a rational, empirical, materialist realism that had dominated art at the larger, mainstream Salon des artistes français and Salon nationale des Beaux-Arts up to that point. Péladan viewed the Order's annual Salons as part of a cultural rejuvenation to counteract what he perceived as the decline of French society and the Latin race, symptoms of which ran the gamut from naturalist and decadent art to the increased public roles of women.³¹ The Salon regulations themselves contain few references to Péladan's pessimistic views on contemporary society, which are made known in his other writings and in the Order's constitution.³² Still, the Salons aligned with these views at least in spirit, as their stated purpose was "to restore the worship of the Ideal in all splendor with Tradition as its basis and Beauty as its means."³³ The guidelines for admittance also linked particular genres of painting with the Order's perceptions of France's national degeneration.

Significantly, 'military and patriotic paintings' were expressly forbidden from the Salons de la R † C, with their most prominent champions Meissonier, Detaille, and Alphonse-Marie de Neuville (1835–1885) being called out by name.³⁴ Military painting was considered too tied to the contemporary, physical world, as were all of the eleven disqualified categories, which consisted of prosaic history painting, modern life painting, portraiture, landscape, animal painting, and flower painting, among others. By contrast, works that embraced Catholicism, mysticism, legend, myth, allegory, and dreams were welcomed. (Architecture was summarily

³¹ Mary Slavkin, "Fairies, Passive Female Sexuality, and Idealized Female Archetypes at the Salons of the Rose+Croix," *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 44, no. 1 (2019), 65.

³² Slavkin, "Fairies, Passive Female Sexuality, and Idealized Female Archetypes," 65.

³³["restaurer en toute splendeur le culte de l'Idéal avec la Tradition pour base et la Beauté pour moyen."] "Règle du Salon Annuel de la Rose † Croix," in *Ancient and Mystical Order Rosae Crucis, Exhibitions of the Rosicrucian Salon* (New York: Garland, 1981), xliii.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

banned.) Given the R † C's published rubric, *La Fièvre* would presumably not have been accepted on the grounds of its military subject had Legrand submitted it to the penultimate Salon de la R † C in 1896, even though he included overtly allegorical elements in the composition.³⁵ Legrand's involvement in a Salon that excluded military painting implies that he did not identify professionally, at least not in 1892, as a military painter himself. And, indeed, the work he submitted that year, *Mélancolie*, has nothing to do with the army and even eschews the realist mode that was a staple of military painting at the time. Legrand's representation of "melancholy" fit in with the Order's call for idealizing figures.³⁶

Legrand's grotesque and bestial "fever" harks to yet another allegorical figure who inhabits the upper-left corner of Meissonier's *Le Siège de Paris*. There, a haggard and wrinkled woman, anatomically specified as such by her exposed breasts, rides on the black smoke of burning Paris (fig. 3.7; detail). On the woman's arm is perched the black eagle of Prussia, which serves as a visual shorthand for the hundreds of thousands of German troops under Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke that encircled the city. The representation of the evil and chaos of war as a hyperbolically ugly old woman with brownish-gray skin goes back at least as far as Peter-Paul Rubens's lofty and iconographically packed allegory *The Horrors of War* (fig. 3.8; 1637–1638,

³⁵ There is also no record of Legrand participating in an R † C exhibition following his contribution in 1892. Mary Slavkin has noted that Legrand submitted a total of three works to the Salons, two in 1892 and one in 1893. However, my own research in the Salon catalogues has not yet revealed the other two works. See Mary Slavkin, "Statistically Speaking: Central Exhibitors at the Salons of the Rose + Croix," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 2015), unpaginated.

³⁶ Legrand's interests in the idealized female form and his involvement in the 1892 Salon do not necessarily point to close ties with the Ordre de la R † C or with Péladan, and the Salon's regulations clarified that artists were not required to subscribe to R † C doctrine. Even so, the pool of artists came from Péladan's years of Salon criticism, as art historian Lucien Midavaine has pointed out. The Order would therefore have been familiar with Legrand and his oeuvre for some time before the Salon was to take place, and they extended their invitations to artists face to face. It is likely that Legrand met Péladan personally, as the latter came to examine the works of art in their studios in advance of the Salon opening. According to Midavaine, despite the success of the first exhibition, which drew immense crowds, subsequent exhibitions hemorrhaged participants. Lucien Midavaine, "Music and the Convergence of the Arts."

Palazzo Pitti, Florence). Rubens (1577–1640) had, for his part, given a detailed (though incomplete) explanation of the allegorical program of his painting in a letter to his patron, fellow artist Justus Sustermans, stating that the central figure of Mars is “dragged forward by the Fury Alekto,” which Rubens similarly depicted as a withered, ghastly, androgynous woman.³⁷ Behind Alekto, flying out of the top-right corner of the painting are the fury’s attendant figures, Famine and Pestilence, also emaciated, inhumanly complexioned creatures. These “inseparable partners of War” remind us perhaps of the biblical Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, who included among their roster war, famine, and death. As did Meissonier, Legrand evidently drew on Rubens’s precedent for his allegorical figure of fever. Legrand departed from Rubens and Meissonier in a key way, nevertheless: whereas the fury Alekto and the monster of Pestilence occupy marginal roles in Rubens’s canvas, with the sumptuous goddess Venus and muscular, armored god Mars taking center stage, Legrand established the monster as the main character of *La Fièvre*.³⁸

These references to Rubens and Meissonier demonstrate that Legrand drew on a language of allegory that had a long history and would have been intelligible to his audiences at different

³⁷ As Rubens explained to Sustermans: “The principal figure is Mars, who has left the open temple of Janus (which in time of peace, according to Roman custom, remained closed) and rushes forth with shield and blood-stained sword, threatening the people with great disaster. He pays little heed to Venus, his mistress, who accompanied by her Amors and Cupids, strives with caresses and embraces to hold him. From the other side, Mars is dragged forward by the Fury Alekto, with a torch in her hand. Nearby are monsters personifying Pestilence and Famine, those inseparable partners of War.” Peter Paul Rubens, quoted in Alice Doumanian Tankard, *Picasso's Guernica after Rubens's Horrors of War: A Comparative Study in Three Parts—Iconographic and Compositional, Stylistic, and Psychoanalytic* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1984), 20.

³⁸ Whether Legrand would have seen Rubens’s grand-scale canvas or even Meissonier’s oil-on-panel painting is not precisely known though hardly difficult to imagine. By the late nineteenth century, the so-called “prince of the Flemish school”—known for numerous allegorical tableaux—was widely admired on both sides of the Channel, with his correspondence housed in libraries across France being assiduously researched and compiled by both Belgian and British scholars since at least 1840. Charles Ruelens, *Pierre-Paul Rubens: Documents & lettres* (Brussels: C. Muquardt, 1877), 5–6. Legrand was certainly familiar with Meissonier, and twentieth-century auction records indicate that Legrand executed either a copy of Meissonier’s *Art Lovers* (1860) or a work closely inspired by it. “Legrand, Paul-Emmanuel,” *Bénézit Dictionary of Artists*, Oxford Art Online.

levels. Well-read, well-educated viewers would likely have apprehended the references to Greco-Roman mythology that provided a classical ancestry for Legrand's frightful creature. These antecedents also established a vocabulary with which Legrand could convey the horror of disease, striking viewers by the sheer ugliness of the monster whether or not they understood the deeper iconographic allusions. The only interpretive key that Legrand offered his audiences was the evocative if nebulous title, whereas Rubens had presented an extensive legend to his grand-scale canvas in his letter to Sustermans, his erudite patron. Legrand embedded far fewer, if any, specific quotations from Greco-Roman mythology, understanding that his large and general audience may not have lingered too long to puzzle over such a dense allegorical program as his seventeenth-century predecessor had created.

Like Rubens had done with the figures Alekto, Pestilence, and Famine, Legrand represented his figure of Fever as androgynous. By androgynous I do not mean that the figure is un-gendered.³⁹ Legrand depicted the figure as female but imbued her with certain masculine characteristics. The creature defies the then current anatomical, sartorial, and tonsorial norms of both femininity and masculinity, whether those were entrenched in the conventions of oil painting, promoted by the fashion system, or codified into law. The deep-set eyes, pronounced cheekbones, aquiline nose, and drooping, slate-gray skin of the creature provide an antithesis to ideal feminine beauty as pictured through numerous contemporaneous paintings of nude women, often representing goddesses, nymphs, or personified concepts. The clenched, veiny hands and

³⁹The feminine gendering of the figure is underscored by the title of the work: *la fièvre* (fever), like *la maladie* (disease/sickness), is a feminine noun. According to Madelyn Gutwirth, "allegory in France is largely female because the abstract French nouns it represents are, on the first and overt level, feminine in gender. But the fact is that allegory thrives on the multiplicity of meanings men have attached to the female sex." Madelyn Gutwirth, *Twilight of the Goddesses: Women and Representation in the French Revolutionary Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 255.

flat chest steer the figure toward the masculine, although the lack of musculature and loose flesh also run counter to the academic male nude.

The androgyny and formlessness of the monster drew on references from the grand manner and amplified her terrifying appearance by upending artistic and societal conventions of feminine and masculine beauty. As Bram Dijkstra has usefully analyzed, androgyny in nineteenth-century art and literature was simultaneously revered as the ideal, primal state of humankind, the binding of both genders in one person indicating a perfect harmony that had existed in an immemorial past.⁴⁰ This concept was threatening to proponents of clear-cut gender roles, who depended on immutable characteristics and irreconcilable differences between the genders in order to maintain the power and authority of men over women while also deeming any other understandings of gender as abnormal and unnatural.⁴¹ I suggest that Legrand deployed androgyny in *La Fièvre* not as a means to evoke the best of both genders but rather to de-idealize and de-sexualize the creature, to shut down any possibility for viewing pleasure either from the sight of an unclothed female or male figure. The creature defies the social expectations of feminine or masculine propriety. Un-coiffed, unbrushed hair on display for all to see would have suited in a depiction of a goddess or nymph in painting but would have scandalized a nineteenth-century fashionable proper lady. Likewise, long, straight hair with a total lack of mustache or beard would have been an unfashionable tonsorial combination for men at the time. Through these means, Legrand pictured a monster lacking the markers of European civilization as signified by the normalizing mechanisms of idealized nudity and European refinement as

⁴⁰ Bram Dijkstra, "The Androgyne in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature," *Comparative Literature* 26, no. 1 (Winter 1974), 63.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

signified by the normalizing mechanisms of fashion and propriety. Instead, he suggested their antipode, the savage, who remains untamed and uncontrolled (for the time being).

Whereas proponents of androgyny had seen it as a positive concept, Legrand used the concept as blatantly negative. Legrand's mingling of genders in the creature resists a clean differentiation. The creature's transgression of the gender binary establishes her uncontrollable nature, a fearful ambiguity, and a physical indicator of malevolence. The monster's androgynous features come together with her advanced age, unnatural skin-tone, and reptilian hindquarters into a vocabulary that Legrand used to portend the threat she poses to the masculine order of the colonial army as embodied by the dead marine. If we are to understand the swamp monster as embodying certain overarching ideas, such as uncontrollability, irrationality, and nature, then her killing of the marine would signal the overthrow of French, masculine, martial-imperial power. And, as Legrand put forth in his painting, it is the common, even anonymous colonial soldier who pays the price. The disgust and fear that "fever" arouses amplifies the pity we feel for her youthful, male victim. Meanwhile, the newly vaunted military medical apparatus as suggested by the stretcher-bearers arrives too late.

The monster's corporeal boundaries are also unstable. She appears as though bodied forth from the gray, murky pool of water nearby, now threatening to dissolve back into her environment. The feathery brushstrokes that describe the lower strands of her hair, the middle and back of her tail, and her hind foot disintegrate into the dusty ground and watery marsh beneath and behind her. The front of her body, where the humanoid torso ostensibly connects to the reptilian hindquarters, is rendered as an expanse of subtly shifting grays, implying though not articulating a chest protruding from an abdomen. This miry passage of gray pigment is mostly devoid of any legible anatomical markers, human or animal. What we understand as the

creature's midsection is far too long and fails to match up with the back half. Another matte-gray blob, the monster's belly oozes its way up to the edge of the marine's indigo uniform as though to consume the dead soldier's body. The threat of penetration by the monster is altogether increased by the sinister fluidity of her corporeal form, which reads more so like an opportunistic conglomeration of gelatinous muck than a bounded, permanent being. We might conceive that this monster took shape only once she had exited her swampy home, which is itself a fluctuating, even dangerous terrain, occupying a state between solid and liquid. The marsh conveys a sense of menacing inscrutability, receding into shadow and formlessness in the lower-right corner of the canvas. The opaque surface of the stagnant pool conceals not only its depth but also any number of deadly creatures that inhabit it, such as this monster.

Martial Sacrifice and Masculine Disempowerment

The dead marine plays the role of Angus Fletcher's allegorical hero, who "is either a personified abstraction or a representative type, which amount to much the same thing, and in either case what is felt as a narrowed iconographic meaning is known to us the readers through the hero's characteristic way of acting, which is severely limited in variety."⁴² In this instance, the hero's "characteristic way of acting" is the act of dying. If the horror of Legrand's personification of fever in *La Fièvre* relied on prevalent tropes of feminine evil, then the sacrifice of the soldier (*le sacrifice du soldat*) relied on what would have been considered the inverse: masculine heroism. Legrand underscored the picture's sacrificial theme by rendering the soldier in an upside-down cruciform pose, recalling though not directly replicating the execution of Christ. The absolute gender homogeneity inherent in the notion of martial sacrifice bears calling

⁴² Fletcher, *Allegory*, 38.

out, although to rehearse additional instances would risk belaboring the point. Almost every picture from the period that depicted soldiers suffering, dying, and bearing difficult circumstances with patience represented them as male—all offering themselves up on the national-imperial altar—and these artists' renderings corresponded to a political reality that only men had the privilege and/or obligation of military service as well as the legal entitlements of citizenship, including the right to vote. The death of the single marine represents his sacrifice for the French nation, its imperial aims, and its ongoing, multi-continental civilizing mission. By singling out a marine, Legrand also announced to viewers that the scene depicts a colonial war while delimiting the concept of martial sacrifice to a strictly white ideal.

Significantly, Legrand chose not to depict death in combat but instead to make a synecdoche of the martial victims of disease. To achieve this, Legrand blended fantasy with verism. He attended to the specific details of the dead marine's uniform, weaponry, and accoutrements, a level of care and research that would associate his work with contemporary military painting. The victim is depicted specifically and identifiably as a marine in contrast to the swamp monster whose anatomical features are ambiguous and somewhat androgynous, thanks to loose brushwork that elides precise details. The artist's veristic and relatively detailed description of the soldier's indigo uniform, off-white pith helmet and gaiters, and Lebel rifle help us classify him as an *officier de la marine* (marine officer). A viewer with in-depth knowledge of military organization would have extrapolated from this a reference to colonial war as l'Infanterie de la Marine (marine/naval infantry) fell under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Colonies, unlike the line infantry, cavalry, and artillery, all of which fell under the Ministry of

War.⁴³ A less-informed viewer would still have known not to associate this figure with a European conflict since he does not wear their signature *pantalon garance* (madder-red trousers) that characterized the metropolitan infantry's parade and European-campaign dress. Historian Philip Curtin has characterized the governmental preparations for the invasion as a jockeying for power and prestige between the Ministry of War and the Ministry of the Navy.⁴⁴ The Ministry of War's success in this contest resulted in the deployment of more than usual metropolitan troops, mostly inexperienced in colonial war and with little to no immunity to tropical diseases such as malaria, commanded by a general who had little understanding of either.⁴⁵ As Curtin noted, this demographic make-up of the expeditionary force, combined with a disregard for advice provided by the Ministry of the Navy and other strategic blunders, not only hindered the efficiency of the invasion but also contributed to the extremely high morbidity and mortality rates of malaria.⁴⁶

While disease was another—if not *the*—primary cause of death in European wars of the nineteenth century and earlier, by 1895 it had become strongly associated with extra-European, imperial conflicts.⁴⁷ In all of France's colonial wars on the continent of Africa, disease killed far more soldiers than combat, which nevertheless failed to impede French colonial ambitions, as

⁴³ The Ministry of the Navy was the government institution primarily responsible for expanding France's colonial empire; meanwhile, the marine infantry formed only one segment of the colonial armies that fell under its jurisdiction. The force comprised battalions recruited from all over the empire, including North and West Africa and Southeast Asia.

⁴⁴ Philip Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 182.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Medical historian Frank Snowden has given chilling accounts of the devastation wrought on Napoleon's troops by yellow fever in Haïti and dysentery in Russia. The diseases contributed immensely to the French defeat in both theaters. Frank Snowden, *Epidemics and Society: From the Black Death to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 111–67.

historian William Cohen has compellingly argued.⁴⁸ The Madagascar campaign had outpaced any other French colonial invasion in terms of rates of disease, with a stunning one hundred percent morbidity rate and 332 per 1,000 dead.⁴⁹ The prevalence of malaria in Madagascar had formed the subject of debate in nineteenth-century French public discourse well before the invasion.⁵⁰ Misleading expectations, combined with l'Armée de Terre's general lack of experience with tropical disease, led to the campaign being considered in retrospect a medical disaster.⁵¹

According to an unnamed reviewer in *La Lanterne*, *La Fièvre* filled a critical gap in representation by taking on the subject of disease in a colonial war:

We have in a thousand ways praised the military courage entailed in exchanging bullets and strikes of the sword with enemy soldiers. We have not yet had, at least as far as I know, the honor of painting with the hundred-times more terrible struggle that our soldiers have to maintain in the colonies against fever, this ferocious guardian of hot countries. I highly praise M. Legrand for having filled this lacuna and I take the liberty of advising him to send a photograph to those who send, with such cheerfulness of heart, our little flocks to satisfy the appetite of this monster. As for the canvas itself, it seems to me quite destined to adorn one of the halls of the Ministry of the Colonies.⁵²

⁴⁸ William Cohen, "Malaria and French Imperialism," *The Journal of African History* 24, no. 1 (1983), 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 25, 30.

⁵⁰ Historians have noted misconceptions and misrepresentations about the extent of malaria leading up to the army's landfall, including the notion that the central plateau region was inhospitable to the disease given its temperate climate. Jennings, *Perspectives on Colonial Madagascar*, 17. Projections were also largely based on conditions on the neighboring islands of Réunion and Nosy Be, where the incidence of disease was relatively low. Curtin, *Disease and Empire*, 180–81.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁵² ["On a exalté de mille façons le courage militaire qui consiste à échanger des balles et des coups de sabre avec des soldats ennemis. On n'avait point encore fait, du moins que je sache, l'honneur de la peinture à la lutte plus terrible cent fois que nos soldats ont à soutenir aux colonies contre la fièvre, cette féroce gardienne des pays chauds. Je loue fort M. Legrand d'avoir comblé cette lacune et je prends la liberté de lui conseiller d'en faire parvenir une photographie à ceux qui envoient, avec une telle gaieté de cœur, nos petits troupiers satisfaire l'appétit du monstre. Quant à la toile elle-même, elle me paraît toute désignée pour orner une des salles du ministère des colonies."] "Les Salons aux Champs-Élysées," 2.

The reviewer in *La Lanterne* read a critique into Legrand's presentation of death by disease, musing that the painting would serve as a potent reminder to pro-imperialist politicians and military leaders of the human (read: European) cost of colonial campaigns.⁵³ While the reviewer proposed that the painting repudiates the callousness, even glee, of the proponents of imperialism, laying the blame on them for the tragic loss of soldiers' lives, Legrand would seem to refuse a political stance, demonizing the broad concept of "fever" rather than a particular politician, party, or institution. It was allegory, in fact, that enabled Legrand to lift his painting out of the particularities of the debates around colonization that filled the pages of various news outlets. The painting's oscillation between generalization and specificity makes space for multiple, even contradictory interpretations, giving the image potential appeal to viewers of diverse, sometimes opposing political affiliations. Legrand was also able to call attention to a distressing fact of colonial war while not upsetting the military-medical authorities who failed to prevent such losses to disease or the military-colonial authorities who had sent troops on such lethal campaigns in the first place.

Representing martial sacrifice through the lens of disease was an unusual choice on Legrand's part. Indeed, few examples come to mind of works by late nineteenth-century military artists that depict soldiers dying of disease, despite it being the main cause of death in colonial war and an ever-present, overpowering source of misery for the troops on campaign. The reviewer in *La Lanterne* offered no explanation as to why the subject was seldom if ever taken up by painters. One may speculate that it posed certain difficulties for artists, since the physical

⁵³ As discussed in the Introduction, the Third Republic pursued colonial expansion most vigorously starting in the 1880s with the fall of the monarchist regime of President Patrice de MacMahon (1808–1893) and the ascension of the centrist republicans. Colonization was championed by politicians such as Prime Minister Jules Ferry (1832–1893) as one of the means through which the French state would be able to repair its damaged reputation as a global military and economic power, while at the same time colonial projects were castigated by nationalists and socialists alike.

state of fever has few visible symptoms unless accompanied by other physiological changes such as flushed skin, profuse sweating, or jaundice. Legrand perhaps sought to rescue a sense of heroism from what was considered an unheroic death by using the allegorical mode to create an aureole of pathos around the soldier's death. As the reviewer stated, battle and military paintings typically alluded to the concept of sacrifice through men dying of their wounds on the battlefield or fulfilling their duty in spite of difficulty. According to artists, then, death in combat was necessarily the more praiseworthy end for a soldier.

Legrand's use of classicizing, allegorical strategies to address the complicated politics surrounding disease had only a few antecedents in nineteenth-century French art broadly conceived. Perhaps the most venerated ancestor to *La Fièvre* was Antoine-Jean Gros's *Bonaparte visitant les pestiférés de Jaffa le 11 mars 1799* (Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken in Jaffa, March 11, 1799), executed ninety-two years earlier, which similarly depicted an episode from a French imperial war (fig. 3.9; 1804, Musée du Louvre, Paris). Then-general Napoleon Bonaparte had infamously ordered the plague-stricken soldiers in the hospital of Jaffa (present-day State of Israel) poisoned. Gros (1771–1835) reshaped the political narrative surrounding the events at Jaffa by using the heroizing vocabulary of neoclassicism to transform Napoleon from mass murderer into godlike savior.⁵⁴ In this, Gros inverted the heroic male nude established in the studio of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825) by rendering unclothed men not bearing their suffering with patience but positively overthrown by it. Legrand's discolored, gaunt, not to mention fully clothed and equipped marine contrasts starkly to Gros's virtuosic

⁵⁴ David O'Brien, *After the Revolution: Antoine-Jean Gros, Painting and Propaganda under Napoleon* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). Gros's reworking of classical language for the exigencies of politics is also addressed by Christopher Prendergast, *Napoleon and History Painting: Antoine-Jean Gros's La Bataille d'Eylau* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

reworking of the heroic male nude. Still, both artists confronted the problem of representing soldiers' bodies wasting away from disease using the pictorial means available to them, albeit in drastically different ways. Gros alluded to the soldiers' illness through histrionic gestures and facial expressions while their diseased flesh remains mostly unblemished. The visible misery of the sick and dying men serves to amplify the unaffected grandeur of Napoleon who, bathed in a soft golden light and with a Christlike calm, places his hand on the plague-ridden, naked torso of one of his men, mythologizing both the general's dermal incorruptibility and his invulnerability to infection.⁵⁵

Depicting human was a particularly freighted issue when it came to painting military subjects, which had rigid expectations rooted both in perceptions of public decency and nationalist ideology. By 1896, representing war dead in oil painting without at least some allusion to a higher meaning would have been perceived as blatantly unpatriotic. During the 1890s, patriotism was a controversial political stance, as Legrand's reviewer in *La Lanterne* made plain, stating that patriotism "is noticeably down in the new generation."⁵⁶ A comparison of two paintings created immediately following the Franco-Prussian War helps demonstrate the polar interpretations of the concept of martial sacrifice available to artists. The first, Émile Betsellère's *L'Oublié!* (The Forgotten!), might align with our expectations of a patriotic representation of a wounded soldier (fig. 3.10; 1873, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bayonne).

⁵⁵ In her analysis of Gros's *Bonaparte visitant les pestiférés de Jaffa*, art historian Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby deftly wove through discourses on disease, masculinity, and political iconography. She argued that Napoleon's gesture, touching the nude soldier's bubo, not only engaged with shifting medical understandings about the transmission of plague but also indicated the general's heroism, further underscored by his tight-fitting, elaborate uniform. His gesture harked back to medieval Christian kings supposedly able to cure skin conditions like scurfola through touch. However, as Grigsby astutely pointed out, such iconographic references were rendered unstable "in a post-Revolutionary culture irrevocably sundered from its monarchical and Christian traditions." Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 73–74.

⁵⁶ "Les Salons aux Champs-Élysées," 2.

Betsellère lathered sentiment onto his close-up depiction of a young, pencil-mustached soldier dragging himself desperately through the snow, having been left for dead.⁵⁷ Betsellère's young soldier—a portrait of Pierre Prosper Théodore Lorran—finds himself abandoned and alone following a battle; the heaving fumes of war cannot fully obscure the sunlight breaking on the horizon, pointing both to the greater forces of history bearing down on the soldier and bespeaking a hope for his rescue. As in *La Fièvre*, an ambulance can also be seen along the horizon line.⁵⁸ The cloud of pathos that surrounds this man is as dense as the smoke that encircles him in the painting, which met with great acclaim and was purchased by the Minister of Fine Arts.⁵⁹ Legrand similarly focused on a singular, young soldier (coincidentally also pencil-mustached), who is enveloped nevertheless by an amorphous, damp, foreign terrain in lieu of snow and smoke. The soldier in *L'Oublié!* is exhausted though erect, his form appearing like two straight lines intersecting at an oblique angle, formally rhymed by the hard, straight edges of the rifle that protrudes from his hip, a knife that traces the bottom edge of the canvas, and a bugle in the lower-left corner. He resists death, the proximity of which is hinted at by his paling skin and the spill of blood near his hand. Legrand's marine has acquiesced to death, his muscles relaxed, and his left hand draped delicately over his rifle. His rescue will arrive too late. The marine now sprawls serenely across the lower register of the canvas; his elegant passivity is the extreme opposite of the monster's severe, grotesque assertiveness. While rendering the marine's body as clearly impotent and decaying, Legrand still endowed it with a sense of dignity.

⁵⁷ Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, ed., *Les Désastres de la guerre 1800–2014* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2014.), 174.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

The opposite was true for Auguste Lançon, who crafted *Morts en ligne* (Dead Bodies in a Row) the same year as Betsellère painted *L'Oublié!* (fig. 3.11; 1873, Musée départemental de la Guerre de 1870 et de l'Annexion, Gravelotte, France). Lançon presented a banal and pitiless vision of French war dead spread out along a street while a column of German troops either prepare to march or have recently halted. The corpses' anatomy and poses reveal that their flesh has begun to rot, and rigor mortis has set in. The picturesque countryside in summertime, barely perceptible at right, is almost completely obscured by the smoke billowing off the burning town in the distance. Lançon's ruthlessly unidealized painting may have been inspired by his career as a war correspondent, serving with the press ambulance in 1870, and by his politics as a Communard who only narrowly avoided execution or exile.⁶⁰ Lançon's audiences attempted and failed to appreciate the painting's unheroic, unglamorous depiction of French dead and the evident callousness of the Germans. Critics of *Morts en ligne* seemed unsure of what to make of it, restricting their comments to terse descriptions even while they lavished on praise for other paintings with Franco-Prussian War subjects at the Salon of 1874.⁶¹

Legrand largely decontextualized his marine, even though the painting simultaneously references and resists referencing a specific place, as the next section will investigate further. The use of synecdoche and decontextualization in *La Fièvre* are analogous to public sculpture, such as the monument commemorating the French dead from the 1895 Madagascar campaign, created by the Paris-based sculptor Barrias, introduced above (fig. 3.12; sculpture 1901; postcard 1905). As the postcard from 1905 depicts, Barrias's classicizing monument was implanted onto a public square in Antananarivo, Madagascar, in 1901. Historian Eric Jennings has designated the

⁶⁰ Mathilde Benoistel, Sylvie Le Ray-Burimi, and Christophe Pommier, eds., *France Allemagne(s), 1870–1871: La guerre, la Commune, les mémoires* (Paris: Gallimard, 2017), 257.

⁶¹ The state bought the painting, evidently to keep it *off* view. *Ibid.*

sculpture a false *lieu de mémoire*, following Pierre Nora, since it tells a European history of an African space.⁶² The postcard also depicts some of the inhabitants who lived and circulated around the sculpture and for whom this stone-and-bronze edifice made up part of their urban fabric and socio-political reality. The photograph's details are difficult to discern, but generally white Europeans converse on the left-hand side while Black Africans, presumably Malagasy residents of the capital, file on the right. Taking pride of place in the capital of a subjugated kingdom, the sculpture commemorates and solidifies European domination. Barrias mobilized the language of martial sacrifice—and all the nobility and sympathy it may elicit—into a public and visible reminder of French imperial power. It would be difficult to read *La Fièvre* in the same memorializing, triumphalist terms as Barrias's sculpture. *La Fièvre* overtly arouses the viewers' sympathy for the dead marine, who takes up the role of the conquered and not the conqueror. The ambiguity of the painting lent itself to an ambivalent reception as Legrand's message moves between commemoration and critique. It was this very ambivalence that a memorial such as Barrias's would have been constructed to resolve.

A year later, Legrand would again equivocate over the notion of martial sacrifice in *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille*, submitted to the 1897 Salon des Artistes Français, this time through the lens of schoolchildren on the street (fig. 3.13; 1897, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes). A comparison between this canvas and *La Fièvre* demonstrates in formal and conceptual terms just how distinctive the earlier work is amid Legrand's oeuvre. *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille* conveys the artist's typically solid brushwork, careful attention to detail, and clearly defined forms. This

⁶² Jennings briefly mentioned this sculptural group in his survey of European monumental sculpture around Madagascar. He noted the absence of colonial monuments in Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984) while also highlighting that recent scholarship has proliferated on such memorials. Jennings, *Perspectives on French Colonial Madagascar*, 96.

work is analogous to the crisply naturalistic depictions of children by Legrand's peers Marie Bashkirtseff, Henri-Jules-Jean Geoffroy (Géo), and Émile Friant, even if it lacks the lucid verism preferred by military artists such as Detaille. The allegorical nature of *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille* connects it to *La Fièvre*, although Legrand perhaps took to heart the criticism of the latter, earlier work since this painting lacks any half-human, half-animal hybrids.⁶³ The work allegorizes the classroom and the boulevard as twin zones of boys' patriotic education. In it, schoolboys of different ages gather in the lower-left foreground around a green newsstand on which a number of journals, newspapers, and prints are pinned for sale. *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille* proposes an idealized, democratic view of boys' education by incorporating students of varying ages and social stations.⁶⁴

The gaze of six out of seven of these boys direct our attention to the eponymous focus of the picture: a chromolithograph of Édouard Detaille's by-then internationally famous contemporary history painting, *Le Rêve* (The Dream) (fig. 3.14; detail). Detaille's large-scale canvas depicts young soldiers on practice maneuvers bivouacked and asleep in the foreground while a celestial procession of Napoleonic-era warriors traverses the clouds above, itself an overtly allegorical image. The seventh member of the group in Legrand's painting turns his head away from the print while the pointing gesture of his left hand and the eye contact he makes with his closest peer suggest that he is "educating" his fellow spectators. But just what is the lesson

⁶³ *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille* has often been included in present-day studies of military painting of the period, if somewhat misleadingly taken out of the context of the artist's broader pursuits. The work represents neither combat nor everyday life in the army. It references a military painting, but it is about boys on the street, none of whom are soldiers or are not yet, as the painting argues. Art historians have rightfully taken interest in the referential nature of this painting by focusing on its incorporation of a print of Detaille's earlier canvas. Robichon, *Peinture militaire en France*, 46–48; Thomson, *Troubled Republic*, 212–13; and Hornstein, *Picturing War in France*, 170–71.

⁶⁴ Patrick Harrigan has argued, citing Pierre Bordieu, that the universalization and laicization of boys' education, brought about by a set of laws by Jules Ferry, hardly led to a more democratic system; see Patrick J. Harrigan, "Church, State, and Education in France from the Falloux to the Ferry Laws: A Reassessment," *Canadian Journal of History* 36, no. 1 (Apr. 2001), 54.

being taught? The canvas not only pictures schoolchildren entranced by the example of France's current troops, probably ten, twelve, fourteen years older than they, but the work also prefigures the various sacrifices these boys may have to make for the nation once they reach the age of military service. The future of some of the boys is presaged in the figure of an old man reading a newspaper, whose dark, columnar form establishes the righthand edge of the composition; his long, black coat, *képi*, tricolor cockade, and artificial leg announce his status as a veteran and pensioner, probably a resident of the military retirement home Les Invalides. Legrand thus proposed two forms of sacrifice: the discipline and privations of campaign evinced by Detaille's print and the chilling possibility of mutilation or death in combat made evident by the pensioner.

Legrand more than implied this second form of sacrifice by means of the rolled-up *culottes* on the right-most boy in the group, which expose the flesh and musculature of his lower legs (fig. 3.15; detail). Besides the faces and hands of the other children and adults, this boy's legs are the only passages of uncovered skin. When considering the time of year this image purports to represent—perhaps late autumn or early spring—such attire seems out of place. The boy's left leg juts out behind him; subtle modulations of light and shadow indicate his flexing calf muscles. The diagonal formed by this leg mirrors that of the prosthetic appendage of the older veteran behind him to form a V, and it is in this passage of the canvas that Legrand's message turns ominous. The veteran's artificial leg emphasizes the absence of an organic one and signifies the amputation of the man's limb, likely performed on the battlefield. That the artist juxtaposed the complete and muscular young body of the schoolboy with the aged and physically truncated body of the war veteran alludes to a temporal and conceptual foreshortening, a premonition that the yet unharmed corpus of the adolescent will one day be rendered incomplete.

As Legrand posited in the painting, the education of the Third Republic sought to perfect the body and spirit of its male students with the implicit intent of them one day being destroyed.

Chronologically speaking, the boys and the pensioner fall on either side of military service. The pensioner in Legrand's painting has been said to represent a veteran of either the Crimean War (1853–1856) or the Italian campaign (1859), both of which were victories for Napoléon III's regime.⁶⁵ The calm demeanor of the veteran does not acknowledge the excruciating incident that separated his limb from its body. Instead, he reads a newspaper and pays no attention to the schoolchildren who converse at his back. What we have here is not a vision of the trauma of dismemberment but of the acquiescence to it. We are left to imagine the bloody and likely quite painful event.⁶⁶

The adumbrated figure of the saleswoman inside the news kiosk completes a cross-generational, quasi-familial trinity (fig. 3.16; detail). She looks down toward the group of boys who have gathered around, yet her gaze fixes on nothing at all. With her body mostly obscured by shadow and the walls of the kiosk, she cuts a mournful figure. Evoking maternal melancholia, this woman substitutes for these boys' biological mothers as her gloomy reticence forecasts their eventual conscription into the army and possible death in service of the nation. She recalls the words of historian Jules Michelet: "They are leaving their father and their aged mother who will need them. You will do the same, for you will never forget that your mother is France."⁶⁷ In

⁶⁵ Thomson noted the ambiguity of this figure, either as "a warning of the costs of war or an example of worthy sacrifice." Thomson, *Troubled Republic*, 213.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 77. While the medical sphere continued to make advances in amputation procedures throughout the nineteenth century, the Franco-Prussian War occurred while many of these new measures were in their infancy. Anesthetics were used infrequently, and James Lister was only at the same moment inventing his method of antiseptics. The life-expectancy of battlefield amputees was not high.

⁶⁷ Jules Michelet, quoted in Matthew Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849–1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 136.

Michelet's scenario, the biological mother sacrifices her sons for the needs of the metaphoric national mother. We may wonder which one of these boys will draw a low number in the *tirage au sort* (conscription lottery) and be sent to the colonies, perhaps to die from the unheroic agony of malaria, if not yellow fever, typhus, typhoid fever, cholera, or even plague. This question probably never occurred to Legrand's viewers at the 1897 Salon, although it conceivably flitted across the artist's mind at some point, given that he had executed a painting on that very subject the previous year.

Knowing Madagascar: Science, News, Entertainment

This section opens providing an orienting synopsis of the invasion, which paved the way for a lasting military occupation with the capture of Antananarivo in September 1895, seven months before Legrand would exhibit *La Fièvre*. I propose that the painting occupies a space between three distinct, though overlapping image-generating contexts preoccupied with Madagascar: the natural sciences, journalism, and popular entertainment. The first was practically dominated by the naturalist Alfred Grandidier while the last two fell under the purview of Louis Tinayre, special correspondent for *Le Monde illustré* tasked with reporting on the invasion for Francophone readers. Among numerous journals and newspapers to report on the invasion, *Le Monde illustré* regularly included vividly illustrated articles that updated readers on the progress of the conflict while allowing them to visualize battles, encampments, hospitals, etc. Although their images appeared in different contexts with different audiences and aims, Grandidier's and Tinayre's projects were linked, I suggest, by their focus on empiric observation and documentation. Broadly conceived, both sought to produce and transmit knowledge about Madagascar, and their projects depended on and facilitated French colonization of the island.

Legrand sought to convey a “truth” to be gleaned from certain press reports, namely the devastation wrought by disease on the French troops.

There was, in fact, some ambiguity on the part of critics about the location the painting is meant to depict. The practically bare landscape that surrounds the soldier-and-monster duo in *La Fièvre* balances between generality and specificity, evoking a type of climate though not including precise topographical or architectural elements that would tether the scene to a socially and politically charged notion of place. The whipped-up brushwork in tan and gray tones across the surface of the canvas connote grassy and perhaps dusty terrain while the painting’s lack of detail leaves the geography and history of the locale conceptually malleable. The central path, two parallel ruts carved by wagon wheels, as well as the marsh in the lower-right foreground, read as somewhere unreached by modernization and probably quite humid. While the marsh may hint at a tropical locale, we are given space to imagine that fever may strike in any region of the globe occupied by French troops in the past, present, or future. Nineteenth-century historian J.B. Piolet put forth a similarly generalizing view of France’s colonial empire when he explained that, except for North Africa, all of France’s possessions were in the tropical zone.⁶⁸

Certain contemporary critics pinpointed the location as Madagascar based on their knowledge of recent events, specifically, news of the just-concluded invasion had regularly been issued in Paris and other European cities by means of special correspondents sending information over telegraph lines. By the time Legrand exhibited this work, the process of “pacification” under the military governorship of General Joseph Gallieni (1849–1916) was already underway. Nevertheless, while some located the setting on the island off Africa’s

⁶⁸ J.B. Piolet, *Empire colonial de la France: Madagascar, la Réunion, Mayotte, les Comores, Djibouti* (Paris: F. Didot, 1900), vi.

southeastern coast, at least one claimed that Legrand had meant to depict France's Tonkin campaign (present-day northern Vietnam), which had concluded in 1886.⁶⁹ The historical relationship between France and Madagascar was very different than that between France and Tonkin, even though both were defined by military and political domination and economic exploitation. The relationships between disease and the geography and societies of the two locations were also quite different. The critical dissent about the setting of *La Fièvre* indicates Legrand's bid to represent a nondescript "every colony," a bid that apparently paid off.

The sparse iconography of *La Fièvre* suggests that Legrand was at least familiar with descriptions of the invasion of Madagascar and accounts of disease-related casualties, although by anonymizing the soldier and allegorizing "fever," he evidently sought to convey a broader theme that transcended any single campaign. The French military victory over the ruling Merina Kingdom of Madagascar (1540–1897) by late September secured the European nation's effective military and political control of the island which, with a land area almost the size of France and rich in natural resources, added the strategic advantage of a major base in the Indian Ocean.⁷⁰ All were desired if France was to keep up with its main imperial rival, Britain.⁷¹ The 1895 invasion was the culmination of a long series of forged and broken treaties, disputed claims, and outright land-grabs by various French corporate and governmental entities since the late eighteenth century.⁷² An agreement with Britain in 1890, which gave France undisputed claim to

⁶⁹ Léon Calvin, "Exposition: Salon des Champs-Élysées," *L'Europe artiste: Beaux-arts, peinture, sculpture, gravure, théâtre, chorégraphie, musique, expositions, musées, librairie artistique, bulletin des ventes...*, January 12, 1896.

⁷⁰ Louis Nemours-Godré, *La France à Madagascar* (Paris: J. Lefort, 1896), 39–41.

⁷¹ Jean Darcy, *France et Angleterre: Cent années de rivalité coloniale. L'Affaire de Madagascar* (Paris: Perrin, 1908).

⁷² A previous war in 1883 had established limited French jurisdiction over a sliver of coastline and several outlying islands, including Nosy Be and Antsiranana (formerly Diego-Suarez).

Madagascar—among the European powers—in exchange for upholding British interests in Zanzibar, along with lobbying by pro-colonial groups in France, compelled the French government to seek to establish a protectorate and then colony that would last until 1960.⁷³

The invasion captured not only domestic but also international attention, and Legrand's painting became part of a multi-continental newsfeed, known through reproduction and reviews in British and American magazines. It was primarily through the news that residents of the metropole vicariously experienced their nation's far-off wars. These regularly turned their attention to the goings-on in the western Indian Ocean. The French invasion formed a subject of some interest in Britain, with articles appearing in the *Illustrated London News*, *The Times*, and other regional papers. *The Illustrated London News* equivocated in their support, at times advocating the resistance of the Merina government, at other times commending the comportment and professionalism of the French troops.⁷⁴ Special war correspondent for the London-based *Times* Edward Frederick Knight disclosed in his account that the French military command were deeply suspicious of British news correspondents and often blocked their entry to the island, sometimes apprehending them and accusing them of espionage.⁷⁵ The Berlin-based political journal *Berliner Tageblatt* sent their own correspondent Theodor Wolff (1868–1943) to

⁷³ Preparations for the invasion as well as naval bombardments of the island had begun as early as December 1894, whereas the ground assault commenced on May 18, 1895, when General Jacques Duchesne (1837–1918) disembarked from the northwestern port city of Mahajanga (formerly Majunga) with an expeditionary force of 15,000 troops, comprising battalions both from the metropolitan Armée de Terre (land army) and marines, *tirailleurs algériens* (Algerian light infantry), and *tirailleurs sénégalais* (Senegalese light infantry) from the colonial forces, as well as several thousand auxiliaries.

⁷⁴ For example, *The Illustrated London News* would eventually congratulate the French Republic on their victory at Antananarivo and the imposition of a protectorate on Madagascar, even implying that the French had liberated Queen Ranavalona III (1861–1917) from her husband, the Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony (1828–1896). “The French in Madagascar,” *The Illustrated London News*, Oct. 26, 1895, issue 2949, 523.

⁷⁵ Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, 1.

update German readers on the war, and he evidently fared better with the military authorities than his British colleagues and even his French ones.⁷⁶

The legibility of *La Fièvre* relied to an extent on contemporary viewers' awareness of France's recent colonial projects, whether conceived broadly or specifically as the conquest of Madagascar. I take the position that *La Fièvre* at least alluded to the invasion of Madagascar, not only because this was the conclusion arrived at by certain contemporaries but also because of the overwhelming prevalence of fever during that war. For instance, Knight emphasized the danger of fever in his account of the invasion, which was widely known as a major impediment for any potential military operation:

At that season of the year (spring) the coast fever is most virulent, and it is almost impossible for a traveller to escape an attack. I began to realise that the French had a difficult task before them even if the Hovas did not show fight. Europeans who knew the country estimated that 75 per cent. Of the French troops would be down with fever if they ventured to cross the pestilential coast belt before the middle of June, and they were not far wrong in this anticipation.⁷⁷

Knight himself caught malarial fever for an unspecified time but eventually recovered.⁷⁸ He recorded that on a particularly grueling march to the city of Andrioa (formerly Andriba), nearly a third of the "white men engaged on the expedition perished."⁷⁹ Disease was so rampant among General Duchesne's troops that the situation caught the attention of *The Illustrated London News*, which reported on May 25, 1895, a week into the invasion and well before "the middle of June," that rainy weather had caused many soldiers to fall ill and be rendered "*hors de*

⁷⁶ Ibid., 303.

⁷⁷ Edward Frederick Knight, *Madagascar in War Time; The 'Times' Special Correspondent's Experiences among the Hovas during the French Invasion of 1895* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 123.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 123.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 302.

combat.”⁸⁰ Knight also remarked on the dismal odds the French forces under Duchesne faced against their Merina opponents, who seriously outnumbered and outgunned the European aggressors.⁸¹ This strategic disparity made it all the more surprising, to none more than Duchesne himself, that his soldiers were able to march across hundreds of kilometers of highlands, forests, and marshlands and occupy the capital Antananarivo (formerly Tananarive) in less than four months, suffering only twenty-five fatalities from combat. Even though Britain had ceded its claims on Madagascar in the 1890 diplomatic agreement, the British army attempted to hinder the French advance by dispatching Colonel Charles Shervington (1852–1898) as a military advisor to the Merina monarchy.⁸² Nonetheless, the invasion would prove to be a success in strategic terms as it removed the Merina monarchy from its role as the autonomous ruling body of Madagascar. Shervington and his officers would resign “in disgust” once the situation overwhelmingly came to favor the French invaders.⁸³

A significant increase in research about the fauna, flora, geography, and ethnography of Madagascar had been undertaken in France in the decades leading up to the invasion, spearheaded by Alfred Grandidier and his associates, which may have informed Legrand’s perceptions as well as the public’s views. When the invasion occurred, Grandidier was in the middle of compiling and publishing his definitive, multivolume reference source, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar* (Physical, Natural, and Political History of Madagascar), which would be continued after his death by his son Guillaume (1873–1957).

⁸⁰ “The French Troops in Madagascar Are Encountering Other Difficulties Besides the Opposition of the Natives,” *The Illustrated London News*, May 25, 1895, issue 2927.

⁸¹ Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, 2.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 130.

Species and families of animal had come to be closely associated with geographic locations—continents, countries, islands, sometimes even very small locales—as a vast textual and visual scientific body of knowledge developed, keeping pace with European exploration and imperialism. Subtle details like coloring, length and shape of appendages, and texture of skin, served to distinguish species, their behaviors, habitats, and evolutionary histories. Legrand’s combination of a human and a reptile refutes the efforts at animal taxonomy that formed a basis for projects such as this. Just what kind of reptile Legrand meant to evoke with the creature’s hindquarters is not altogether clear. Reviewers of *La Fièvre* had reason to label the animal a crocodile, given its near ubiquity across sub-Saharan Africa, currently at the forefront of French colonial ambitions. The long legs, highly articulated joints, and lack of pronounced scales call to mind an iguanid or varanid. Legrand offered just enough visual information for the animal to be recognized as some sort of lizard, but he generalized its features to obfuscate any attempt to identify a particular species.

Legrand’s depiction of the monster resists the categorizing impulse of the natural sciences, espoused by Grandidier’s decades-spanning project, refusing us the assurance of taxonomic classification. Legrand also did not mean merely to reproduce the news in the medium of oil painting, even though the legibility of his canvas would have relied on viewers’ knowledge of current events. Such knowledge would have been orchestrated by the journalist and painter Louis Tinayre, who worked for *Le Monde illustré* as the leading periodical’s sole correspondent on the scene and played a major role in how the Madagascar campaign was represented visually for readers in France and internationally. Tinayre created images of the Madagascar campaign in a variety of media, including oil paintings, drawings, watercolors, and photographs, all purporting to record his experiences with the French expeditionary force,

several of which would then be reproduced in the pages of the paper. Tinayre's preeminence in the official and popular narratives of the Madagascar campaign extended beyond the realm of journalism and into that of entertainment. The same year that Legrand exhibited *La Fièvre* at the Salon on the Champs Élysées, Tinayre exhibited eight dioramas depicting episodes of the invasion of Madagascar just down the road at the Palais de l'Industrie.⁸⁴ The suite of canvases, titled *Episodes de l'expédition de Madagascar en 1895* (Episodes from the Madagascar Expedition in 1895), call attention to certain aspects of the invasion that Legrand omitted in his painting, although none represents the subject of disease. Their purpose was to deliver information to the viewer about the topography of the island, identifiable buildings, landmarks, as well as battles. His large-scale dioramas from 1896 would be incorporated into a panorama erected in the Pavilion of the Madagascar Colony on the Avenue Kléber at the Universal Exhibition of 1900. The panorama itself no longer exists, meeting the fate of many of its kind, its titanic canvas either dismantled or repurposed. Visitors to the panorama would have been treated to attempts to recreate the environment of Madagascar in a far more immersive experience than the illustrated news.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Three of the oil-on-canvas models for these dioramas were purchased by the state and accessioned to the Musée historique de Versailles, where they reside today. Robichon, *L'Armée française vue par les peintres, 1870–1914* (Paris: Herscher, Ministère de la Défense, 1998), 65.

⁸⁵ Germain Bapst remarked that the point of the panorama was to divest the viewer of all possibilities for comparison to the outside world. The viewer, according to Bapst, “believes himself to be in the presence of nature.”⁸⁵ Germain Bapst, *Essai sur l'histoire des panoramas et des dioramas* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889), 8. The aim of panoramas since their invention in the late eighteenth century was an immersive experience in a fabricated landscape, typically composed of an enormous circular canvas and later embellished by false terrain, objects, and wax figures. Observers would have needed to move around, to turn their heads and adjust their bodies in order to take in the various aspects of the panorama; they could not have done so all at once, as art historian Jonathan Crary has noted. Observers' movements would be circumscribed by the multitudinous strictures of the building itself. The viewer would have remained distant from the scene depicted, looking down and around on the artificially lit environment from the security of a central viewing platform. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 1990), 113.

Tinayre's canvases provide a telling contrast to Legrand's *La Fièvre*, as they make visible the racial differences that defined the French colonial forces and established the backbone of the organization's hierarchy, whereas Legrand emphasized a singular, white European marine in *La Fièvre*. In one *Episode*, Tinayre depicted one of the regiments of *les tirailleurs sénégalais* (Senegalese light infantry) on the march from Andrioa toward Antananarivo (fig. 3.17; 1895, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). The scene takes place against a well-described background depicting rolling, grass-covered hills, jagged outcroppings of rock and clay, and a prominent mountain range. A single *officier de la marine*, such as the one Legrand depicted dead on the side of the road in *La Fièvre*, stands next to the flying column of Senegalese light infantry on its march along a dusty path. His indigo uniform and off-white pith helmet mark his status as a European, distinguishing him even while his anatomical features are mostly obscured, thus visually establishing French presence. Tinayre further crafted a painting of the Merina combatants, who fought, suffered, and died as a result of France's conquest of the island. It may never have entered the minds of French viewers and news readers that the residents of Madagascar felt similarly about the French occupation as the French did when Germany invaded France in 1870. Tinayre reminded the public that Madagascar was populated and defended by placing viewers behind the Merina army in another one of his *Episodes* (fig. 3.18; 1895, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). The French infantry garrison under Brigadier General Léon Metzinger is so far in the distance as to be practically invisible. Tinayre was not exactly advocating for the Merina defenders in this image; and indeed, his presence in Madagascar as a correspondent for a leading French newspaper marks his professional complicity in the invasion. Still, his suite of paintings makes visible (for European audiences) the prevalence of African

combatants—Malagasy defenders in addition to Senegalese and Algerian invaders, working for the French colonial apparatus—something wholly neglected by Legrand in *La Fièvre*.

With all three paintings, the viewer occupies an elevated position above and well behind the scenes as though floating ten, even twenty feet in the air. The formal distancing and figures seen from behind allow for a back-stage view of the war, following a journalistic rhetoric of on-the-spot observation of events in which the public at large is unable to participate at first hand. By means of such a disembodied viewing experience, Tinayre assured his audience of a sense of security, creating a comfortable remove from which they could imagine their participation in the spectacle of warfare while keeping a safe distance from the other side of the globe. Together, the paintings construct an idea of the invasion as something we might expect from an ultimately triumphant conquest: sweeping vistas that play host to clashes between armies, marches, camps, and formulating strategies, with little to no evidence of the overwhelming reality of the conditions that made the invasion a living hell. Tinayre assuredly witnessed the ravages of malaria among the French troops, and he documented evidence of the widespread devastation it caused in photographs that were then adapted into illustrations by other artists for *Le Monde illustré*. Louis Bombled's engraving in the October 5 issue, after a photograph by Tinayre, depicts an orderly evacuation of the sick, transported in mule-drawn carts (fig. 3.19; 1895, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Again, we are kept at a safe remove, able to take in the entire scene at a glance without becoming repulsed by the more disgusting details. An image by André Slom in the same issue, again after a photograph by Tinayre, gives us an actual hint of the devastation of disease as two medical auxiliaries lift a soldier—possibly dead, possibly comatose—into a cart near a complex we are told is Hospital Number 3 (fig. 3.20; 1895,

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The distance between the foreground action and the picture plane suggests that the photographer himself was wary of getting too close.

Tinayre's drawings and photographs featured in *Le Monde illustré* along with the text may both have inspired Legrand and given him resources for crafting *La Fièvre*. Nevertheless, Legrand sought to emphasize the horror of disease on the campaign that Tinayre largely downplayed. The disembodied experience orchestrated by the illustrated news and the embodied though still detached experience of the panorama—however rich eye-witness details—were far from the type of engagement Legrand sought to engender with his painting. For one, Legrand distilled the visual information in his canvas to the barest details, the very opposite of the bounty of information provided both by press stories and the panorama. Legrand also brought his subject up against the picture plane, his monster glaring out quite apparently at us, meeting us at eye level. Whether or not we divine a pointed message about disease from *La Fièvre*—if, indeed, Legrand presented one—the venomous gaze and appalling viscosity of his swamp monster still impress themselves on our minds. He implicated us directly in his moral tale of fever, foreclosing us from the safe viewing positions of aloof voyeur or unnoticed bystander. We are denied the luxury of dispassionate examination of a military map, imagining a three-week journey we are not likely to take, or the comfort of following the invasion of Madagascar from thousands of miles away. Legrand still sought to immerse us, to make us feel the humidity of this inhospitable, marshy environment, and perhaps to make us start to feel a little sick ourselves.

Imaging Fever

The yellow-gray tint of the soldier's face and hands signals that his flesh has altered due either to pallor mortis or to jaundice. Summary black splotches near the horizon line denote a

column of soldiers in the distance, either approaching or departing from their fallen comrade. Critics of the period read this group as marching away, an interpretation repeated in print reproductions of the work, such as one from the December 12, 1896 issue of the British magazine *Black and White* (fig. 3.21; 1896). In the painting, however, two figures appear to break away from the column and walk in the direction of the prone figure in the foreground. Two black lines connect the figures, indicating that they hold a stretcher between them and declaring their status as medical auxiliaries. That they are coming to retrieve the body of the collapsed marine implies that he has only recently died or fallen comatose. The formal aspects of the painting leave the precise cause of the marine's death or stupor a mystery. We are meant to interpret the nightmarish swamp monster as the perpetrator, yet we do not know exactly how she has incapacitated him. Her hands are planted on his chest, but there is little if any evidence of a wound.

Since the precise narrative action and relationship between monster and soldier are unclear, it is only once we read the painting's title, *La Fièvre* (registered in the Salon catalogue), that we come to understand that this monster embodies the concept of "fever." In this section, I examine the ways that Legrand construed this creature to signify the notion of fever and the constellation of diseases that it potentially indexes. Empiric methods of microscopy yielded a vast corpus of images (depictions of physical symptoms, maps, and diagrams) that scientists and physicians used to understand the complex and multidimensional character of disease. By depicting fever as a vicious monster, Legrand was able to convey through metaphor the terror and cruelty of fever and to solicit viewers' sympathy for its martial victim(s).

Above I examined the ways that the monster resists classification both of gender and scientific taxonomy. The monster's refusal to agglomerate herself into a knowable entity points

conceptually to the confounding nature of fever, which often frustrated doctors' efforts to identify its cause, especially during colonial campaigns. The monster's female-inflected androgyny and nonspecific, lizard-like features combine with her indeterminate physical shape to form something far from an intelligible whole but more like an assemblage of ambiguities. The title of the painting, *La Fièvre*, likewise oscillates between the general and the specific, allowing for multiple interpretations while acknowledging that fever could be associated with numerous diseases and conditions. Indeed, just as we cannot clearly identify the species of reptile Legrand depicted, we may also wonder what type of fever his monster allegedly represents. Émile Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1873) contains a list of twenty-one different types of fever, including arthritic, bilious, cerebral, pestilential, and rheumatic.⁸⁶ To these are added fever-generating diseases, some of the most common being typhus, typhoid fever, yellow fever, and malaria. Along with the technical and medical definitions of fever, the *Dictionnaire* also points out several idiomatic uses of the term that range from being in a bad state to experiencing "violent trouble of the soul."⁸⁷ Critics sought to fill in the informational gaps that Legrand left in the title, although they floundered. Léon Calvin retitled the painting "Fièvre algide" (algid fever) in his review for *L'Europe artiste*, while Torpedo, writing in *Le Pays*, specified "Fièvre paludéenne" (marsh/malarial fever), which likely refers to the proximity of the marsh in the lower-right foreground of the painting but also acknowledges the prevalence of malaria on numerous colonial campaigns, especially the assault on Madagascar.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ "Fièvre," in Émile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Paris: Hachette, 1873), ARTFL Project.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Calvin, "Exposition;" Torpedo, "The Champs-Élysées Art Gallery: Description of the Most Noted Works, Their Numbers, and Locations," *Le Pays: Journal des volontés de la France*, May 1896.

Legrand's representation of fever as a malevolent and fugitive monster responded to the fact that the disease's cause and transmission were not widely understood in 1896, even by army physicians. The source and transmission of malaria had generated speculation and debate among biologists and doctors across Europe and the United States for over a century.⁸⁹ In his extensive guide to preserving the health of colonial troops, published in 1897, army physician Prudent Gayet (1853–1925) drew on miasma theory to argue that the hot and humid marshland belled forth malaria like a toxic fume, an idea that was supported by some in the Académie de Médecine but challenged by others.⁹⁰ The miasmatic cause of malaria had been disproven as early as 1880 by the titan of French malariology, Alphonse Laveran (1845–1922), army surgeon at the preeminent military hospital Val-de-Grâce, who had published his findings that an infection with the parasite *Plasmodium* caused the disease. By the 1890s, Laveran joined doctors in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Italy in championing the mosquito theory of transmission, a theory that had already been in circulation for decades but was still a matter of debate at the Académie de Médecine even in September 1895, as Duchesne's troops were encircling the Merina capital of Antananarivo in the final stage of the invasion.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Charles M. Poser and George W. Bruyn, *An Illustrated History of Malaria* (New York: Parthenon Publishing Group, 1999), 38.

⁹⁰ Prudent Gayet, *Guide sanitaire à l'usage des officiers et chefs de détachements de l'armée coloniale, conférences faites aux officiers du 2e régiment d'infanterie de marine en 1895-1896* (Paris: Octave Doin, 1897), 123.

⁹¹ Prophylactic measures put forth by members of the Académie de Médecine ranged from administering quinine to maintaining rigorous hygiene, not disturbing the soil, wearing masks, and relying more heavily on Black auxiliaries for labor, given their supposed immunity and the need for white soldiers to conserve energy. Gayet's omission of mosquitoes as even possible vectors of malaria calls into question the extent to which military medical professionals understood current theories circulating among the upper tier of malaria specialists. Despite the amount of support the mosquito theory had received among malaria specialists, it remained an open question even into the twentieth century. It was only in 1898 that the Italian doctors Giovanni Battista Grassi (1854–1925), Amico Bignami (1862–1929), and Giuseppe Bastianelli (1862–1959) finally established mosquitoes as the carriers of malaria in humans, their discovery following closely on that of mosquito-avian transmission by English polymath Ronald Ross (1857–1932), working in India (Ross would claim these doctors were *overly* indebted to his work). *Ibid.*, 47. Poser and Bruyn, *Illustrated History of Malaria*, 39. "Académie de Médecine," *Journal des débats*, September 25, 1895.

In his guide, Gayet devoted an entire chapter to a detailed exegesis of fever, which provides insight into an awareness of the contingency and variability of the condition. As he defined it: “Fever is most often a grouping of symptoms that complicate an illness; in other words, when there is fever, there is generally a sick organ; thus, there is fever in pleurisy, pneumonia, hepatitis, but the main illness that one must treat is that of the lungs, of the pleura, of the liver.”⁹² Gayet offered several scenarios of soldiers entering a febrile state, which he hoped would help the heads of post identify its various causes.⁹³ The doctor’s thorough explanation of malarial fevers suggests, perhaps to our horror, that the marine in *La Fièvre* was no victim of a swift-acting illness but that he had likely suffered for days or even weeks. While Legrand pictured fever as a sudden ambush by a malevolent creature, Gayet might have posited that the marine’s death was prolonged. He detailed different forms of fever, including intermittent, remittent, pernicious, and latent, further subdivided into types based on their frequency and severity. Intermittent fevers were the most common type, appearing once a day, every two or three days, and sometimes more than once a day; remittent fevers could range from mild to serious; while pernicious fevers, as the name indicates, would prove to be the gravest. The “pernicious form” could cause coma, loss of coordination, chills and clammy skin, and loss of consciousness, this last symptom described by Gayet as “a state of dizziness and anguish difficult to watch.”⁹⁴

⁹² [“La fièvre est le plus souvent un ensemble de symptômes qui viennent compliquer une maladie ; en d’autres termes, quand il y a fièvre, il y a généralement un organe malade ; ainsi dans la pleurésie, la pneumonie, l’hépatite, il y a fièvre, mais la maladie dominant que l’on doit traiter est celle du poumon, de la plèvre, du foie.”] Gayet, *Guide sanitaire*, 121.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 126.

The marine's mustardy complexion and gaunt face in *La Fièvre* corresponds strikingly well to Gayet's description of malarial cachexia, an advanced stage of the disease, "characterized by a considerable weight loss of the sick person, a dirty yellow coloration of the complexion, and troubles of a profound anemia."⁹⁵ Emaciation, jaundice, and anemia would be accompanied by "a paleness of the mucous, indigestion, general depression, serous suffusions consisting of palpebral or perimalleolar edema, ascites, hydrops... etc. The liver and spleen are almost always enlarged."⁹⁶ The similarities between Legrand's depiction of the soldier and Gayet's inventory of symptoms suggest that the artist may have had a degree of medical knowledge about the effects of prolonged malarial fever. Legrand could also have chosen to depict the corpse with discolored, yellowish skin for its general association with tropical disease, as jaundice was the most notorious sign of the toxic stage of yellow fever. Legrand may simply have sought to convey the postmortem graying of the skin while distinguishing the marine's complexion from that of the monster. In any case, the marine's discolored face and hands compel us to wonder if he had to endure some of the other symptoms listed by Gayet, such as indigestion, swelling, suffusions of fluids, and depression.

Trained at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, Legrand was exceptionally well versed in human anatomy. A set of anatomical drawings depicting flayed body parts comprise the artist's winning submission for the *Prix Huguier*, preparation for which by far exceeded the standard anatomical training artists received at the *École* (see figs. 3.22-3.25.; 1879, *École nationale supérieure des*

⁹⁵ ["caractérisée par un amaigrissement considérable du malade, une coloration jaune sale de son teint et les troubles d'une anémie profonde"] Ibid.

⁹⁶ ["pâleur des muqueuses, dyspepsie, dépression générale, suffusions séreuses consistant en œdème palpébral ou perimalléolaire, ascite, anasarque... etc. Le foie et la rate sont presque toujours engorgés."] Ibid., 126–27.

Beaux-Arts, Paris).⁹⁷ The assuredness of line, the stark contrast between figure and ground, the insistence on detailed, specific, empiric observation—underscored by the copious notations that line the margins of each sheet—differ remarkably from the visual qualities of *La Fièvre*, with its frothy and tentative brushwork that intimates a landscape more so than describing one and that presents a fantastical beast on the threshold between being and unbeing. Yet the drawings are the not-so-distant ancestors of the canvas Legrand would complete fifteen years later, which exhibits evident traces of his early interest in anatomy. These are most clearly apparent in the physiognomy of the dead marine, the face and hands, which demonstrate the painter’s careful attention to malnourished flesh, altered either by the man’s recent death or by the bile seeping throughout his body from a diseased liver. Another drawing from Legrand’s school days exhibits his understanding of and care in rendering faces. This “figure drawn from nature” depicts a craggy, bearded, wrinkled but deeply empathetic visage of an old man, which sits atop a muscular, perfected form redolent of the academic male nude (fig. 3.26; 1881, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris). The face not only has more substance than the body, as well as denser facture, subtler modulation, not to mention its psychological interiority, but it also appears to have entered a different stage of life than his body, if it is not made of different matter altogether. The disparity is so apparent that one might imagine Legrand attached a human head “drawn from nature” onto an antique sculpture.

We obviously cannot see the body of the marine underneath his uniform in *La Fièvre*. We have no way of knowing if Legrand envisioned the body as emaciated and jaundiced as the face

⁹⁷ Instituted in 1874 by the widow of the late professor of anatomy Pierre-Charles Huguier, the competition incentivized anatomy instruction and was immensely popular among students, as art historian Anthea Callen has shown. Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Anatomy, Masculinity, and the Modern Male Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 46.

or if he would have pictured it with the abdominal swelling indicative of ascites or with the swollen ankles indicative of perimalleolar edema. Or, had Legrand depicted the marine unclothed, would he have followed the pattern of his earlier nude study and rendered the body as idealized and even sculptural, adhering to the neoclassical model of representing ill bodies established by artists such as Antoine-Jean Gros? The uniform obviates these questions and obstructs our view of any other physiological responses to disease that may appear on the body's surface. We are left to imagine the man's sweat seeping into layers of cotton and wool after he had been obliged to march quickly across punishingly hot and humid terrain, weighed down by many pounds of equipment and weaponry, all while running a fever. Perhaps his swollen feet are squeezed into his leather boots capped in canvas gaiters. With the exception of the marine's discolored skin, few other cues present themselves to indicate the painful symptoms that preceded the man's demise or descent into a coma.

The suffering described by Gayet may stun our imagination. The immense physical burden placed on soldiers' bodies by malarial symptoms would have been compounded by an extremely high level of mental duress placed on the otherwise healthy soldiers and auxiliaries, constantly surrounded by illness and death, constantly anticipating that they might one day fall prey themselves to a disease that not even the army's commanders and doctors fully understood or knew how to prevent. Legrand did not show us these social and psychological effects, which engulfed the entire invasion force and affected every last one of General Duchesne's troops. Instead, the artist depicted illness as a solitary, isolating state, the sick (now possibly deceased) man separated from the rest of the army by a large expanse of pictorial space. Lieutenant-Colonel Jean-Louis Lentonnet of *les tirailleurs algériens* (Algerian light infantry) figuratively painted a fuller picture in his account of the conquest of Madagascar in which he described the

seemingly unrelenting increase of sick men, the army leadership's insistence on proper and consistent hygiene, shortages of quinine, and the difficulties of boiling water to make it potable for hundreds of troops on a continuous march.⁹⁸ According to Lentonnet, the overwhelmingly dire circumstances had caused some soldiers to die by suicide.⁹⁹

At the moment that soldiers were falling ill and dying en masse in Madagascar, scientists and doctors were racing to understand the cause, transmission, and prevention of diseases including malaria. Their theories and findings occupied a substantial space in medical publications. Whether Legrand's interests in the concept of fever extended to following the current scientific literature we may never know. He never returned to the subject of fever, suggesting his investment in it had a short life. Images produced and disseminated in articles and books by doctors researching malaria are revealing, nevertheless, for they demonstrate the vast, multiform, and intangible character of disease and help us understand the difficulties Legrand faced when seeking to represent it in oil painting. For instance, fifteen medallions depicting blood cells and their reactions to the malarial parasite form the subject of Jean-Édouard Oberlin's lithograph plate, "Bactériologie du paludisme (Bacteriology of Malaria)" (fig. 3.27; 1896, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé, Paris). The image accompanies Doctor Louis Marie du Bois Saint-Séverin's 1896 article, "Le Diagnostic bactériologique du paludisme (Bacteriologic Diagnostic of Malaria)," which proposed the most successful ways to detect malaria in the blood, following the discovery by Alphonse Laveran twenty-six years earlier.¹⁰⁰ The article's

⁹⁸ Jean-Louis Lentonnet, *Expédition de Madagascar, carnet de campagne* (Paris: Plon, 1899), 54. As we know today, maintaining hygiene and filtering water may have helped prevent diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever but would have had limited effect on malaria.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ The journal was published by Octave Doin, who specialized in subjects such as biology, chemistry, ophthalmology, surgery, and anatomy. Alphonse Laveran would publish his 1884 *Traité des fièvres palustres: Avec la Description des microbes du paludisme* with Octave Doin.

publication in the specialist journal *Archives de médecine navale et coloniale* (Archives of Naval and Colonial Medicine) underscores the link between malaria research and France's colonial projects. Each numbered medallion is framed as though through the lens of the microscope.¹⁰¹ Several are labeled to distinguish between lymphocytes, leukocytes, and eosinophils, the blue globular forms denoting cells' reaction both to the invasion of the parasite and to the acidic dye introduced by the microbiologist. The irregular shapes all inhabit a grayish-beige void, distinguished subtly from the paper support. We approach the microbes, blown up several hundred times, from a vantage directly above them, our gaze freezing these ever-moving cells and organisms in place. The "iconography" of the image is only legible to those with advanced medical/scientific knowledge and especially those on the cutting-edge of malaria research. The legend provided on the preceding page seeks to translate the cryptic splotches of coral-pink and royal-blue pigment into an equally arcane biological terminology.

By using the allegorical mode, Legrand turned away from the technical imagery of disease that appeared in this expanding scientific-medical press in which new findings in parasitology, microbiology, pathology, and epidemiology were being published. Two figures in the article "Découvertes récentes sur le paludisme (Recent Discoveries on Malaria)," written by doctor Jules Guiart (1870–1965) and published in the journal *Bulletin des sciences pharmaceutiques: Organe scientifique et professionnel*, picture other ways in which disease was interpreted visually by the medical profession. "Fig. 1" depicts a map of the world with the "geographic distribution of paludism" made visible through diagonal hatched lines, demonstrating that most of the human-populated areas of the globe were also home to the

¹⁰¹ It was formerly titled *Archives de médecine navale*, although it underwent a renaming following the creation of the Corps de Santé colonial et des pays de protectorat under President Marie François Sadi Carnot (in office 1887–1894).

malaria parasite, save for particularly cold or dry regions (fig. 3.28; 1899–1900, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé, Paris). The shading that denotes endemic regions does not distinguish by rates of infection, even though by the time of publication malaria was far more common in Madagascar than it was in France. Malaria’s reach corresponds to that of the *Anopheles* genus of mosquito, as “Fig. 6” is meant to illustrate (fig. 3.29; 1899–1999, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé, Paris). The diagrammatic rendering of the mosquito makes evident the most distinguishing characteristic of the *Anopheles* genus: its spotted wings. This image displays Guiart’s expertise in parasitology and natural history, two fields united in the international effort to understand and eradicate malaria. While natural history studies of extra-European regions—one may recall Grandidier’s tomes on Madagascar—were no less tied to European imperialism, the impetus to discover the cause and cure for diseases such as malaria was directly tied to the strategic and political aims of conquest. Developing prophylaxes and cures for malaria had by this point far less urgency for the population of metropolitan France, where malaria no longer presented a significant public health issue, than it did for the troops on campaigns in humid, marshy environments in sub-Saharan Africa and Southeast Asia.

Such imagery was addressed to a specialist audience of scientists and medical professionals, far distant from the lay publics who would have walked the exhibition halls of the Salon on the Champs-Élysées. From the perspective of an artist submitting a canvas to the Salon, Legrand’s choice may be unsurprising, as the conventions of oil painting offered few means of dramatizing not to mention elevating the depiction of microscopic organisms, had it been common knowledge in 1896 that a mosquito-borne parasite was the cause of malaria. Here Legrand also turned away from the military-medical naturalism of paintings such as the well-known military artist and illustrator Alfred Touchemolin’s *Séance de vaccination antivariolique*

au Val-de-Grâce (Smallpox Vaccination Session at Val-de-Grâce) (fig. 3.30; c. 1895–1900, Musée du service de santé des Armées, Paris). In the painting, Touchemolin (1829–1907) exhibited his triple expertise in the depiction of architecture, the nude male form, and military medical knowledge in a crisp, flat facture and well-organized composition. The painting depicts a large hall with a vaulted ceiling in which a number of shirtless soldiers take up heroic poses in the lower-right foreground, as fully dressed soldiers insert needles into their bare arms. At center, an army physician in a long lab coat draws blood from a heifer, bound and lying on a table. Soldiers in the far background either put on or take off their clothes, organized and assisted by attendants. The single-point perspective encourages a mostly symmetrical view down the length of the hall, emphasizing the calm rationality of the vaccination procedure taking place. The artist's careful planning of the composition is everywhere apparent, balancing the complex make-up and crowd of figures. Matching Touchemolin's pictorial control over the canvas is a sense of the total control of the military-medical establishment, which earns the dignified obedience of its soldiers by protecting them from illness. All is orderly and clean, save for the small pile of hay beneath the table on which lies the bewildered-seeming bovine donor. We gain a sense of the banal grandeur of the vaccination process, which will prevent France's soldiers from contracting a painful and deadly disease, guaranteeing their readiness to defend the nation. It is this very idealization, if not fetishization, of the army's mastery of disease that Legrand would undo in *La Fièvre*.

Conclusion

Legrand's insertion of an overtly hostile, repulsive, sphinxlike monster in a scene referencing colonial war defies expectations on several levels. Not only did the work run counter

to the norms of military painting that centered on realism, empiricism, and factual accuracy, norms established by both painters and critics of the period, but it also openly refuted any rational, scientific understanding of disease as was being worked out, debated, and published in an expansive medical press. The monster in *La Fièvre* played on the widespread fascination with and terror of “feminine evil,” while her amorphous body and the humid environment that she inhabits are depicted as unpleasant if not sickening. Although her inception drew on a long-established tradition of female personification, she was still an invention of the artist. This makes the dead marine—the emblem of a sacrificial military manhood—as much Legrand’s victim as hers. Whether the painting could be considered successful, either in terms of late nineteenth-century aesthetic values or those embedded in twenty-first-century art history and criticism, may be open for debate. Nevertheless, the painting certainly captured, and captures, the attention.

CHAPTER IV

The Imperial Soldier, Britain/Afghanistan: Elizabeth Thompson Butler's *The Remnants of an Army* (1879)

At first, one is struck by his peculiarity—those eyes, those lips, those cheek bones, that skin unlike others, all that distinguishes him and reminds one that there is *someone* there. The difference in that face reveals in paroxysmic fashion what any face should reveal to a careful glance: the nonexistence of banality in human beings.¹

Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 1991

It is impossible to look at that man's face unmoved.²

Alfred Elmore, Royal Academician, 1879

Introduction

Elizabeth Southerden Thompson, Lady Butler's painting, *The Remnants of an Army, Jellalabad, January 13th, 1842*, monumentalizes the suffering of a mid-ranking British army surgeon who traverses the wintry terrain of northeastern Afghanistan (fig. 4.1; 1879, Tate, London). The figure of thirty-one-year-old Bengal Army Assistant Surgeon William Brydon astride a ragged pony dominates the right foreground of the composition while the pale walls of Jalalabad and distant mountains sweep across the canvas behind him.³ Brydon (1811–1873)

¹ Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, trans. Léon Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 3.

² Alfred Elmore, quoted in Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *An Autobiography* (London: Constable, 1922), 184.

³ I have opted to use the current English spelling of this city's name throughout this chapter. In numerous quotations from period sources, one notes the common nineteenth-century spelling "Jellalabad." The orthography of Afghan place names frequently shifted when translated into English. This is similarly the case with other cities, such as Kabul, which is variously spelled "Cabul" or "Caubul" in nineteenth-century texts (and sometimes spelled "Cabool"). In the preface to his *Gazetteer of the Countries Adjacent to India on the Northwest; Including Sindh, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, the Punjab, and the Neighbouring States*, Edward Thornton explained the complicated nature of transcribing and translating nomenclatures from information obtained orally: "The difficulty is the result of

appears before the British-occupied city to report on the British surrender of the Afghan capital, Kabul, nearly sixty miles away, following the massacre of over 4,000 British and South Asian soldiers and 12,000 camp followers. Reports of the doomed retreat and of Brydon's narrow escape astonished publics and policy makers from Calcutta to London in the following months, precipitating calls for vengeance against the "barbarous and semi-barbarous" residents of Kabul.⁴ By the time Butler (1846–1933) set brush to canvas thirty-seven years later, these events from the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838–1842) had become matters of history.⁵

The choice of subject may puzzle us, for *Remnants of an Army* references what historians have called the worst disaster in modern British military history.⁶ The British army's capitulation at Kabul and their ensuant carnage-filled retreat through the mountains generated no small amount of dismay throughout the nineteenth century. Historian of the British East India

various causes. Sir Charles Wilkins, in the Preface to his Glossary, observes, "That the confusion has arisen, in some degree, from there being no fixed rules for the notation of oriental terms in the letters of our imperfect alphabet, every one spelling according to his ear; but, in a greater degree, from the ignorance or inattention of the native clerks employed in the public offices in India to copy the transactions of the East-India Company." (London: W.H. Allen, 1844), vi.

⁴The Calcutta-based newspaper *Friend of India* (founded 1835) had reported on Brydon's escape to Jalalabad at least as early as February 10. The conservative London-based weekly *John Bull* (founded 1820) reported on the siege of Kabul and following retreat by February 15 but made no mention of Brydon. The columnist in *John Bull* characterized the events as a long-orchestrated conspiracy by the "barbarous and semi-barbarous" residents of Cabul, using the defeat as an opportunity to denounce the policies of the Whig Governor General of India, George Eden, Lord Auckland, and the men he put in command of the invasion. On the same day, the conservative *Morning Post* published several army dispatches received from the India Office, detailing the strategic disaster but complimenting the exemplary conduct of the troops. Throughout March and April 1842, the retreat and Brydon's escape were reported on in *The Times*, *The Standard*, and *The Examiner* in London, as well as local newspapers in other towns such as Sheffield, Exeter, Reading, York, and Cork, Ireland. Britain's first illustrated periodical, *The Illustrated London News*, was only founded in May 1842, when the war in Afghanistan was deep in its throes. The inaugural issue, published on May 14, relegated news of the conflict to a short segment on page five (under the heading "Foreign Intelligence") and mainly concerned itself with the exoneration of General Elphinstone and rather clinical descriptions of Kabul and the fortress of Ghazni.

⁵In recent scholarship, the artist is most frequently addressed as Lady Butler, since she married William Francis Butler in 1877, who was created a Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1874 and Knight Grand Cross in 1886.

⁶Paul Usherwood and Jenny Spencer, *Lady Butler: Battle Artist, 1846–1933* (London: National Army Museum, 1987), 76. Muireann O'Conneide has stated that the shock of the defeat at Kabul came to be overshadowed by the Indian Uprising. Muireann O'Conneide, "Conflict and Imperial Communication," in *Conflict and Difference in Nineteenth-Century Literature*, ed. Dinah Birch and Mark Llewellyn (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 53.

Company Sir John William Kaye (1814–1876) portrayed the infamous episode in lofty, though not hyperbolic, terms: “There is nothing, indeed, more remarkable in the history of the world than the awful completeness—the sublime unity—of this Caubul tragedy.”⁷ Butler’s choice of bleak subject matter and her formal handling of it raise a number of questions, which this chapter investigates: first, why, in light of Butler’s previous work arousing sympathy for soldiers in long-past European wars, would she choose now to represent a moment from a disastrous conflict in Central Asia? Second, how did an image referencing the First Anglo-Afghan War signify to audiences decades later when Britain was involved in a second invasion of the region?

Remnants of an Army is a large painting about a large man in pain. The composition draws our gaze constantly to Brydon, and we are compelled not only to observe his visibly distressed countenance but also to examine his grandiose and muscular physique. In this chapter, I argue that Brydon’s scale within the painting emphasizes his manliness and allows him to dominate both visually and physically the diminutive steed that carries him, a pony which, as we see, cannot bear his weight much longer. Even though the pony (identified as a *yaboo* or “Afghan pony”) is clearly in a state of extreme exhaustion, its suffering is eclipsed by and absorbed into the man’s. The second section posits that Brydon’s suffering also eclipses and absorbs all suffering from the British invasion of Afghanistan in 1838–1842, including that of other British soldiers, South Asian sepoy, their families, and, of course, the Afghans themselves. I then consider the collapsing of difference between Brydon and his surroundings, as the man begins to blend in with his environment and loses hold on claims to European civilization. Lastly, I examine the landscape unfolding across the canvas as picturing a “violent

⁷ John William Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan* (London: W.H. Allen, 1874), 390.

geography,” as international scholar Martin Bayly has termed it, paradoxically referencing and omitting the catastrophic events of January 1842.⁸

Butler painted *Remnants of an Army* during a political and cultural shift in Britain toward what scholars have termed the New Imperialism. This New Imperialism has been characterized as a move away from justifications for empire building as a benevolent civilizing mission, as promoted by Liberal statesmen such as Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809–1898), and toward calls for empire building for the sake of power and prestige, as championed by Gladstone’s successor, Conservative Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881).⁹ While I refrain from directly correlating Butler’s work to shifting dynamics in British parliamentary politics, I propose it as a suggestive historical confluence. Butler evidently set about to evoke the nobility, sorrow, and grandeur of imperial war in *Remnants of an Army*, eliciting sympathy for its (European) victims while not exactly calling for its end. This reading of the painting and, by extension, Butler’s oeuvre causes friction with a view put forth by author Beryl Bainbridge who, having been fascinated with *Remnants of an Army* since childhood, minced few words in her defense of Butler:

She died as late as 1933, and modern critics of her work have unfairly branded her as someone who “helped provide the popular support for the imperial adventures of the military heroes of the Victorian age.”

What rubbish! It may be that she echoed something which later political historians, who couldn’t sketch a daffodil if their lives depended on it, interpreted as the mood of the times, but she can hardly be blamed for that. She was not a jingoist, but simply someone who could wield a brush and whose childhood imagination had been fired by war. Also, she was jolly near perfect at painting gun-smoke and horses.¹⁰

⁸ Martin J. Bayly, *Taming the Imperial Imagination: Colonial Knowledge, International Relations, and the Anglo-Afghan Encounter, 1808–1878* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 179.

⁹ Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 11.

¹⁰ Bainbridge, “*Remnants*,” 6.

My point here is not necessarily to open a debate about Butler's politics, insofar as they are known. While her husband William Francis Butler (1838–1910) was a vociferous critic of British imperialism in his writings, she left little in her images or texts that would read as an explication of any specific political philosophy.¹¹ To my mind, analysis of *Remnants of an Army* offers an opportunity to gain a more complicated understanding of Butler's legacy. The painting impels us to reconsider Butler's emphasis on the suffering of European men since it memorializes a defeat during a war in which Europeans were the unambiguous aggressors. If *Remnants of an Army* inspires us to meditate on the "pathos and heroism" of war rather than glorifying British imperial aggression, the painting offers little in the way of an apology to those worst affected by that aggression. On the contrary, Butler depicted a European man as overarching victim. And, while the artist may not have sought to declare allegiance to the imperialist cause with her painting, it is still arguably shot through with what Gladstone had called the "sentiment of empire" which, he declared, "may be called innate in every Briton."¹²

Imperial Masculinity in Distress

An image of a distressed-looking man wandering alone in the wilderness, *Remnants of an Army* may confound our expectations of what a battle painting should look like. What immediately distinguishes the picture from other contemporary depictions of war, both by Butler and her colleagues, is the monumental encounter with grief that it presents, an expressive effect that required a substantial visual field across a large canvas to achieve. We stand as though at the

¹¹ Catherine Wynne, "From Waterloo to Jellalabad: The Irish and Scots at War in Elizabeth Thompson Butler and W.F. Butler," *Journal of European Studies* 41, no. 2 (2011), 147.

¹² William Gladstone, "England's Mission," (1878), in Antoinette Burton, *Politics and Empire in Victorian Britain: A Reader* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 135.

side of the road, just below Brydon's eye level, silent bystanders to his doom-forecasting passage. His colossal figure, placed in the lower-right foreground, commands our attention; all other figures are minuscule by comparison, their features effaced by the artist. We are compelled to look up at his shadowy face and dark, auburn hair, which form the apex of a compositional pyramid and contrast sharply with the soft yellow-pink sky. Our eyes only incidentally follow the sand-and-stone path that traces the bottom edge of the painting, bending up toward the point where Captain Sinclair and his retinue of officers emerge from the gates of Jalalabad. The rest of the composition is taken up by a dusty pastel landscape meant to evoke the topography of northeastern Afghanistan. The image solicits our sympathy and inspires awe at the sight of Brydon's misery, which is magnified and made heroic by the large format of the canvas and the doctor's prominent scale within it. His grandiose suffering indexes an expansive, trans-geographical, transhistorical conception of martial sacrifice. The Royal Academician Alfred Elmore confirmed that Butler's pictorial strategy worked when he professed, on seeing the finished product: "It is impossible to look at that man's face unmoved." (The artist took pride in the fact that her paintings often brought tears to viewers', especially men's, eyes.¹³)

The painting renders Brydon's exhaustion and pain in aestheticized terms, maintaining a balance between the display of sentiment and manly restraint. In this, Butler engaged with a longstanding mode of representing martial suffering in British visual culture, which extended at least as far back as the United States War of Independence (1775–1783), as art historian Philip Shaw has examined.¹⁴ In his analysis of John Singleton Copley's *The Death of Major Pierson* (1783), Shaw cogently argued that the suffering and dying soldier embodied tensions between

¹³ Butler, *Autobiography*, 184.

¹⁴ Philip Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 6–24.

encouraging the viewer's sympathy and "maintaining an aesthetic distance," between commemorating the heroism of the soldier and critiquing the violence and cruelty of warfare.¹⁵ To Shaw, the male body in pain was the site of these tensions: "the stark reality of the body in pain retains a force—or indeed presence—that converts it into a potential source of resistance to the habitual framing of war."¹⁶ Butler herself may have agreed with Shaw; the figure of Brydon indeed seems to encapsulate her ambivalence toward conflict, as recorded in her *Autobiography*: "My own reading of war, that mysteriously inevitable recurrence throughout the sorrowful history of our world, is that it calls forth the noblest and the basest impulses of human nature."¹⁷

In this section, I examine the figure of suffering Brydon as both an object of sympathy and of erotic contemplation. The two are far from mutually exclusive viewing positions, as literary scholar Kent Brintnall has evocatively demonstrated in his discussion of representations of men in pain in twentieth-century film and literature.¹⁸ This section first places *Remnants of an Army* amid Butler's oeuvre which, by 1879, had come to focus primarily on the theme of common soldiers suffering. Butler departed from her typical compositional choices by emphasizing and magnifying a single figure. The overbearing focus on Brydon compels us to examine him at length, to the possible neglect of the landscape that sweeps around him. I then argue that Brydon's size in addition to his scale convey an ideal martial manliness and suggest that the sympathy we are to have for Brydon depends on his being rendered as an ideally masculine, white, European man. He physically dominates the pony that he rides toward

¹⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁶ Ibid., 9.

¹⁷ Butler, *Autobiography*, quoted in Kuehn, *Female Poetics of Empire*, 141.

¹⁸ Kent Brintnall, *Ecce Homo: The Male-Body-in-Pain as Redemptive Figure* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 30.

Jalalabad while simultaneously seeming to merge with his desperate, mangy, un-gendered, equine mount. This interspecies union threatens the very European masculinity that Brydon is otherwise meant to embody.

The thematic of ordinary, low- and mid-ranking soldiers bearing up under the harsh brutality of war, usually just preceding or just following a battle, had become Butler's specialty well before she created *Remnants of an Army* and is thoroughly documented in the scholarship on her. By 1879, Butler had established her reputation through the Royal Academy and other gallery exhibitions as a celebrated history painter who excelled in military subjects and the depiction of horses. She gained celebrity status almost overnight with the opening of the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1874, when her entry *Calling of the Roll after an Engagement, Crimea, 1854* (subsequently shortened to *The Roll Call, Crimea, 1854*) drew near-unanimous critical praise (fig. 4.2; 1874, Royal Collections, London). Enthusiastic spectators crowded around the painting to the point that both a barrier and a guard had to be installed to protect it. The work's frieze-like composition arrays a regiment of grenadiers into a band of dark gray and black across the middle register of the canvas. The physical characteristics of each figure are all carefully articulated, even down to their facial expressions, age, and hair color. In this painting, Butler demonstrated her absorption of French artists' long-standing interests in the mundane heroism of the rank and file. Compared with her French counterparts Alphonse-Marie de Neuville and Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille, who frequently represented military men as coolly determined and/or dispassionate, Butler highlighted the subjective responses of the wounded and exhausted soldiers in her works. Butler had met both artists during several of her visits to France and their visits to England.

The themes established in *Roll Call* set the tone for much of the rest of Butler's career, and it proved to be the first of a series of highly successful pictures with which she revived dormant interest in depictions of warfare in Britain.¹⁹ The most noteworthy of these, which include *The 28th Regiment at Quatre Bras*, *Balaclava*, and *The Return from Inkerman*, represent episodes from either the Napoleonic Wars or the Crimean War (fig. 4.3; 1875, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; fig. 4.4; 1876, Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester; and fig. 4.5; 1877, Ferens Art Gallery, Hull). Butler's major works from this decade typically feature bands of soldiers rather than single individuals. In examples such as *Roll Call*, *Quatre Bras*, and *Balaclava*, we are given access to a substantive range of emotional responses among the soldiers—some crying out here, others collapsing from exhaustion there—which disperses the affective energy across the surface of the canvas. While the men within these paintings manifest peculiar reactions to the circumstances being depicted, they are nevertheless brought together by the artist into a common experience. With *Remnants of an Army*, Butler produced a much different effect. She packed all the affective energy of the painting and, by extension, the First Anglo-Afghan War—its miseries, its destructiveness, its boredom, all the hopes and the ultimate despair of the soldiers and civilians involved—into one human figure, Brydon, along with his equine mount.

In this, Butler turned for inspiration to a prototype of defeat imagery by the celebrated French painter of Napoleonic battles, Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier's *La Campagne de France* (The Campaign of France) (fig. 4.6; 1864, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).²⁰ Butler reconfigured several

¹⁹ Butler's specific choice of subject for *Roll Call*, the Crimean War (1853–1856), had been a gambit, since by 1874 the two-year joint venture involving Britain, France, and Piedmont-Sardinia in the Black Sea was not only long past, but it had also been notorious in Britain for its ineffectual leadership and political futility.

²⁰ Usherwood and Spencer also noted the formal similarities between the two paintings. Usherwood and Spencer, *Lady Butler*, 77.

formal elements from Meissonier's previous painting in which Napoleon and his generals trudge through deep ruts of snow and dirt; the remnants of the Grand Army file in the background while the dark of winter closes in around them. The focus on a central, mounted figure repeats across the two paintings, although Butler reversed the direction that Brydon faces. Meissonier's painting has a forward momentum to it, bolstered by the look of grim determination that falls across Napoléon's face, while Butler's painting folds back in on itself. Meissonier's columns of French soldiers brave an oppressive gray gloom, whereas the exhausted Brydon is spurred on by the soft light of daybreak. Meissonier's small canvas shrinks its prodigious subject to a near-microscopic level that requires close physical proximity and optical engagement. Butler made the inverse move: she took a relatively ordinary figure, a mid-ranking army surgeon, and rendered him, it seems, larger than life.

Butler chose the story of Brydon's escape during the First Anglo-Afghan War potentially out of adherence to a personal rule never to depict battles in progress, such as the sieges of Kabul or Jalalabad, but instead only to reference war indirectly.²¹ The artist was famously reticent to include combat in her work, part of her general ambivalence toward the enterprise of warfare itself. As art historian J.W.M. Hichberger stated, "The absence of violence in her paintings was a deliberate strategy, designed to accommodate the conflicting ideologies of anti-imperialism and pacifism as well as patriotism and militarism."²² Subsequent scholars have more or less agreed with Hichberger's analysis in their monographs on Butler, articles and essays examining particular themes in her work or periods of her career, and surveys and dissertations on

²¹ Butler, *Autobiography*, 185.

²² Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, 82.

nineteenth-century British military art more broadly.²³ A common theme runs through these scholarly discussions, that Butler was a Catholic Liberal who emphasized the humanity of individual soldiers in order to acknowledge the cruelty of warfare.²⁴ Butler's own words in *The Times* near the end of her life support these readings: "Thank God, I never painted for the glory of war, but to portray its pathos and heroism. If I had ever seen the corner of a battle-field, I could never have painted another war picture."²⁵

In her 1922 *Autobiography*, compiled from her diaries, her memory, and other biographies written about her, Butler retrospectively claimed that her father "laughingly" suggested to her as a child to paint the episode of Brydon's escape when she was older.²⁶ Although Butler selected an historical event for her impressively scaled canvas, the subject of conflict in Central Asia was topical in her time. Britain had recently launched another invasion of

²³ Butler has posed certain problems for scholars who have sought to bring her into the fold of nineteenth-century women artists but have been uncertain what to do about the genre of battle painting's ties to nationalism and propaganda. Relatively speaking, Butler appears infrequently in scholarship on nineteenth-century art in general and on women artists in particular, and *Remnants of an Army* remains even less discussed. Nott, "Reframing War," 33–36. Nott only briefly discussed *Remnants of an Army*, providing the price paid for its reproduction by the Fine Art Society and its place in Butler's legacy. Earlier scholars, including Lalumia, Hichberger, and Harrington, similarly included somewhat bare analyses of this particular work. Literary scholar Catherine Wynne addresses *Remnants of an Army* briefly in her article, "From Waterloo to Jellalabad," and again in her recent biography on the artist, where she asserts that Butler "avoids political commentary." Wynne, "From Waterloo to Jellalabad," 155–56; *Lady Butler: War Artist and Traveller, 1846–1933* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2019), 107–11. Literary historians such as Julia Kuehn and Susan Casteras have largely focused on Butler's travel writings. Alison Smith's catalogue entry for the recent exhibition *Artist and Empire: Facing Britain's Imperial Past* is thus one of the most extended analyses of this painting, aggregating previous scholars' interpretations with additional new research. Alison Smith, "Elizabeth Butler (1846–1933): *The Remnants of an Army: Jellalabad, January 13th, 1842*," in *Artist and Empire: Facing Britain's Imperial Past* (London: Tate, 2015), 110. Author Beryl Bainbridge meditated at length on her own response to *Remnants of an Army* in "The *Remnants of an Army* (1879) by Elizabeth Butler (Lady Butler)," in *Writing on the Wall: Women Writers on Women Artists*, ed. Judith Collins and Elsbeth Lindner (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1993), 2–6.

²⁴ Julia Kuehn, *Female Poetics of Empire: From Eliot to Woolf* (London: Routledge, 2014), 142.

²⁵ "Lady Butler," *The Times*, October 4, 1933.

²⁶ Butler, *Autobiography*, 183.

Afghanistan in 1878. It was the onset of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1880) that allegedly inspired Butler to consider a subject from the First. She recalled:

We are now at war with poor Shere Ali, and this new Afghan War revived for me the idea of the tragedy of '42, namely, Dr. Brydon reaching Jellalabad, weary and fainting, on his dying horse, the sole survivor, as was then thought, from our disaster in the Cabul passes. . . . Here I am, on 1st March, 1879, not doing badly with the picture. I think it is well painted, and I hope poetical.²⁷

By drawing our focus onto Brydon, Butler ennobled the perseverance of a common soldier during a war marred by poor leadership, much in the same way she had done with *Roll Call* five years earlier. As in Meissonier's *Campagne de France*, Butler's emphasis on an historical figure allowed her to condense the experiences of a complex present, replete with military setbacks in distant conflicts, into a harrowing story of man's grim determination to survive against the odds.

Butler first exhibited the finished canvas in her studio, situating it among well-curated examples of arms, uniforms, and armor from her personal collection.²⁸ She was terse about its reception on this showing, stating merely that it seemed to “take.”²⁹ Academicians and critics alike received it well when it went on view for Varnishing Day preceding the Summer Exhibition.³⁰ The congenial recognition of this entry along with *Listed for the Connaught Rangers: Recruiting in Ireland* marked her return to the Royal Academy after a three-year hiatus (fig. 4.7; 1878, Bury Art Museum, Manchester). The early provenance of *Remnants of an Army* following its first exhibition remains somewhat uncertain. As Butler recorded, the Fine Art

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 184.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Society bought the painting and published an engraving of it by J.J. Chant.³¹ A reviewer in the conservative, London-based *Standard* wrote in measured praise of *Remnants of an Army*, explaining that it is through Brydon's pose rather than facial expression that his distress is made explicit:

It [the painting] portrays "the remnants of an army," the solitary figure who came to Jellalabad in the first days of 1842—one man only out of six thousand English who had set out on the march. He comes, in the words of Mr. McCarthy, as in the picture of Mrs. Butler, "reeling on his jaded horse," and scarcely able to reach, with utmost effort, the city gate and wall. The strain and stress of the position are expressed better by gesture than face; and the gesture is all that it should be.³²

A reviewer for another conservative, London-based periodical, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, echoed this reading:

The catalogue tells us that the horseman is Dr. Brydon, the only survivor of our Cabul army of 1842, and that the fortified town from which English officers are coming forth to meet him is Jellalabad. But even without this aid the shadow of catastrophe is distinctly seen in the picture. From a pictorial point one does not know whether to admire most the attitude of the man, leaning back wearily and holding on to the saddle, or the expression of weariness and approaching death in the gait and especially in the eye of the horse. (As a matter of fact, the horse did die as soon as the gate of Jellalabad was reached.) And minor points of expression are attended to with equal care.³³

These reviewers were perceptive in noting that Brydon's fairly placid facial expression is at odds with the painting's otherwise catastrophic subject matter (fig. 4.8; detail). As Butler pictured him, Brydon balances between extreme anguish and composure. He presents the appropriate signs of manly suffering, conveying his patience through duress as evidence of his elevated character. His broad shoulders dip just slightly to his right while his head tilts away from the

³¹ This occurred in 1881, which would suggest that the painting remained in Butler's collection for roughly two years. Ibid. In 1884, the canvas was sold at Christie's to Henry Tate who donated it in 1897 to the newly founded National Gallery of British Art, then popularly known as the Tate Gallery. "Picture Sale in London," *Edinburgh Evening News*, May 19, 1884. Smith, "Elizabeth Butler," 110.

³² "THE ROYAL ACADEMY," *The Standard*, June 6, 1879.

³³ "Royal Academy: Second Notice," in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, June 10, 1879.

viewer. He lurches, but he does not falter. An upward gaze through half-closed eyelids impels us to follow his eyes heavenward, just as it is calculated to reveal the man's sharply chiseled jawline, defined cheekbones—enhanced by deep eye sockets—and a luxurious mustache. His powerful hands hold onto the saddle in front of him; the tension of contracting muscles is made evident through veins that meander below his skin and around his jagged knuckles, formally mimicking the rocky and fluvial terrain around him. Jugular veins surface on his taut neck as he struggles to remain upright. All the while a bandaged right hand and empty scabbard suggest his martial impotence. Here is a *strong* man but one still in need of rescuing. Fortuitously, Brydon, it appears, comes within sight of Jalalabad at the very moment his strength is ready to give out.

Butler's meditation on human misery is stunningly quiet, especially if compared to well-known images of defeat by Butler's contemporaries, such as Richard Caton Woodville, Jr.'s *Maiwand 1880: Saving the Guns* (fig. 4.9; 1880, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). This painting exemplifies Woodville's signature interest in the dynamism of combat, representing a cavalry retreat from a battle with a freneticism that borders on panic. Butler's painting is even quite subdued compared to her other works from the period, such as *Quatre Bras*, which depicts a gallant regiment of British soldiers in square formation as they fend off a French cavalry charge during the multi-day battle of Waterloo (1815). This painting seems to counter her typical hesitance toward depicting combat—and especially contemporary wars—even so, the focus is incontrovertibly on the attitudes of the British troops, as the French soldiers appear mainly as dark, anonymized masses relegated to the margins of the canvas. Seething blue-gray skies, brown smoke, and red uniforms give the painting a chromatic energy matched by the heightened emotional states of the individual soldiers. The drama of the picture is mitigated by its horizontal

format and tight, geometric arrangement of figures, recurring formal qualities in many of Butler's paintings.

Butler's rendering of Brydon's patient suffering contrasts to painted depictions of women asleep or in a swoon from the period, which often provided a foil for masculine restraint and signified an effeminate loss of self-control either from fatigue or from a compromised psychological state. For example, in James Tissot's small-scale genre painting *Abandoned*, the collapsed woman slips into the realm of hysteric subject and/or erotic object, either way transformed into something to be viewed (fig. 4.10; 1882, private collection). The limp body and limbs and prone state of the figure make explicit the categorical susceptibility of woman, while her closed eyes both literally and figuratively shut down her access to any sort of enfranchised gaze. In *Perseus and Andromeda* by Frederic Leighton, the contorted body of Andromeda signals her need to be rescued by Perseus (fig. 4.11; 1891, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool). Leighton exaggerated Andromeda's pose into a histrionic contrapposto that seems to crush part of her ribcage. Her head is thrown back, emphasizing her almost blissful disempowerment and complete subjugation vis-à-vis the formal and physical domination of the sea monster. Her torrential red hair and glistening, delicately draped but mostly nude body are merely the screens for our viewing pleasure.

Butler emphasized Brydon's ideal manliness using another pictorial device: scale. The doctor's immense scale in *Remnants of an Army*, which is underscored by a brawny physique, contrasts to the actual historical person, who was known to be slight of build.³⁴ Associations between a man's physical traits and assessments of fighting capabilities pervaded European

³⁴ John C. Cunningham, *The Last Man: The Life and Times of Surgeon Major William Brydon CB* (Oxford: New Cherwell Press, 2003), 24.

militarist and imperialist thought at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁵ In this period, the concept of British, specifically English, racial superiority was posited as under threat with the emergence of imperial competitors such as Russia, Germany, and France.³⁶ The main trait thought to define an ideal man was his virility, visibly manifested through his height and physical strength.³⁷ In her published texts, Butler demonstrated her alignment with this kind of thinking. For instance, she recorded her encounter with the models for the main figures in the painting *Listed for the Connaught Rangers* while she was making preparatory sketches for it:

[Will] found me two splendid ‘bog-trotters’ for models. The elder of the two had the finer physique, and it was explained to me that this was owing to his having been reared on herrings as well as potatoes, whereas the other, who lived up in the mountains, away from the sea, had not known the luxury of the herring. I wish we could get more of these men into our army. [Will] at that time was developing suggestions for forming a Regiment of Irish Guards, and I was enthusiastic in my adhesion to such a project and filling the imaginary ranks with big men like my two models.³⁸

Her painting of these two men and written description of them both take an exoticizing tone with their Irish subjects. Writing about her first-ever voyage to western Ireland, Butler was clearly struck by the height and physiques of these rural Irishmen. The term “bog-trotters” could refer to their profession, although it was also an ethnic slur.³⁹ She imagined these men as ideal soldiers whose tall stature and evident musculature—at least these are the traits one imagines by the short description “big men”—equated in her mind to fighting ability. British army recruiters focused

³⁵ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

³⁶ Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, 9.

³⁷ Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, *A History of Virility*, trans. Keith Cohen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

³⁸ Butler, *From Sketchbook and Diary*, 14.

³⁹ John Camden Hotten, *The Slang Dictionary, Etymological, Historical, and Anecdotal* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874), 90.

their attention on rural Irish and Scotsmen for these very reasons.⁴⁰ Butler may also have viewed her husband as another model of the ideal military manhood she admired in these two men: a six-foot-two Irish soldier esteemed for his strategic genius, William Francis Butler was a “big man” himself.⁴¹

Brydon’s physical size within the painting lends him a sense of grandeur just as it dooms the so-called “Afghan pony” that bears him, which would die before the next morning. The surprisingly well-groomed doctor possesses the anatomical markers of an idealized virility and contrasts starkly to the pack animal, depicted by the artist as a gangly, beleaguered creature with coarse, dark fur, a ragged mane and tail, and a look of utter dismay, which is amplified by bulging, black eyes, and a distended tongue (fig. 4.12; detail). The streams of tears that flow down the pony’s face indicate its anguish: although having been shot in the flank, it has still made to carry a full-grown man for several days through frozen mountain paths. This visibly distraught animal becomes the sanctioned bearer of extreme emotions in place of Brydon. That the animal bears its human charge to the last transforms it into a veritable model for those in the army who bear the brunt of the fighting. The reviewers in *The Standard* and *The Pall Mall Gazette* noted that the pony’s expression is the primary marker of the horrendous events the two have just endured. The equine figure externalizes the despair and exhaustion that Brydon keeps internal and, in so doing, functions as the conduit through which the intensity of their conjoined suffering is made manifest. The pony is also ambiguously gendered, in contrast to Brydon’s overdetermined manliness. Butler omitted any suggestion of genitalia on the animal, and official

⁴⁰ Wynne, “From Waterloo to Jellalabad,” 153.

⁴¹ According to the Butlers’ daughter, William Francis was known publicly as a benevolent advocate for Irish Home Rule, opposed to the cruelty of empire, while at home he exhibited an authoritarian manner toward his family and especially Elizabeth. Ibid, 147.

narrations of Brydon's escape neglect to mention whether his mount was male or female. A seemingly insignificant detail, the visual emasculation of the pony ensures that the masculine soldier remains dominant, even under desperate circumstances. And yet, animal and man seem (perhaps troublingly) to merge into a single unit and, I would argue, we are meant to read them as one. The virile conqueror in duress thus visually fuses with the de-sexed pack animal, introducing a possible threat to his bodily integrity by way of a bestial transformation.

Brydon's "Grievable Life"

In this section, I discuss how Butler's evocation of pathos through the combined figures of Brydon and his mount helped establish him as the key figure in a developing mythology around the events of 1842. The interest in the First Anglo-Afghan War in British history and culture had waned in subsequent decades, although it would come back to the fore as a second war seemed imminent.⁴² Reviews of *Remnants of an Army* in both *The Standard* and *The Pall Mall Gazette* had included brief explanations of the event the painting depicts. The reviewers evidently saw a need to remind and/or inform their readers about what had transpired outside Kabul in 1842 if Brydon's legend as sole survivor was to achieve the desired impact. Their explanations of the subject raise two issues that frame my analysis in this section: first, that viewers would have required background historical knowledge to understand the subject of Butler's painting; and second, that the artist, her critics, and likely many of her viewers emphasized the suffering of the *British* casualties in the First Anglo-Afghan War while neglecting almost any consideration of Indigenous victims and even the thousands of South Asian combatants and camp followers. Indeed, *Remnants of an Army* impels the viewer to mourn

⁴² Bayly, *Taming in the Imperial Imagination*, 212–27.

the devastating plight of a European soldier during a war in which Europeans were the invaders and occupiers.

This latter point conjures up Judith Butler's concept of "grievable lives."⁴³ While not writing about Elizabeth Butler or the medium of oil painting, Judith Butler was coincidentally driven to investigate twenty-first-century media depictions of the United States' long-running military occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq, engaging with Susan Sontag's ambivalence toward images of violence. Judith Butler framed "grievable lives" as the victims of combat and/or atrocity whose stories are deemed worthy by a society, government, or media apparatus to be represented and sympathized with. Her conception of "grievable lives" references in part the many representations created during the United States' twenty-first-century imperial wars, which often rehearse tales of American sacrifice, including personal testimonies of soldiers' families enduring loss or the resilience of young service members coping with amputated limbs. Meanwhile, the by-far more devastated communities who inhabit the regions subjugated by United Statesian and European military forces, by virtue of their status as other, are relegated to mere statistics, their sufferings discounted. She explained, "The epistemological capacity to apprehend a life is partially dependent on that life being produced according to norms that qualify it as a life or, indeed, as part of life."⁴⁴

The concept of "grievable lives" resonates strongly with many nineteenth-century accounts and depictions of the First Anglo-Afghan War. Accounts were primarily if not solely documented in Britain by British soldiers and survivors. In reports published in the aftermath of the conflict, emphasis was squarely placed on the hardships of British soldiers and civilians as

⁴³ Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2009).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

the piteous victims of Afghan weapons, the forces of nature, or God's wrath. In his definitive *History of the War in Afghanistan*, first published in 1851 and expanded and reprinted in 1874, Kaye framed the defeat as providential revenge against an unjust war: "The Christian historian uses other words, but the same prevailing idea runs, like a great river, through his narrative; and the reader recognises the one great truth, that the wisdom of our statesmen is but foolishness, and the might of our armies is but weakness, when the curse of God is sitting heavily upon an unholy cause."⁴⁵ Despite Kaye's contention that the defeat was divine punishment for British hubris, the Afghans who were killed or mutilated by British soldiers elicited little sympathy from him or from other British writers. The multivolume book chronicles an extensive list of strategic and diplomatic blunders committed by Governor-General of India George Eden, Lord Auckland (1784–1849) and the men he put in command of the occupation of Kabul, including General William Elphinstone (1782–1842) and the East India Company Special Envoy William MacNaghten (1793–1841).⁴⁶ Present-day historians largely lay blame for the start of the war on Lord Auckland's fears of a Russian attack through Afghanistan, which had been heightened by inaccurate intelligence that the Afghan Emir Dost Mohammad Khan (1793–1863) sought to court an alliance with Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855).⁴⁷ Lord Auckland engineered the invasion in November 1838, initiating a veritable cold war between the British and Russian empires in the process.⁴⁸ This so-called Great Game would last until the beginning of the twentieth century,

⁴⁵ Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, 389.

⁴⁶ Kaye's history recounts that during the siege of Jalalabad, General Robert Sale had attempted to prevent the spread of information about the earlier siege of Kabul from reaching his own troops. Many found it incredulous that such a large army encamped and well-provisioned in a walled city like Kabul would be defeated and destroyed. Morale plummeted when the forces in defense at Jalalabad learned that General Elphinstone had surrendered after squandering many tactical and material advantages. *Ibid.*, 390.

⁴⁷ William Dalrymple, *Return of a King: The Battle for Afghanistan* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 13.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

during which time the independent nation of Afghanistan would be a hotly contested territory and the victim of two subsequent British invasions in 1878 and 1919.⁴⁹

The British strategic position varied so drastically during the developing stages of the war that two narrative strains arose from it, that of victor and that of vanquished. The initial invasion in 1839 by the so-called Army of the Indus met with a series of successes, as the strongholds of Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, and Jalalabad all fell within a matter of weeks. Elphinstone's failed occupation and fatal retreat would then see the utter reversal of these previous victories. Major-General George Pollock (1786–1872) subsequently formed the Army of Retribution by February 1842, which retraced Elphinstone's steps through the Khyber Pass with the mission to recapture Kabul and thereby punish the Afghan enemies of Britain and the East India Company. Among the many human and architectural casualties of British vengeance was Kabul's most famous bazaar, the two-hundred-year-old Chahar Chatta.⁵⁰ From a strategic and diplomatic standpoint, the war achieved few if any of Auckland's goals, which mainly comprised establishing a subservient buffer state between India and Russia. The animus of Pollock's invasion was to mitigate the military and political humiliation of the previous debacle, not to effect any long-term change in Afghan administration. Still, it would be Pollock's victory that allowed for the rescue of the British captives, which in turn enabled them to publish their accounts. Despite their place on the ultimately victorious side, the authors of these texts conveyed a sense of rightness

⁴⁹ Bayly has recently disrupted the scholarly perception that Britain and Russia were exclusively hostile toward one another in the nineteenth century. He has found significant instances where the two nations cooperated, belying the animosity suggested by the phrase "Great Game." Nevertheless, texts cited in this chapter frequently refer to Russia as a rival empire that sought to overthrow British control of India. This suggests that, while British and viceregal officials might not have always viewed Russia as the great enemy, the Romanov empire still held sway as such for several British authors. Bayly, *Taming the Imperial Imagination*, 10–15; 196–203.

⁵⁰ Stanley I. Hallet, *Traditional Architecture of Afghanistan* (New York: Garland STPM Press, 1980), 177.

through victimhood, telling of the horrors, suffering, and oppression they experienced between the retreat from Kabul in January and their rescue in September 1842.

The Second Anglo-Afghan War, which provided Butler with the catalyst to create *Remnants of an Army*, followed similar pretexts as had the first: diplomatic relations between Afghanistan and British India had broken down as the Afghan Emir Sher Ali Khan (1825–1879) permitted a Russian delegation into Kabul while denying one from the Raj.⁵¹ News from the Second Anglo-Afghan War was consistently featured in the major press outlets, although it came to be overshadowed by the shorter yet more turbulent Anglo-Zulu War (1879) unfolding concurrently in Natal (present-day South Africa).⁵² The years between 1878 and 1880 gave rise to news about these conflicts in central Asia and southern Africa. At the same time, explorers and natural historians were expanding on an already substantial corpus of allegedly scientific studies about the regions where the British army was embattled through uprisings by Indigenous populations. Maps of territories were drawn, and catalogues of the various races of Afghanistan and Zululand were compiled.

Butler kept silent about her visual and textual sources for *Remnants of an Army* in her autobiographical narration of the painting's genesis. Still, she was known as an assiduous researcher.⁵³ She almost certainly would have read Kaye's *History of the War in Afghanistan*. Kaye's tome includes a lengthy account of Brydon's escape, based on the reports of contemporary witnesses, and would have been one of the most readily available descriptions that

⁵¹ Christopher M. Wyatt included a thorough discussion of the political and diplomatic nuances between Russia and Britain before the Second Anglo-Afghan War in *Afghanistan and the Defence of Empire: Diplomacy and Strategy during the Great Game* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2011), 9.

⁵² Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 201. This is corroborated by Thompson in her *Autobiography*, in which she mentioned the "great commotion" caused by news of the defeat at Isandlwana. Butler, *Autobiography*, 183.

⁵³ For instance, Butler had read Sir Arthur Kinglake's enormous and highly detailed *War in the Crimea* at least twice before executing *Roll Call*. Butler, *Autobiography*, 115.

Butler could have consulted. The parities between her depiction and Kaye's text corroborate this point. Kaye wrote of Brydon's arrival at Jalalabad:

[A] sentry, on the ramparts, looking out towards the Caubul road, saw a solitary white-faced horseman struggling on towards the fort. The word was passed; the tidings spread. Presently the ramparts were lined with officers, looking out, with throbbing hearts, through unsteady telescopes, or with straining eyes tracing the road. Slowly and painfully, as though horse and rider both were in an extremity of mortal weakness, the solitary mounted man came reeling, tottering on. They saw that he was an Englishman. On a wretched, weary pony, clinging, as one sick or wounded, to its neck, he sate or rather leant forward; and there were those who, as they watched his progress, thought that he could never reach, unaided, the walls of Jellalabad.

A shudder ran through the garrison. The solitary horseman looked like the messenger of death. Few doubted that he was the bearer of intelligence that would fill their souls with horror and dismay. Their worst forebodings seemed confirmed. There was the one man who was to tell the story of the massacre of a great army. A party of cavalry were sent out to succour him. They brought him in wounded, exhausted, half-dead. The messenger was Dr. Brydon, and he now reported his belief that he was the sole survivor of an army of some sixteen thousand men.⁵⁴

Remnants of an Army visualizes this segment of Kaye's book, attention to minute detail, although the painting reverses the viewpoint. Kaye represented the arrival of Brydon from the perspective of those inside the city, informing us of the tremors of fear that rippled through the ranks as Brydon approached. Butler, on the other hand, rendered these same soldiers merely as small dabs of red, white, and brown pigment. They register to us as soldiers only by means of contextual clues. She subtly hinted at the alarm felt by the British occupants of Jalalabad in her synoptic description of the soldiers, who clot up on the ramparts above the Kabul Gate in greater numbers than normal sentry duties would have required. Even Captain Sinclair, the second-largest figure in the painting, remains faceless and mostly featureless, distinguished from his white horse by the blue cape that he wears. Brydon is thus configured by Butler as the "grievable life" par excellence, even over the other British subjects of the painting. The Royal Academy

⁵⁴ Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, 359.

catalogue underscored this point, including a block quotation from Justin McCarthy's recently published *History of Our Own Times* (1879) to explain the subject of Butler's entry:

One man alone reached Jellalabad. Literally, one man—Dr. Brydon—came to Jellalabad out of a moving host which had numbered in all some sixteen thousand when it set on its march. The curious eye will search through history or fiction in vain for any picture more thrilling with the suggestion of an awful catastrophe than that of this solitary survivor, faint and reeling on his jaded horse, as he appeared under the walls of Jellalabad to bear the tidings of our Thermopylae of pain and shame.⁵⁵

By the time Butler began working on her canvas in 1879, the portrayal of the defeat at Kabul as an exceptional tragedy had taken firm root in British public discourse. One may recall Kaye's characterization at the outset of this chapter, "the complete awfulness—the sublime unity—of this Caubul tragedy." Butler's words, also quoted above, refer to the event both as the "tragedy of '42" and "*our* disaster in the Cabul passes (my emphasis)." In this brief but significant phrase, Butler demonstrates a sense of ownership over the event through her use of the collective first-person, possessive pronoun, "our." While she claimed to have singularly remembered the "disaster of '42," she was far from alone. Her brother-in-law Wilfrid Meynell likewise described the incident as "the common massacre of General Elphinstone's army of 16,000 men—the mortal tragedy of 1842."⁵⁶ *The Illustrated London News* published a short column in May 1879, "A Reminiscence of Jellalabad in 1842," which aimed to remind readers of the events from the first war in Afghanistan during the height of the second.⁵⁷ It served to publicize Major General Henry Durand's recent memoir about the events from his eyewitness experiences when serving under General John Keane; Durand then held the rank of captain.

⁵⁵ Justin McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, vol. 1, quoted in *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1879. The One Hundred and Eleventh* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1879), 27.

⁵⁶ Meynell, *Lady Butler*, 10.

⁵⁷ "A Reminiscence of Jellalabad in 1842," *The Illustrated London News*, May 10, 1879.

Durand lamented in this book, “Would that oblivion could swallow up all record, all memory, of that dire destruction!”⁵⁸ This statement about forgetting the defeat at Kabul seems ironically placed in an advertisement for a new book on the subject; the author’s rhetorical use of negation makes the event seem truly incredible. In any case, oblivion had largely failed to “swallow up all record, all memory, of that dire destruction,” as evidenced by several press accounts detailing it to their readers even before the Second Anglo-Afghan War had officially begun. The article is not specifically about Butler’s “fine picture,” but the author still made sure to mention that the painting was on view at the Royal Academy Exhibition and that it represented the “touching incident which has become so famous to British military history.”⁵⁹

Brydon’s survival of the siege of Kabul was described at length in his obituary, published by *The Illustrated London News* in April 1873. I reproduce the short article in full below to demonstrate how thoroughly the man and the event were intertwined, at least according to one of Britain’s most prolific news outlets:

The death was lately announced of Dr. William Brydon, C.B., of the Bengal Medical Service. His name will be remarkable in Indian history as that of the one solitary individual of the 13,000 soldiers and camp followers of the British Army at Cabul who was neither killed nor taken prisoner in the memorable retreat from Cabul in January, 1842. Dr. Brydon, after some hair-breadth escapes from the Afghans, reached Jellalabad alive, though wounded and exhausted, all the other persons composing the British force having been either killed or taken prisoners. Dr. Brydon went through the rest of the siege of Jellalabad with the garrison under the command of Sir Robert Sale ; and it was his singular fate to be again shut up with Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, and to pass uninjured through that long and trying siege. The portrait is from a photograph by Mr. J. Stuart, of Cromarty.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ “The Late Dr. Brydon,” *The Illustrated London News*, April 19, 1873.

As the author of this obituary made evident, the retreat from Kabul was not only one of the most significant events in nineteenth-century British military history but also in Brydon's life and the main reason for his public recognition, even though he would go on to live through the siege of Jalalabad and, remarkably, the siege of Lucknow, India, in 1857.

Butler's depiction of Brydon in *Remnants of an Army*, as much as the stories about him in literature and the press, contributed to understandings of the defeat as an indictment of Afghan cruelty. Such an attitude permeated survivors' accounts, including the much-anticipated memoir of Lady Florentia Sale (née Wynch; 1790–1853), published in 1843.⁶¹ The wife of acting Major-General Robert Sale (1782–1845), Lady Sale had accompanied the Army of the Indus only to be surrendered during Elphinstone's retreat and taken to Kabul as a prisoner of war. She learned of Brydon's escape to Jalalabad by means of one of her captors. She recounted:

Mahommed Akbar Khan, to our horror, has informed us that only one man of our force has succeeded in reaching Jellalabad (Dr. Brydon of the Shah's force; he was wounded in two places). Thus is verified what we were told before leaving Cabul, "that Mahommed Akbar would annihilate the whole army, except one man, who should reach Jellalabad to tell the tale."⁶²

The published memoir draws from Lady Sale's journal and presents events from a first-person point of view, including conversations among the officers close to her, correspondence from her husband, attacks on the column, and then encounters with the jailers and other captives. Lady Sale's detailed memoir concludes with the tale of her rescue by her husband General Sale himself, who accompanied Pollock's Army of Retribution. The reunion of the Sale family was represented in a lithograph by R.E. Sly in 1844 (fig. 4.13; Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection,

⁶¹ Florentia Wynch Sale, *A Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan, 1841–2* (London: John Murray, 1843). The First Anglo-Afghan War preceded the media practice of sending special artists to the scenes of far-off military engagements, which would become standard after William Simpson and Constantin Guys were commissioned to document the Crimean War for British and French papers, respectively. Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 162.

⁶² Sale, *Journal*, 56.

Providence). General Sale, depicted with form-fitting white breeches, cinched waist, and plumed bicorne hat, is the picture of British gallantry as he joins hands with his wife and daughter who rush to meet him, both of whom are dressed in the Afghan garb of their captivity. The joyous meeting is presided over by the other prisoners and their Afghan captors on the left and a line of British cavalry on the right. This lithograph joins a set of three by Sly that depict the endurance under duress or outright murder of British officers, all of whom are specifically named. The shackled hostages Colonel Stoddart and Captain Connolly are sharply attired and well-groomed, maintaining their appearance of emotionally unaffected, gentlemen officers despite their bleak circumstances (fig. 4.14; Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Providence). Alexander Burnes, on the other hand, remains defiant to the last as he grasps the lance of his assailant, one member of an evidently deranged mob that would, it is suggested, eventually overthrow the British occupation of Kabul (fig. 4.15; Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Providence). Sly's lithographs join several others published during the war or in its aftermath such as *The Heroic Defence of Lieut. Bird at Cabul* and the *Heroic Conduct of Four Privates, of H.M. 31st Regt. at the Battle of Mazeena*, several of which highlight the dignified resistance of British soldiers against overwhelming, usually anonymous and often faceless, enemy forces (fig. 4.16; 1842; and fig. 4.17; c. 1850, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Providence).

That British heroism through suffering was emphasized, if not fetishized, in visual and textual accounts of the war is perhaps unsurprising.⁶³ It is noteworthy, however, that the

⁶³ Anthropologist Louis Dupree retraced the passes traversed by the British troops with a guide, Qadir Fahim, stopping in villages to interview local residents about folktales recounting the retreat of 1842. Dupree recounted instances of suspicion, lack of interest, and/or lack of knowledge among several interlocutors in the villages through which they passed. Nevertheless, those who were able to recount folktales described the courage, heroism, and honor of the Afghan participants and the falsity and perfidy of the British. While this outcome may not be wholly surprising, Dupree and Fahim's account significantly offers a counter-narrative to the British narratives of the events, which overwhelmingly favor British conduct and suffering. Louis Dupree, "The Retreat of the British Army from Kabul to Jalalabad in 1842: History and Folklore," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 4, no. 1 (1987), 50-74.

thousands of South Asian sepoys and their families as well as the auxiliaries and servants who accompanied the army seldom garnered attention among European publics, even though they died following the orders of Lord Auckland. What written record remains only infrequently hints at the horrific injuries and deaths of thousands of sepoys who struggled their way back to India, many of whom were captured along the way. For example, Lady Sale recorded an instance of passing by the corpses of 200 “miserable Hindostanees” during the retreat and another instance of an Afghan naib helping feed “hundreds of wretched Hindostanees who were starving in Cabul,” who were later sold into slavery.⁶⁴ Thus, Sale may have recognized the suffering of the South Asian soldiers and camp followers in her account but arguably fell short of apprehending them as “a life” in Judith Butler’s terms. British officers worried about the effect such accounts would have in India. For instance, Sir Henry Lawrence portended: “Better had it been for our fame if our harassed troops had rushed the enemy and perished to a man, than that surviving Sepoys should be able to tell the tales they can of what they saw at Cabul.”⁶⁵ Present-day historian John Cunningham has maintained, following Lawrence’s observation, that such oral dissemination of the miseries endured by the sepoys and camp followers during the retreat—“(u)nseen by politicians in London and ignored by those in Calcutta”—greatly contributed to the anti-British sentiment that led to the Indian Uprising of 1857–1858.⁶⁶

Butler departed from written accounts of the retreat by rendering the cause of Brydon’s misery ambiguous, as even the title neglects to specify the event (yet another deviation from the mainstream of battle paintings, which typically precisely identify the events). Butler’s open-

⁶⁴ Sale, *Journal*, 75.

⁶⁵ Henry Lawrence, quoted in Cunningham, *Last Man*, 133.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

ended title leaves viewers to fill in the missing data, which they would have been able to do either by searching their own memories if old enough, reading the historical accounts if educated and dedicated enough, or by simply picking up a newspaper. Those who may not have been able to travel to London to see the painting installed at the Royal Academy or later in the Tate Gallery could have potentially viewed it by proxy by means of the record number of reproductions that it spawned.⁶⁷ Since its exhibition and, perhaps more significantly, its reproduction, the painting has become the chief means through which the defeat is remembered, even serving as inspiration for authors such as Bainbridge, who happened on a postcard of it in the middle decades of the twentieth century.⁶⁸

Collapsing Difference: The Dangers of Going Native

Brydon encompassed layers of difference in relation to Butler. He was a man; he was Scottish (although born in London); he was a subaltern in the army medical services from a squarely middle-class family, as opposed to the painter, a proper English bourgeoisie who would soon gain the honorific title of “Lady” when her husband attained knighthood. Brydon’s slippage from ideal, European, masculine soldier into something other is suggested by his apparel, which comprises his British army uniform now overlaid with articles of Afghan clothing and the earthy traces of Afghan terrain. That Brydon begins to merge with his environment points to the ideologically fraught concept of “going native.”⁶⁹ It was more than just his life that was imperiled on his week-long journey through the mountains; his status as a civilized, European

⁶⁷ Meynell, *Lady Butler*, 11.

⁶⁸ Bainbridge, “*Remnants of an Army*,” 2.

⁶⁹ Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, 51–52.

man was also thrown into question. His suntanned skin and stubble further undermine his status as a civilized European by evincing his body's subjection to harsh elements and lack of access to proper grooming. But for now, he exists frozen by Butler in a liminal position between domestic and foreign, civilized and savage. For the fact that its main figure shifts between these categories, *Remnants of an Army* reveals the vulnerability of British military manhood when confronted by overwhelming foreignness.

Butler enhanced the sense of Brydon's otherness by clothing him in a *posteen*, a knee-length, sheepskin pelisse common to the region of eastern Afghanistan, which he wears over the indigo Bengal Army Medical Service uniform current in the 1840s. Butler possibly consulted one of the officers stationed at Jalalabad or other survivors from 1842 to aid her in her depiction of the costume. This was the route taken by history painter and "special artist" for the *Illustrated London News*, William Simpson (1823–1899), who had conferred with Major John James Bailey while traveling through Afghanistan. Bailey remembered Brydon's arrival at Jalalabad on the infamous January day and helped Simpson produce a sketch of the late doctor. The sketch formed the basis of a watercolor painting (whereabouts unknown) that he exhibited at the Royal Institute of Watercolours the same year that Butler submitted *Remnants of an Army* to the Royal Academy (fig. 4.18; 1879, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Providence).⁷⁰ Simpson's drawing, while sparsely detailed, shares several similarities with Butler's depiction of Brydon. It includes all the same constituent elements as Butler's painting: man seated on a pony wearing a British medical service uniform, forage cap, and *posteen*. However, Simpson's sketch employs a higher-keyed color palette than does Butler's painting, with primary colors such as yellow used

⁷⁰ William Simpson, *The Autobiography of William Simpson, R. I. (Crimean Simpson)*, ed. George Eyre-Todd (London, T. F. Unwin, 1903), 285.

to denote the *posteen* while the underlying uniform is depicted as royal blue with a red stripe down the side of the leg. The bright coloring of his garments distinguishes him clearly from the white page.

In *Remnants of an Army*, on the other hand, Brydon begins to blend in with the surrounding landscape (fig. 4.19; detail). Butler's depiction demonstrates the effects of a harsh climate, the intense sunlight and extreme cold that assailed Brydon on his retreat and diminished not only his bodily integrity but also that of his clothing. The deep blue of the doctor's uniform has been compromised and now turns gray from too long of an exposure to the sun, and tan pigment indicates dried mud accumulating on the legs of his trousers. The bright red stripe in Simpson's drawing here takes on a maroon cast. Whereas Brydon chromatically merges with his surroundings in *Remnants of an Army*, contemporary eyewitnesses to his arrival in Jalalabad noted that his distinctly European apparel immediately identified him as a member of Elphinstone's army. Major-General Henry Havelock recorded, for instance:

About 2 p.m. on the 13th January, some officers were assembled on the roof of the loftiest house in Jellalabad. One of them espied a single horseman riding towards our walls. As he got nearer, it was distinctly seen that he wore European clothes, and was mounted on a travel-hacked yaboo, which he was urging on with all the speed of which it remained master. A signal was made to him by some one on the walls, which he answered by waving a private soldier's forage cap over his head.⁷¹

The visibility of Brydon's European uniform was the first signal to the British defenders of the town that the approaching man was one of their own; the forage cap was the second. Butler's muddying of his uniform was just one instance where she departed from certain contemporaneous written sources: for instance, evidently one of his boots had gone missing, and

⁷¹ Henry Havelock, quoted in *Memoirs of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock*, ed. John Clark Marshman (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), 97.

he wore bandages to cover wounds on his head and *left* hand, as opposed to his right, the one depicted as bandaged in the painting.

These discrepancies in verisimilitude aside, Brydon's donning of an Afghan garment, a *posteen*, carried a certain ideological significance. The *posteen* was an eye-catching element of Afghan military costume, emblemizing Afghan military manhood—at least to Europeans—as demonstrated in images such as James Rattray's *Afghaun foot soldiers in their winter dress with entrance to the valley of Urgundeh* (fig. 4.20; 1842, National Army Museum, London). The lithograph depicts two Afghan soldiers, one crouched on the ground in profile with the other standing behind him in a composite pose, legs facing front, chest in three-quarter turn, and head in profile, arrangements meant to exhibit the figures' bountiful uniforms as well as their voluminous beards and hair. Their green embroidered *posteens* served both for warmth, a key element of their "winter dress," and as ornament.

By 1879, the appropriation and adaptation of "native dress" was a well-established practice in British imperial forces.⁷² Photographs from the Second Anglo-Afghan War by John Burke document the variety of types of uniforms encompassed by Britain's imperial army, which differed within units as well as between cultural groups. Burke's album, *Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force*, was the first European photographic representation of the region and came to be widely circulated at the time (see figs. 4.21–4.24; 1879, National Army Museum, London). Burke's photographs were similarly reproduced in *The Illustrated London News* as were Simpson's drawings, meaning that the works produced by these two artists functioned as a quasi-ubiquitous means through which British publics were able to conceptualize the terrain and

⁷² Thomas Abler, *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress: European Empires and Exotic Uniforms* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 149–58.

people of Afghanistan. The album follows a standard nineteenth-century format of group portraits while presenting a veritable essay on the roles that sartorial codes played in the empire's strategy for managing differences among its populations. The static poses in each photograph highlight the diversity of apparel while completely disavowing the violent coercion intrinsic to colonial warfare.

Butler's, Simpson's, Rattray's, and Burke's depictions all ascribe a predominantly masculine signification to the garment. Nevertheless, the garment served a unisex function for the British invaders. British travel writer Hugo James described the comfort, warmth, and luxuriousness of the *posteen* in his 1854 account of his voyage through Afghanistan.⁷³ James initially associated the coat with European women's apparel, recounting, "When I first saw a Posteen, I took it for a lady's dress, as it resembled, what the fair sex would designate, a Polka Jacket."⁷⁴ James's misperception of the coat's gender significance followed from his expectations inscribed on types and shapes of garments by means of a European fashion system, a significance that he in turn grafted onto a type of clothing that was foreign to him.

Perhaps the most famous example of sartorial gender inversion during the retreat was Lady Sale, who had worn a *posteen* along with a forage cap, her guise composed of articles remarkably similar to those of Brydon's. Sale's masculine-reading attire may nearly have cost her life during the retreat, according to an anonymous co-prisoner who published an article in *Bentley's Miscellany*:

It was considered more than likely, that, when Lady Sale was wounded, she had been mistaken for one of the opposite sex, from the circumstance of her wearing an officer's foraging-cap, as the Affghans have a superstitious prejudice against killing a woman; and

⁷³ Hugo James, *A Volunteer's Scramble through Scinde, the Punjab, Hindostan, and the Himalayah Mountains* (London: Thacker and Co., 1854), 217.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

no other lady was touched, although, from the circumstances of several travelling in panniers, their progress was considerably slower than her ladyship's.⁷⁵

The incident involving Lady Sale was not the only instance in which ambiguously gendered clothing endangered or ended a woman's life. As Sale herself recorded, "a poor woman, a Mrs. Smith" was attacked and shot when traveling through the Bolan Pass with a retinue of guards.⁷⁶ Sale wrote that the body of the victim was left unspoiled due to a superstition among local Afghan tribes that killing a woman incurs bad luck.⁷⁷ Sale neglected to inventory Mrs. Smith's precise wardrobe during this incident—save for mentioning her rings and earrings—recording simply that the assailants became fearful on "finding" that she was female when they examined the body.

Lady Sale's use of apparel typically associated with men and her keen interest in military affairs figured powerfully—if controversially—into the legend that developed around her in the following years.⁷⁸ An oil portrait by Richard Thomas Bott depicts her in the *posteen* that she had donned in preparation for the retreat from Kabul (fig. 4.25; 1844, location unknown). The garment and the painting that depicts her wearing it both associate her with Afghanistan, specifically the events that took place in the Khyber Pass, which are evoked by the steep cliff that rises behind her. She never mentioned specifically how she obtained such a garment, whether through requisition or possibly as a gift, even though it makes a repeat appearance

⁷⁵ Anonymous author, "English Captives at Cabul," *Bentley's Miscellany* (1843), in *The First Anglo-Afghan Wars: A Reader*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 88.

⁷⁶ Sale, *Journal*, 3.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Both Colley and Cunningham have characterized Lady Sale's reception in Britain as having attracted a major following while also incurring the anger and sometimes rivalry of male co-survivors who were also publishing their own accounts of the events. Colley described Sale as a precursor to Florence Nightingale while addressing criticisms she faced from other captives of being meddlesome. Cunningham, for his part, recounted British officers who labeled her a 'gossip' and attacked the credulity of her account. Colley, *Captives*, 352. Cunningham, *Last Man*, 136.

throughout her memoir and serves a variety of functions, including bedding and even armor. In Bott's oil portrait of Lady Sale, the *posteen*, which initially served the sitter as a protector against both the elements and enemy fire, was transformed into the sartorial testament of her almost-masculine courage and an attribute of her celebrity.

Brydon's physical transformation into something not-quite European, not-quite civilized, which occurs before our eyes in *Remnants of an Army* and signals his extreme duress, aligned with firsthand accounts of the war and captivity published in Britain in subsequent years. The elision of gender and ethnic difference made evident in Butler's painting both reinforced and undermined European conceptions of supremacy at the middle of the nineteenth century. Although cultural cross-dressing had a long pedigree both in art and in social practice, it was not without its anxieties. One's ability to move through cultural idioms of dress and grooming potentially constituted a form of imperial mastery.⁷⁹ But those power dynamics could be easily reversed. European diplomats, tourists, and adventurers often willingly donned non-European garb, whereas prisoners of war in Kabul were compelled to do so. The anonymous writer in *Bentley's Miscellany* explained the initial need for Afghan apparel was not just protection from the cold but also cultural camouflage: "it was considered expedient to make ourselves as little remarkable as possible, that we might be less likely to attract the notice of any stray parties of Affghans. With this intent, turbans and 'chogas' (Affghan cloaks) were put in requisition, and all who could obtain articles did so."⁸⁰

The European officers and ladies pictured in a set of lithograph portraits imagining the captivity, published from drawings by Captain Vincent Eyre, would be difficult to identify as

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Anonymous, "English Captives at Cabul," 88.

such without text (see figs. 4.26-4.28; 1843, British Museum, London). By the time of their rescue, the British male captives had grown such copious beards that their compatriots reported having difficulty distinguishing them from Afghan men.⁸¹ In addition to adopting new modes of facial hair (brought on by the lack of grooming tools) and new postures, the effects of the sun appeared to merge British captives with their Afghan captors even further. Lady Sale suggested that the effects of the sun had altered the prisoners' racial characteristics, stating, "I had no idea, before our captivity, that people could become so changed by sunburn; the Europeans looking like the Affghans, and the Affghans as dark as Hindostanees."⁸² The evident surprise in Sale's words at the effects of sun on the skin hint at the protections afforded her due to her status as a British proper lady, likely unaccustomed to long periods outdoors without shield from the elements.

As Colley has usefully explained, "metamorphoses" of this kind were common to British captivity situations since the seventeenth century, so much so that the practice of crossing sartorial, tonsorial, and customary boundaries—often done involuntarily—was understood as central to the project of empire-building itself.⁸³ Colley remarked that Eyre's drawings depicted the captives as apparently *too* ready to adopt Afghan costume and manners, nevertheless, which drew criticism from British military leaders when they were published.⁸⁴ Sale offered an extreme account of a prisoner going too native, defecting to the enemy and even converting to their religion:

⁸¹ Colley, *Captives*, 357.

⁸² Sale, *Journal*, 67.

⁸³ Colley, *Captives*, 360–61.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

The day after our departure, Mrs. Wade (wife of a sergeant) changed her attire, threw off the European dress, and adopted the costume of the Mussulmans; and, professing to have changed her creed also, consorted with the Nazir of our inveterate enemy, Mahommed Shah Khan; and gave information of some plans laid by the men for their escape; which nearly caused them all to have their throats cut.⁸⁵

In *Remnants of an Army*, Brydon exhibits the first signs of sartorial and tonsorial conversion. His bountiful moustache overhangs his upper lip while stubble forms along his jawline and upper neck. The doctor, of course, would have had little chance to groom himself while in a desperate race for his life, which had begun nine days before his final arrival in Jalalabad on January 13. predictably he appeared quite rugged when intercepted by the defenders of the town.⁸⁶ Images of Brydon in later life, such as photographs, show him sporting a full and well-manicured beard, suggesting that after nine or more days without shaving he would have grown a visible layer of facial hair perhaps even more pronounced than what Butler depicted (fig. 4.29; 1873, National Army Museum, London). In contrast to the well-sculpted, forked beard featured in the 1873 photograph portrait, the stubble that grew on Brydon's jaw, chin, and neck over the course of the retreat in 1842 would not have been a fashionable assertion of the man's identity but instead a sign of the absence of the security, time, and tools needed to see to his toilette. The stubble thus constitutes an in-between state, a falling-out of civilization as indicated by one's adherence to European tonsorial codes.

Butler prevented Brydon's transformation from progressing too far, nevertheless, as he remains relatively well-kempt, fully shod, and only superficially wounded, even though he is meant to read as exhausted and in severe pain. Her preservation of his well-ordered manliness and dignified pose bespeaks prevalent stereotypes about British comportment when faced with

⁸⁵ Sale, *Journal*, 73.

⁸⁶ Cunningham, *Last Man*, 113.

disaster. These favorable assumptions of British character contrasted decidedly with discussions of Afghans across the century. For instance, in *The Expedition into Affghanistan: Notes and Sketches Descriptive of the Country* (1842), Chief Surgeon to the Army of the Indus James Atkinson characterized Afghanistan as a place in almost complete disarray, needing a firm military hand:

But a semi-barbarous country newly conquered, and semi-barbarous it is compared with European civilization, can never be retained without the continuance for perhaps many years of nearly the same amount of military force by which it was acquired. There must always be a commanding power to repress the ever-vigilant and turbulent chiefs and the endless plundering tribes which inhabit the Affghan Empire.⁸⁷

Atkinson rhetorically justified the occupation of Kabul as a necessary measure to maintain order, likening Britain's disciplining of Afghanistan to a Sisyphean task.⁸⁸ He also made clear the strategic importance of Afghan allies in stalling Russian imperial expansion in the region.⁸⁹ The same anonymous author from *Bentley's Miscellany* invoked the alleged cruelty of the Afghans in order to emphasize the piteousness of the British captives:

None but the truly wretched can know fully how to appreciate that most merciful of blessings, sleep; or with what sorrowing hearts we poor prisoners were again roused to the full consciousness of our situation, our helpless dependence on the pleasure of a race of semi-barbarians, whose will was almost their only law, and in whose creed mercy finds no place.⁹⁰

Both Atkinson and the anonymous author in *Bentley's Miscellany* repeated a common racist refrain by deriding Afghans as semi-barbarous, which appeared frequently in firsthand accounts and was reiterated in the press. Captives documenting their experiences addressed their captors

⁸⁷ James Atkinson, *The Expedition into Affghanistan: Notes and Sketches Descriptive of the Country* (London: W.H. Allen, 1842), vi-vii.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁸⁹ In several writings, Afghanistan's reason for being was construed as providing a buffer between India and the ever-encroaching, ever-villainous Russian Empire.

⁹⁰ Anonymous, "English Captives at Cabul," 87.

in much the same way while simultaneously praising their gallantry and peculiar honor code, as Colley has shown.⁹¹ Afghan accounts highlighted the mercy and decency of their leadership toward the retreating and desperate British, whereas any such characterization was wholly excluded from British narratives.⁹² The passage from *Bentley's Miscellany* in particular excoriates the barbarity and mercilessness of the Afghans in order to emphasize the victimhood of the British, whom the author characterized as “poor” and “helpless,” claiming a race-based moral high ground to counter the Afghans’ current physical superiority. If we were to invoke Judith Butler again, we might reason that the anonymous author (and others) deployed concepts such as barbarity and mercilessness to write off the lives of their captors (and Afghans in general) as unworthy of recognition. For this particular author, asserting the grievability of British lives did not merely *result in* Afghan lives being rendered as unrecognizable as living but in fact *depended on* it. In other words, our ability to sympathize with the British plight requires the diminishing if not the disappearance of the Afghans’ humanity.

Thirty-seven years after the initial doomed invasion, Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal Army Medical Service Henry Walter Bellew would reiterate this conception about the inhabitants of Afghanistan in his book *Afghanistan and the Afghans* (1879). He opened by outlining the country’s role as a buffer zone protecting India from Russia and Persia, a battleground state in the Great Game, following Atkinson’s model. Bellew addressed the autonomous kingdom with an air of collective British ownership, using the phrase “our frontier

⁹¹ Colley, *Captives*, 361.

⁹² Historian William Dalrymple included a passage from Munshi Abdul Karim extolling the “chivalry” of Akbar Khan in his magisterial history of the First Anglo-Afghan War. See Dalrymple, *Return of a King*, 378.

province,” suggesting that its leaders were neither worthy nor capable of self-determination.⁹³ The primary reason for their unworthiness, according to Bellew, was that the court of Sher Ali Khan had received Russian envoys, making the Afghans as a people proverbially ‘fickle’ and ‘faithless.’⁹⁴ Works like Bellew’s did not transparently reflect public attitudes, and Butler herself evinced a more sympathetic position toward the “poor Shere Ali” in her brief written reference to the Second Anglo-Afghan War than had Bellew. Still, Bellew’s text was created for public consumption and published during yet another British invasion of Afghanistan, meant to educate readers from the author’s twenty years of experience traveling and working in the country. Bellew’s overarching goal to direct perceptions of Afghanistan were analogous to Butler’s, if the means and aims were very different.

Across these writings, “the Afghan” is configured unquestionably as male. For the survivors of 1842, the overwhelmingly male gendering corresponded to the fact that most of the encounters described involved soldiers and jailers. In Lady Sale’s account, for instance, the Afghan inhabitants play three roles: the king and chieftains (often characterized as duplicitous), nameless and faceless attackers, and captors. These three roles correspond to the three main arcs of Sale’s account, which consist of the establishment of the cantonment outside Kabul, the disastrous retreat, and the following captivity. The authors from the late nineteenth century, on the other hand, frequently discussed Afghan men in abstract, overarching terms. Texts from the late nineteenth century such as Bellew’s substantiate Colley’s assessment that British writers approached Afghan subjects as a “barbarous or semi-barbarous race” either to be denigrated or to

⁹³ Henry Walter Bellew, *Afghanistan and the Afghans: Being a Brief Review of the History of the Country, and Account of Its People* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Rivington, 1879), 10.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13. Bellew would repeat these descriptors of Afghans in a book published a year later, this time in India: *The Races of Afghanistan: A Brief Account of the Principal Nations Inhabiting that Country* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, and Co., 1880).

be admired for their fighting abilities. Rudyard Kipling, for instance, characterized the people of Afghanistan as “the most turbulent race under the stars.”⁹⁵ He went on to liken them to wild animals:

To the Afghan neither life, property law, nor kingship are sacred when his own lusts prompt him to rebel. He is a thief by instinct, a murderer by heredity and training, and frankly and bestially immoral by all three. None the less he has his own crooked notions of honour, and his character is fascinating to study. On occasion he will fight without reason given till he is hacked into pieces; on other occasion he will refuse to show fight till he is driven into a corner. Herein he is as unaccountable as the gray wolf, who is his blood-brother.⁹⁶

Author and war correspondent George Alfred Henty would share a similar view. Henty differed from Kipling in reasoning that the Afghans’ resilience contributed to admirable fighting abilities and that with European discipline they would make a formidable asset, even though their “barbarous state” made them unreliable:

Their history shows that defeat has little moral effect upon them. Crushed one day, they will rise again the next; scattered, it would seem hopelessly, they are ready to reassemble and renew the conflict at the first summons of their chiefs. Guided by British advice, led by British officers, and, it may be, paid by British gold, Afghanistan is likely to prove an invaluable ally to us when the day comes that Russia believes herself strong enough to move forward toward the goal of all her hopes and efforts for the last fifty years, the conquest of India.⁹⁷

Henty thus repeated an instrumentalizing view similar to the one expressed by Henry Walter Bellew, that is, that the Afghans’ main reason for existence was as a potential if untrustworthy tool to use against Russia.

In *Remnants of an Army*, Butler engaged with two modes of difference: her difference from the subject, Brydon—a Scottish, middle-class man from a past generation and time

⁹⁵ Rudyard Kipling, “The Amir’s Homily,” in *The First Anglo-Afghan Wars: A Reader*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 198.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ George Alfred Henty, *For Name and Fame: Or, Through Afghan Passes* (New York: A.L Burt, 1890), iv.

period—and his difference from the Afghan opponents of the British invasion force of which he was a part. Her depiction of him widens the former gap while seeming to close the latter, as he has taken on elements of Afghan clothing and chromatically begins to blend in with his Central Asian surroundings. The elision of sartorial and racial difference that Butler enacted with her painting carried a different significance in 1842 than in 1879, after several decades of British imperial expansion during the reign of Queen Victoria. *Remnants of an Army* thus depicts a relic of a bygone age: the imperial soldier overcome by extraordinarily unfortunate circumstances. Butler's contemporaries would come to focus on heroic stands and spirited retreats, which would eventually arouse more public interest than her reflections on the "sorrow" of war, as scholars have pointed out.⁹⁸ In a move to avoid depicting combat, Butler here configured the landscape as the enemy—circumventing the land's Indigenous inhabitants—as the next section will investigate.

Landscape and Destiny

Brydon's colossal figure is set against a panoramic landscape rendered in pastel tones. The topography carefully assembled by Butler propels the narrative of *Remnants of an Army*, serving as more than a mere backdrop against which a tragic tale unfolds. The landscape pans around the main figure, imbuing the painting with an awe-inspiring quality at odds with the looming danger that we know from eyewitness and secondary accounts. The soft, rosy pink sky along the horizon transforms into creamy yellow, then a cool blue-gray, suggesting clear, brisk air interrupted by a few stringy clouds near the horizon. This, combined with brush and bramble,

⁹⁸ Hichberger noted, for instance: "It is clear that despite her enormous importance as the first of the 'new generation' battle painters and as the establisher of 'new' military genres, her followers did not share her moral objection to depicting violence. The genres which she had used to convey sadness of war were used by them to celebrate it." Hichberger, *Images of the Army*, 91.

mostly leafless trees, and dry tallgrass, evoke the cold of a January day. The middle ground is taken up by grass-covered plains that give way to the glassy Kabul River, which winds around before disappearing behind the terrain. The distant Spīn Ghar mountain range (also known as Sāfed Kōh) forms a band of shifting browns, grays, and blues across the central register of the canvas, presided over by a snow-capped peak (possibly Mount Sikaram), the summit of which appears almost imperceptibly over the walls of Jalalabad on the left-hand side of the composition. Meanwhile, the gravel road that establishes the foreground is home to substantial rocks that create unsure footing, justifying Brydon's choice of a pack animal as mount. The *yaboo* is apiece with this environment, its stocky build, thick coat, and tough hooves making it well suited to enduring cold weather and navigating hazardous terrain. Butler visually merged the pony with its setting even further by depicting its mane and tail to appear as though crafted from the same coarse tallgrass that lines the road.

In this section, I explore the visual paradox proposed above, that is, that the calm, majestic landscape of *Remnants of an Army* belies the carnage its protagonist experienced. As with any nineteenth-century painted landscape, that which predominates in *Remnants of an Army* is highly constructed, following conventions of the period and medium and expectations about the locale it represents. Expectations about the environment of northeastern Afghanistan were molded and mediated by visual and textual descriptions of the region produced in the decades following the First Anglo-Afghan War as well as those made during the Second. Butler's depiction is at least morphologically similar to these antecedents and contemporaries, even while she magnified the subject to a relatively large-scale oil painting. Her attention to detail in crafting this landscape makes it seem that she is describing a specific location—Jalalabad and its

environs—which in turn inscribes the painting with a geopolitically charged notion of place.⁹⁹ As a geopolitical formation, Afghanistan carried a special significance in nineteenth-century British culture as a “violent geography,” as Martin Bayly has astutely argued.¹⁰⁰ Linda Colley’s description of Afghanistan might deepen our understanding of this conception presented by Bayly; she wrote: “To be sure, the area that now goes under that name is protected by merciless winters that endure from November until April, by the great mountain ranges of the Hindu Kush, and by the semi-desert conditions to the north, west and south of its heartland; but these harsh defences of climate and terrain have counted for little over the centuries by comparison with the curse and lure of its location;” she then explained that, “[p]oor, dusty, ethnically hybrid, and startlingly beautiful, this is a place accustomed to invasion, less because of what it is itself, than because of where it is, and who its neighbours are.”¹⁰¹ Afghanistan constituted an untrustworthy neighbor to India at best and a hostile territory at worst, an exotic land that offered itself neither as a prospective colony nor as a tourist destination. Indeed, the primary association Butler’s viewers in 1879 would have had was war.

⁹⁹ Art historian Deborah Cherry has eloquently analyzed English feminist engagements with the French colony of Algeria according to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s “concept of the imperial project as ‘worlding,’ Derrida’s concepts of framing, and Homi Bhabha’s analysis of the ambivalence of colonial authority.” Spivak, according to Cherry, conceived of “worlding” as the imperialist inscription of a sense of place onto a non-European region through various modes of visual culture, a form of epistemic ownership that accompanied political, economic, and military oppression. Cherry’s discussion of female British artists and writers in the foreign territory of Algeria resonates with Butler’s project to render Afghanistan: “As Spivak affirmed in her analysis of worlding, the experience of landscape, of riding through, looking at, and reporting on land was structural to the European concept of the sovereign self. In Algeria it was similarly formative of the ‘female militant subject.’ Romantic notions of an immersion in nature facilitated a saturation in sensation, scenery, and self. Drawings depicted a single figure striding alone across the countryside, gazing over promontories, sketching, or racing on horseback over a beach.” Deborah Cherry, “Earth into World, Land into Landscape: The ‘Worlding’ of Algeria in Nineteenth-Century British Feminism,” in *Orientalism’s Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, ed. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 104; 112.

¹⁰⁰ Bayly, *Taming the Imperial Imagination*, 179.

¹⁰¹ Colley, *Captives*, 347.

Remnants of an Army captures the ‘startling beauty’ and defensive aura that Colley brought out, although the painting offers only a few subtle suggestions of violence. We may presume to witness some evidence of combat in a painting that references an historic military catastrophe, but the painting is devoid of such evidence and even mostly devoid of people, save for the minuscule figures rushing out to meet Brydon and lining the ramparts of Jalalabad. The presence of city walls, a British regimental flag waving over them, and the synoptic description of soldiers, all call to mind an atmosphere of defense. Yet we are primarily meant to recognize the violence that permeates and frames the geography through a set of visual markers that coalesce into a cultural notion of Afghanistan: the pastel coloring, prominent mountains, stone-and-brick fortifications, and so on. In themselves, such pictorial elements may not immediately read as overt indicators of bloodshed. However, they function in the painting as visual shorthand for India’s northwestern neighbor which, as a concept evolving over the past four decades, was frequently characterized by violence.

While I seek to show that the landscape that fills *Remnants of an Army* is dense with meaning, a contemporaneous reviewer writing in *The Standard* proclaimed the opposite: “If there were beauty—if there were high interest of any kind—in the landscape, the choice of so large and long a canvas would perhaps have been justified ; but as it is the space is empty ; little engages the eye; the theme, as it is treated here, is not large enough for the picture.”¹⁰² The critic’s dismissal of the background as devoid of interest points straightforwardly to the fact that human activity occupies a small area in relation to the size of the canvas. The geographic and architectural signifiers of Afghanistan in *Remnants of an Army* simultaneously reference and omit the land’s inhabitants, which distinguishes this work from its antecedents. Butler’s elevation

¹⁰² “The Royal Academy: Sixth Notice,” *The Standard*, June 6, 1879.

of Brydon into a universal figure of superhuman tragedy thereby displaces the people whose homes were conquered and confiscated by British forces, which included the army surgeon and his compatriots. The notions of (British) sacrifice and mourning that Brydon embodies dominate the canvas, serving as metaphoric colonizing forces themselves, spreading over the fictitious terrain of *Remnants of an Army* and subduing land and people in a way that British-led armies ultimately were unable to do in Afghanistan itself.

Butler's military scenes from this period frequently demonstrate her careful attention to natural elements—though with a striking exception in her first claim to fame, *Roll Call*, which contains merely a strip of trench-ridden snow and the slight indication of a snow-covered hill in the distance. The ground in works such as *Quatre Bras* and *Balaclava*, on the other hand, indexes a similar level of pictorial investment in floral illusionism as seen in *Remnants of an Army*. The difference between the former two examples and the latter is the proportion of canvas taken up by natural elements and, by extension, the significance of the natural environment in the overall theme of the paintings. In *Quatre Bras* and *Balaclava*, both of which represent European conflicts, our attention focuses incontrovertibly on the soldiers, their facial expressions, their military costume, the crashing of horses, the wafting of gunpowder smoke. Trampled grass, low-lying brush, rocks, and dirt, expertly crafted though they are, do not exceed their roles as part of the setting. Mostly flat pasturage in greens and tans, complemented by gray-blue skies, tell us that these scenes unfold in familiarly European domains: Belgium and Russia, respectively. Meanwhile, the place names provided by the titles give us frames of reference to recognize the location of each work. “Quatre Bras” specifies a town in Belgium, the site of a battle that preceded the victory of Waterloo in June 1815, while “Balaclava” was the site of an infamous defeat on the Crimean Peninsula in 1854, then part of the Russian Empire. The title of *Remnants*

of an Army, on the other hand, neglects to specify its location, which appears to have prompted an increase in visual information about the setting to aid in its identification.¹⁰³

Contrary to *The Standard* critic's dismissal of the landscape in *Remnants of an Army* as "empty," a pronouncement repeated by later art historians, I contend that Butler offered a visual feast with her description of the mountainous and fluvial features surrounding Jalalabad. She configured the landscape as more than just a description of terrain but rather as an active agent that drives meaning in the work. Employing her standard horizontal format gave her room in this case to revel in the immensity of the terrain while also delineating minute details such as pebbles, blades of grass, soil, and clay. The wide expanse of canvas enabled Butler to convey an almost proto-cinematic sense of movement. Our eye must *travel*, literally and figuratively, along the very same path on which Brydon and the pony drag themselves toward Jalalabad. Butler's eye and brush preceded our visual journey when she crafted the painting, roving over the landscape while simultaneously bringing it into being. The panoramic width of the canvas is embellished by a truly plunging depth. This is most visible on the right-hand side of the composition, where the background extends for what seems like miles into the distance. There, the mountains trail off, cloaked in morning fog. Outlying fortresses punctuate the terrain, described with only the barest hints of their architectural features. The landscape serves in this way to amplify the endurance of the painting's protagonist. The effect of both wide and deep pictorial space that must be traversed reminds us of the more than sixty-mile journey through snowy mountain passes that brought man and pony to the gates of Jalalabad. Butler not only gave the viewer a keen sense of the expansiveness of hostile territory that Brydon had already

¹⁰³ The Tate's current title for the painting, *The Remnants of an Army, Jellalabad, January 13th, 1842*, includes information the artist did not originally provide.

crossed but also indicates that he still has a considerable distance left before he reaches safety. Indeed, the wide reach of visual space between Brydon and Sinclair, riding a white horse and adorned by a blue cape, calls into question whether the two men will meet in time.

The painting's broad vista conjures a thematic of man overpowered by the awesome forces of nature—and, one might argue, history—harking back to the romantic landscape tradition. Butler rendered this contest as an even match: the landscape threatens to swallow up the figure of Brydon even while it is visually dominated by him. Butler's attempt to recreate an extra-European locale, specifically to the east, specifically Muslim-dominated, likewise places her work with the broader field of Orientalist painting. Butler formally linked Brydon to the countryside near Jalalabad by means of his costuming as well as the color palette she used. In so doing, she configured Brydon as a tragic hero who embodied the location that established his legend, although he was by no means native to the area. His example was followed by other military-colonial heroes such as Charles George Gordon (1833–1885) and T.E. Lawrence (1888–1935), whose legends would come to be irrevocably tied to specific locales, Khartoum, Sudan, and Arabia, respectively.¹⁰⁴

One of Butler's priorities (and challenges) was to transport viewers across the globe to a place that British publics may have known relatively little about, even though it was at the forefront of news. She demonstrated her acumen as a researcher, imparting the significant roles played by the terrain and climate of Afghanistan in written narratives of the events of 1842 as

¹⁰⁴ The phenomenon of hero worship held major sway in nineteenth-century British culture, with probably the most famous theorist being Thomas Carlyle. Twenty-first-century political scientist Veronica Kitchen has analyzed heroic narratives as forms of "political community-building," arguing that "heroes seem to be particularly important (...) in times of crisis. These times of crisis may conclude with the formation of a new state, a moment when a political community is under severe challenge, or during periods of national upheaval, such as wartime. A hero may serve the purpose of clarifying the values a community stands for (or aspires to stand for) by embodying them in a person that others can emulate." Veronica Kitchen, "Heroism and the Construction of Political Community," in *Heroism and Global Politics*, ed. Veronica Kitchen and Jennifer G. Mathers (London: Routledge, 2019), 29.

well as in descriptions of the country. To make the link between Brydon and Afghanistan effectively, her depiction needed to align with pre-existing expectations about the land, climate, and architecture. In other words, she would have needed to conjure what Martin Bayly astutely named the “idea” of Afghanistan, which he demonstrated was established by means of textual representations as a “violent geography” in nineteenth-century British culture.¹⁰⁵ I want to argue that visual representations of Afghanistan were as equally important as textual descriptions, produced concurrently and often published in the same volumes. Visual imagery produced in the aftermath of the First Anglo-Afghan War, including maps and lithographs, frequently based on drawings by soldiers, rarely included overt references to violence. Rather, they helped visualize aspects such as space, atmosphere, scale, elevation, and costume. These forms of knowledge production about a place were by no means unique to Afghanistan. However, there is a peculiar disjuncture between relatively placid visual depictions of Afghanistan and its discursive configuration as a place that was deemed inherently violent. Such imagery also represents a place that was distinctive for evading British colonization, even if it was of major concern in the broad scheme of British imperial power.

Maps of Afghanistan, which combine graphic and toponymic modalities into an abstracted notion of place, were borne as much out of strategic necessity as out of imperial anxiety. John Walker’s *Skeleton Map of Afghanistan and the Countries of the North-west Frontier of India: Shewing the Principal Routes & Passes* provided information about the key settlements and topographical features of eastern Afghanistan as an instrument in case of a future war (fig. 4.30; 1850, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven). The map translates into a rationalized, cartographic regime what was constituted through British writings as an incessantly

¹⁰⁵ Bayly, *Taming the Imperial Imagination*, 191.

violent, almost lawless country. Its abridged nature bespeaks the difficulty in penetrating the territory in order to document it more fully. Western Afghanistan, northern India, and Punjab are only sparsely rendered, enabling a strict focus on the swath of territory strategically significant from a British military standpoint, including the terrain surrounding the important cities of Kabul and Kandahar.

An earlier, even more abbreviated version of Walker's map featured in James Atkinson's account of the war, his 1842 *Expedition into Affghanistan*.¹⁰⁶ Atkinson's publication functioned as both a memoir of the army surgeon's experiences during the conflict and as a travelogue documenting various locales such as the layout, people, streets, and landmarks of Kabul, described in vivid detail, ranging from the types and flavors of fruit sold in the bustling markets to the naked boys lounging near the river. Here, Walker's map helps the readers of Atkinson's book orient themselves in the world depicted through the text. The omniscient if schematic view enabled by Walker complements the immersive experience crafted by Atkinson. The author's description of the topography links his publication to concurrent textual and visual representations and offers a precedent for Butler's depiction of Afghanistan. Mountains play a major role throughout the text; they figure into bird's-eye descriptions of the geography that then morph into tales of difficult travels through dangerous terrain, constituting at once a picturesque landscape and a major obstacle for the British conquest. Atkinson's words encapsulate this duality:

A colder climate was inviting to sojourners near or within the tropics, and the valley of Caubul had been lauded to the skies for its romantic scenery, its salubrity, and its beauty. For my own part, arduous and harassing as the whole campaign was, I shall always

¹⁰⁶ Atkinson, *Expedition into Affghanistan*.

remember having shared in its novelty, excitement, and success, with strong feelings of pride and satisfaction.¹⁰⁷

The dual conceptualization of Afghanistan as a land of awe-inspiring beauty and incessant danger pervaded written accounts of the war and infiltrated visual imagery. The most prominent examples of imagery comprised several lithograph series based on drawings by participants in the war, typically soldiers and frequently medical personnel. These include a series by Atkinson who, in addition to being an army surgeon in the Bengal Army, was also an artist and scholar. In his *Sketches in Afghaunistan*, published at the same time as *Expedition in Affghanistan* and dedicated to former Governor-General of India Marquess Richard Colley Wellesley (1760–1842), twenty-four lavishly tinted scenes depict sweeping vistas, notable landmarks, street and garden scenes, and costumes of residents of Kabul.¹⁰⁸ In contrast to *Expedition in Affghanistan*, which contains a richly detailed autobiographical account, the collection of lithographs contains only a written glossary listing the names of cities, towns, and villages along with minimal descriptions. The immensity of the landscape permeates the images, the majority of which set small figures against a sprawling backdrop, often mountainous, sometimes punctuated by ruins (fig. 4.31; 1842, National Army Museum, London). The scale between landscape and figures is analogous to that produced by Bengal Army Assistant Surgeon Rupert Kirk in his drawings for the book *Views of Defiles and Mountain Passes in Afghanistan* (see figs. 4.32-4.34; 1842, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven). In Kirk's drawings, translated into lithographs for publication, small staffage figures occupy the foreground while enormous mountain ranges and pastel skies fill the scenes. The book's dedication to Lieutenant-

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., vii-viii.

¹⁰⁸ See James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghaunistan* (London: H. Graves and Co., 1842).

General John Keane conveys a sense of glory wrested from extreme hardship in an even more triumphalist tone than Atkinson took:

No officer in Her Majesty's service being better to appreciate the Scenes they faintly represent—the Difficulties and Dangers encountered—the Privations and Sufferings, from excessive fatigue, heat, and want of water, and the enduring Courage with which they were supported—than the Conqueror of Ghuznee—who, in his brilliant Campaign in Affghanistan, toiled through Passes equally rugged—shared all the Sufferings of his gallant Army in its progress through the most inhospitable Country on the Globe; and who consummated a March unparalleled in its history for its boldness, its difficulties and dangers, by as brilliant Success and Triumph as ancient or modern warfare records.¹⁰⁹

This dedication takes on a victorious cast as it celebrates General Keane's involvement in the initial stage of the war at the head of the Army of the Indus, the initial invasion force that marched into Afghanistan in 1839. Keane was no longer present during the events at Kabul in the winter months of 1841 and 1842, when then-commander Elphinstone would oversee the failed occupation, retreat, and massacre of the British troops and camp followers.

Butler's *Remnants of an Army* contains little of the aggrandizing tone in the dedication to Kirk's book. The painting also reverses the scale relationship between figure and ground as seen in the images that punctuate *Views of Defiles and Mountain Passes of Affghanistan* and Atkinson's *Sketches in Afghaunistan*. In Butler's rendition, a single man is rendered mountainous, whereas the actual mountains are quite small by comparison. The appearance of the mountain range looming in the distance of *Remnants of an Army* still acknowledges the consistent presence of these majestic geologic formations in imagery depicting Afghanistan, produced both in the aftermath of the First Anglo-Afghan War and in the artist's present moment. General Robert Sale's illustrated memoir *The Defence of Jellalabad* underscores the obstinate presence of mountains. In a lithograph depicting the environs around Jalalabad,

¹⁰⁹ Rupert Kirk, *Views of Defiles and Mountain Passes in Affghanistan... with Interesting Details of the Sufferings of the Troops Sent to Relieve the Fort of Kahun, in the Soliman Mountains* (London, 1845), unpaginated.

produced after drawings by Lieutenant John Sturt and Captain Thomas Alexander Souter, the knotty, brown forms of two hills rise up behind the fortified town (fig. 4.35; 1846, Government Art Collection, London). The town itself is apprehended chiefly by means of its walls and the few structures large and important enough to rise above them. The town is depicted in shades of beige, tan, and terra cotta, nearly blending in with the sand and rock that surround it, distinguished mainly by the rigid edges of walls, turrets, and crenellations as well as cut-stone details. Three British soldiers on horseback engage in a discussion in the foreground—again dwarfed by their magnificent surroundings—while a man in native dress sits in the lower-left, both staffage figure and eaves dropper. The written account by Florentia Sale (wife of Robert Sale) persistently reminds readers of the rocky terrain, including mountains, ravines, and ledges, as well as ruins, all of which contributed to a sense of beauty mixed with danger. Her account is filled with place names (an extensive glossary of names and terms precedes the text), many of which have histories or legends attached to them.

A year after the publication of Sale's *Defence of Jellalabad*, Lieutenant James Rattray published another illustrated, autobiographical account of the war in Afghanistan, *Scenery, Inhabitants & Costumes, of Afghaunistaun from drawings made on the spot* (1847). A depiction of the ancient fortress of Ghuznee (Ghazni) by Rattray (lithograph by Robert Carrick) continues the emphasis on mountains and walled cities as seen in the works of his predecessors (fig. 4.36; 1847, British Library, London). Again, a mountain range provides a majestic backdrop to the scene; again, a native man stopped on a road serves as a staffage figure, even though his outsized form disrupts the idea of scale he is meant to convey. The soft, golden light that bathes the mountains and fortress recalls the morning daylight of *Remnants of an Army*. The tranquility of this morning (or evening) during which we are able to gaze on the majestic yet decaying fortress

of Ghazni conveys the sense of exotic wonderment that infused British soldiers' responses to their time in Afghanistan. From viewing this image, we may wonder just how this beautiful, sleepy, mostly unpopulated land as configured by British soldier-artists could qualify as "the most inhospitable Country on the Globe."¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, we only apprehend Ghazni from a distance, its walls forming an obstinate, opaque veil that conceals its secrets from the British soldier who first documented this vantage, his viewers in 1847, and now us.

George Alfred Croly of the 26th Bengal Native Infantry depicted *Fort of Ali Musjeed, Khyber Pass Camp of the 4th Brigade of Major General Pollock's Force, April 1842* (fig. 4.37; 1842, National Army Museum, London). The fort of Ali Musjeed (Ali Masjid; present-day Pakistan) blends in with the mountain top on which it perches. Its height over the deep gorge cut by the Khyber Khwar river and location at the entrance to the Khyber Pass gave it major strategic importance in both the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars. The Khyber Pass provides the main land route between the Peshawar Valley (present-day Pakistan) and Kabul. While the initial invasion of Afghanistan in 1839 by the Army of the Indus proceeded from the south, cutting through the Bolan Pass by way of Kandahar, General George Pollock's invasion with the Army of Retribution, commencing in February 1842, marched through the Khyber Pass, taking the shortest route available to Kabul. Pollock's army retraced the steps of Elphinstone's disastrous retreat, this time not with desperate troops and depleted supplies but with the confidence of a conquering force. The mountains that lined the pathway to Kabul were, by this second invasion, not just the geological allies of the Afghan forces but now strategic aids that could be secured and used by Pollock's army as well. Croly's perception of the mountains differed from that of Lieutenant John Frederick Irwin of the 59th (2nd Nottinghamshire)

¹¹⁰ Kirk, *Views of Defiles and Mountain Passes in Affghanistan*, unpaginated.

Regiment, who depicted the mountains to the west of Peshawar thirty-seven years later, also in the medium of watercolor (fig. 4.38; 1879, National Army Museum, London). Irwin represented the same mountain range as Croly, although this time from a considerable distance. The mountains make up an awe-inspiring backdrop, much in the way they function in Butler's *Remnants of an Army*. Whereas Croly documented the British strategic installation atop the mountains, Irwin conveyed the impressive scale of the peaks as seen from far away, which none the less dwarf the British encampment outside Peshawar.

The mountains predominate in photographer John Burke's album from the Second Anglo-Afghan War, when he traveled with the Peshawar Valley Field Force (see figs. 4.39-4.42; 1879, National Army Museum, London). Burke's photographs enable close-up views of the mountains and passes, indicating his travels through them, as well as distanced, wide-angle vistas. As in Irwin's watercolor, white tents pock the landscape in front of the mountains in one photograph, demonstrating even more clearly the vast discrepancy in size between the minuscule encampment and the immense terrain. Another photograph depicts British officers posing with a gorge plunging behind them. Despite their prominence in the foreground, the men appear tiny compared to the incredible topography they currently inhabit. Their elegant poses with bent knees and elbows akimbo bespeak their confident subjugation of this ever-dangerous terrain. Burke's contemporary C.A.M. depicted fortified towns and ruins in front of and among the mountains (see figs. 4.43-4.45; 1879, National Army Museum, London). This inclusion of decaying architectural elements recalls Butler's inclusion of fortifications, those of Jalalabad and also surrounding strongholds, in *Remnants of an Army*. The post-and-lintel gate and crumbling, clay walls of Jalalabad as represented by C.A.M. are analogous to Butler's depiction of the city (fig. 4.46; 1879, National Army Museum, London).

The varying formats and vantage points that appeared in watercolor and photograph also made their way in engravings produced for the *Illustrated London News*. News readers could view the parapets, gates, and streets of Kabul set against a backdrop of mountains, or they could picture themselves on the plains outside Kandahar, gazing at the feet of the Hindu Kush (fig. 4.47; 1879, British Library, London; fig. 4.48; 1878, British Library, London). The images that complemented news stories of the Second Anglo-Afghan War both conveyed information about a location where British forces were at war and inspired excitement about a far-away region with geography, people, and customs very different from the British Isles. It would be these images, perhaps even more so than Burke's photographs or soldiers' watercolors, that would have informed Butler's viewers about the geography of Afghanistan and shaped their engagement with her painting.

Butler stayed true to accounts of the retreat, such as Kaye's, which configured the climate of Afghanistan as the true enemy of the campaign, an agent of Providential vengeance, while the role of human opponents was diminished to that of violent staffage figures, pawns in a grand contest between British imperial power and God. Emphasis on the mountainous geography of Afghanistan across lithographs, watercolors, and photographs created over decades of British involvement in the region molded Butler's conception—whether directly or indirectly—and would certainly have molded her viewers' preconceptions as they approached *Remnants of an Army*. These images come together to produce not solely potential models for Butler to consult but also a system of representation and interpretation, however shifting and unstable that may be. Such representations fell between the eyewitness experiences of their soldier-artist makers and the cultural expectations those makers brought to bear, which changed over the decades, to be sure, but could also shift depending on whether the author was part of an invading force or a

retreating one. This is not to argue that such works conveyed deliberately misleading or inaccurate representations. Rather, I argue that certain geologic features, that is, mountains and valleys, figured powerfully in the British imaginary of Afghanistan, gaining predominance over the people and even architecture of the region. We can see this most clearly in the significance and problem of scale that preoccupies most of the images considered here.

Remnants of an Army approximates this system of representation, amalgamating sets of cultural expectations about the terrain of Afghanistan as opposed to transcribing it in two-dimensional form. Even so, the painting reveals cracks in the system through its fragmented construction. For instance, the lower-left foreground depicts a ridge that connects awkwardly to the side of the road. The middle ground between this road and the walls of Jalalabad is also compressed so that a lone tree, also near the left-hand side, appears both too large and too small for its surroundings. The foreshortening of the road as it bends toward Jalalabad make the city similarly appear very close and far away. These visual disjunctions in the painting suggest that Butler assembled the landscape rather than, say, executing it in a single sitting *en plein air*. She would have needed to craft the painting this way, relying on existing visual and textual documentation, if for no other reason than that the physical land was not available to her to depict at first hand. But what she created as a result was a semantic field in which the expression of Brydon's suffering—as well as the tragedy, loss of life, and shame of which his suffering was a small though representative part—could be fully recognized. As I have been arguing, the painting needed to be large to convey this sense of a transcendent destiny.

I want to conclude by returning to the *The Standard* critic's statement that "the theme, as it is treated here, is not large enough for the picture." This comment bespeaks a confusion about the precise theme of the painting and the challenges its maker faced in attempting to reconstruct

a foreign ecological system by means of a single image. I also want to suggest that the critic dismissed the landscape as devoid of interest because, to him, the subject of Afghanistan in itself was devoid of interest. The setting failed to speak to him, in contrast to Butler's other paintings that take place variously in Belgium, Russia, and/or Ireland and that often (though not always) reference famous battles. The critic evidently occupied a minority position. Yet his dismissal raises the possibility that not only the efforts of this painter but also all those of other painters, photographers, cartographers, journalists, historians, military leaders, and survivors could *fail* to rouse interest in a subject, in this case in an entire country and its people. Again, we encounter the problem raised by Judith Butler, that lives have to be recognized as living in order to be considered grievable. This point extends from a single life to cover an entire region of the globe. This one reviewer proposed to readers of *The Standard* that Afghanistan was not worthy of the grief that Elizabeth Butler sought to represent.

Conclusion

A portrait of a Pathan sowar (cavalry trooper) by Leila Kathleen Thompson reveals what Julia Kristeva's statement quoted in the epigraph asserts, that "any face should reveal to a careful glance the nonexistence of banality in human beings" (fig. 4.49; 1908, National Army Museum, London). Little is known about the artist, portrait, or sitter of this work other than that the subject was enlisted in the 23rd Cavalry Frontier Force circa 1908, roughly twenty-nine years following Britain's second invasion of Afghanistan and eleven years before its third.¹¹¹ The ethnic

¹¹¹ The Third Anglo-Afghan War took place in 1919.

designation “Pathan” indicates that he hailed from Afghanistan or the surrounding region.¹¹²

While the subject of the portrait is not necessarily unique in the history of the art of the British Raj, I conclude with it as a counterpoint to Butler’s depiction of Brydon. One is indeed “struck” by the sowar’s gaze, which is both penetrating and soft, his full lips encircled by a pluming mustache, which rhymes formally with the luxurious wool billowing from underneath his *posteen*, and his sculpted cheekbones bordered by an equally feathery beard. The unspecific gray background removes the sitter from the particular historic, martial, and geopolitical contexts he inhabited. Unlike Butler’s portrait of Brydon, who turns away from the viewer to become the object of sympathy, the Pathan sowar establishes an intimacy with the viewer through sustained eye contact and his proximity to the picture plane. His insistent *thereness* contrasts both to Butler’s omission of the Afghans in her representation of the Anglo-Afghan Wars and to survivors’ accounts of Afghan cruelty and barbarism. This is a life we may come close to apprehending as living. Nevertheless, like Brydon, the sowar appears before us both as instrument and victim in a long history of British imperial oppression and violence.

Butler used the suffering of a single man and his equine mount to stand in for the “sorrowful history” of the First Anglo-Afghan War, which in turn functioned as a reference to Britain’s involvement in a second invasion of the Central Asian country. Whereas contemporary critics and later scholars have praised Butler for highlighting the human costs of war, the “human” in *Remnants of an Army* is rendered explicitly and monumentally as a British imperial soldier. The imperialist ideology undergirding *Remnants of an Army* is perhaps subtler than the

112 In *The Races of Afghanistan*, Henry Walter Bellew explained that the term “Pathan,” as it was used in India, functioned semi-synonymously with Afghan, whereas in Afghanistan it also specified a particular ethnic group (also referred to today as Pashtun). He compared it to the nineteenth-century usage of “Englishman” to denote everyone from the British Isles, stating that Irish, Scottish, and Welsh persons were addressed as “Englishmen,” but English persons could not be addressed vice versa. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, 56.

jingoism of the New Imperialism from which Beryl Bainbridge had defended the painter. Still, as Butler represented it, the sorrow of the Anglo-Afghan Wars was due mainly to the loss of British life, even though both the 1839 and 1878 invasions were launched by British-run institutions, the East India Company and the Raj, respectively. Just as Brydon's suffering dominates and absorbs all other visual elements of the painting, so too did the theme of British suffering dominate and absorb most other narratives of the First Anglo-Afghan War in the subsequent years. With the exhibition of *Remnants of an Army* in 1879, British suffering became a cornerstone of how the initial Afghan conflict was remembered, the image of a swooning but dignified Brydon becoming a defining image not just of the first invasion and defeat but also of subsequent invasions, even up to what would constitute Britain's fourth incursion in the region in 2001, then following the leadership of the United States.

CHAPTER V

The Indigenous Soldier, France/Algeria/Britain/South Africa: Alphonse de Neuville's *Les Dernières Cartouches* (1873) and *The Defense of Rorke's Drift* (1880)

And here is now another example: I am at the barber's, and a copy of *Paris-Match* is offered to me. On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolour. All this is the meaning of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors.¹

Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," 1957

But, alas! The uniformity of civilian garb does not prevent variety in military dress, and if Europe in a frock coat testifies to the fraternity of nations, Russian, Austrian, and English uniforms, the Prussians in blue, our own Turcos in turbans, and our infantry in red trousers, say plainly that the principle of war is deep-rooted in this old soil, tilled by the philosophy of so many centuries, and that the peace of the world is only a dream.²

Charles Blanc, *Art and Ornament in Dress*, 1877

Introduction

Alphonse-Marie de Neuville's *Les Dernières Cartouches* (The Last Cartridges) calls attention to the prominent role *les troupes indigènes* (Indigenous troops) played in the French armed forces and in the cultural imagination of the period (fig. 5.1; 1873, Musée de la dernière

¹ Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Noonday Press, 1972), 115.

² Charles Blanc, *Art and Ornament in Dress*, translated from the French (New York: Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong, 1877), 137.

cartouche, Bazeilles, France).³ The painting quickly became one of the most acclaimed depictions of the Franco-Prussian War and earned its maker Neuville (1835–1885) enormous celebrity, serving for many as a patriotic icon in the wake of what author Victor Hugo would term “l’année terrible (the Terrible Year),” defined by the dual catastrophes of the Franco-Prussian War and the subsequent Paris Commune. The painting helped frame the way that French publics remembered, knew, and felt about the war (conspicuously omitting the Commune) even into the twentieth century. Scholars have addressed this legacy.⁴ However, few, if any, have dwelled for long on the inclusion of *le tirailleur algérien* (Algerian light infantryman), the model for whom has been identified as twenty-year-old Saïd ben Bachir (born circa 1850), or how this figure shaped meaning in a work that celebrates *French* heroism amid defeat.⁵

³ One of the longest-lasting and most numerous branches to include Indigenous soldiers was stationed in and recruited from Algeria. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, the term “troupes indigènes” mostly referred to Algerians. This likely correlates to the fact that Indigenous Algerians, especially Algerian Muslims, were referred to as “indigènes,” a term that not only denoted ethnic difference but also a lower legal status from European residents of Algeria. Various historians have addressed these legal disparities. See, for instance, two recent studies by Judith Surkis, *Sex, Law, and Sovereignty in French Algeria, 1830–1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019); and Joshua Cole, *Lethal Provocation: The Constantine Murders and the Politics of French Algeria* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019).

⁴ The painting is one of the most cited works by Neuville. It recently appeared in the exhibition *France/Allemagne(s): 1870–1871: La Guerre, la Commune, les mémoires*. See the catalogue, Mathilde Benoistel, Sylvie Le Ray-Burimi, and Christophe Pommier, eds., *France/Allemagne(s): 1870–1871: La Guerre, la Commune, les mémoires* (Paris : Gallimard, 2017). The painting also formed the subject of a chapter in François Robichon’s biography on the artist. See François Robichon, *Alphonse de Neuville : 1835–1885* (Paris : N. Chaudun: Ministère de la défense, Secrétariat général pour l’administration, Direction de la mémoire, du patrimoine et des archives, 2010), 83.

⁵ Robichon identified the figure as Bachir, evidently relying on a segment of a news article that declared Bachir “the last survivor of Bazeilles,” which seems to have appeared first in the March 29, 1912 issue of *Le Figaro*, then in the March 30, 1912 issue of *L’Aurore*, then the April 2, 1912 issue of *La Patrie*, and eventually in the June 23, 1912 issue of *Le Semeur algérien*. As discussed below, there is uncertainty surrounding this identification, even in these news articles cited, which is in itself significant to the meaning of the work. Robichon, *Alphonse de Neuville*, 83; le Masque de Fer, “Échos,” *Le Figaro*, March 29, 1912; Lancelot, “Échos,” *L’Aurore*, March 30, 1912; “L’Armée,” *La Patrie*, April 12, 1912; and le Liseur, “Échos,” *Le Semeur algérien: Paraissant le dimanche*, June 23, 1912.

In this chapter, I argue that Bachir's presence in *Les Dernières Cartouches* functioned to insert *le tirailleur algérien*—the individual soldier, the figural type, and the colonial subject—into a new mythology of French martial glory, growing out of the defeat by Prussia and centered not on legendary generals but on the common, ordinary soldier. In the passage from “Myth Today,” quoted in the epigraph, Roland Barthes invoked the image of an African soldier on the cover of the news and lifestyle magazine *Paris Match* to uncover the semiotic structure of myth as both “a type of speech” and a cultural manifestation of ideology. The young man's French military uniform, his salute, and the color of his skin all serve synecdochic functions, paradoxically calling attention to and deflecting histories of colonial violence in which soldiers recruited by the French in Africa were simultaneously victim, agent, and instrument. In a similar vein, *le tirailleur algérien* in Neuville's painting is indicative of what was already a long history of oppression and cruelty in Algeria by French military, political, and economic forces. Exposing the inequities of colonization was likely far from Neuville's point when he created *Les Dernières Cartouches*. He would have us believe that *le tirailleur* participates in the valiant defense of the small town of Bazeilles, thereby earning a place among France's newly hallowed military heroes.

Barthes's concept of the “reality effect,” identified in a later essay, may help us understand this figure. As Barthes defined it, the “reality effect” is a literary device through which an author achieves a sense of verisimilitude by imbuing a text with precise descriptions of surface details, which Barthes asserted were “unnecessary to (its) overall structure.”⁶ These two concepts—the cultural construction of myth and the rhetoric of believability—raise a set of

⁶ Roland Barthes, “The Reality Effect,” in *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 141.

questions about the presence of *le tirailleur* in *Les Dernières Cartouches* that, to my eyes, is central to the meaning of the painting: first, was Neuville's inclusion of *le tirailleur* meant mainly to achieve this "reality effect," that is, as a potentially nonessential device inserted to persuade us that we have a full understanding of the character and make-up of the French Army? Or were there political and ideological significations to *le tirailleur* that would make his presence in an image like *Les Dernières Cartouches* especially pointed? In other words, was Neuville conveying a message along the lines of the *Paris Match* cover, analyzed by Barthes, "that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this [*tirailleur algérien*] in serving his so-called oppressors?"

As I posit in the following pages, the painting holds space for both interpretations. Neuville arguably demonstrated his commitment to the reality effect with his assiduous depiction of uniforms, weapons, accoutrements, bullet holes, smoke, furniture, even patterned wallpaper. In a letter published in *Le Monde illustré*, Neuville declared that he "reproduced not just the general aspect but the details of the furnishings" before offering a step-by-step account of the engagement at Bazeilles.⁷ Still, the faithfulness of the painting's rendition of the facts would form the subject of debate in the press decades later, years after the artist's death, a debate that involved, significantly, Neuville's inclusion of *le tirailleur algérien*. As the first section of this chapter puts forth, this debate did not impede but in fact arose out of widespread beliefs that the painting was true to fact. If *le tirailleur algérien* was not actually present at the engagement at Bazeilles, as some would claim, then it stands to reason that he contributed to a desired reality effect. North African soldiers were by 1873 a constituent, expected element of the French army.

⁷ Alphonse de Neuville, "Les Dernières Cartouches," *Le Monde illustré*, September 27, 1873, 198.

They formed a base element of L'Armée d'Afrique (Army of Africa), which had a consistent presence in the martial visual culture during both the July Monarchy (1830–1848) and the Second Empire (1852–1870). The prodigious amount of imagery produced throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth that represented soldiers recruited from the colonies (including Algeria, Senegal, Madagascar, and Indochina) speaks to a widespread fascination with them. This wealth of visual evidence suggests that *les troupes indigènes* were integral to popular conceptions of the French armed forces at large just as they were to France's many imperial wars across the continent of Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific.

Such imagery was highly fraught, often shot through with prevalent racial stereotypes, making it difficult to view the presence of an African soldier in oil painting as merely surplus visual data.⁸ The second section places Neuville's depiction of Bachir amid a diverse and often contradictory body of imagery of "le turco," the popular nickname for *un tirailleur algérien*. The reality effect was also a key visual and ideological component of Orientalism, as scholars have shown and as the third section considers.⁹ The figure of *le tirailleur* in *Les Dernières Cartouches* combines two Orientalist modes of depicting West Asian and North African fighting men, one as languid and sedate and the other as wild and windswept. The fourth section argues that that *le tirailleur* is indeed a crucial aspect of the painting, given that he is situated among a small,

⁸ Art historians have been turning more attention recently to European and American images and texts from the period that depict Black, Indigenous, and People of Color in European and extra-European settings, addressing such imagery under the separate though interrelated rubrics of Orientalism, exoticism, and structural racism. For instance, see David Bindman, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Karen C.C. Dalton, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990); Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); "Cursed Mimicry: France and Haiti, Again (1848 - 51)," *Art History* 38, no. 1 (2015): 69-105; "Still Thinking about Olympia's Maid," *The Art Bulletin* 97, no. 4 (2015): 430-51; and Denise Murrell, *Posing Modernity: The Black Model from Manet and Matisse to Today* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).

⁹ Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth Century Art and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 37.

deliberately curated cast of characters. The arrangement of the composition suggests a level of parity among the figures, all brought together for the defense of a roadside inn and, by extension, of France itself. Yet, there was little of such parity between African and European soldiers in the French armed forces of the nineteenth century, not to mention in the geopolitical hierarchy established by the imperial French state.

The guiding idea throughout these four sections is that *le tirailleur* accrued manifold and shifting meanings in French culture in the decades between the initial invasion of Algeria in 1830 and when Neuville set brush to canvas. Neuville's pictorial engagement with racial difference is likewise not easy to ascertain with certainty from the visual evidence he left us, for it shifted depending on the precise subjects of his paintings as well as the cultural and professional contexts in which he was working. The final section thus turns to Neuville's works in Britain depicting colonial wars in South Africa and Egypt. Whereas his depictions of African soldiers serving in the French army preserved some sense of individual subjectivity, his British commissions frequently represented African armies as anonymous staffage figures, if not as elemental forces.

Colonial Combatants: Verism and the Politics of Memory

This section begins to unpack the various meanings of *le tirailleur algérien* in *Les Dernières Cartouches* by examining the painting's cultural impact when it was first exhibited as well as in the following decades. To start, we need to know what event the painting references and why it resonated so powerfully with audiences. A brief explanation of the battle: on September 1, 1870, four regiments of marines under General Élie de Vassoigne (1811–1891) were holding position in the town of Bazeilles in eastern France. They were attached to the larger

Army of Châlons, a roughly 120,000-person force under the command of Marshal Patrice de MacMahon (1808–1893)—accompanied by Emperor Napoléon III (1808–1873) himself—which had fallen back onto the nearby town of Sedan. The marines’ mission was to prevent a much-larger contingent of Bavarian infantry from joining their Prussian allies surrounding MacMahon just up the road. The fighting lasted throughout the day, leaving most of the town of Bazeilles in ruins. As the marines withdrew, Commander Arsène Lambert (1834–1901) ordered around forty men from the 2nd marine regiment to follow him into the Maison Bourgerie, one of the few structures left standing, in order to slow the Bavarian pursuit.¹⁰ The marines barricaded the windows and doors with mattresses, pillows, and drapes, raining fire down on Bavarian soldiers for roughly four hours from the upper stories of the inn. The unassuming tavern would come to be known as la Maison de la Dernière Cartouche (House of the Last Cartridge), following accounts from survivors that the French marines had only surrendered once their ammunition was depleted. Lambert allegedly went out of the tavern to meet personally with the Bavarian Captain Lissignolo, who embraced him and praised the courage and endurance of the French defenders, even while a battery of artillery was wheeling up to level the inn.

The French defense of the town of Bazeilles was a skirmish of relatively small scale compared to major battles such as occurred at Wissembourg (August 4), Reichshoffen (August 6), and Sedan (September 1-2), all of which involved entire army corps of French and German soldiers, typically ranging between 45,000 and 250,000 combatants on each side. The heroic resistance of the marines at the Maison Bourgerie was soon eclipsed by the regime-ending disaster at Sedan, which resulted in the capitulation of MacMahon and his army to Prussian Field

¹⁰ The account of the battle in the next few sentences comes from Neuville’s description, which he heard from Lambert as they toured the Maison Bourgerie and recounted in his letter sent to *Le Monde illustré*. Neuville, “Les Dernières Cartouches,” 198.

Marshal Helmuth von Moltke (1800–1891). The capture and abdication of Napoléon III then sparked a revolution in Paris, with a new Republic declared on September 4.

When Neuville exhibited *Les Dernières Cartouches* at the Paris Salon of 1873, it caused an immediate sensation.¹¹ The critic Bachaumont declared it the “most regarded” painting in the exhibition in his article “Chronique parisienne” in *Le Constitutionnel*, comparing the artist to the venerated military painters Horace Vernet (1789–1863) and Hippolyte Bellangé (1800–1866).¹² Neuville and his friend Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille (1848–1912) were jointly credited with a revival of military painting in France following this very Salon (at which Detaille received a second-class medal for his painting *En Retraite* (In Retreat; 1873), as discussed in the Introduction.¹³ Reproductions of *Les Dernières Cartouches* began to appear everywhere, both in France and abroad, and inspired a diverse body of cultural material in the decades to come, including *images d’Épinal*, cardboard cut-out games, plays, a polka composed by Émile Vanden Wyngaert (c. 1839–1884), postcards, and even France’s first war film by Georges Méliès (1861–1938), produced in 1897.¹⁴ Art dealer Adolphe Goupil offered to pay 6,000 francs for the canvas when it went on view for Varnishing Day, to which Neuville agreed, only to be approached by an English businessman and offered 10,000 for it.¹⁵ The painting was exhibited again in 1889 at the Universal Exhibition in Paris, enshrined along with Detaille’s *Le Rêve* (The Dream) as one of

¹¹ The Salon of 1873 was only the second to be held following the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune of Paris. Jules Simon, the Minister of Public Instruction, expressed a decidedly pro-state view in his address to the Salon, published in the catalogue, lamenting the destruction of the Commune and expressing relief that the Louvre and the National Library had not been destroyed. Jules Simon, *Paris Salon de 1873* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), III–IV.

¹² Bachaumont, “Chronique parisienne,” in *Le Constitutionnel*, June 25, 1873.

¹³ Jean-Marius Chaumelin, “Salon de 1873,” in *Le Bien public*, June 22, 1873.

¹⁴ Katie Hornstein, “Episodes in Political Illusion: The Proliferation of War Imagery in France (1804-1856),” (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2010), 321.

¹⁵ Robichon, *Alphonse de Neuville*, 83.

the masterpieces of the century (fig. 7.7; 1888, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).¹⁶ By 1891, six years after Neuville's death, the painting commanded the stunning price of 175,000 francs when it was purchased by a Commandant Hériot.¹⁷

Neuville's achievement was followed by a rare combination of critical success and general popularity.¹⁸ The painting earned him a medal of the Légion d'honneur and he was appointed chevalier and later officier of the order. He became a public celebrity during his lifetime and later, revered as one of the greatest battle painters of his day (if not of all time, as one obituary claimed), honored with a posthumous monument by the sculptor Francis de Saint-Vidal (1840–1900) on the Place de Wagram in Paris's 17th arrondissement (constructed 1889; destroyed 1942) as well as having part of the rue Brémontier where he had lived renamed after him. His untimely death in 1885 was mourned at an enormous funeral at the Church of Saint François des Sales in Paris, drawing friends—including Detaille, the painter Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1812–1891), and the nationalist poet-demagogue Paul Déroulède (1846–1914)—in addition to associates, government representatives, and delegations from various military branches. The press reported on his death from Paris to London to Atchison, Kansas.

What was it about *Les Dernières Cartouches* that spoke so powerfully to French audiences, giving it this long-lasting impact and earning its maker enduring celebrity? According to his critical respondents, Neuville had managed to balance pathos and dignity, ennobling the restrained heroism of a group of soldiers from varying military branches in the face of inevitable

¹⁶ Ibid., 79.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 70.

defeat and possible death.¹⁹ He was lauded by luminaries such as Jules Claretie, Gustave Goetschy (who wrote a glowing biography and effusive tribute to Neuville), and Jules Richard, among others. Neuville also figured prominently in Albert Wolff's account of Paris's finest artists, composed in 1886, a year following Neuville's death:

The war of 1870 had kindled his ardent imagination and broadened the scope of his oeuvre. Struck to the heart in his pride as a citizen, he now brought in his canvases like an echo of the national suffering; the pages succeeded one another at the Salon, stirring with feeling. It was no longer ancient battles, composed in the studio, but the lived drama, with all the anguish and terrors of war.²⁰

Neuville captured the apprehension of men awaiting an uncertain fate. The soldiers who occupy the upper room of the inn anticipate its impending invasion and/or destruction by the far-superior Bavarian forces. Death appears likely though not precisely imminent. We are left only to imagine the aftermath. Will/did Aubert's bullet kill a German soldier? Will/did that soldier's death affect the outcome of the battle? Expectation and fear are held in tension with restraint and control in the facial expressions and body language of the soldiers. All brace for their grim future in a variety of ways: a young, wounded soldier rests on the floor and takes little note of the commotion around him; a comrade just above him holds his head down, as though listening for the effect of Captain Georges Aubert's gunshot; another young man on the righthand side stands at a slight remove, his demeanor somewhere between attention and resignation. Lambert takes center stage, resting his wounded leg against an armoire while light from the window illuminates his features. His clenched jaw and furrowed brow signal his intense concentration. These are

¹⁹ Ibid., 68–111.

²⁰ ["La guerre de 1870 avait soufflé sur son imagination ardente et élargi le cadre de son œuvre. Frappé au cœur dans sa fierté de citoyen, il apportait maintenant dans ses toiles comme un écho de la douleur nationale ; les pages se succédèrent au Salon, vibrantes d'émotion. Ce n'était plus l'antique bataille, composée dans l'atelier, mais le drame vécu, avec toutes les angoisses et les terreurs delà guerre."] Albert Wolff, "Alphonse de Neuville," in *La Capitale de l'art* (Paris: V. Harvard, 1886), 304–05.

professional soldiers performing their duty in the face of extraordinary circumstances. As viewers we grasp the overwhelming difficulty of their situation mainly from outside knowledge of the events at Bazeilles. We would likely not even guess the identity of the enemy based on the visual information provided by Neuville, at least not without the curiously abandoned black helmet in the lower right and its distinctively German *pickelhaube* (fig. 5.2; detail). As if anticipating this, the artist inscribed the painting with the location and date in the lower-left foreground: “Balan, near Sedan, Sept. 1, 1870” (fig. 5.3; detail).²¹ Neuville condensed the battle down to one single engagement between penned-in French troops and un-pictured German armies, and down further to one key moment, that is, just as Captain Aubert fires off his last remaining cartridges. The visual elements within the painting pull our eye toward the left-hand side, where Aubert hoists his *chassepot* rifle up to his line of sight and either prepares to shoot or has just done so. The rest of the composition churns around this singular action, which occurs out of our view; even Aubert faces away from us.

The finality and ultimate futility of the last shot encapsulates a sense of heroic resistance, a conception that informed many visual and textual accounts of the Franco-Prussian War (following the model established by *Les Dernières Cartouches*), as it offered the possibility of a moral victory despite a strategic defeat.²² Demonstrations of French martial bravery, such as the marines were said to have shown at Bazeilles, enticed artists because they helped recuperate a sense of national pride in the face of a traumatic military failure. Neuville’s episodic rendition of

²¹ The inscription reads: “Balan près Sedan 1r Sept 1870.” According to Neuville’s explanation of the painting published in *Le Monde illustré*, the Maison Bourgerie was at the “culminating point of the route from Balan to Bazeilles.” Neuville, “Les Dernières Cartouches,” 198.

²² Historian Karine Varley cited Neuville’s fellow artist, Olivier Pichat, who praised the painting: “one feels the heart of the motherland beating;” and A. de Pontmartin, who noted “it possesses a moral value, because it reacts against the feeling of humiliation, of discouragement, and sterile rage.” Karine Varley, *Under the Shadow of Defeat: The War of 1870-71 in French Memory* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 27.

the Bavarian assault on the Maison Bourgerie arguably led to the event's near-mythic status in the following decades. The painting's dramatic visual effects, its highly researched verisimilitude, and the vast number of its reproductions in a range of media made it a defining image of the war which, in turn, helped transform the minor battle of Bazeilles into a prominent cultural memory. *Les Dernières Cartouches* came to hold incredible sway over viewers' imaginations and their perceptions of self as national subjects, inspiring a range of affective responses from personal reverie to violent chauvinism as well as instances of tongue-in-cheek marketing.²³ The painting itself became practically synonymous with French patriotism. For instance, the journalist Pierre Giffard declared during his visit to the Maison Bourgerie: "The battle disappeared before *la dernière cartouche*. *La dernière cartouche* symbolizes everything. One knows nothing more than *la dernière cartouche*."²⁴ While Giffard absorbed his legendary surroundings, the guide on duty took special pride in pointing out the armoire against which Lambert had leaned; her unquestioning enthusiasm reinforced the already indelible link the painting had with the event and precise location it depicts. The figures depicted by Neuville had become celebrities in their own right. Lambert was thereafter known as the "hero of Bazeilles." Even the armoire was famous.

²³ The painting's fame grew concurrently with the rise of General Georges Ernest Boulanger (1837–1891), who built his celebrity status on promises to restore France's military glory that *Les Dernières Cartouches* simultaneously celebrates and mourns. For instance, an incident in the Latin Quarter in April 1886 demonstrates that a cohort of Parisian students viewed the painting as a veritable patriotic icon: A *brasserie à femmes* (a themed combination of brasserie and brothel) on the rue Cujas was laid siege to and finally pillaged by dozens of students who had gathered at the Sorbonne, marching on the establishment to demand that the owner cover his street sign. What offended these students was that it was a reproduction of Neuville's painting—hence an apt focus of protest. Additionally, the waiters were dressed as *zouaves* and the "ladies" as *vivandières*. To add insult to injury or perhaps to demonstrate the owner's sense of irony, the establishment sold German beer. A second march to the rue Cujas by 300 students the following night ensured the place closed permanently. This display occurred at a moment of fervent *revanchisme*, which evidently gripped these students as it did many in the public at large.

²⁴ ["La bataille disparaît devant *la dernière cartouche*. C'est *la dernière cartouche* qui symbolise tout. On y connaît plus que *la dernière cartouche*."] Pierre Giffard, "Dix Années après" *Le Gaulois*, September 2, 1880.

A debate in the press about the painting's facticity indicates that the image still resonated years later. In an 1899 interview conducted by Gaston Méry and published in Édouard Drumont's rightwing, nationalist, virulently anti-Semitic newspaper *La Libre Parole* (The Free Word), now-General Lambert took aim at the veracity of Neuville's work in several respects:

[MÉRY] Finally, my general, M. Aubert seems to reproach you for figuring alone in Neuville's painting.

[LAMBERT] In truth, it's a little strong. Is it my fault? I never wanted to pose for Neuville's painting. I am not in Neuville's painting. If the commander who is represented resembles me, it's not my fault, I assure you; for it was only able to be painted fashionably. See, is it not clear: if I had some part in the composition of Neuville's painting, would I not have remarked that the artist made a mistake with the exactitude, since at Bazeilles there were only the marine infantry, and he put in turcos... Yes, yes, it's purely grotesque of me to seek to quibble over this matter. Neuville had not wanted to make an historical work. He made a work of art. He wanted to paint a synthetic episode of the war more so than the incident at Bazeilles... Because finally, it's necessary to say it, the scene of "Les Dernières Cartouches" had only been one incident in the defense of Bazeilles. Although M. Aubert pretends that only he had the good role, because in effect he was positioned at the window, I played my part all the same...²⁵

Lambert took issue with the military branches depicted, specifically, the presence *le tirailleur algérien*. Lambert was responding to criticisms leveled at him by Captain Aubert (allegedly the man at the window in the painting). Aubert had decried Lambert's character as ambitious, vain, and fame-seeking in a letter to the president of a committee tasked with constructing a monument to the dead at Bazeilles. Their argument unfolded across numerous newspapers over a

²⁵ ["—Enfin, mon général, M. Aubert semble vous reprocher de figurer seul dans le tableau Neuville.—En vérité, c'est un peu fort. Est-ce ma faute ? Je n'ai jamais voulu poser pour le tableau Neuville. Je ne suis pas dans le tableau Neuville. Si le commandant qui y est représenté me ressemble, je n'y suis pour rien, je vous assure ; car il n'a pu être peint que de chic. Voyons, n'est-ce pas clair : si j'avais eu une part dans la composition du tableau Neuville, est-ce que je n'aurais pas fait remarquer à l'artiste qu'elle péchait par l'exactitude, puisqu'à Bazeilles il n'y avait que de l'infanterie de marine, et qu'il y a mis des turcos... Oui, oui, c'est purement grotesque de me chercher chicane à ce propos. Neuville n'a pas voulu faire un œuvre historique. Il a fait une œuvre d'art. Il a voulu peindre un épisode synthétique de la guerre, plutôt que l'incident de Bazeilles... Car enfin, il faut bien le dire, la scène « des Dernières Cartouches » n'a été qu'un incident dans la défense de Bazeilles. Bien que M. Aubert prétende que seul il y a eu le beau rôle, parce qu'en effet il s'est tenu à la fenêtre, j'y ai eu tout de même ma part..."] Arsène Lambert, quoted in Gaston Méry, "Au Jour le jour : La Défense de Bazeilles," *La Libre Parole*, March 27, 1899.

period of weeks.²⁶ As evidence, Aubert called attention to the central figure of *Les Dernières Cartouches*, the commander with the bandaged leg who oversees the firing of the legendary last shot, for decades considered to be Lambert. Aubert was dissatisfied with the central role the commander plays in the painting and also insinuated that Neuville magnified this figure's injury by placing a gunshot wound just above the knee when, in fact, Lambert had merely suffered a contusion in the foot. To deflect Aubert's allegations, Lambert sought to distance himself from his painted analogue and to downplay any association he had with one of the best-known images of the Franco-Prussian War. The central figure had indeed been based on Lambert's likeness, despite the general's claim that the resemblance was only coincidental and even though the depiction of him had been doctored.

Lambert also called out the inclusion of "turcos" as proof that Neuville had changed the story, insisting that only the marine infantry were involved in the engagement. The presence of both *les tirailleurs algériens* and line infantry had been corroborated by this time by military experts, as art historians have found.²⁷ However, this misconception had evidently persisted for some years, as nineteenth-century historian Jules Richard made a similar point in his *Salon militaire* of 1887 in which he likewise asserted that only the marines had fought at Bazeilles:

We know the story of the painting of *Les Dernières Cartouches* in which all figures, without exception, had to come from the Marine Infantry, for only they were present at Bazeilles. After the painting was finished, perfected, and signed, Neuville was not at all content with the general effect. The blue-gray trousers of the *porpoises* [nickname for

²⁶ Taking place in 1899, the debate over the historicity of *le tirailleur* could not escape the cultural and political gravity well of the Dreyfus Affair. Lambert's supporters were often anti-Dreyfusard; the authors of *La Libre Parole* saw it as their duty to defend the honor of Lambert, whom they positioned as yet another victim of a malicious, antipatriotic (read: Jewish) attack on the army itself. The papers who published Aubert's letter were accused of being Dreyfusard. In a separate interview with Méry published in *La Libre Parole* three days earlier, Lambert associated Aubert's malignance with him being Jewish—"so he isn't dead then, this here Jew!"—which the latter denied along with allegations of him having any Israelite ancestry. ["il n'est donc pas mort, ce Juif-la !"] Arsène Lambert, quoted in Gaston Méry, "Au Jour le jour: Chez le Général Lambert," *La Libre Parole*, March 24, 1899. Aubert's rebuttal published in Méry, "La Défense de Bazeilles."

²⁷ Méry, "La Défense de Bazeilles."

marines] seemed too somber to him. Without hesitation, Neuville took his scraper, and his paintbrush transformed them into madder-red knickers. The sought-after effect was found, but the story got harshly knocked over.²⁸

Richard would likely have supported Lambert in saying that the inclusion of *le tirailleur algérien* was done for pictorial effect rather than documentary truth. The author here claims as much when discussing the uniforms of the marines. Despite the marines' distinguished role at the engagement, Richard states that Neuville deemed madder-red pants of the infantry more visually striking than the blue-gray trousers of the marines (which gave the branch their nickname "marsouins"). Neuville thereby aggregated the military costume of two distinct branches, contradicting army protocol. That Neuville made a pictorial decision manipulating the established "facts" of the engagement was by no means new in the history of battle painting. Still, the decision was significant, in part because he shifted attention to the line infantry away from the marines and also because this painting would become integral to later representations and even cultural memories of this historical moment. He endowed the heroes of Bazeilles with the distinctive red trousers that had come to function as shorthand for the French army itself.²⁹

Lambert had not addressed the color of the uniforms in his rebuttal to Aubert in *La Libre Parole*. Instead, he considered the presence of *le turco* as enough to undo the painting's claims to veracity, even though the figure received barely a mention when the work first went on view in

²⁸ ["on connaît l'histoire du tableau des *Dernières Cartouches*, dont tous les personnages, sans exception, devaient appartenir à l'infanterie de Marine, car seule elle avait paru à Bazeilles. Le tableau fini, parachevé, signé, Neuville n'était point content de l'effet général. Les pantalons gris bleuté des *marsouins* lui semblaient trop sombres. Sans hésitation, Neuville prit son grattoir ; et son pinceau les transforma en culottes garances. L'effet recherché était trouvé, mais l'histoire recevait un rude croc-en-jambe."] Jules Richard, *Salon militaire de 1887*, quoted in Robichon, 83.

²⁹ In a letter to Gustave Flaubert, Guy de Maupassant suggested the visual ties between the soldier's red trousers and nationalist sentiment: "Nous avons voulu dépouiller du chauvinisme à la Déroulède, de l'enthousiasme faux jugé jusqu'ici nécessaire dans toute narration où se trouvent une culotte rouge et un fusil." Guy de Maupassant, quoted in Catharine Savage Brosman, *Visions of War in France: Fiction, Art, Ideology* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 115.

the 1870s. Bachir's involvement was omitted from most critical reviews, including the artist's own description in *Le Monde illustré*. The main source claiming his involvement was a segment of an article in *Le Figaro*, later reprinted across several newspapers, which declared Bachir the "last survivor of Bazeilles," "a brave man from the House of the Last Cartridges."³⁰ The article appeared following a spattering of news statements by or about survivors, who had been dwindling since the early years of the twentieth century. In an interview in *Le Matin* from September 1, 1910—the forty-year anniversary of Bazeilles—Baron Gustave Jean Edmond Herre-Wyn (1846–1918) declared himself the last survivor.³¹ Herre-Wyn's account also reiterates the mythology of the "last shot," lending it further credence by means of his eyewitness account. Whereas Lambert had gained celebrity status almost immediately because of his role at the battle and, more importantly, his role in Neuville's painting, Bachir, who had been twenty-one years old at the time of the battle and had only recently joined *les tirailleurs*, received just this one mention in the press as one of the "heroes" of Bazeilles and only marginally and thirty-nine years later. By the time of publication, he had evidently retired to Soussa, Tunisia, where he lived off a paltry pension dispensed by the French government for his seventeen years of service. When the pension eventually ran out, he was left in dire straits. His image thus seems to have fared better than he did, even though his right to be in the painting was questioned by critics and denied by Lambert himself. Still, his visual analogue was translated along with the rest of the painting into other media. He appeared in Pellerin's cut-out game, on the cover of Wyngaert's polka, even in Méliès's film. He appeared in all the reproductions in newspapers, single-sheet prints, and postcards. His presence at Bazeilles itself may have been a subject for debate among

³⁰ See footnote no. 425.

³¹ "Quel souvenir vous évoquez mon commandant !" *Le Matin*, September 1, 1910.

scholars and military experts; however, for the publics who admired and/or criticized the painting, he was fixed into its mythology.

Heroism and Oppression: The Indigenous Troops' Conflicting Histories

Neuville had evidently succeeded in producing a reality effect in *Les Dernières Cartouches* even if his adherence to the agreed-on narrative of the battle of Bazeilles remained open for debate. Assiduously rendered details encourage our extended visual engagement with the painting while also convincing us that we apprehend the history of the Franco-Prussian War in all the veristic plenitude able to be mustered by the artist. Few particulars are spared. We are reassured further of the painting's allegiance to historical truth by the testimony of the artist himself—buttressed by the eyewitness account of veterans—and the praise of critics. The image dispenses with the melodrama we may expect from previous generations of heroic battle paintings while still celebrating the bravery and professionalism of French soldiers. And yet, we are keenly aware that Neuville gave us only one narrative strand out of a tangled historical thread. Even though the painting promises us the full truth of the war (“One knows nothing more than *la dernière cartouche*”), its commemoration of French martial valor covers over other realities of oppression by and resistance to French armed forces. This section investigates the duality between heroism and oppression bound up in the figure of *le tirailleur algérien*. The Indigenous troops were at once configured as capable of extraordinary bravery while also not quite civilized. Their adherence to Islam was used at points to deny them rights of citizenship while at others held up as a model of loyalty. They were subjected to the inequities of French imperial power while also playing an instrumental role in upholding it. As this section argues, Neuville attempted to render such ethnic and racial disparities as seamless by picturing *le*

tirailleur as a soldier among comrades. *Le tirailleur* is a key component in the defense of the Maison Bourgerie, more essential even than several of his European-French counterparts.

One of the initial purposes of Indigenous troops was to help subdue local populations; their chief strategic advantages included their advanced knowledge of the topography, language, customs, and modes of combat in the region.³² Their role soon expanded to aiding in France's wars against other European adversaries, serving as a reserve defense force, and, by the late nineteenth century, carrying out imperial expansion across the continent of Africa, the islands of the Pacific, and southeast Asia.³³ Meanwhile, the metropolitan army, conscripted among French citizens, was rarely if ever deployed outside Europe.³⁴ Certain branches of *les troupes indigènes*, such as *les spahis* and *les tirailleurs*, were commanded by European officers, with limited opportunities for advancement among the Indigenous service members. By contrast, *les zouaves* and *la Légion étrangère* were initially noteworthy for their partial integration of Europeans and North Africans, although these two came to be composed primarily of Europeans (and Americans, in the latter case) later in their histories.³⁵ The voluntary recruitment structure of l'Armée d'Afrique also came to differ dramatically from that in metropolitan France after 1872, which would adopt universal male conscription. However, unlike the compulsory military

³² As military historian Thomas Abler has explained, drawing on a vast library of military history, the employment of troops from conquered territories and/or war-time alliances with local Indigenous groups date to early antiquity. In the eighteenth century, the French East India Company recruited among the indigenous population to form battalions of *cipayes*, a method that was copied by the British East Company in forming a corps of *sepoys*. The terms “*cipaye*” and “*spahi*” derive etymologically from the Persian *sīpahī* (soldier), also the root word for the Ottoman elite cavalry of the same name, and *sepoys*, the infantry of the Indigenous army corps in British-occupied India and later the Republic of India. Thomas Abler, *Hinterland Warriors and Military Dress: European Empires and Exotic Uniforms* (Berg, 1999), 2–3.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6. These roles were reversed during the invasion of Madagascar, as addressed in Chapter III.

³⁵ Daniel Porch, *The French Foreign Legion: A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

service in the metropole, military service in the colonies was neither a requirement of nor a path to citizenship.

The uniform of *le tirailleur algérien* in *Les Dernières Cartouches* both signals his affiliation with the French armed forces and establishes his difference from the metropolitan troops. The figure's clothing inscribes the authority of the French Army onto the body of its wearer. The repetition of blue, white, and red uniforms visually and conceptually integrates the figures together under the organizational and symbolic aegis of the army while it also serves pictorially to unify the composition. Nevertheless, the silhouette and detailing of the *tirailleur* uniform distinguish this figure most overtly from the metropolitan soldiers who surround him. He wears an indigo-blue jacket and waistcoat with yellow embroidered arabesques, a red belt, and white *sarouel* (sirwal) trousers. His red *chéchia* (cylindrical cap) is now missing, exposing a shaved forehead. Even when color is not present, the shape of his uniform situates the figure firmly as part of l'Armée d'Afrique. The porpoise-gray trousers of the marines would have been indistinguishable from the madder-red trousers of the infantry in the many monochromatic print reproductions of the painting. For example, in Louis Paul Pierre Dumont's monochrome engraving that appeared in the June 21, 1873 issue of *L'Univers illustré*, the use of blank ink on off-white paper renders all uniforms in the same hue (fig. 5.4; 1873, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Tones vary slightly to denote folds in fabric and shadows but fall short of providing chromatic information about the soldiers' coats and trousers. Even *le chasseur à pied* (light infantryman) on the righthand side appears to be attired similarly to the rest. In the print, it is mostly other visual cues that help us identify unit and rank, including the silhouette of the uniform, accoutrements, and insignia.

Neuville's painting and its reproductions likewise emphasized that *le tirailleur* is not ethnically white European. Not only did the artist accomplish this through the distinctive silhouette of the figure's uniform, but he also used brown and black pigment to represent the figure's skin. The pigmentation of the figure's skin would not have been as legible in monochrome prints. Engravers relied on forms of mark-making, cross-hatching, and aquatint, all methods for representing shifts in value, to render the figure as non-white. By contrast, white figures are minimally shaded. This is especially true in the case of the case in an engraving of the painting published in Georges Bastard's account of the defense of Bazeilles (fig. 5.5; 1884, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Here the skin shade of the figure's face stands out starkly against the cloud of smoke that trails the sunlight behind and around his head. The contrast between North African and European is most evident between Bachir and Lambert as well as the morose *chasseur* on the righthand side. The white of their faces is meant to depict afternoon sunlight illuminating their skin, but the dramatic value shift in the somewhat crude engraving renders their faces as almost unnaturally bright. Neuville himself did not render these figures' skin as chromatically white in the painting (although Lambert's face is still highlighted). However, the absence of mark-making in the engraved version signifies both the lightest shade in the image and the white skin of the figures. Whereas in the oil painting Neuville rendered white skin by means of cream, yellow, and pink hues with blue and green veins, further distinguishing between lit and shaded areas on faces and hands, in these print versions, white skin is indicated by allowing the paper support to show through.

In *Les Dernières Cartouches*, Neuville elided military hierarchies among ranks, regiments, and cadres. The painting also elides, whether purposefully or not, an ethno-legal hierarchy that assured European-French soldiers the full rights of citizenship, whereas a man like

Bachir would have occupied a lower place on the empire's ladder of civic entitlements, as did all Algerian Muslim men. Nominally "French" by virtue of Algeria's configuration as *départements français*, most were denied citizenship due to a long-perceived incompatibility between French and Muslim legal codes.³⁶ For over forty years, the French legal system sought to ensure a rigid and oppressive difference in status and entitlements between French and Algerian (Muslim) men, as historian Judith Surkis has compellingly demonstrated.³⁷ Neuville, however, proposed a rhetoric of egalitarianism among the figures present, all of whom perform their individual and collective duty regardless of ethnicity or legal status. The painting naturalizes the presence of *le tirailleur* amid the French armed forces. Neuville's pains to make Bachir a believable element of the composition dilutes the extraordinariness of his racial difference. That he takes up the role of a defender of *la patrie* alongside European-French soldiers neutralizes any sense of threat one might otherwise expect from the Other. The danger of foreignness is transferred instead to the unpictured Germans, whose omnipresence is signaled by the black helmet with *pickelhaube* that has somehow strayed into the lower-right foreground.

The inclusion of *le tirailleur algérien* amid a band of disparate soldiers who come together for the common defense of France euphemizes, as we might expect, decades of inequality and occupation by the French in Algeria since the initial invasion in 1830. Political tensions in Algeria had exploded immediately following the Franco-Prussian War with the so-called "Insurrection Kabylie" (Kabylia Insurrection, also known as the Mokrani Revolt) of 1871. Coinciding with the Paris Commune, which also began in March, the Insurrection Kabylie was a major uprising in the department of Constantine, which would eventually be suppressed by

³⁶ Cole, *Lethal Provocation*, 28–31.

³⁷ Surkis, *Sex, Law, and Sovereignty*, 4.

l'Armée d'Afrique.³⁸ *Les tirailleurs*, who were enlisted from among the Kabyle populations, thus had their loyalties to France tested when called on to fight their own people. In an analogous way, European-French soldiers were tested when President of the Republic Adolphe Thiers deployed General Patrice de MacMahon and his army, newly released from prison, to suppress the Paris Commune by laying a second siege to the city. The painting omits reference to both these revolutions and their subsequent suppressions. The work's narrative of heroism closes out space for a set of events at extreme odds with Neuville's message of enduring patriotism. The painting's potential appeal to Indigenous Algerian viewers—specifically members of *les tirailleurs*—is a fascinating question that remains open to future research. What can be safely argued is that the participation of *le tirailleur* in this definingly heroic moment casts him as an emblem of the loyalty and bravery of the Indigenous troops.

If we were to recall General Lambert's assertion that Neuville had "wanted to paint a synthetic episode of the war more so than the incident at Bazeilles," then we might reason that this singular *tirailleur* stands in for the regiments of *les tirailleurs* who had demonstrated their courage throughout the duration of the Franco-Prussian War. During the Franco-Prussian War, the 1st regiment of *les tirailleurs algériens* had distinguished themselves for extraordinary courage at the battles of Worth and Froeschwiller. The 3rd regiment of *tirailleurs* (of which Bachir was a part) achieved special renown following the battle of Wissembourg on August 4, 1870, which occurred almost a month before and roughly 200 miles southeast of Bazeilles. In an engraving depicting the battle, published by Bès and Dubreuil (illustrator unidentified), the death

³⁸ Historian Ageron cited several potential causes for the "Insurrection of 1871," including Indigenous resistance to the imposition of a new civilian government in Algeria, friction with European settler colonialists, and anti-Semitic sentiment incited by the "Crémieux Decree," which granted French citizenship to Algerian Jews (while Algerian Muslims were still denied citizenship). For his detailed analysis of the causes and repercussions of the Insurrection, see Charles-Robert Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871–1919)* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968), 4–36.

of commanding General Abel Douay is announced in all the melodrama that had characterized paintings of generals' deaths since Benjamin West (fig. 5.6; 1870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Douay gesticulates valiantly—sword outstretched toward the Germans charging in from the left—as he expires surrounded by his officers and dismayed Algerian infantry at his feet, who take the place of West's Native North American man contemplating the noble, Christlike sacrifice of British General James Wolfe (fig. 1.1). The caption exalts this tragic moment during the battle:

General Abel Douay's division (7 to 8,000 men) was attacked at 7:00 a.m. by 70,000 Germans and Prussians (the Crown Prince's corps). After a gigantic and disproportionate struggle, despite the heroic efforts of our soldiers, despite the miracles (*prodiges*) of the Turcos who repeatedly rushed the artillery and at one point seized a battery. At 1:00 General Douay saw himself forced to save the rest of his division to sound the retreat. Three times he sounded it, but the doggedness of the troops was such that the fight continued still; desperate, mad from grief, the general hurled himself into the strongest of the mêlée and found there a glorious death. The Prussians lost more than 7,000 men.³⁹

The print, burdened by the exigencies of reassuring an increasingly demoralized public, casts General Douay's death as an epic tragedy, even though he had died inspecting a battery of *mitrailleuse*—hardly the epic hero tragically cut down by enemy fire that the caption makes him out to be.⁴⁰ As the engagement of Bazeilles would twenty-eight days later, the defense of Wissembourg offered an example of the bravery and determination of the rank and file even in defeat. Douay and his two European officers are the center of emphasis in the engraving; yet this triad are enveloped and protected by a bulwark of *tirailleurs*. A grouping of three figures

³⁹ The caption reads : “La division du général Abel Douay (7 à 8,000 hommes) fut attaquée à 7 heures du matin par 70,000 Allemands et Prussiens (Corps du prince Royal). Après une lutte gigantesque et disproportionnée, malgré les efforts héroïques de nos soldats, malgré les prodiges des Turcos qui s'élancèrent à plusieurs reprises sur l'artillerie et s'emparèrent à un moment d'une batterie. À 1 heure le général Douay se vit contraint pour sauver le reste de sa division de faire sonner la retraite. Trois fois il la fit sonner, mais l'acharnement des troupes était tel, que la lutte continuait encore ; désespéré, fou de douleur le général s'élança dans le plus fort de la mêlée et y trouva une mort glorieuse. Les prussiens perdirent plus de 7,000 hommes.”

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101.

provides both a visual and physical barrier between the approaching German troops and the dying general. Despite the hierarchy between European and North African that the print makes evident (most clearly through the standing French officers and crawling Algerian troops), the message remains clear that the sacrifice of the Indigenous troops makes possible the heroism of the metropolitan officer.

An engraving by Joseph Burn Smeeton (after Louis Théodore Eugène Gluck) that appeared in the April 20, 1870 issue of *L'Illustration* depicts *les tirailleurs* charging the German artillery with a ferocity and forward momentum that sends their opponents fleeing (fig. 5.7; 1870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Many of *les tirailleurs* who populate the foreground take up the same pose: single knee bent, head and chest thrust forward, bayonet brandished, forming a clean diagonal from their foreheads to the back heels. This unison of pose is broken here and there by a man looking back at his comrades, others exclaiming at the explosion of artillery fire, and yet another in the foreground frenziedly strangling a bewildered German soldier. The engraving presents *les tirailleurs* as a seemingly unstoppable force, belying the actual outcome of the engagement.

Smeeton's engraving elides the military hierarchy that is central to the image published by Bès and Dubreuil by omitting French officers altogether. The engraving by Bès and Dubreuil indicates racial difference between European-French officers and the Indigenous rank-and-file primarily through tonsorial and sartorial cues rather than through phenotypic markers. The skin tone of the troops of the line appears only marginally darker than that of the European officers, the tonal shift as much an indication of shadow caused by the fog of war, whereas the officers occupy a zone of sunlight. The figures in the engraving by Smeeton in *L'Illustration* similarly move between shadow and light, at times passing underneath the fog of gunpowder smoke that

obscures the sun. The prominent, shaved foreheads, pointed, black beards, along with exaggerated eyebrow ridges and extended noses of *les tirailleurs* contrast to the evidently light-colored facial hair and evenly proportioned facial features of the German troops.

An engraving by Jean-Adolphe Bocquin, after a lithograph by Jules Férat, relies even more heavily on visual stereotypes in depicting *les tirailleurs* (fig. 5.8; 1870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). In this image, also depicting the combat at Wissembourg, most of the figures that represent Indigenous troops possess distinct jawlines ending in long goatees; meanwhile, high cheekbones form deep eye sockets above and hollows underneath; chins, lips, and noses jut forward while shaved foreheads recede back. By contrast, the paler German soldiers have straighter, more vertical profiles enclosed by black helmets and full beards. Férat serialized the racial characteristics of the combatants—phenotypic markers broadly understood as “Indigenous” and “German,” respectively—in order to create a sense of two armies clashing, each composed of thousands of soldiers. In this, Férat faced a challenge inherent in many depictions of battle in painting and print, that is, how to represent large numbers of fighting men from different nations and cultures while preserving the legibility of the image. The graphic artist was aided by the already stark difference between the uniforms of the two armies. However, he amplified the racial differences between Prussian and Kabyle, to the point where the latter reads as not-quite human.

In these engravings, the artists responded (in different ways) to the need to signal racial difference. The prints rely to an extent on prevalent racial stereotypes active, for example, in caricature, although the point of these is arguably anything but exaggeration for humor. The next section considers in more depth Neuville’s engagement with the forms of racial stereotyping

prevalent in print culture, including caricature as well as military typologies and portraits of soldiers.

Figuring “le Turco:” The Role(s) of Stereotype in Martial Visual Culture

The visual memorialization of the individual Algerian light infantryman was aided considerably by his alignment with and amalgamation into the military type “le turco,” which had an established place in the public imaginary well before Neuville created *Les Dernières Cartouches* or Bachir joined *les tirailleurs*. Graphic artists working in various fields had long trafficked in popular racial stereotypes about “les turcos,” at times for the ease of identification and at others for the purpose of humor. Neuville’s depiction of *le tirailleur algérien* in *Les Dernières Cartouches* refrains from satirizing the Indigenous soldiers overtly. Still, complex and sometimes contradictory meanings overlay Neuville’s depiction of the Algerian light infantryman, whose image occupies a space between portrait, military type, and caricature.⁴¹ Through these means, I argue that Neuville transformed the individual soldier simultaneously into a token figure demonstrating the racial plurality of the French army and into a synecdoche of l’Armée d’Afrique.

Soldiers in general had been typologized and caricatured in visual culture in the decades leading up to Neuville’s painting of *Les Dernières Cartouches*. The subgenre of *les types militaires* flourished especially during the July Monarchy (1830–1848) and Second Empire (1852–1870), championed by graphic artists such as Hippolyte Lalaisse (1810–1844) and

⁴¹ The conflation of the type and the individual portrait was a quintessential issue in nineteenth-century visual culture, as art historian Jillian Lerner has discussed regarding prints depicting the “hours of the day” by Achille Devéria. See Jillian Lerner, *Graphic Culture: Illustration and Artistic Enterprise in Paris, 1830–1848* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018), 99–134.

Charles-Édouard Armand-Dumaresq (1826–1895).⁴² The images/ could be purchased from vendors as single-sheet prints, by subscription, or bound into elephant-folio volumes. Military artists such as Neuville typically collected such prints and bound volumes as reference materials. Anthologies of *types militaires* featured soldiers on their own, in pairs, or in groups, often decontextualized or with the barest description of scenery. A primary function of such anthologies was to catalogue the uniforms, weaponry, and accoutrements of the various armies and educate viewers about them. Sometimes, they were accompanied by text that described their functions or histories. We are supposed to learn from these *types militaires* the general characteristics of a group of people by seeing one or two representative figures. The stereotyping impulse is often counteracted, nevertheless, by differentiation between the figures' facial characteristics. For instance, in Lalaisse's *Tirailleurs indigènes (Algérie), 1er régiment, 1854-1870*, the two depicted figures are distinct by virtue of their uniforms as well as their phenotypic characteristics, including their skin color and complexion (fig. 5.9; 1870, Musée de l'Armée, Paris). The image not only instructs us that the 1st regiment of *tirailleurs algériens* comprises soldiers of different ranks and functions (indicated by their uniforms and insignia), but it also lets us know of an ethnic stratification within the troop. Armand-Dumaresq went even further than Lalaisse by integrating French and Algerian men in his depictions of *les spahis* (see fig. 5.10; and fig. 5.11; c. 1840s, Musée de l'Armée, Paris).

⁴² Typology was a major staple of the visual culture of the July Monarchy. One of the most famous compendia of such typologies, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (Pictures of the French), edited by Léon Curmer, includes alongside volumes on city types and provincial types a volume on military types. Whereas these other types, such as the "Grande Dame," the "Femme Comme Il Faut," and the "Flâneur," are all grouped according to their perceived physical characteristics and social behaviors, military types follow the organizing patterns of the army, grouping their subjects by unit, rank, and branch. Branches such as the cavalry were thought to imbue their members with physical, mental, and moral characteristics. See Lerner, "Marketing Vision: Publishers, Posters, and Parisian Types," in *Graphic Culture*, 69–98.

It was during the Crimean War of 1853–1856, which pitted France, Britain, Sardinia, and the Ottoman Empire against Russia, that l’Armée d’Afrique would first be deployed extensively in a European theater of war. During this conflict, the cousin branch of *les tirailleurs*, *les zouaves*, distinguished themselves in particular, elevating their popularity in visual imagery to new heights.⁴³ Paul Alexandre Protais’s *Militaires sur un quai à Toulon* (Soldiers on a Quay in Toulon) includes both *les tirailleurs* and *les zouaves* among metropolitan infantry and cavalry as they wait to disembark for the Crimea (fig. 5.12; 1854, Musée d’Orsay, Paris).⁴⁴ Protais garbed *les zouaves* in campaign dress, including an indigo-blue jacket and waistcoat with gold embroidered arabesques, white *sarouel* trousers, blue belt, and red *chéchia*, while *le tirailleur* evidently wears parade dress, featuring a sky-blue jacket, waistcoat, and *sarouel* trousers with red belt and *chéchia*. Another *tirailleur* in the distance is similarly attired. *Les zouaves* are also distinguished from *les tirailleurs* by their ruddy, European-coded complexions and auburn-colored, forked beards, whereas in the visual culture around this time, *les tirailleurs algériens* largely ranged from clean shaven to sporting goatees or closely cropped beards. Protais anticipated Neuville’s incorporation of members of L’Armée d’Afrique with other military types in one collective scenario, featuring not only the mingling of soldiers from different cadres but

⁴³ For instance, the number of references to *les zouaves* in the registers of le Dépôt Légal increased markedly in the years between 1854 and 1859, tapering off across the next decade, as data from *Images de France* reveals. While this trend suggests a new interest in the subject among graphic artists, which coincided with the Crimean War, more research would be necessary to determine the exact scope and impact of this trend. See “zouaves,” *Images de France*, ARTFL Project.

⁴⁴ The silhouette of the *tirailleur* uniform was similar to that of *les zouave*, the better-recognized and highly romanticized branch. During the Second Empire, *les zouaves* functioned much like imperial shock troops, feared and emulated by other armies, including in the United States. After their formation in 1830, *les zouaves* had initially been recruited from the Indigenous population of Algeria—the term “zouave” derives from *Zouaoua*, the French translation of the name of a Kabyle confederation from the Atlas Mountains—however, by 1870, the branch almost exclusively recruited among ethnically white Europeans living in Algeria or from the metropole. Katie Hornstein addressed the presence of zouaves in Adolphe Yvon’s *Capture of the Malakoff Tower*. See Katie Hornstein, *Picturing War in France: 1792–1856* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

also of different races. Neuville's *Les Dernières Cartouches* and Protais's *Militaires sur un quai à Toulon* are both highly constructed paintings rather than transparent transcriptions of military procedure. Still, Protais shared Neuville's interests in research and the detailed representation of uniforms, gear, and equipment, both as a painter of military subjects and as a former soldier himself.

The figure in *Les Dernières Cartouches* possesses a visual specificity akin to portraiture, although any textual evidence proving that Neuville explicitly portrayed Bachir remains thin. Further, as addressed in the first section of this chapter, whether any figure can be read with certainty as the likeness of a specific person remains up for debate. Few painted portraits of *les tirailleurs algériens* exist from before 1873 for points of reference (so far as I have found), but we may turn to photography. The Crimean War was coincidentally the first campaign to be documented officially and extensively using the still rather novel medium, with the most memorable examples produced by British photographer Roger Fenton (1819–1869). His photograph *Troupes algériennes (tirailleurs d'Afrique) en Crimée* (Algerian Troops [African *tirailleurs*] in the Crimea) depicts a moment of respite among the soldiers it represents akin to that of Protais's painting (fig. 5.13; 1854, Musée Condé, Chantilly). The light complexion of the figures veers toward white, blurring the racial lines of the African troops. Fenton's photograph points to the multiethnic, multiracial character of the African units that would become more strictly segregated as time went on. Fenton's photograph functions both as a group portrait and as an image of military types. As such, its function is to depict particular individuals while providing information about the soldiers fighting in the Crimea, their uniforms, and a snippet of their daily lives. In that sense, the photograph can still be interpreted as standing in for a larger group and their involvement in the conflict.

Even individual portrait photographs retained some of this synecdochic function. For instance, two portraits by Philippe Jacques Potteau (1807–1876) depict *le spahi* Brahim-ben-Salah (fig. 5.14; and fig. 5.15; 1869, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac, Paris). The first portrait (fig. 5.14) provides a close-up, almost intimate view of the sitter in undress uniform. He visually addresses the viewer with a slight head tilt and hands resting in loose fists on his lap. This man happens to be a soldier and an Algerian. The second portrait (fig. 5.15), on the other hand, represents its subject in full uniform. Now we see Brahim-ben-Salah as *le spahi*. He stands fully arrayed, head looking to the side, not engaging us though conscious we are looking at him. The image is as much a portrait of the man as it is of his uniform. We cannot easily separate the man from the military type.

While Potteau's photograph portraits seek to dignify their sitters, caricatures of "le turco" exaggerate physiognomic and racial stereotypes for the purpose of humor. Political caricatures, including those by painter and illustrator Honoré Daumier (1808–1879), emphasized the unflattering physical features of their targeted subjects: long noses, overly corpulent physiques, pronounced eyebrow ridges, etc., frequently going as far as to equate humans with animals. When depicting "le turco," caricaturists such as Daumier relied to differing extents on a set of ethnic identifiers in rendering the exotic—usually based in stereotype—including physiognomy, skin coloration, costume, and cultural habits, as art historian Elizabeth Childs has argued.⁴⁵ When Daumier exaggerated physical features to poke fun at *les tirailleurs*, as he did in a series of images for *Le Charivari* from 1859, the caricature becomes overtly racist (see fig. 5.16; c. 1850s, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 5.17; 1859, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille).

⁴⁵ Elizabeth Childs, *Daumier and Exoticism: Satirizing the French and the Foreign* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 82-91.

Two examples by Daumier portray their subjects as variously animalized, unintelligent, with a rumored sexual preference for European women. Daumier does not spare his Parisian subjects; just as we are supposed to be amused by the strangeness of the “turco”—his dark skin, unnaturally wide grin, bared white teeth and too-open eyes, and his exotic uniform—we are also meant to smile at the invasive gawking of the Europeans, who accost him on an omnibus and invade his tent.

Daumier’s priorities as a caricature artist differed from those of military painters such as Protais and Neuville; the former had made a career from lambasting official institutions in the press, whereas the latter were invested in the prestige and public esteem of the army. The Belgian painter and illustrator based in France, Draner (Jules Renard; 1833–1926), presented us with a visual and conceptual bridge between these two poles as several of his print series poked fun at the army, as did Daumier’s, but with the aim of entertainment and education rather than critique. For example, Draner’s *Les Soldats de la République* (Soldiers of the Republic) takes jabs at the military types it represents, with pithy captions meant to rouse a laugh but not necessarily to offend military authorities or viewers sympathetic to the army. His color engraving “Le Turco” still traffics in and exaggerates racial and cultural stereotypes in the name of humor (fig. 5.18; 1871, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The caption quips, “not a water drinker,” as the figure presents a delicate, white cup with a grin on his face. The behavior Draner calls out is evidently the soldier’s predilection for coffee and perhaps Islam’s injunction against consuming alcohol (“eau” a possible truncation of “eau-de-vie”). Draner similarly faced the issue of representing the race of *le tirailleur*, which he solved not only by rendering the figure in tan pigment but also hatching over his face with lines to indicate its darker shade. *Images d’Épinal* also poked fun at “les turcos” and their adjacent military branch, *les spahis* (fig. 5.19; 1863,

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Across the page of the *image d'Épinal*, “le turco” is cast variously as stupid, naïve, ugly, drunk, both an object and agent of sexual desire, both a subject of fascination and envy by soldiers from other branches who are jealous of the flashy uniform (fig. 5.20; detail; and fig. 5.21; detail).

Martial Orientalism

This section posits that Neuville’s depiction of *le tirailleur* holds together stasis and dynamism; the tension between these two states is made evident in the figure’s pose and physical features and even more so in his dress. On the one hand, Neuville engaged with a European Orientalist mode of depicting West Asian and North African warriors, such as mamluks and Ottoman *bashi-bazouks*, as recumbent, languid, sometimes downright flaccid. On the other hand, Neuville imbued the otherwise immobile *tirailleur* with an evident sense of vigor, aligning the figure with a parallel though contradictory painterly tendency to depict West Asian and North African horsemen as frenetic, windblown, and barbarous.

Although unmoving, every muscle on *le tirailleur* appears engaged (fig. 5.21; detail). His jaw clenches; his masseter muscle visibly flexes. Furrowed eyebrows and high cheekbones encase a forcefully opened left eye; the sliver of white paint used to describe the eyeball contrasts to the shades of deep brown and black of his pupil, shadowy eye-socket, and facial hair. His body is positioned frontally toward the picture plane, pressing his back against the paper-decorated wall as though he had been shoved against it. Folds in the white fabric of his *sarouel* trousers suggest a bent knee. He nestles in between the immense armoire and the window that looks down onto the battle. The single hand we are able to see tightly grasps a *chassepot* rifle, holding it across his abdomen. His intense concentration and energetic though static pose are at

odds with his potential inutility, as his rifle is likely empty. Like us, he is an engaged observer of Captain Aubert, who is now the only protection against the unseen horde of German soldiers below. The general ineffectiveness of the soldiers who fill this scene is reiterated by a broken rifle, which occupies the lower-right foreground (fig. 5.22; detail). Its uselessness as a weapon is made overt by the fact it now lies in two pieces. All the soldiers' rifles (such as they have) are by now devoid of bullets, save Aubert's. Even Aubert, though currently armed, will soon run out of ammunition. A few officers have revolvers; some have sabers. Nevertheless, the soldiers' abilities to fight by sword or hand to hand is called into question by the fact that several of them are wounded while others appear exhausted, and one man lies dead in an alcove with signs of rigor mortis.

The energized disposition of *le tirailleur algérien* contrasts to most of the other figures around him but none more so than *le chasseur* standing dejectedly on the opposite side of the room (fig. 5.23; detail). If *le tirailleur algérien* holds in tension motion and stasis, utility and futility, *le chasseur* resignedly accepts his martial impotence. *Le tirailleur* at least acts out the part of defender, while *le chasseur* is unambiguously defenseless. He tucks himself into a nook formed by the post next to him and the bed behind. Hands in pockets, shoulders slumped, his eyebrows are pulled down into a look between concern and sorrow. The figure of *le chasseur* struck critic Jean-Marius Chaumelin, who saw in him a superlative demonstration of military artists' rightful new focus on the bravery of the ordinary soldier. Chaumelin wrote this lavish description of the figure in his review of the Salon of 1873 for *Le Bien public*:

In the first room, to the right, in front of an alcove where an unfortunate man is in agony, a young chasseur is standing, his hands in his pockets, képi on his ear, brow creased from anger, eyes sparkling with hate, teeth clenched, mouth contracted into a superb disdain; he faces the window where his comrades shoot; he waits, in a fierce immobility, for a bullet to pierce his chest. At his feet is his broken chassepot, in the middle of shards from a shell and plaster fragments fallen from a burst ceiling. This humble soldier of twenty

years—villager yesterday, hero today—is he not more interesting, more worthy of admiration than the famous strategists of whom history records their successes? He represents, he personifies, he symbolizes, so to speak, the patriotism, the devotion, the inflexible courage of the children of the people who fight, not for a stripe or a decoration, but for the love of their country.⁴⁶

Chaumelin here suggests a connection between the young man's physical appearance and his internal character. To the critic, the affective response of *le chasseur* to the situation 'represents, personifies, and symbolizes' his patriotic determination, which transforms him into a synecdoche of all soldiers and citizens who share the same determination. Chaumelin neglected to describe the demeanor or even presence of *le tirailleur algérien*, although he called attention to *un turco*—"this child of the desert"—struggling to survive and guard the flag in another canvas on view that year by Émile Betsellère.⁴⁷ Much attention was given to the physiognomy of Commander Lambert in this review; his calm demeanor and sharply chiseled jawline were equated with quasi-racial notions of masculine bravery (fig. 5.24; detail). Chaumelin characterized the figure as "weakened by the blood he has lost but supported by his patriotism;" he was, in fact, supported by a piece of furniture.⁴⁸

My description of the infantryman's facial expression clearly differs from Chaumelin's, who had a vested interest in construing the figure as brave and defiant as a counter to prevalent anxieties over French emasculation. For me, there is something about the eyes—their beseeching

⁴⁶ ["Dans la première chambre, à droite, devant une alcôve où un malheureux agonise, un jeune chasseur est debout, les mains dans les poches, le képi sur l'oreille, le front plissé par la colère, les yeux étincelants de haine, les dents serrées, la bouche contractée par un dédain superbe ; il fait face à la fenêtre par laquelle ses camarades tirent ; il attend, dans une immobilité farouche, qu'une balle vienne lui trouer la poitrine. A ses pieds est son chassepot brisé, au milieu d'éclats d'obus et de plâtres tombés du plafond qu'un projectile a crevé. Cet humble soldat de vingt ans—villageois hier, héros aujourd'hui—n'est-il pas plus intéressant, plus digne d'admiration que les stratégestes fameux dont l'histoire enregistre les succès ? Il représente, il personnifie, il symbolise en lui, pour ainsi dire, le patriotisme, le dévouement, le courage inflexible des enfants du peuple qui se battent, non pour un galon ou une décoration, mais pour l'amour de leur pays."] Chaumelin, "Salon de 1873."

⁴⁷ ["cette enfant du désert"] Ibid.

⁴⁸ ["affaibli par le sang qu'il a perdu, mais soutenu par le patriotisme."] Ibid.

openness, the upward direction of the pupils, their being tucked beneath a ‘creased brow’—that reads as despondency rather than ferocity. My point is not necessarily to haggle with a nineteenth-century critic over the precise facial expression of this figure. Still, I see in him a fundamentally different use-value: he is there to be looked at. It is his plaintive gaze that is the subject of ours. He does practically nothing, while most others in the painting busy themselves in some way, unless they are otherwise wounded or dead. The petrified gaze and contorted arm and fingers of the dead man on the bed behind make the corpse even more active, oddly, than his morose-yet-living comrade nearby. Bookending the figure of *le chasseur* on the opposite side of the canvas is a vaguely anthropomorphic mattress which, serving as a shield against bullets penetrating into the room, contributes more to the defense than does *le chasseur* (fig. 5.25; Detail).

Around 1870, Neuville produced several versions of a singular *turco* in watercolor, gouache-and-tempera, and photogravure, all in roughly the same format but with modifications to the pose, uniform, and overall color palette (see fig. 5.26; 1870, private collection; fig. 5.27; 1870, Musée Magnin, Dijon; and fig. 5.28; 1870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The single-figure format that Neuville used for these images was in keeping with the genre of physiologies, a subset of which concerned so-called *types militaires*. All three grasp a saber by the left hip and hold a rifle near the right. The gouache-and-tempera rendering especially articulates the man’s raised cheekbones, muscular neck, and veined forearms, which make him appear at once sturdy and sinewy. The wide lapel of his jacket plummets down to expose a highly articulated collar bone, the white fabric evidently meant to contrast to the figure’s dark-brown skin. The rendering of anatomy and costume insist on the cultural and racial difference of *le tirailleur*, even though he would have been understood at the time as nationally French.

In all three images, the uniform of *le tirailleur* possesses little of the form-fitting structure of European uniforms of the day. Fabrics wrap and pleat at irregular angles, draping luxuriously over the elbow, billowing around and between the legs, and folding languorously across the torso.⁴⁹ Neuville's emphasis of the voluminous material of the uniform suggests a fascination with so-called "Oriental" clothing, which had been in vogue in both art and fashion through much of the century.⁵⁰ Loose-fitting garments from the Middle East and North Africa were endlessly fascinating to European (especially male) commentators on (male/European) fashion, such as Théophile Gautier, as an exotic counterpart to the maligned frock coat.⁵¹ Philosopher and art theorist Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1832) had also contrasted "Oriental" and European clothing in his lectures on *Aesthetics*, although his analysis was less favorable. Hegel denounced modern (men's) form-fitting, highly constructed clothing as inartistic while he simultaneously denigrated "[t]he long wide robes and baggy trousers of the Orientals" which, he argued, "would be wholly incompatible with our vivacity and varied activities and they only suit people who, like the Turks, sit all day long with their legs crossed beneath them or who only walk about slowly and extremely solemnly."⁵² Neuville's depiction of the singular *tirailleur* seems to illustrate Hegel's point as the man is not engaged in any form of movement, let alone

⁴⁹ Abler identified three stages of progression for the adoption of "native dress" into the language of military uniforms: modified native, stylized native, and stylized military. His definition of the last category, "stylized military," seems the closest match to the uniform of *le tirailleur algérien*: "Elements in the original 'native dress' may be elaborated to a degree that their origins are obscure. Finally, the dress becomes simply a military style, no longer associated with the region in which it originated." Abler, *Hinterland Warriors*, 8–9.

⁵⁰ For a discussion on this phenomenon, see Marie-Cecile Thoral, "Sartorial Orientalism: Cross-cultural Dressing in Colonial Algeria and Metropolitan France in the Nineteenth Century," *European History Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (2015), 57–82.

⁵¹ I thank Susan Siegfried for this insight.

⁵² Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "On Drapery," in *The Rise of Fashion: A Reader*, ed. Daniel Leonhard Purdy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 149.

combat, but is leaning against a wall and smoking, his face in profile, which both signals his inert absorption and permits us uninterrupted visual delectation.

The patchwork plaster wall behind the figure suggests urban decay, another visual marker of disuse.⁵³ The nonspecific setting of Neuville's drawing, painting, and photogravure of a similar lone "turco" mean that this man could theoretically be standing against a wall anywhere. We might first be inclined to imagine him in Algeria. Nevertheless, Neuville's title for the photogravure, *Turco retour de Wissembourg* (Turco Returned from Wissembourg), which appeared alongside single-figure depictions of soldiers from other army branches in the collection *Croquis militaires* (Military Sketches), places the figure in France, having just returned from the famed battle in the east against far-superior German forces (fig. 5.28). With this morsel of contextualizing information, we understand that the figure has recently participated in a particularly arduous clash in which he and his comrades had to fight the enemy hand to hand, having run out of ammunition. His casual, aloof manner and faraway gaze underscore his unaffected bravery even in defeat. At the time, the attitude of the figure would have been interpreted as the expression of an idealized martial manliness, which was quickly becoming Neuville's hallmark, although to twenty-first-century viewers it might register as techniques for repressing trauma.

Neuville's objectification of *le tirailleur* in these single-figure images aligned with a strain of Orientalist image-making accustomed to aestheticizing and even eroticizing non-European fighting men. Examples with which Neuville was probably familiar were Jean-Léon Gérôme's paintings of irregulars who fought alongside the Ottoman army, for instance, *Bashi-*

⁵³ Nochlin made the point that the broken tiles in Gérôme's *Snake Charmer* functioned as a moralizing comment on the decay of Ottoman and, by extension, "Oriental" society. Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 38.

Bazouk (fig. 5.29; 1868–1869, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Gérôme (1824–1904) crafted several versions of the subject that include half-length and full-length depictions of North and/or West African men adorned in luxurious materials, carrying an assortment of fabulous weaponry, and never engaged in battle.⁵⁴ The Metropolitan painting depicts a young African man in a bust-length format, his back turned slightly toward the viewer as he looks over his right shoulder. He wears headgear characteristically donned by *bashi-bazouks* (also common among the *zeybeks*, another branch of irregular fighters): a conical, red fez wrapped in a patchwork turban and ornamented with tassels. The twisted pose enables a view of the succulently rendered, salmon-colored silk tunic with silver embroidery on the elbow and shoulder. The intricately carved pommels of his pistols and the barrel of his blunderbuss musket emanate outward from his body, rhyming with the attenuated form of the headdress, which itself veers toward the phallic.

Gérôme's colleague at the Académie des Beaux-Arts Charles Barye (1826–1883) similarly depicted the *bashi-bazouks* in a perhaps even more explicitly eroticizing manner (fig. 5.30; 1875, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Whereas Gérôme rendered sumptuous materials, expertly crafted weaponry, and intricate headgear—not to mention the impossibly smooth skin of the sitter—to draw the eye to create allure, Barye stretched exquisite silk garments around a visibly muscular body. The elbow-length sleeves of his tunic and the knee-length legs of his breeches expose significant portions of skin, allowing us to discover creases where the thigh and calf muscles press against his stone seat or other leg, respectively. His left shin angles elegantly out from the picture plane, providing us a gratuitous view of the veins

⁵⁴ One of the more controversial elements of the Ottoman armed forces, the Bashi-Bazouks were the subjects of fascination as much as they were criticized. Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 105–06.

along the top of his foot and even individual toenails. The interplays between hardness and softness in the man's musculature, between luxury and deadliness in his garments and firearms, give the painting much of its erotic charge. All this is made licit by the fact that he is understood to be non-European, non-Western, non-modern. Gérôme and Barye's Ottoman warriors would seem to have combat as the last thing on their minds, despite the *bashi-bazouks'* contentious reputation as barbaric and undisciplined, which led them to be banned from participation in war by international law. Neuville departed from this Orientalist mode in *Les Dernières Cartouches* by depicting the young *tirailleur* as one of the most active figures of the entire group that inhabits the upper-story room of the Maison Bourgerie.

The figure of *le tirailleur* in *Les Dernières Cartouches* occupies a space between this sedentary depiction of Middle Eastern and North African fighting men, as seen in Neuville's single-figure images and these examples from his contemporaries, and another Orientalist vein of representing Arab horsemen as wild and frenetic.⁵⁵ Neuville evinced his familiarity with this other mode in the painting, *Bivouac devant Le Bourget, après le combat du 21 décembre 1870* (Bivouac in front of Le Bourget, after the Combat of December 21, 1870), exhibited at the Salon of 1872 (fig. 5.31; 1872, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon). The painting represents hundreds

⁵⁵ Neuville's fascination with the dynamic *spahi* may have been indebted to certain celebrated predecessors including Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) and Eugène Fromentin (1820–1876), famed for their animated depictions of North African horseback riders battling with each other or with wild animals. As did Delacroix, Neuville showcased both his own virtuosic skill at depicting flying drapery and a skittish horse as well as the virtuosic equestrian skills of his subject. Unlike these predecessors and contemporaries, all working in variations of the Orientalist mode, Neuville rarely concerned himself with recreating the environment of North Africa—whether an attempt at documentary realism or wholly imaginative—but devoted himself instead to depicting (primarily European) soldiers and their environs. He rarely depicted locations outside Europe, with the exception of a few battle scenes from France's invasion of Mexico. Not until the 1880s did he would turn his attention to South Africa and Egypt in two large-scale canvases, which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter. Art historian Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has addressed both Delacroix's depictions of Greek and Turkish men and Algerian women. Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, "'Whose colour was not black nor white nor grey, But an extraneous mixture, which no pen Can trace, although perhaps the pencil may': Aspasia and Delacroix's *Massacres of Chios*," *Art History* 55, no. 2 (December 1999), 676–704; and "Orientalism and Colonies," in *The Cambridge Companion to Delacroix*, ed. Beth S. Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 69–87.

of wounded, frightened, and shocked French soldiers huddling around fires, chatting, or sleeping in front of a shelled-out building. The low horizon line makes for an almost panoramic view of the ad-hoc encampment. On the far right-hand side of the composition, almost falling out of the picture, is *un spahi algérien* on horseback (fig. 5.32; detail). Not only is this cavalier set apart from the group spatially, but everything about him also makes him stand out. This figure indeed seems to have charged into the scene from another painting if not from another part of the world. The stamping horse of *le spahi* kicks up dust around its hooves while the mane and tail flail about, unsettling the otherwise dreadful calm that falls over the rest of the image. The overall painting emphasizes stillness, a moment of tense quietude following the confusions, excitements, and trauma of battle. The figure's contorted pose and whipped-up drapery contrast starkly to the slumping campers adorned in heavy blankets, coats, and capes, the weight of which almost seems to pull their wearers down toward the frost-covered ground (fig. 5.33; detail). Neuville visually linked his lone *spahi* with the French troops that comprise the rest of the composition by clothing him in blue trousers, white burnoose, and red cape. On a conceptual level, the tricolore of the French state serves to integrate the figure sartorially into a larger military organization just as it serves to integrate him into the scene.

Neuville's contrasting representations of *les tirailleurs* and *les spahis* corresponds to differences in fighting traits that the Indigenous troops were thought to possess. For instance, historian Victor Duruy (1811–1894) opened his history of the 1st regiment of *tirailleurs algériens* with this explanation of the ethnic divisions within the branch:

He is one of the best soldiers in the world. He is either Arab or Kabyle, but the Arab is rare in the 1st tirailleurs. The Arab is, from birth, a nomad and cavalier; he has the nonchalance and the air of ennui of an eternal stroller; he must be on horse, the slow allure of the step or the furor of the fantasia; on foot, he is only half himself. He engages himself with preference to the *spahis* and never otherwise does he habituate himself at all to life in the planted barracks, behind the immobile wall, which neither ever pleases nor

contains him. The Kabyle, on the contrary, living in villages, loves the communal life, and this mountain dweller is a muscled pedestrian for the indefinite march.⁵⁶

Duruy valorized the bravura of Arab nomads, noting their suitability to *les spahis*, while the Kabyle residents of the mountains were valued for their discipline and fitness for marching at length. Whereas Duruy explained that the differences between *les spahis* and *les tirailleurs* were primarily racial, geographic, and cultural, there was also a class structure implicit in the distinction. *Les tirailleurs* and *les spahis* both relied on voluntary recruitment, but the latter drew primarily from the upper echelons of Algerian society, including the aristocracy, attracting men who had been trained in horseback riding from an early age. The text combines the literary genre of the regimental history with that of the ethnographic study. Duruy's use of generalizing language derived from contemporary ethnographic manuals, an international genre, which thrived over the century and sought to categorize ethnic groups, races, and nations in this way, as mentioned in previous chapters. For instance, the repetition of the singular, third-person pronoun "he" stands in linguistically for thousands of men who had enlisted in the French army, all with differing backgrounds, upbringing, personalities, and names. The author's generalizing descriptions preclude the possibility of individuality among the 1st regiment of *tirailleurs*. By the time of Duruy's writing, France had occupied Algeria for over sixty-five years, making it one of the most written-about, visually represented, and visited of the colonies.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ ["C'est un des meilleurs soldats du monde. Il est Arabe ou Kabyle, mais l'Arabe est rare au 1er tirailleurs. L'Arabe est, de naissance, nomade et cavalier ; il a la nonchalance et l'air d'ennui des promeneurs éternels ; il lui faut le cheval, la lente allure du pas ou la fureur de la fantasia ; à pied, il n'est que la moitié de lui-même. Il s'engage de préférence aux spahis, et jamais, d'ailleurs il ne s'habitue tout à fait à la vie dans la caserne étroite, derrière le mur immobile qui, jamais, ne se plie ni s'emporte. Le Kabyle, au contraire, habitant de villages, aime la vie en commun, et ce montagnard est un piéton musclé pour la marche indéfinie."] Victor Duruy, *Le Premier Régiment de tirailleurs algériens: Histoire et campagne* (Paris: Hachette, 1899), unpaginated.

⁵⁷ Algeria was a frequent destination for artists since the invasion in 1830, attracting them due to the exotic costumes and customs, promise of sensual delights, and sensorial plenitude. Studies on French and British artists' travels to Algeria are numerous; those that have informed this present study include Grigsby, "Orient and Colonies;" Marc Gottlieb, *The Deaths of Henri Regnault* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016); and Deborah Cherry,

Duruy went on to offer an extolling history of the courage and deeds of the regiment, whose soldiers served with distinction in many of France's international conflicts, including the Crimean and Franco-Prussian Wars. He attributed their bravery to their adherence to Islam, which allegedly led Arab and Kabyle men alike to submit willingly to the military power of (Christian) France:

Drawing from his religious faith an absolute contempt of death, the indigenous tirailleur is naturally brave; habituated to the submission before all that is strong and superior, he is also disciplined, yet it still requires, to conduct and command him, a tact that cannot be acquired overnight.⁵⁸

Duruy here conflates race and creed with ideals of manliness in his description of the men who allegedly make up the 1st regiment of *les tirailleurs algériens*. Duruy made few, if any, direct comparisons in his history between the adherents of Islam and those of Judaism; nevertheless, there is a marked contrast between his laudatory, if condescending, description of Islam and how military leaders addressed Judaism, especially amid the Dreyfus Affair, when papers such as *La Libre Parole* and generals including Lambert himself castigated Jews as enemies of the army (and of French society more broadly). Neuville could never have anticipated this dramatic cultural shift that occurred more than a decade following his death. However, the resonance of his painting *Les Dernières Cartouches* persisted well into the 1890s and, as we have seen, interpretations of it changed with the times.

“Earth into World, Land into Landscape: The ‘Worlding’ of Algeria in Nineteenth-Century British Feminism,” in *Orientalism’s Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, ed. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002). There is currently little to no evidence to suggest Neuville traveled to Algeria, although it is a possibility. His close friend Édouard Detaille was traveling through Algeria at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, which then compelled him to return to France.

⁵⁸ [“Tirant de sa foi religieuse le mépris absolu de la mort, le tirailleur indigène est naturellement brave ; habitué à la soumission devant tout ce qui est fort et supérieur, il est également discipliné, mais il n’en faut pas moins, pour le conduire et le commander, un tact qui ne s’acquiert pas du jour au lendemain.”] Ibid.

The Individual versus the Horde

The artist's triumph in France catapulted him to international acclaim, and he received several commissions in Britain for large-scale canvases depicting episodes from British conflicts in North and South Africa. One of Neuville's other great successes, *Le Bourget*, was allegedly behind the spread of his fame to Britain (fig. 5.35; 1875, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).⁵⁹ He first exhibited this canvas at the Salon of 1875, where it was purchased by American tycoon William Henry Vanderbilt. *Le Bourget* depicts a group of French soldiers carrying a dead comrade out of the main church of the eponymous commune while files of victorious German soldiers line the path leading to the town square. The Fine Art Society in Britain later commissioned Neuville to paint *The Defense of Rorke's Drift* in 1880, which commemorates the victory of a relatively small contingent of British soldiers over an army of 4,000 Zulu soldiers during the Anglo-Zulu War (fig. 5.36; 1880, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney). Neuville's depiction of the Zulu army makes this painting an intriguing contrast to *Les Dernières Cartouches* as both works depict African fighting men—originating from vastly different locations on the continent—in different ways. In this section, I explore the formal and conceptual disparities between Neuville's depiction of a North African soldier fighting *with* the French army and southern African soldiers fighting *against* the British army. Whereas in the 1873 canvas Neuville had individuated *le tirailleur* ben Bachir, in the 1880 work he grouped all the Zulu fighters into a single visual mass. The differing pictorial treatment of African troops across the two paintings reveals the artist's adaptability to painting another nation's wars and, even more significantly, diverse approaches to representing racial difference. To underscore these points, I bring in Neuville's British counterpart, Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler's depiction of *The Defense of Rorke's Drift*,

⁵⁹ "THE FINE ART SOCIETY," *Daily News*, April 3, 1880.

which was exhibited just a few weeks later at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition (fig. 5.37; 1880, Royal Collections, London). This work Butler had been commissioned by Queen Victoria. Butler's and Neuville's efforts were compared frequently in the press, mostly because the former failed to complete her canvas before the Royal Academy deadline and therefore submitted it late.⁶⁰ Like Neuville, Butler would render the Zulu opponents of the British troops as a visual conglomerate. Her autobiography explains some of the formal and technical challenges she faced while creating her version of *The Defense of Rorke's Drift*, some of which she attributed to the skin color of her (allegedly) Zulu model.⁶¹ While I do not mean to graft Butler's views on racial difference—insofar as they are expressed in her autobiography—onto Neuville's painting, I call attention to her account because it sets up Blackness as a pictorial problem for a white painter.

As military historian David Jackson has pointed out, Neuville had connections with Major-General H.J. Degacher, commander of the 24th (2nd Warwickshire) Regiment of Foot, who provided him with sketches and photographs as source material for the painting.⁶² Degacher was the same age as Neuville and had grown up in the same town, Saint-Omer, Pas-de-Calais. Jackson proposed that it was their friendship that potentially led to the Fine Art Society commission of *The Defense of Rorke's Drift*. This large-scale work was more ambitious than many of Neuville's paintings executed in France up to that time in terms of the physical size of the canvas, the complexity of the composition, and the number of figures. The scope of the project would only be eclipsed by his upcoming collaborations with Detaille on the panoramas of the Franco-Prussian War battles of Champigny (1882) and Rezonville (1887; finished by Detaille

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *An Autobiography* (London: Constable, 1922), 189.

⁶² David Jackson, "1303 Zulu War Paintings—Alphonse de Neuville," *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research* 69, no. 277 (spring 1991): 56.

after Neuville's death). *The Defense of Rorke's Drift* depicts dozens of British soldiers, irregulars, and auxiliaries who busy themselves in various ways while defending a small commissary station in Natal (present-day South Africa); immense hills and the Zulu army on the righthand side of the composition recede into deep space. However, Neuville preserved his typical stage-like setting: the makeshift fortifications of mealie bags and crates that surround the station provide a convenient pictorial divider between foreground and middle/background. The colossal, gray-brown hills that surround Rorke's Drift recall survey photographs of the time. Neuville had possibly consulted photographs in addition to maps and descriptions of the topography and events of the engagement.

The thematic of a group of comrades resisting overwhelming enemy forces was Neuville's specialty by this time, as established in works such as *Les Dernières Cartouches*. Following his resounding success at the Salon of 1873, Neuville crafted many other paintings, prints, and illustrations that celebrated the interior subjectivity of anonymous, everyday soldiers either on their own or with comrades in dire circumstances. The previous sections of this chapter have suggested that Neuville incorporated figures from l'Armée d'Afrique as theoretical compatriots, at least, of the white, European soldiers when representing episodes from the Franco-Prussian War. However, when he executed his grand tableaux of British wars, his representation of African fighting men shifted dramatically. On the one hand, this was because African troops, whether Zulu or Egyptian, were the national enemies of his patrons. Reviewers of his Franco-Prussian War scenes had even periodically accused Neuville of caricaturing the German soldiers. On the other hand, Neuville aligned his work with concurrent artistic practices in Britain, which highlighted the individual characteristics of British soldiers in colonial

campaigns while relying on visual tropes such as the “savage” and the “noble savage” when representing non-European opponents.⁶³

Neuville established cultural and racial differences between English soldiers and Zulu warriors through his representation of apparel and use of pigment. He deployed his vast knowledge of military apparel in rendering the uniforms of the British expeditionary force. Still, he relied on photographs and accounts of the engagement as surrogates to compensate for his lack of firsthand experience. The English are mostly garbed in their signature red uniforms while the Zulus are predominantly nude and portrayed as phenotypically homogenous, their features obscured in darkness even while their British opponents are spotlit. In Neuville’s painting, the Zulus become part of the mountainous terrain, shrouded in the smoke of gunpowder and the burning hospital, reading more as elemental forces than as military personnel. A reviewer for *The Daily News* expressed a similar observation: “A cloud of Zulus is gathered on the outer side of the slender line of defence, against which they are urged by the gestures of a chief attired in all the warlike panoply of his race.”⁶⁴ The reviewer here equates martial attire with racial characteristics. The same reviewer then goes on to group the men verbally into a single form: “Within the inclosure (sic) are seen the corpses of a couple of Zulus, who had passed it to their death, and, without a mass of black heads and hands striving to force an entrance against the bayonets and clubbed muskets vigorously used by the gallant defenders.”⁶⁵ Whereas Neuville crafted portraits of individual British soldiers, Zulu soldiers are rendered as “a mass of black

⁶³ Many of these images were catalogued in the encyclopedic project *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, which declared the intent of such works as justifying the violence visited on Indigenous soldiers (and civilians) in conquered regions. David Bindman, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Karen C.C. Dalton, eds., *Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 290.

⁶⁴ " FINE ART SOCIETY."

⁶⁵ Ibid.

heads and hands.” One may contrast this with another review of a later large-scale canvas, Neuville’s *The Battle of Tell El-Kebir*: “The canvas is full of figures, each face having a character and individuality all its own. The faces of many of the officers in the picture are portraits, and are wonderfully faithful to the originals.”⁶⁶ This work celebrates the quick though hard-won victory of British troops in Egypt (fig. 5.38; 1883, National Army Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh). The soldiers fighting under Ahmed ‘Urabi Pasha (1841–1911), dressed in sky-blue uniforms akin to French *tirailleurs*, make a cameo appearance as some have fallen to their death in the trenches from which the Scottish Highlanders charge.

Butler’s painting, also titled *The Defense of Rorke’s Drift*, differentiates between the emotional reactions of each British soldier, perhaps to an even greater extent than Neuville’s painting, while transforming the Zulu soldiers into a practically faceless mass in the lower-left corner. The composition overwhelmingly privileges the band of British troops and civilians, with twenty-one European figures in the fore- and middle-grounds all engaged in distinct actions. The circumscribed enclosure between the makeshift fortifications constructed out of mealie bags and the mission hospital (now in flames) occupies by far the largest share of the canvas surface. Whereas Neuville put some distance between viewer and the events depicted, Butler placed us in the thick of things, as though we stand right on top of one of the ad-hoc ramparts. The 4,000-strong Zulu army takes up only a sliver of space in the lower-left foreground and was, in fact, a belated addition to the painting. While Butler individuated the features and expressions of most of the defenders of the outpost, highlighting them through the special effect of nighttime firelight, she hardly distinguished one Zulu soldier from another and instead blanketed them in

⁶⁶ “THE HIGHLAND BRIGADE AT TEL-EL-KEBIR,” *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder*, May 13, 1884, 3.

shadow. They come together in the painting as a single form, their faces barely even recognizable as such.

The commission by Queen Victoria left the exact choice of war and particular event up to the artist while specifying only that it must have occurred during Victoria's reign. The news of the narrow, hard-won, and altogether surprising victory at Rorke's Drift had broken immediately following that of the devastating defeat of the main British army at Isandlwana, which had occurred earlier the same day. Butler had expressed an immediate attraction to the subject on first hearing the reports that a company defended a small mission station against a large-scale Zulu attack, but she also had mixed feelings about painting it:

What magnificent subjects for pictures the 'Defence of Rorke's Drift' will furnish. When we get full details I shall be much tempted to paint some episode of that courageous achievement which has shed balm on the aching wound of Isandula. But the temptation will have to be very strong to make me break my rule of not painting contemporary subjects. I like to mature my themes.⁶⁷

The "temptation" to which Butler finally succumbed was nothing less than a command from the Queen. Despite her initial enthusiasm for the subject, and despite pressure from her inner circle, Butler resisted the idea of painting the battle on the grounds that it was against her "principles to paint a conflict" on receiving the royal commission.⁶⁸ She had initially offered to depict the body of the exiled French Prince Imperial Louis Napoléon Bonaparte being carried off the battlefield. The twenty-three-year-old Bonaparte's gallant (though inconsequential) death had been widely publicized in Britain, often characterized in the news as an especially poignant tragedy. The Queen originally accepted this proposal but, for reasons Butler did not elaborate on in her

⁶⁷ Butler, *Autobiography*, 184.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

autobiography, later changed her mind.⁶⁹ Queen Victoria's wavering on the subject was one of numerous famous disagreements between patron and artist which, along with various other setbacks, contributed to Butler missing the Royal Academy's submission deadline for its display at the Summer Exhibition.⁷⁰

Butler expressed some difficulty in selecting a suitable topic for the painting, ostensibly one that would allow her to conjure up the "pathos and heroism" of Britain's soldiers while avoiding the outright depiction of combat. Little has come to light so far as to the negotiations between patron and artist outside of what Butler recorded in her autobiography, and she merely stated that "the subject [was] to be taken from a war of her [Queen Victoria's] own reign."⁷¹ The nearly continuous state of war since Victoria's reign began in 1837 should have left Butler with a substantial list of other options from which to choose. Nevertheless, she felt herself limited in potential subjects. The Crown had already purchased *Roll Call* (wresting it from its original private patron), so the Crimean War would not suit. Butler had also just completed *Remnants of an Army*, which depicted an episode from the First Anglo-Afghan War. In her mind, this evidently left only the Anglo-Zulu War as a possibility, as her written account omits mention entirely of several other conflicts that had taken place in South and Southeast Asia and Africa, including the Indian Uprising, perhaps one of the most geopolitically important conflicts in nineteenth-century British military history besides the First Anglo-Afghan War.⁷²

⁶⁹ Ibid., 187.

⁷⁰ "Talk of the Week," *The Illustrated London News*, April 3, 1880.

⁷¹ Butler, *Autobiography*, 187.

⁷² Butler characterized her dilemma arose both from having few options and from peer pressure: "Then I got a message to say the Queen thought it better not to paint the subject [the death of the Prince Imperial]. What was to be done? The Crimea was exhausted. Afghanistan? But I was compelled by clamour to choose the popular Rorke's Drift; so, characteristically, when I yielded I threw all my energies into the undertaking." Ibid.

The Defense of Rorke's Drift is distinctive in Butler's oeuvre up to that point for more than its depiction of combat or even its inclusion of visible opponents to the British martial protagonists. Indeed, we might recall her earlier canvas, *The 28th Regiment at Quatre Bras* (fig. 4.4; 1875, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne), discussed in the previous chapter, which features anonymous French cavalry crashing and dying in the wings. What distinguishes *The Defense of Rorke's Drift* is that it represents the Indigenous defenders against and casualties of British imperial aggression. The visual qualities of the painting and the artist's admission of difficulties suggest her anxiety over suggesting such complexities. Her pictorial commitment to elevating the humanity of British soldiers required the downplaying if not disavowal of others' humanity, in this case the Zulu soldiers. Owing to her favored mode of military painting this posed a problem for Butler even more so than it did for Neville. On the one hand, both artists sought to convey the overwhelming odds faced by the British defenders of the commissary station in addition to the challenge of portraying foreign topography and the drama of combat. On the other hand, likely neither artist could have consulted with Zulu veterans of the engagement to achieve a parity of viewpoints, if either had been impelled to do so. This set of problems led to a visual and conceptual disparity in both works between the particularized British troops and the generalized Zulu "horde," which is crammed into the margins of both paintings.

One reason for the difference in both Neville's and Butler's treatment of British and Zulu troops was a difference in type of model. Little is known about the execution of Neville's version of the *Defense of Rorke's Drift*, but it is probable that he either depicted the figures from life (being a personal acquaintance of the regiment's commander) or used photographs. Butler, on the other hand, painted survivors who posed for her. When the 24th (2nd Warwickshire)

Regiment returned home to Britain, they actually reenacted their engagement with the Zulu army for her benefit after first meeting with Queen Victoria. Precisely how much of the twelve-hour engagement the soldiers recreated for Butler remains unclear. She made plain her belief that interviewing these eyewitnesses lent her painting an historical accuracy, unfiltered by any biases she may have had as the artist:

Of course, the result was that I reproduced the event as nearly to life as possible, but from the soldier's point of view—I may say the *private's* point of view—not mine, as the principal witnesses were from the ranks. To be as true to facts as possible I purposely withdrew my own view of the thing.⁷³

Butler misses the irony here that she was not reproducing “the event as nearly true to life as possible” but instead documenting (in two-dimensional form) yet another representation of it, if one created by the British participants themselves. As she recorded in her autobiography, she sought to make the “private's point of view” the driving force, in keeping with her usual pictorial commitments to represent low- and mid-ranking army men braving adversity. During her encounter with the regiment, Butler executed drawings of the soldiers individually and in small groupings, at times distinguishing them by name and at others leaving them anonymous. The extant preliminary sketches for the painting demonstrate careful attention to single actors. The resulting canvas demonstrates her commitment to the “private's point of view” by zooming in as close as possible onto the British defenders, providing an intimate a view of their individual reactions while incorporating dozens of figures in the composition.

“The Zulus,” she admitted in her autobiography, “were a great difficulty.”⁷⁴ Butler confessed to the challenges of including such a large Zulu army in the small amount of

⁷³ Butler, *Autobiography*, 188.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 189.

compositional space she had allotted them. However, this was not her only problem, as she wrote:

I had them in the composition in dark masses, rather swallowed up in the shade, but for one salient figure grasping a soldier's bayonet to twist it off the rifle, as was done by many of those heroic savages. My excellent Dr. Pollard got a sort of Zulu as model from a show in London. It was unfortunate that a fog came down the day he was brought to my studio, so that at one time I could see nothing of my dusky savage but the whites of his eyes and teeth. I hope I may never have to go through such troubles again!⁷⁵

Black bodies become part of the spectacle, serving as mere special effects used to heighten the drama of the scene. Hesitantly inserted into the painting on request, they are unnecessary to its main thematic. Butler employed a performer, "a sort of Zulu," to be her model, whose name she neglected to include in her account.

The difference in models—portraits of named soldiers versus the likeness of stage performers repeated across the canvas in different poses—resulted in strikingly different forms of representation in the same image. This pictorial difference also resulted from a power differential between British soldier and African performer. Butler's sitters were ready and willing, honored even, to be portrayed by Britain's most famous battle painter. The presence of a "sort of Zulu" man in London and in Butler's studio was made possible in large part by the geopolitical domination of the British empire. Butler's rendition presents the more extreme case in part because Neuville arguably had a lower affective investment in ennobling British heroism. In his rendition, a desire for the precise documentation of details superseded the impetus to demonstrate the reactions of (European) men beset by overpowering circumstances. My point is not to make an evaluative comparison but rather to propose that two different rhetorical

⁷⁵ Ibid.

strategies are at work here, even while both resulted in the diminution if not occlusion of the Zulus' humanity.

Conclusion

This chapter engages with the premise that the late nineteenth-century armed forces of both France and Britain were, to varying extents, imperial, composed of People of Color from well beyond European metropolises. A perhaps still surprising though far from unknown statistic is prominently displayed on a gallery wall of the National Army Museum in London: during World War I, roughly 1.3 million South Asian soldiers fought in the “British” army, over twenty-two percent of total combatants, and nearly as many as European regulars.⁷⁶ By World War II, this figure was even larger: roughly 2.5 million South Asian soldiers were enlisted, or nearly forty percent of the total British imperial forces, far more than European regulars and conscripts combined. A photograph from 1914 rather unassumingly exhibited in the twentieth-century gallery of the Musée de l’Armée in Paris helps visualize the prevalence of colonial troops in the World Wars, depicting a column of South Asian cavalry marching down a dirt path in northeastern France (fig. 5.39; 1914, Musée de l’Armée, Paris). Another photograph on the same wall depicting *les spahis algériens* testifies to the analogous presence of non-white combatants in the French army of the time (fig. 5.40; 1916, Musée de l’Armée, Paris). These figures and images call into question many representations of the two world wars from a Euro-American perspective, which overwhelmingly privilege the heroism and suffering of European and American men fighting in western European and Pacific theaters of war. The prevalence and

⁷⁶ Before the Partition of India in 1947, these so-called “Native troops” would have included soldiers from present-day India, Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh.

visibility of South Asian and North African soldiers in British and French forces during World War I was even condemned by German scholars in the infamous “Appeal of 93 to the Civilized World,” published in October 1914: “Those who have allied themselves with Russians and Serbs, and who present the world with shameful spectacle of inciting Mongolians and Negroes against the white race, have the very least right to portray themselves as the defenders of European civilization.”⁷⁷ While these German authors denounced their enemies’ multiracial armies as an attack on civilization itself, for Britain and France, Indigenous troops had long been integral to the two respective empires’ civilizing missions along with all the violence and oppression those entailed.

Yet another photograph from over one hundred years later depicts the French national football team in a combination of shock and joy following their victory in the World Cup championship (fig. 5.41). The image is an explosion of ecstatic faces and gold confetti, matched by the wave of celebrations that overtook France that night. The team was praised for more than just winning an international competition. The fact that nineteen out of twenty-three members had immigrated from Africa or descended from African immigrants resonated across France and abroad. The team’s demographics in addition to their high-profile success raised hopes, at least to one writer for *The Guardian*, that French society and culture may shed some of its racism, xenophobia, and Islamophobia, habits of thought borne out of the colonial system.⁷⁸ Like Barthes’s *Paris-Match* cover, such photographs seem to have a dual edge: they signal a promise

⁷⁷ “‘Scholarship and Militarism’: The Appeal of 93 ‘to the Civilized World!’ and the Collapse of the International Republic of Letters in the First World War,” in William M. Calder, III, ed., *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 718.

⁷⁸ Maryam François, “After this World Cup victory, can France finally throw off racism?,” *The Guardian*, July 17, 2018.

for equality no matter race or religion while at the same time they are products of longstanding exploitative, coercive power relations.

Alphonse de Neuville both drew on and helped establish the nationalist and imperialist myths that operate in photographs such as these, myths that have deep historical roots. *Les Dernières Cartouches* could even be considered as a distant ancestor. Nevertheless, these disparate visual examples from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries do not constitute an uninterrupted continuation of imperial exploitation and racial discrimination, unchanged since 1873; rather, they represent moments in what Walter Benjamin might call “a past we are still experiencing.”⁷⁹ In Neuville’s painting, the twenty-year-old *tirailleur algérien* Saïd ben Bachir is transformed into an emblem of the bravery and loyalty of the Indigenous troops, whose valiant feats during the Franco-Prussian War helped counter the humiliation of an otherwise overwhelming military failure. The figure thereby secured his place amid a changing roster of French martial heroes—now mostly ordinary, common soldiers—even while his uniform and phenotypic characteristics remind us of his insistent difference from these European counterparts. The painting’s tale of heroic resistance against tremendous odds circumvents the violent roles played by both French and Indigenous Algerian soldiers in the coincident suppressions of the Paris Commune and the Mokrani Revolt in Algeria. In this, the painting proposes a rhetoric of unity that belies the political, ethnic, and racial divisions still very present in 1873. The myth of colonial inclusivity that the painting holds up similarly belies long histories of exclusion, oppression, and cruelty by that very imperial system.

⁷⁹ Walter Benjamin, quoted in Esther da Costa Meyer, “The Place of Place in Memory,” in *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, ed. Marc Treib (London: Routledge: 2009), 182.

CHAPTER VI

The Pensioner and the Prisoner of War, Britain/France: Hubert von Herkomer's *The Last Muster* (1875) and Jacques de Lalaing's *Les Prisonniers de guerre* (1883)

Fly envious Time, till thou run out thy race,
Call on the lazy leaden-stepping hours,
Whose speed is but the heavy Plummets pace¹

John Milton, "On Time," 1631–1633

[B]ut if, on the contrary, a state of things unshakeable in appearance ceases to be useful to the progress of humanity, then neither the empire of traditions, nor courage, nor the memory of a glorious past can delay by a day the downfall decided by destiny.²

Napoléon III, *Histoire de Jules César*, 1865–1866

Introduction: Male Bonds at the Margins

Hubert von Herkomer's *The Last Muster* and Jacques de Lalaing's *Les Prisonniers de guerre* (Prisoners of War) thematize state institutions' control of the bodies and movements of the military men in their charge (fig. 6.1; 1875, Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool; fig. 6.2; 1883, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Lille). *Last Muster* depicts in-pensioners from the Royal Hospital Chelsea in London, gathered for a Sunday sermon and wearing the signature scarlet wool coats and black trousers that identified their dress uniforms. Herkomer (1849–1914) celebrated the dignity of these pensioners while pointing out their lost autonomy, even over their bodies,

¹ John Milton, "On Time," in *The Poetical Works of John Milton* (London: J.J. Chidley, 1847), 444.

² ["mais si, au contraire, un état de chose, inébranlable en apparence, cesse d'être utile aux progrès de l'humanité, alors ni l'empire des traditions, ni le courage, ni le souvenir d'un passé glorieux, ne peuvent retarder d'un jour la chute décidée par le destin."] Napoléon III, *Histoire de Jules César* (Paris: H. Plon, 1865–1866), 28.

piteously brought out by the central figure who has died in his seat.³ The deteriorating bodies of these men and their status as wards of the state also render them ineffectual from a military standpoint. The painting situates us just below eye level, as though we are one of the visitors who line the wainscoted walls of the chapel. Our eyes may meet the gaze of another visitor sitting along the opposite wall, a young, bearded man, a self-portrait the twenty-five-year-old artist inserted along with a portrait of his wife. Lalaing's *Prisonniers de guerre* throws into question the notion of martial dignity that fascinated Herkomer. Lalaing (1858–1917) exposed the hollow grandiloquence of French military prestige, as once embodied by the flamboyantly uniformed hussars, by representing them as dejected prisoners presumably following the Franco-Prussian War.⁴ The five hussars who languish in prison are marked by their youth in contrast to Herkomer's aging (and dying) though still dignified veterans.

³ Scholarship on Herkomer exists in the form of extended studies on his life and work by Lee Edwards, with shorter examinations of individual works appearing in anthologies and thematic monographs. Herkomer's extensive record-keeping and various biographies and autobiographies have offered scholars a bounty of primary and secondary source materials from the period, if these were highly curated and mediated by the artist and his contemporary biographers in the interests of self-promotion. Of his paintings, *Last Muster* is one of the most frequently discussed. *Last Muster* has also been addressed by art and literary historians who have been rightfully interested in Herkomer's artistic investments in poverty and old age, on the one hand, and the rapidly expanding mass news publishing and readership at the end of the nineteenth century. See Lee MacCormack Edwards, *Herkomer: A Victorian Artist* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999); and "'Sympathy for the Old and for Suffering Mankind: Hubert von Herkomer and his Paintings of Social Conscience,'" in *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art*, ed. Julian Treuherz (London: Lund Humphries in association with Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987), 90–103. Works that address *Last Muster* include Andrea Korda, *Printing and Painting the News in Victorian London: The Graphic and Social Realism, 1869–1891* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015); Karen Chase, *The Victorians and Old Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); and Joseph Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999). Herkomer's autobiographies include Hubert von Herkomer, *Autobiography of Hubert Herkomer* (London: Printed for private circulation, 1890); *My School and My Gospel* (Toronto: Musson, 1907); and *The Herkomers* (London: Printed for private circulation, 1910–11). Biographies written about him include William Leonard Courtney, *Hubert Herkomer (royal Academician): His Life and Work* (London: Art Journal Office, 1892); Alfred Lys Baldry, *Hubert Von Herkomer: A Study and a Biography* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1904); and John Saxon Mills, *Life and Letters of Sir Hubert Herkomer: A Study in Struggle and Success* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1923).

⁴ *Prisonniers de guerre* has only been briefly mentioned in Catherine Leclercq's otherwise extensive and well-researched monograph on the artist that compiles works of art, personal correspondence, and critical reviews. Catherine Leclercq, *Jacques de Lalaing: Artiste et homme du monde (1858–1917)* (Brussels: Classe des Beaux-Arts, Académie royale de Belgique, 2006). In addition to Leclercq's singular monograph on the artist, short articles focusing mainly on his sculpture include Richard Kerremans "Jacques de Lalaing" in *La Sculpture belge au XIX siècle* (Brussels: Générale de Banque, 1990), 342–43; and Nathalie Verbruggen and Véronique Cnudde, eds., *Le*

The chapter begins by investigating the question: what did aging Chelsea pensioners—a recurrent figural type in print imagery but less so in oil painting—offer a fairly young, up-and-coming artist such as Herkomer? Put another way, how would an ambitious painter hope to make a reputation by choosing such a subject? Scholars have astutely defined the socio-economic position and cultural status of Chelsea pensioners at the end of the nineteenth century, characterizing the group as a “safe” category of veteran, “whose patriotism was beyond question.”⁵ Pensioners provided a model of moral rectitude, dignity, and acquiescence to the state for Britain’s ex-soldiers in general, despite their poverty. This understanding of Chelsea pensioners as a recognized type in nineteenth-century British society undergirds my analysis of *Last Muster*. Nevertheless, I want to consider more deeply the formal and phenomenological qualities of the painting and to explore certain tensions it raises between masculinity and aging, thinking through the homosocial and spatio-temporal forces that structured the lives of a semi-hermetic society of retired soldiers. I reflect on the condition of old age not just in relation to the condition of poverty—which were, to be sure, tightly linked during this period—but also as the deterioration of the specifically martial body. This raises a third question: what did it mean for men who had spent much of their lives marching, camping, fighting, and engaging in diverse sexual practices, whether on the continent or around the globe, to be confined now by their limited physical and financial circumstances? These questions may or may not have been on the artist’s mind when he painted *Last Muster*. This first section of the chapter seeks answers to them before focusing on the central motif of the picture: two old men touching. Indeed, it is the

Mat électrique: Jacques de Lalaing (1858–1917) (Schaerbeek: Commune de Schaerbeek, 1993). Lalaing is also mentioned in a number of catalogs on nineteenth-century Belgian art as well as collections in the Musée Royale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels.

⁵ J.W.M. Hichberger, “Old Soldiers,” in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, vol. 3 *National Fictions*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), 53.

physical and visual connection from one man to another that not only establishes the painting's formal center of emphasis but also its main action.

My argument in the last half of the chapter is that Lalaing demonstrated he was familiar with the main precepts of military painting and sought to emulate them in *Prisonniers de guerre*. However, he deviated slightly from them in interesting ways. For one, Lalaing overtly referenced the aftermath of the French army's series of strategic failures during the Franco-Prussian War. This pictorial decision offered a twist on his French contemporaries, who often alluded to the defeat indirectly but rarely in such frank terms. The visual aspects of *Prisonniers de guerre* suggest that Lalaing was more concerned with formal innovation than with fixating on the tragedy of downfallen warriors, a point reinforced by his other works. Lalaing evoked the pictorial rhetoric of the eyewitness account, which was not just a tenet of military painting but also of realism more broadly. His work presents us with a surplus of optical data, meant to convince us that we really are viewing the interior of a war prison, truthfully observed. Finally, the chapter examines Lalaing's interests in the ruined martial body, locating it amid the rubble of the devastated French capital, the ruins of which were still visible at the time Lalaing showed his painting there.

Although Herkomer's and Lalaing's lives and careers overlapped at points, it is not my aim in this chapter to make direct correlations between them beyond the few points of comparison in this introduction. The lives of these two artists did not necessarily intersect. Both artists were internationally known and highly respected in their lifetimes, making it probable that they at least knew *of* each other, if they did not interact personally. Herkomer was German-born though active in Britain while Lalaing was Anglo-Belgian and occasionally exhibited works in the Paris Salons. Both lived in London until Lalaing moved to Brussels in 1875 at the age of

seventeen; one wonders if he had a chance to see *Last Muster* when it was exhibited that summer.

Representing military subjects was a calculated career move for both men. They engaged with a genre that had a regular cast of career practitioners. While the subjects of certain paintings encompass aspects of everyday military life, relating them conceptually to the broader enterprise of military painting, it would be difficult to imagine contemporary critics designating either Herkomer or Lalaing as a military painter in the same way as their contemporaries Alphonse-Marie de Neuville (1835–1885), Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille (1848–1912), or Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler (1846–1933). Neither promoted himself professionally as a military painter. In fact, the paintings are rare examples of ambitious works with martial themes exhibited by these two artists at the Royal Academy in London and the Salon in Paris. By 1875, military painting had become a phenomenon in Britain, thanks to the success of Lady Butler the year before. Herkomer was able to capitalize on this new enthusiasm at the Royal Academy while keeping to his pictorial commitment to representing underprivileged social groups. Lalaing's depiction of prisoners of war was not necessarily unique. However, his interpretation of the subject was remarkably inventive even if, as recognized, not totally accurate. He called attention to the fabrication of military art as a pictorial enterprise that rested on claims to truth value via the eyewitness report. That critics largely missed this was a sign of his success.

At its base, this chapter is concerned with the dynamics of power, space, and the martial body that are conjured up by such images of a veterans' retirement home and a war prison. The two paintings bring to the fore concepts of dignity and the passage of time in relation to

masculinity.⁶ Both paintings portray martial themes while forcefully renouncing the masculine virility associated with youth that often featured in works by contemporaneous military painters. In this way, both disrupt our expectations of military manhood during this period—its cultural, sensual, spatial, and temporal dimensions—as they challenge norms of martial homosociability. Examining these issues necessarily evokes the classic studies of Michel Foucault, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and Kaja Silverman.⁷ Analyses of spatial hierarchies in hospitals and prisons call to mind Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*, in which he argued that, beginning in the eighteenth century, new means for disciplining the bodies of criminals were developed, aimed at restricting personal liberty rather than inflicting torture. According to Foucault, these “technologies of power” extended to the barracks and the classroom and became models of social control in modern European societies writ large. *Last Muster* and *Prisonniers de guerre* are preoccupied with restrictions of personal autonomy analogous to those Foucault addressed. What Foucault did not examine in his critique of these power structures, but which was central to Sedgwick’s study, was the potential for desire between men in its many forms, or homosocial bonds, that such rigidly hierarchical and constrained environments might foster.

Silverman’s conception that certain articulations of manhood resist a pervasive, “dominant fiction” of masculinity has helped shape the way I discuss pensioners and prisoners of war in relation to the broader military establishments of Britain and France. In a late nineteenth-

⁶ I use the term “dignity” here as a somewhat neutral term that overlaps with but differs from concepts of nobility, honor, heroism, and glory, all of which very much shaped conceptions of military manhood during the late nineteenth century and earlier. Chelsea in-pensioners enjoyed a venerated status associated with their distinguished military careers, if they lacked financial status; French hussars, on the other hand, had enjoyed the status and glamor of a long-celebrated military branch.

⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Allen Lane, 1977); Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Kaja Silverman, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

century martial context, the “dominant fiction” of idealized military manhood might be understood as a youthful, virile, disciplined, and professional soldier, both an ideal warrior and ideal citizen, with emphasis on *ideal*. Herkomer and Lalaing turned away from these constructions of ideal military manhood in their paintings in which the figures succumb to old age, suffer the shame of defeat and capture, and fall into inutility. These men are sequestered away from the broader social order and military establishment in a more extreme form of confinement than they would have known in barracks or camps. Despite their lack of idealization, both paintings met with varying levels of critical success when exhibited, and neither was received in its time as subversive or particularly controversial. Most critics admired the patriotic and sentimental quality of *Last Muster*, on the one hand, and the tragic and well-studied quality of *Prisonniers de guerre*, on the other. This might underscore what art historian Joseph Kestner has argued, following Silverman, that pictures of veterans and defeated soldiers evinced, in his eyes, “the incommensurability of penis and phallus,” a disjuncture between the patriarchal symbolism of the army and the capabilities (or lack thereof) of the physical men who composed it.⁸ This “incommensurability” visualized in nineteenth-century British military painting served to absorb critiques of the military establishment and imperial war.

I move away from the conceptual models offered by Foucault, Sedgwick, and Silverman, insightful though they have been, in order to focus on notions of time, its physical effects on the (martial/male) body and the built environment as well as its manifestations through art, memory, and history. In the two paintings under consideration, the passage of time and the absence of the passage of time are held in tension with one another. The works feature men on opposite ends of their lives: *Prisonniers de guerre* represents young hussars at the start of their careers, perhaps in

⁸ Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting*, 220.

their early twenties, while *Last Muster* represents aging veterans nearing the end of life whose military careers have long since ended.

The arguments in this chapter draw on two sets of literature, both of which have experienced parallel growth in recent decades and are indebted in different ways to Foucault, Sedgwick, and Silverman. The first examines the confluence of masculinity and aging while the other investigates forms of masculinity that develop or are performed in prisons. The bulk of this scholarship addresses twentieth- and twenty-first-century circumstances, and much of it concerns the United States or United Kingdom. The analytical frameworks employed by some scholars have been particularly useful in establishing my own.⁹ Sociologist Edward Thompson, following other scholars, has identified a disconnect between mental perceptions of age and the physical age of bodies.¹⁰ As he pointed out, the gendered experience of old men has only recently been addressed in gerontology while gender studies tend to focus on young men and male-identifying persons. Scholars who study aging have investigated anxieties associated with the shifting body, which many discover newly beset by infirmity, disability, or (chronic) illness.¹¹ Turning to the other thematic, Julia Wright and Jason Haslam identified a shift in the purposes of and discourses surrounding incarceration in the nineteenth century, that is, from punishment to rehabilitation, by examining forms of captivity that range from prisons, enslavement, and serfdom to colonial

⁹ Since the mid-1990s, scholarship on masculinity and aging has bloomed in a variety of fields, including literary studies, sociology, medicine, and gerontology, to name a few. Authors important for my work include Chase, *Victorians and Old Age*; Amelia DeFalco, *Uncanny Subjects: Aging in Contemporary Narrative* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2009); Mike Featherstone and Andrew Wernick, eds., *Images of Ageing: Cultural Representations of Later Life* (London: Routledge, 1995); David Jackson, *Exploring Aging Masculinities: The Body, Sexuality and Social Lives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Edward H. Thompson, *Men, Masculinities, and Aging: The Gendered Lives of Older Men* (Lanham, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018); Kathleen M. Woodward, *Aging and Its Discontents: Freud and other Fictions* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991).

¹⁰ Thompson, *Men, Masculinities, and Aging*, 47–48.

¹¹ Woodward, *Aging and Its Discontents*, 3–7.

confinements.¹² Jennifer Sloane’s framework for analyzing masculinities performed and articulated in prisons, which she divided into five sets—corporeal, spatial, temporal, relational, and vulnerable—has guided many of the questions I pose throughout this chapter.¹³ Sloane’s division of prison time and outside time functions as a means to imagine approaches to time that in-pensioners and prisoners of war may have experienced. She explained that the “cyclicity” of time in prison life is at extreme odds with the “linearity” of time outside, which produces a “fracture of their psychological time consciousness” or, in other words, a “horrible mismatch of one’s internal time-consciousness and the reality of prison time.”¹⁴ This is compounded, according to Sloane, by the loss of control over time that the imprisoned (her study specifically addresses men) had experienced in their non-incarcerated lives.¹⁵ Both pensioners and prisoners of war would have been separated to varying extents from what one might call the outside world. Their experiences of separation were oppressive and coercive, as we shall see, though not so severe as the carceral environment examined by Sloane.

Herkomer’s *Last Muster*: Touching Old Men

Herkomer was twenty-six when he exhibited *Last Muster* at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition at Burlington House in 1875. He was in a liminal state between young adulthood and maturity; married with children, he had yet to establish himself professionally as a painter. This canvas was, as he himself put it, a gambit, although it would make his reputation almost

¹² Julia M. Wright and Jason Haslam, *Captivating Subjects: Writing Confinement, Citizenship, and Nationhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

¹³ Jennifer Anne Sloan, *Masculinities and the Adult Male Prison Experience* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), unpaginated.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

overnight and bring him out of virtual obscurity.¹⁶ Two highly renowned witnesses, the Royal Academicians Frederick Leighton (1830–1896) and George Richmond (1809–1896), separately reported to him that the selection committee applauded the painting when it came up for their review.¹⁷ Even before the exhibition, Clarence Fry had purchased the canvas from Herkomer for the handsome sum of £1,200. The painting was exhibited again at the 1878 Universal Exhibition in Paris, causing a stir and winning a medal of honor alongside John Everett Millais (1829–1896), the only two British artists to achieve that level of recognition in that venue.¹⁸ Herkomer recorded that he and Millais were both enraptured by the acclaim and by the pomp of the awards distribution ceremony, which was overseen by President of the French Republic Patrice de MacMahon (1808–1893) and at which Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891) handed out medals to the national secretaries, regally garbed in the embroidered finery of the “Immortals.”¹⁹ The artist expressed his pride at his enthusiastic reception in France: “It caused that country, hitherto so jealous of its artistic supremacy, to acknowledge that England *did* possess artists, and had a national art.”²⁰

Herkomer often demonstrated his concern with both aging and poverty, as scholars have pointed out and as evidenced by his painting entered into the Royal Academy Exhibition three years after *Last Muster*, titled *Eventide*, which represents a group of old women in Westminster Union (fig. 6.3; 1878, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool).²¹ He was one of only a few artists of the

¹⁶ Herkomer, *Herkomers*, 107.

¹⁷ Herkomer, *Autobiography*, 46.

¹⁸ Herkomer, *Herkomers*, 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 113

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

²¹ Edwards, *Herkomer*, 76.

period to engage in the subject of aging.²² Herkomer commented on his idiosyncratic choice, as recorded in John Saxon Mills's compendium of diary entries and correspondence to and from the artist, compiled in 1923: "The exceptional success of 'The Last Muster' gave me a kind of copyright over old soldiers and I doubt if any other painter would have dared to tackle this last subject, as he would most assuredly have been accused of copying me."²³ In his biography of the artist, Alfred Baldry noted that *Last Muster* marked a turning point in Herkomer's artistic methods. The subject compelled him to leave behind his previously studious emulation of the painter Frederick Walker, an artist known for picturesque images of rural laborers, whom he was accused of emulating even to the point of imitation.²⁴ Together, *Last Muster* and *Eventide* earned him the unofficial reputation as a painter of old people, a reputation he sometimes resisted but on which, as noted, he also capitalized.²⁵

In nineteenth-century British culture, old age was addressed most often in socio-economic terms as a social problem and a collective responsibility. The rapid industrialization of the nineteenth century precipitated a steep rise in poverty, particularly in London, where an estimated one-third of the city's population were destitute, many of them aging adults.²⁶ This widespread poverty across Europe drew the attention of art historian Linda Nochlin, who investigated the rise of popular depictions of misery associated with indigence in the nineteenth century. Nochlin showed how misery and indigence also became topics for scientific inquiry, generating new sociological and economic understandings of what it meant to be poor and

²² Chase, *Victorians and Old Age*, 218.

²³ Herkomer, quoted in Mills, *Life and Letters*, 273.

²⁴ Baldry, *Herkomer*, 52.

²⁵ Edwards, *Herkomer*, 76.

²⁶ Chase, *Victorians and Old Age*, 247.

suffering.²⁷ Industrialization had transformed what was previously conceived as individualized, dire circumstances into a perceivably coherent class of suffering.²⁸ The role of the state in caring for the poor was at the forefront of governmental debates during these decades. Chelsea Hospital was part of this discussion since it was a state-run institution founded to look after veterans unable to subsist on their own.

Herkomer's early journalistic work likely contributed to his pictorial interests in what art historians have later termed social realism.²⁹ During the 1870s, he contributed dozens of woodcut engravings to the weekly magazine *The Graphic* that reference social issues and current events. The subjects for both *Last Muster* and *Eventide* were taken from his earlier engravings, first published in *The Graphic* and modified by the artist in both composition and tone. In *Eventide*, for instance, he added a pot of flowers and adjusted the facial expressions and poses of the figures allegedly to make the scene appear less dismal.³⁰ As a graphic artist and aspiring painter, he often sought out situations of poverty and misery for his prints, paintings, and drawings. His poverty in early life and his constant worry over the situation of his aging parents (who had spent most of their lives in poverty) potentially made him sympathetic to the plight of the aging and working classes even when he was fairly young and rising up the socio-economic ladder as an artist.³¹ He had grown up poor in Waal, Bavaria, before his family made a dangerous transatlantic journey to the United States, settling in Cleveland, Ohio. The even-worse conditions

²⁷ Linda Nochlin, *Misère: The Visual Representation of Misery in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2018), 7–9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Korda, *Printing and Painting the News*, 146–47.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ The following biographical information derives primarily from Edwards, *Herkomer*, 17–29.

there (which ran counter to the United States' reputation as a country of excess) led his family to trek back across the Atlantic and settle in Southampton, England.³² Edwards has characterized Herkomer as a hyper-industrious Renaissance man, remarkable both for his formal and conceptual ingenuity as for his prolific career, during which he accrued substantial wealth in spite of humble origins.³³ However, while the suffering of both the urban and rural poor prompted some of his most memorable works, he made the bulk of his fortune crafting portraits for high-society patrons.³⁴

Art historians have rightly noted that in *Last Muster* Herkomer de-emphasized the suffering and indigence of the pensioners, focusing rather on their dignity and wizened countenance, in alignment with perceptions of Chelsea in-pensioners as models of comportment for ex-soldiers.³⁵ One way that he achieved this was through the rendering of the pensioners' faces, a formal aspect appreciated by several reviewers of the work. The artist reveled in the differing topographies of each sitter's face and hands, which suggests a comparison with the smooth and taut flesh of younger adults or adolescents. Eye sockets form deep crevices that give way to prominent cheekbones, basking in the soft sunlight that penetrates the otherwise dim chapel. Uniformity and individuality are consciously held in tension by means of a complex though orderly composition. While the painting is divided into discrete strips of brown woodwork, beige heads, red coats, and black trousers and boots, the individual figures

³² Ibid.

³³ His personal life was fairly fraught. His first wife, Anna, died relatively young of tuberculosis, leaving two children. After years of complaining to friends about Anna's burdensome ill health, Herkomer married the family nurse, Lulu. Lulu would likewise die of complications brought on by tuberculosis and a miscarriage the year after their wedding. Herkomer then married Lulu's sister, who had also served as the family nurse following Lulu's death. His children were cold at best to their second stepmother. Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Hichberger, "Old Soldiers," 52.

themselves are carefully and subtly distinguished; each man has a different expression, pose, style and color of hair, and a distinctive sense of interiority, separating him from his surrounding neighbors. No face is the same. Herkomer himself explained: “the idea was to make every man tell some different story, to be told by his type of face and expression, or by the selection of attitude.”³⁶

Herkomer configured these men as exemplars of aging martial masculinity through his depiction of their bodies, an aspect of the paintings which went relatively unnoticed by contemporary critics. The bodies of the pensioners may be easy to ignore. They are all garbed in the red, wool coats that were the signature garments of Chelsea pensioners. The rectangular silhouette, chromatic intensity, and strong symbolism of the red-and-black uniforms all form visual and conceptual barriers to recognition that human bodies inhabit these garments. Further, as contemporary scholars of aging have claimed, one may not typically register the physical, sensual, even sexual embodiment of old men.³⁷ Nevertheless, *Last Muster* prompts us to inspect the aging martial body and, because this is an oil painting created with the Royal Academy exhibition in view, we are meant to appreciate these aging martial bodies in aesthetic terms. The shapes of the men’s bodies are distinct from one another. We can estimate their levels of physical fitness through the folds and billows of their woolen coats. Pensioners at the Royal Hospital of Chelsea had lost much of the physical prowess that had ostensibly made them valuable assets to the British military establishment. The deteriorating corporeal forms of the veterans presented a vivid contrast to the ideally muscled, youthful bodies that often populated the battle and military genre paintings of Herkomer’s contemporaries in Britain and France.

³⁶ Herkomer, quoted in Edwards, *Herkomer*, 67.

³⁷ Thompson, *Men, Masculinities, and Aging*, 70.

Herkomer relied, therefore, on a different set of physical virtues for his depiction of military manhood in old age. He imbued his figures with the qualities of dignity and discipline. Idealized martial virility has given way to self-possession, interiority, and routine.

The painting's scale, at over six feet in height, makes the figures appear nearly life size. The fiction of the work is that we sit but a few feet away from them. We are meant to register their presence through a virtual proximity. The emphasis on the bodily presence of the figures in *Last Muster* exceeds that in Herkomer's other depictions of pensioners, including the wood engraving that preceded the painting. When he revisited the subject in 1898 with *The Old Guards' Cheer*, he concealed the pensioners' corporeal shapes by obscuring them behind the voluminous, almost tentlike silhouettes of their uniforms (fig. 6.4; 1898, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery). In this painting, a group of veterans from the Crimean War stand on a balcony, saluting and cheering beneath a sculpted memorial to the war. The lively disposition of the elderly former soldiers contrasts starkly to the overall quietude of *Last Muster*, for which the later painting was meant to be a pendant.

Other imagery of Chelsea pensioners, mostly print media, register the aging, infirm, and sometimes disabled body through a narrow range of signifiers, including a corpulent midsection, as in George Fox's engraving and a print from 1813 (fig. 6.5; 1889; and fig. 6.6; 1813, both Wellcome Collections, London). At other times, physical infirmity was conveyed through the inclusion of a walking stick or an artificial leg, which frequently recur as shorthand for the deterioration of limbs due to age or wounds suffered on the battlefield (see fig. 6.7; 1812, National Army Museum, London). An engraving published in an issue of *The Graphic* from 1888, appearing in a two-part feature on the hospital, its architecture, history, and inhabitants, is replete with signs of wounding and bodily decay (fig. 6.8; 1888, Wellcome Collections,

London). The central figure is blind, as indicated by his upward gaze (all other figures either look straight ahead or downward) and his dependence on a companion for support and direction. The pensioners filing out of the chapel after another Sunday sermon manifest their age through white beards, time-worn faces, rotund abdomens, glasses, walking sticks, and at least one instance of a missing hand.

Herkomer's venerated predecessor, David Wilkie, drew an explicit comparison between aged and youthful martial bodies in *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Waterloo Dispatch* (fig. 6.9; 1822, Aspley House, London).³⁸ The pensioner who occupies the lower-right foreground slouches on a chair while his signature red coat piles and bunches over his black vest and breeches. His muscles are limp, face wrinkled, with a somewhat disengaged expression, a dramatic contrast to the brawny, enthusiastic young sailor beside him, whose tight-fitting white uniform and chemise with plunging neckline highlight his youthful vigor. The other pensioners wear similarly loose-fitting coats with broad lapels and cuffs as their centrally placed companion; they are additionally mostly obscured in shadow. By contrast, three young officers who occupy the foreground—one holding an infant, another leaning forward with a hand on the table, and one tilting over on his horse—are all in peak physical condition, as made evident through their form-fitting dolmans, slick knee-high leather boots, and skin-tight beige or white breeches that clearly distinguish thighs from pelvic and/or gluteal muscles.

A third way that *Last Muster* brings the martial body into focus is by the central action of the painting. After extended looking, we may understand the main event to be the death of one of the congregation. However, we are in fact witnessing its aftermath. The main event is a yet-

³⁸ Herkomer made no mention of Wilkie as a source of inspiration in any of his autobiographical texts. Mills footnoted a loose connection between Herkomer and Wilkie, both of whom the art historian Robert de la Sizeranne had grouped into a sort of British school. Mills, *Life and Letters*, 317.

living pensioner touching his expired companion's arm, whether to check for his pulse or to attempt to rouse him; both have been suggested. The strained knuckles of the still-living man make up one of the tensest passages of the entire painting. This man's concerned touch—as well as his correspondingly distressed facial expression—forms the nucleus of the composition. Touch is, in fact, one of the primary drivers of meaning in the work. In addition to this episode, there are six other instances of hands, either individual or in pairs, actively touching. From left to right: A hand reaches up to rub a forehead; two sets of hands are clasped, one in a lap and the other over a walking stick; one hand holds a book while the other flips a page; one hand clasps a bent elbow (the other, not in sight, presumably does the same); lastly, one hand holds a walking stick upright while the other holds a pair of glasses. The hands of the man who has died appear to touch nothing at all. One rests limp on his lap, while the other rests on the bench, having loosened its grip on the man's walking stick.

The action of the central pair is the sole instance of an intimate encounter between figures, physically and optically. The only other possibility for an optical connection is the one that we share with the painting's maker, the man depicted sitting against the far wall at left, who watches us watching this event. Indeed, no other figure looks at another and, although they are crammed in their benches shoulder to shoulder, they are all closed off from one another. The lack of physical and psychological connection among the pensioners, save for the two in the foreground, resulted in part from the way the painting was constructed. Herkomer had evidently planned to execute the subject in oil painting ever since he published an engraving of a nearly identical scene, "Sunday at Chelsea Hospital," in *The Graphic* in February 1871, which accompanied a short article on the establishment (fig. 6.10; 1871, *The Graphic*). For this publication, he had drawn depicted Chelsea pensioners from life, and he apparently dotted the

walls of his small studio with head studies of the men he encountered. These studies became something like coordinates for him as he plotted his composition directly on the canvas. His reasoning for not executing any overall studies was, as he explained in a lengthy account of the painting's genesis, lack of time, if he wished to make the Royal Academy deadline.³⁹ (He complained that he was not able to start working earlier because of his chronically ill wife.) Herkomer established a sense of receding space in the painting by inserting two heads on each side of the room, one close to the picture plane and the other near the far wall in the background. He then used subtle shifts in scale to achieve the effect of men sitting in rows. Representing the diamond-pattern floor receding into space presented a particular challenge, as he confessed, he was not an expert in perspective. He worked around this by using a camera obscura, which enabled him to project a pattern of tiles directly onto the canvas. He lamented this recourse to a mechanical device but rationalized that it was necessitated by the fast-approaching submission deadline. The architecture of the chapel was evidently drawn from memory after many visits in which he studied the room until the "oblique perspective had soaked into [his] brain."⁴⁰

The shift in scale and medium from wood engraving to oil painting posed a number of formal and conceptual challenges for the artist, which were enhanced by the need for speed. The ambitious composition brings together well over fifty figures, some merely indicated by the crowns of their heads, all seated just above our eye level and all facing the same direction. In the far background, a row of onlookers sits against the chapel's side wall. We viewers ostensibly take up a seat on the opposite wall, only a few feet from the rows of wooden benches occupied by the pensioners. The painting is divided neatly into two halves that are further divided into

³⁹ Herkomer, *Herkomers*, 107.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

discrete registers: the top half mainly depicts architectural features, beige plaster walls punctured by diamond-paned, red draped windows, with shorn battle flags interspersed, above wood wainscoting. The lower half is a sea of red-and-black uniforms crested by pale, aging faces with gray and white hair and voluminous beards. The product was a remarkably mathematical assembly of the painting's constituent parts. Herkomer described the result:

Well, it could hardly be called a composition, as the upper half of the picture was all architecture, the middle line of the canvas a dense mass of heads, after which followed a row of hands, then a row of legs, and finally a row of boots. It had no beginning and no end; it was a section of the chapel congregation "cut" out.⁴¹

Here, the artist marks on the tension between the notion that viewers have been given access to a candid moment among a congregation of pensioners and the reality that the moment was assiduously and artificially constructed. The mechanically precise architecture and spatial organization are likewise in tension with the affective poignancy of the scene. The interaction between the two figures in the foreground interjects a sense of pathos into an otherwise banal subject that has been rather technically assembled. On the one hand, the physical and psychological connection between these two figures is the most sentimental passage in the painting—testing the limits of believability—while on the other, the figures are visually absorbed into their surroundings in a way that delays the viewer's realization of what is happening, if only momentarily. An excerpt of the painting, featured in *The Graphic* several weeks after the oil-on-canvas version went on view at Burlington House, centers and magnifies the pathos of the original (fig. 6.11; 1875, in *The Graphic*). The two-page spread includes only the two foreground figures—"cut out" from the rest of the painting—monumentalizing the intimate encounter between them even more so than does the painting to which it refers.

⁴¹ Herkomer, *Autobiography*, 44.

The engraving translates Herkomer's visible brushwork into a print simulacrum, a reminder of the erstwhile presence of the artist's hand. It was this technical skill on the part of Herkomer and his fellow print artists that distinguished *The Graphic* from its more mainstream competitor, *The Illustrated London News*.⁴² The artist's explanation for the loose brushwork in the painting was lack of time to ensure a more licked surface. Even so, the visible facture provided evidence of the touch of his brush against the canvas. Herkomer's woodblock engravings for *The Graphic* capture this effect. Although these images were mechanically reproduced for a weekly magazine that was geared toward a wide, well-off readership, Herkomer's contributions, including "Sunday at Royal Hospital, Chelsea," insist on their hand-honed quality. I mention this individualized quality not for any claims to Herkomer's originality; he was by no means the only graphic artist or painter to leave visible facture.⁴³ However, the stubborn presence of carved marks and lines, or dabs, globs, and swirls of paint invite us to imagine the physical and intellectual exercise of both engraving and painting, to imagine Herkomer bending over, standing by, looking closely at, and touching the block or canvas, which eventually came to depict aging Chelsea pensioners. The discernibility of the artist's touch underscores the focus on touch throughout the *Last Muster*, which itself was appreciated for its emotionally "touching" depiction of old soldiers.⁴⁴ That Herkomer was twenty-six when he

⁴² Julian Treuherz, "The Graphic," in *Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian Art*, ed. Julian Treuherz (London: Lund Humphries in association with Manchester City Art Galleries, 1987), 63.

⁴³ For example, art historian Carol Armstrong addressed at length the varying types of imagery that populated the pages of Georges Charpentier's journal *La Vie moderne*, founded in 1879. As Armstrong usefully explained, the journal featured a "range of mechanical reproduction" in a "variety of styles and graphic codes, some tight and finicky, with the high density of detail characteristic of steel engraving (though they are mostly lithographs), others open and loosely handled, with the lithographic reproduction of drawn mark-making superseding detail." Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 242.

⁴⁴ Sue Walker has recently explored the quality of touch in prints depicting wounded soldiers by Théodore Géricault and Nicholas-Toussaint Charlet in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars. I borrow her insightful description of the "fantasy of touch" in connection to images of soldiers supporting one another and the physical encounter between

painted this work (and twenty-one when he made the original print) establishes that there had been a meeting between young and old manhood when the paintbrush touched the canvas.

The physical contact between the central two men provides a synecdoche for the cloistered, homosocial environment of the veterans' home. Herkomer reconfigured the concept of martial homosociability—which his contemporary Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler had brought into public popularity—by focusing on military men in later life. There is a sense of licensed voyeurism to the painting, which is enacted by the observers on the wall opposite the picture plane. The painting promises a reportorial view of this shut-away segment of London society, underscored both by the painting's cropping and its original conception as a print for a weekly magazine. However, the conceit that we have unusual access to an arcane ceremony is mostly a fabrication since Chelsea Hospital was a well-known tourist destination by this time.⁴⁵ This leaves us with a sense of gawking, of gazing at Chelsea pensioners in their weekly routine as if we were watching a stage performance or zoo animals. The subjects of our gaze appear to take as little interest in us as they do with the goings-on outside the confines of the hospital, suggesting their acclimation to being watched. The pensioner and his home environment of Chelsea Hospital, considered as concepts and as material presences, were suspended in time

the artist and the medium of print. See Sue Walker, "Battle Lines: Drawing, Lithography and the Casualties of War," in *Visual Culture and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, ed. Satish Padiyar, Philip Shaw, and Philippa Simpson (London: Routledge, 2017), 71–84. The material, experiential, cultural, and gendered aspects of touch in different time periods has enjoyed much recent attention from scholars. For instance, Ewa Lajer-Burcharth similarly examined the materiality of paint and brushstrokes on the canvas in her analysis of eighteenth-century French painting. See Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *The Painter's Touch: Boucher, Chardin, Fragonard* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018). Constance Classen provides an evocative, if broad, approach to touch from the Middle Ages to the present. Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2012). For a discussion of early modern Italy, see Adrian W.B. Randolph, *Touching Objects: Intimate Experiences of Italian Fifteenth-century Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). Aspects of touch in twentieth-century visual culture and film was explored by Gabriel Josipovici, *Touch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

⁴⁵ Hichberger, "Old Soldiers," 62.

between modernity and history, present and past. Both were preoccupied with the passage of time and, paradoxically, with its denial, as the next section will investigate.

Lifetime versus Institutional Time: Remembering the Martial Past

On the right bank of the Thames to the west of London, in a former courtly retreat-turned-fashionable suburb, stands the Royal Hospital Chelsea, a place outside of time. Established by King Charles II in the seventeenth century and designed by the legendary architect Christopher Wren, the hospital and its grounds boast a tall, domed steeple, manicured gardens, and a stately chapel in addition to libraries, reading rooms, smoking rooms, and baths meant to ensure its inhabitants enjoyed what likely would be their final home.⁴⁶ Although originally situated outside London's city limits, Chelsea Hospital featured in guidebooks to the capital, including the near-ubiquitous Baedeker guides. Points of interest to visitors were not only the architecture and gardens but also the residents. A Baedeker guide to London from 1873 promised its francophone readers that for a tip they could be led on a tour by one of the pensioners.⁴⁷ Tourists could also attend one of the Sunday sermons, which took place at 11:00 a.m. and 8:30 p.m. This is what Herkomer purported to show us in *Last Muster*. Given the light pouring in the windows of the chapel, it is probable we are attending the 11:00 a.m. service.

The presence of tourists at Chelsea Hospital obliges me to revise my previous statement: Chelsea Hospital *appeared to be* a place outside of time but was, in fact, deeply concerned with it. Sociologist Anthony Giddens explored historical time and addressed the commodification of

⁴⁶ "The Royal Hospital Chelsea," *The Graphic*, February 18, 1871.

⁴⁷ Karl Baedeker Firm, *Londres, suivi d'excursions dans l'Angleterre du sud, le duché de Galles et l'Écosse, ainsi que des routes du continent en Angleterre. Manuel du voyageur*, 2nd edition (Coblentz: K. Baedeker, 1873), 166.

time in the modern period.⁴⁸ The establishment of workdays and work weeks, weekends, and hourly wages came to bind the notion of time tightly to labor and the economy, a phenomenon with which scholars in a wide range of fields have explored.⁴⁹ Pensioners who retired to the remote campus of Chelsea Hospital were partially removed from this economic structuring of time that came to define life in London, the political, industrial, and economic heart of the world-girdling British empire. Leisure time was the counterpart to worktime (clock time), which pensioners now in their twilight years had in abundance.⁵⁰ Excess leisure time did not neatly translate to liberty in their case; the lives of pensioners were still circumscribed by their financial needs and the regulations of the institution that provided for them. While they were not restricted to the grounds of the hospital and could choose to quit their residence, in-pensioners usually stayed because they could not otherwise afford to support themselves. This placed them within the temporal parameters of what Giddens identified as institutional time: “Institutions are practices which ‘stretch’ over long time-space distances in the reproduction of social systems. The structural practices of social systems ‘bind’ the temporality of the *durée* of institutions to the *longue durée* of institutions, interpolated in the finite span of existence of the individual human being.”⁵¹

⁴⁸ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, vol. 1 (London: MacMillan, 1981), 28.

⁴⁹ Recent art-historical explorations of time that inform my current study include Andre Dombrowski, “History, Memory, and Instantaneity in Edgar Degas’s *Place de la Concorde*,” *The Art Bulletin* 93, no. 2 (June 2011): 195–219; and “Instants, Moments, Minutes: Impressionism and the Industrialization of Time,” in *Monet and the Birth of Impressionism*, exh. cat., ed. Felix Krämer (Frankfurt am Main: Städel Museum, 2015), 36–45; Leila Kinney, “Fashion and Figuration in Modern Life Painting,” in *Architecture, in Fashion*, ed. Deborah Fausch, Paulette Singley, Rodophe El-Khoury, and Zvi Efrat (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 271–313; Susan Siegfried, “Layering Historical Time: Amelia Opie’s ‘Recollections of a Visit to Paris in 1802,’” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 42, no. 3 (2020), 289–311; and Marnin Young, *Realism in the Age of Impressionism: Painting and the Politics of Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).

⁵⁰ Kinney, “Fashion and Figuration,” 279.

⁵¹ Giddens, *Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, 28.

Herkomer's *Last Muster* bears examination in terms of this tension between the *durée* and the *longue durée* of institutional time that was constantly at work on the lives of the men of Chelsea Hospital. Another form of time might be considered alongside this, one that scholars of masculinity and aging have recently been exploring: the notion of lifetime. This notion, as I will seek to show, was connected to institutional time as represented by Herkomer and had its place in the greater visual culture of the late Victorian period. Chelsea Hospital was at the nexus of larger, less-tangible institutions such as the church, crown, country, and army.

Pensioners occupied a peripheral zone in relation to the larger military operations of the state. Although frequently represented as venerable figures in visual and popular culture, pensioners were veterans who may have been wounded or maimed but did not die (heroically) on the battlefield and who could not support themselves financially in retirement. In the late nineteenth century, Chelsea Hospital sponsored between 400 and 600 in-pensioners, who received a modest daily wage and room and board, and around 70,000 out-pensioners, who received a larger wage from the hospital but did not live on the grounds.⁵² In-pensioners thus had little, if any, financial means independent of the hospital and typically had no dependents of their own. Eligibility to live in the hospital was contingent on the veteran's advanced age, length of military service, and upstanding character.⁵³ Long after their military service, pensioners wore uniforms adorned with their medals and insignia; they lived in a restricted, homosocial environment, separated from society at large; and they depended on the state for their subsistence. Unit and rank played a symbolic rather than organizational role in the configuration

⁵² Baedeker, *Londres*, 166. A feature on Chelsea Hospital stated that the original capacity was supposed to be 450 and when the hospital could not accommodate surplus veterans in need the out-pension system was born. "Chelsea Hospital," *The Graphic*.

⁵³ Hichberger, "Old Soldiers," 52.

of their social engagements. (One reviewer of *Last Muster* was able to discern a Life Guardsman from an Irish linesman, evidently on the basis of pose and activity.) As veterans—former soldiers—they were understood differently than those currently serving, largely because of the physical state of their bodies and their relation to the passage of time. A two-part feature article on the Chelsea Hospital published by *The Graphic* in 1888 hints at the dynamics of time at work in the hospital. The first article outlines the history of the institution, its founding, operations, and funding. The second explains how pensioners pass their time. The images included throughout show old men smoking, walking, playing games, reading newspapers, or staring off into space, all occurring amid the ornate rooms of the chapel (figs. 6.8 and 6.12-6.18; 1888, Wellcome Collections, London). Time here is measured through leisure activities. The men pass the time in comfort until they inevitably die.

Herkomer represented time in *Last Muster* as a collection of fragments, an assemblage of instantaneous coincidences. The cropping of the composition lends the work a sense of a “slice of life,” “‘cut’ out,” as Herkomer put it.⁵⁴ The painting presents a snippet, as though our head just turned in a certain direction to see this scene. Actions that occur throughout the painting, such as the motifs of touch, could also be understood in relation to time: we are shown these men at precisely the instant that one of them turns a page, another reaches up to rub his forehead, yet others lean over, some put their heads down or back up. One may imagine the low din that all these subtle movements produce, competing with the disembodied voice of the chaplain just out of our view. We also turn our head at just the right second to meet the gaze of Herkomer’s effigy, looking back at us from the far wall. While locking eyes with someone across a room might impel our gaze to linger, in this instance we are distracted by an even more important

⁵⁴ Herkomer, *Autobiography*, 44.

event occurring right before us: a man has just discovered that his companion has died. Like this man, we do not know how much time has elapsed since his bench-mate expired. The body has just begun to lean over, which may have drawn the living man's attention in the first place. We, like him, apprehend the time of death through the effects of gravity. We have little idea what the aftermath of this man's death will be. Is his passing about to cause a commotion, or will the other congregants proceed with the same reserve as the man grasping his arm?

The French artist Albert Pierre Dawant (1852–1923) presented the inevitable future of those in this scene in his painting of pensioners at l'Hôpital des Invalides, the Parisian counterpart to Chelsea Hospital: here the aged soldiers are shown bearing the coffin of a deceased comrade, an occasion Dawant felt deserving of ceremony (fig. 6.19; 1882, location of painting unknown; a collotype reproduction is housed at the Musée de l'Armée). The funerary procession is central to the composition, which is rationally organized and clearly divided. Eight men hold their caps and bow their heads solemnly while six of their cohabitants march with the cloth-draped coffin. The French pensioners wear the black, double-breasted long coats that identified their status in the same manner as did the Chelsea pensioners' red coats. Dawant represented the literal and figurative gravity of the situation, as the pallbearers—*les invalides* themselves—struggle to lift the coffin while the onlookers are stricken by grief. Dawant's ceremonious depiction of martial death contrasts with Herkomer's rendition of pensioners in which the end of life is barely noticed, except by one's most immediate neighbors. The stone architecture of the seventeenth-century edifice Les Invalides, also showing signs of decay, is the physical manifestation of Giddens's notion of the *long durée* of institutional time.

Just as Herkomer evoked the body breaking down, so too, did he hint at the breakdown of time in the life of the pensioner. In *Last Muster*, time seems to collapse in on itself. We witness

this scene very much in its moment, that is, at eleven o'clock in the morning on a Sunday in 1875. These men exist in the painting's present. Yet the weight of history bears down on the scene with a crushing force. The men's bodies themselves, as previously argued, are markers of the passing of time, the weight of gravity. Their medals and insignia testify to former status and achievements. Most of these men would have been born around the turn of the nineteenth century or slightly later, some old enough to have fought alongside Arthur Wellesley, First Duke of Wellington, at the battle of Waterloo in 1815.⁵⁵ Others may have helped establish the British Gold Coast in the First Ashanti War, while yet others may have fought alongside the East India Company in Burma and East Bengal. Conceivably, some could have marched with General George Pollock's Army of Retribution following the destruction of William Elphinstone's forces in the mountains of northeastern Afghanistan. They had endured the privations of campaigns, desert and tropical heat, the unsanitary and unhygienic conditions of barracks, disease, the excitements and terrors of battle in vast and foreign locales. Whatever battles they fought in are now relegated to the realm of memory. The worn and frayed battle flags that occupy the upper register of the painting render in material form past exploits that exist only in individual recollection or books on military history. We are made to sympathize with these soldiers in the twilight of their lives, effacing their roles as the instruments of British imperial and economic domination and perceiving them now as beneficiaries of governmental largesse. Their memories of past glories and fallen comrades are entangled with those of defeated and slaughtered opponents, as in part referenced by the tattered battle flags.

⁵⁵ The issue of *The Graphic* to which Herkomer contributed his original woodcut claimed that the median age of pensioners was sixty-five, though some were older. "Royal Hospital Chelsea," *The Graphic*.

The collective counterpart to men's individual memories of marches and battles, of life in barracks or on campaign, was the institutional memory of the army. These old soldiers are the living remnants of a prestigious and heavily freighted military history, reiterated in the form of regimental and enemy flags that conjured up victories from long ago. The flags served a ceremonial function in addition to their mnemonic and symbolic ones. So, too, did Chelsea pensioners themselves. A parade celebrating the return of the colors to a regiment in November 1881 was attended by two veterans of Waterloo, who bore the flags of the regiment with them during the festivities; both were in-pensioners from Chelsea Hospital. *The Graphic* reported on the event, reproducing images of the flags as a sort of double commemoration of the battle of Waterloo and the parade conducted in reminiscence of it (fig. 6.20; 1881, *The Graphic*).⁵⁶ Contemporaneous prints similarly exemplified the conflation of individual and institutional memories. For instance, an engraving after Edward Richard White's *Rival Strategists* includes not only one such flag but also an image of the names and dates of various campaigns as inscribed on the wainscoting of the rooms in Chelsea Hospital (fig. 6.21; 1864–1908, Wellcome Collections, London). The pensioners pore over maps and debate plans of battle in their full ceremonial attire, belying their current military inutility. A similar scenario unfolds in Fox's engraving of two pensioners playing checkers surrounded by rather gleeful onlookers (see fig. 6.5). A few feet away from this lively game of strategy and wits, another pensioner gazes long at the name "Egypt" inscribed on the wall above him; another flag drapes just above his head. The space between his eyes and the inscription marks the gulf of decades of memories both in his life and in Britain's martial past.

⁵⁶"A Reminiscence of Waterloo," *The Graphic*, November 26, 1881.

When Herkomer returned to the subject of Chelsea pensioners decades later in *The Old Guards' Cheer* (see fig. 6.4), he highlighted the public and ceremonial role of pensioners to a much greater extent than he had in *Last Muster*. The precise event he referenced was Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration. Herkomer noted the difference between the two tableaux in his letters: "The point to enforce was to make these old boys enthusiastic with military and aged stiffness;"⁵⁷ and:

It is nevertheless absolutely different, representing the men in action, out of doors too. It is patriotic to the last degree, and moreover a representation of that unique occasion, in fact, a coincidence of events that would never happen again. That makes it a far more historical picture, in the truest sense, than "The Last Muster."⁵⁸

In addition to the general energy of the Crimean War veterans, this picture is distinguished from *Last Muster* by its overtly patriotic tone. The prominently draped Union Flag, adumbrated shapes of the sculpted Crimean-period grenadiers with doves flying in the upper left all present a somewhat overdetermined iconography that links the physical human beings to the institutions of crown and country. The old soldiers are again the fleshy signifiers of Britain's military history, even if the particular conflict, the Crimean War, had in its time been mired in controversy. The pensioners in *Old Guards' Cheer* are living emblems of their military service, Britain's military history, and Herkomer's past artistic triumph.

A little girl who appears in *Old Guards' Cheer*, the granddaughter of one of the pensioners, is out of place amid the ranks of old men who surround her. Her youth proposes a look toward the future, a promise of years ahead that is out of place in a painting otherwise

⁵⁷ Herkomer, quoted in Mills, *Life and Letters*, 273.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

deeply concerned with the past.⁵⁹ To Herkomer, the child's attendance at the parade had given him "a touch of 'sentiment' very dear to the artist who had been trained in the best of the Victorian period."⁶⁰ His use of the pluperfect tense and third person to describe an event from his past points to his own reckoning with age, describing a scene that occurred twelve years before he published these words. The sentiment that the young girl produced in him, however, harked back even further to an imagined apogee in his career, the "best of the Victorian period." In this sense, she functions also as a totem of the artist's past triumphs, perhaps not so out of place after all.

Lalaing's *Prisonniers de guerre*: Calculated Suffering

The chapter now shifts to France to consider another space in which the autonomy and liberty of military men was severely limited, perhaps to an even greater extent than the veteran's retirement home: the war prison. In *Prisonniers de guerre*, Jacques de Lalaing also explored martial nostalgia vis-à-vis the atrophic march of time, although he configured this relationship as a deeply oppressive force rather than as a generator of bittersweet memories (fig. 6.2). The work presents a penetrating study of the hollowness of French militarism. Whether consciously or not, Lalaing exposed the seams of military painting as an artistic pursuit as well as of military prestige as an ideo-cultural construct. *Prisonniers de guerre* was not the only painting he submitted to the Salon of 1883; he also showed a portrait of a seated country priest, which was deemed no less formally striking than the prison scene (fig. 6.22; 1882, Museum voor Schone

⁵⁹ Kestner characterized the young girl as a reminder to "the observer of the reasons for military service." Chase, on the other hand, stated: "In pairing youth with age, Herkomer suggests that there can be exchange and mutuality, not simply the acceptance of responsibility in the face of need." Kestner, *Maculinites in Victorian Painting*, 220; Chase, *Victorians and Old Age*, 225.

⁶⁰ Herkomer, *Herkomers*, 173, quoted in Chase, 225.

Kunsten, Ghent). Three years earlier, he had painted another canvas depicting an episode from the Franco-Prussian War, *Le Courier intercepté* (The Intercepted Courier) (1880, image unavailable). The earlier painting, known only in reproduction, foregrounds a dead horse sprawling across the canvas. The main action occurs in the background, where two German soldiers carry off the body of a dead French courier. Lalaing treated this scene with the same dispassionate observation he brought to bear on *Prisonniers de guerre*. We see none of the figures' faces and are left to focus on the carcass of the horse about to be abandoned in the forest. In 1884, he submitted *Portrait équestre* (Equestrian Portrait) to the Paris Salon to a warm critical reception (fig. 6.23; 1883, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent). This painting represents a cloaked horseman flanked on both sides by ranks of *uhlans* (light cavalry); however, neither the details of the scene nor its title pinpoints a specific conflict.

That *Prisonniers de guerre* was one of only two canvases in the artist's entire oeuvre to represent the Franco-Prussian War raises the question of whether, in these cases, he purposefully chose subjects meant to engage with a volatile theme or if he merely sought to exploit the popularity of military paintings at the Paris Salons. Questions of artists' motivation rarely if ever have definitive answers, and neither Lalaing's personality nor the visual aspects of his painting offer a straightforward explanation of his motivation for painting such a devastating scene of imprisoned French hussars. He left little commentary about his works. He was wealthy and well educated; he kept up to date with world events and had a humanitarian side that indicated he was utterly disgusted with the suffering of World War I. His artistic career evinces an eclecticism in both subject matter and media. The works vary from animals to biblical and mythological scenes to high-society portraits. He would discover and throw himself into sculpture not long after

painting *Prisonniers de guerre*, crafting public statues around Belgium, including an art nouveau electric lamppost encircled by elegant, attenuated tigers. He was also a prolific photographer.

Like Herkomer's *Last Muster*, Lalaing's *Prisonniers de guerre* testifies to its maker's formal and technical ingenuity as well as his ability to elicit the pathos of military men in a distressing situation. Some Parisian critics were especially drawn to the lucid verisimilitude with which Lalaing visually described his prisoners of war. The reviewer for *Le Temps* remarked, for instance:

One of the good interior scenes at the Salon is that of Count de Lalaing titled *Prisoners of War*. One does not imagine this to be an invention of caprice; the scene has been viewed, it has been felt, and it imposes itself on the gaze by a great emphasis of truth and sadness. Some soldiers, wearied from fighting, have been seized by the enemy and locked in a sort of poorly lit vault. Their attitude, singularly natural, expresses the lassitude of the day, the dreary boredom of captivity and the gnawing angers that fill the hearts of these vanquished ones. The execution is strong, tranquil, vigorous. M. Lalaing is a painter with a decisive stroke.⁶¹

Critic C.-B. Vurpas writing for *Le Soir* also characterized the painting as “striking with intense observation and rendering” and claimed that “it gives off a feeling of truth and truly poignant sadness.”⁶² A reviewer writing in *La République française* likewise described the painting as “a scene evidently taken from nature during our disasters.”⁶³ These reviewers in *Le Temps*, *Le Soir*, and *La République française* were all struck by the verisimilitude of the painting, the writer in *Le Temps* even going so far as to suggest that the subject was based on the artist's personal

⁶¹ [“Un des bons intérieurs du Salon est celui que M. le comte de Lalaing intitulé *Prisonniers de guerre*. Ce n'est pas là, on le devine, une invention du caprice ; la scène a été vue, elle a été sentie, et elle s'impose au regard par un grand accent de vérité et de tristesse. Quelques soldats, fatigués de la lutte, ont été saisis par l'ennemi et enfermés dans une sorte de caveau mal éclairé. Leur attitude, singulièrement naturelle, exprime la lassitude de la journée, l'ennui morne de la captivité et les sourdes colères qui gonflent les cœurs des vaincus. L'exécution est forte, tranquille, vigoureuse. M. Lalaing est un peintre qui a le trait décisif.”] *Le Temps*, May 27, 1883.

⁶² [“saisissantes d'observation intense et de rendu;” “il s'en dégage une impression de vérité et de tristesse réellement poignante.”] C.-B. Vurpas, “Le Salon” *Le Soir*, May 31, 1883.

⁶³ [“une scène prise évidemment sur nature pendant nos désastres.”] “Salon de 1883,” *La République française*, June 11, 1883.

observation. Nevertheless, it was highly unlikely that Lalaing had observed the kind of situation he depicted in *Prisonniers de guerre*, given that in 1871 he would have been roughly twelve years old and living in London with few, if any, opportunities to view the interior of a German war prison. In any case, the claim made in *Le Temps* seems to have spawned a rumor among critics that Lalaing presented an eyewitness account.

Lalaing's painting rang true for critics because it matched their expectations of what military painting should be. The artist achieved this by establishing the setting of *Prisonniers de guerre* in conformity with ideas of *civilian* incarceration. He emphasized the dire material circumstances of his imprisoned hussars, effectively transposing the concept of "prisoners of war" into soldiers in prison. In addition to the morose attitudes of the figures, the architectural features of the jail room—the scarred, scratched, and dented wall, dirt floor, and hint of a barred window—are components that, taken together, equate with a notion of misery. The dark interiority of the space amplifies the work's claustrophobic effect. The abject squalor of the jail cell in all its lavish detail corresponded to the contemporaneous, international vogue for painting misery that Linda Nochlin has analyzed. Neither the setting nor the title of the painting gives us a clue about the precise location of the prison. We infer that it is in Germany, but it could be anywhere that French soldiers waged war during the reign of the Second Empire (1852–1870): Austria, Russia, Mexico, etc. Most critics assumed that the work referenced the Franco-Prussian War based on their knowledge of recent history and current events, an assumption I have followed.

The construction of the painting undermines critics' expectations that it had been based on on-the-spot observation. The figures themselves are practically identical, suggesting that the artist used a single model and one uniform, arranged in different configurations to achieve a

multifigure composition. The hussars' uniforms repeat exactly the same components on all such soldiers: a braided dolman, red trousers, brown boots, and a white chemise, which peaks out of the dolman at the lower abdomen. A tan overcoat is also repeated three times. Missing are the soldiers' braided and fur-lined pelisses—a dashing part of the hussar's dress uniform that would be worn draping from one shoulder—as well as the plumed bicorne hats, another element adding both height and panache to their silhouettes.

The figures have a cloned quality about them. They are so similar, in fact, that they seem to represent the same person seen at different moments and assembled into a sort of instantaneous time-lapse. The painting in effect presents five studies of a Second Empire hussar. The assemblage amplifies our understanding of boredom and confinement. Repetition allowed Lalaing to examine the figure from multiple angles, in multiple poses, and with multiple expressions, including one figure with his head tilted back and mouth gaping open. A similar phenomenon is even more dramatically apparent in Lalaing's later, grand-format canvas, *Le Chasseur primitif* (The Primitive Hunter) (fig. 6.24; 1885, Musée Royale des Beaux-Arts, Brussels). This scene includes three dogs in different, contorted poses, all of which have the same build, fur color and type, and tail. The animals are larger than life; the hunter is monumental. The artist took painterly license with the nude male form in *Chasseur primitif* by contorting the body of the hunter. Lalaing curiously placed a dog's testicles at center and eye level, which cannot but remind the viewer of the male hunter's genitalia, obscured by his turned legs. The animal and human figures are all elongated horizontally to conform to the orientation of the canvas. The composition thus not only acknowledges its frame but also makes it a central player. A similar effect is embryonically explored if less pronounced in *Prisonniers de guerre*.

All of the hussars fit within the rectangle of the canvas, which boxes in the composition and serves to underscore even further the work's theme of captivity.

The degree to which Lalaing bent reality to his artistic vision is readily apparent in his photographic practice. Such twisting of nude bodies and portrayal of them from unsettling angles as occurs in *Chasseur primitif* pervade his photographs, which he used as studies for paintings and sculptures. The Musée d'Orsay houses nearly 130 of his photographs, which he produced around 1890 and which depict a range of subjects including male nudes, female nudes, dogs, and a dead horse. I have selected four groupings that are representative of themes and the serial nature of the images in this large collection (see figs. 6.25-6.38; c. 1890, Musée d'Orsay). Nude figures in difficult poses—a nude man climbing a column or two nude women wrestling with a dagger—are depicted with slight modulations in vantage point, expression, and pose. A similar phenomenon occurs with his depictions of animals, including a horse shot in the head, which he photographed from several viewpoints. The seriality organizing these subjects, their interest in irregular poses, and their preoccupation with violence and death all find analogues in Lalaing's earlier canvas, *Prisonniers de guerre*.

Lalaing's representation of extreme privation and loss of personal autonomy may have aligned with the actual experiences of some French prisoners of war; however, conditions varied in the hundreds of prison camps spread across Germany. Spaces for the detention of enemy combatants in the nineteenth century were usually ad hoc since it was known that prisoners of war would be either exchanged during wartime or released following the cessation of hostilities. For this reason, the war prison differed greatly from civilian correctional facilities, which were permanent or semi-permanent. Unlike imprisoned civilians, prisoners of war were not typically charged with breaking any laws and would not have been viewed with the same impulse to

rehabilitate or correct as was the developing principle for incarceration by the late nineteenth century.⁶⁴ The purpose for retaining prisoners after a battle was to deprive the enemy of fighting men without killing soldiers who had surrendered, which would have been a war crime. (Spies and irregular fighters such as *les franc-tireurs* were not viewed as legitimate soldiers and therefore not afforded the same protections.)⁶⁵ Often, those taken prisoner were wounded and unable to continue fighting, giving them an additional protected status under the First Geneva Convention of 1864.

When war broke out in 1870, there was little in the way of internationally codified standards for quartering enemy soldiers taken captive in battle, as European nations and the United States relied on a cartel exchange system that had arisen during the Napoleonic Wars.⁶⁶ The Brussels Declaration of 1874 was one of the first multinational agreements about the care of prisoners of war and stipulated that they should be able to retain their property (except arms) and be treated with dignity.⁶⁷ This agreement arose in part because of French accusations of German atrocities during the war of 1870, accusations that historians have recently found to have been exaggerated if not fabricated. Military historian Bastian Matteo Scianna has argued, for example, that the wartime conduct of the German troops was no more vicious than that of other European

⁶⁴ Jason Haslam, "Being Jane Warton: Lady Constance Lytton and the Disruption of Privilege," in *Captivating Subjects: Writing Confinement, Citizenship, and Nationhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 25.

⁶⁵ Bastian Matteo Scianna, "A Predisposition to Brutality? German Practices against Civilians and *Francs-tireurs* during the Franco-Prussian War 1870–1871 and their Relevance for the German 'Military *Sonderweg*' Debate," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 30, no. 4-5 (2019), 969. The Brussels Declaration of 1874 stated a different status for spies. "The Brussels Draft Declaration," in *The Hague peace conferences and other international conferences concerning the laws and usages of war: texts of conventions with commentaries*, ed. A. Pearce Higgins (Cambridge: The University Press, 1909), 273.

⁶⁶ Manfred Botzenhart, "French Prisoners of War in Germany 1870–71," in *On the Road to Total War: The American Civil War and the German Wars of Unification, 1861–1871*, ed. Stig Förster and Jörg Nagler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 587.

⁶⁷ "Brussels Draft Declaration," 273.

nations and was in fact even less so than some.⁶⁸ Scianna put forth this argument to counter, in part, a long-standing scholarly misconception that the excessive cruelty of Nazi forces in World War II had roots in nineteenth-century Prussian military policies and conduct.

The few weeks of fighting between the German states and French Second Empire from July to September 1870 resulted in the capture of roughly 384,000 French troops along with the emperor himself.⁶⁹ Marshal Patrice de MacMahon's surrender at the battle of Sedan would lead to the apprehension of tens of thousands of soldiers in a single day. This mass influx of new prisoners generated a problem of how to shelter, feed, and look after such an astonishing number of men in a relatively short period of time and on an unprecedented scale in European military history.⁷⁰ Military historian Manfred Botzenhart has found that the housing and provisions for prisoners of war in Germany were regulated by the Prussian Ministry of War, which stipulated that French soldiers were to be quartered under the same conditions as Prussian soldiers. However, given the volume of prisoners brought back to Germany by rail, these regulations were initially extremely difficult to implement, and many of the already wounded and sick French soldiers died early on in their captivity due to disease, wounds, and hunger.⁷¹ Botzenhart stated that the Germans' best efforts to maintain acceptable living conditions were met with severe logistical complications, leading to certain camps being disease ridden and unhygienic, whereas others functioned relatively efficiently, with soldier-prisoners having regular correspondence with home and even earning substantial incomes.⁷² High-ranking troops, such as hussars, were

⁶⁸ Scianna, "A Predisposition to Brutality?," 968.

⁶⁹ Botzenhart, "French Prisoners of War in Germany," 588.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 587.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 588.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 591.

allowed some freedom of movement so long as they agreed not to attempt escape.⁷³ German post offices complained about the volume of mail arriving from France while French officers complained about the insufficient supply of wine and bread.⁷⁴

Unlike Chelsea pensioners in Britain, prisoners of war were not a common subject for oil painting in France and only infrequently appeared in graphic images of the period. Records from the *Dépôt Légal*, the governmental document registry that lasted until 1880 and frequently functioned as a censor, indicate that prints depicting prisoners of war tended to be published during wartime—for example, during the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War, the Italian campaign, etc.—and even then, they were not prolific. This would change dramatically during World War I. In the nineteenth century, prisoners of war were not yet an established pictorial type, in contrast to Chelsea pensioners, which had that status in prints prior to Herkomer's painting of them. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Emperor Napoléon III (1808–1873) came to be the most (in)famous prisoner of war in the entire conflict. French popular depictions and press imagery of the surrender at Sedan focus on Napoléon III's capture. One print accuses the emperor, who went to the front to imitate his illustrious uncle, of being all too eager to hand his sword over to Bismarck (fig. 6.39; c. 1870, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Another depicts Napoléon III in a carriage about to be transported back to Prussia, surrounded by Prussian cuirassiers and his own troops, who either stand wounded yet defiant, break down sobbing, or have died (fig. 6.40; 1870, Musée Carnavalet, Paris). This last print takes up much the same vantage point as did a painting by one of Prussia's most celebrated military painters, Wilhelm Camphausen (1818–1885) (fig. 6.41; 1877, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 588.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 589.

Camphausen's painting represents the emperor and his staff in the same carriage, again escorted by a column of cuirassiers and this time accompanied by Bismarck himself. Here, the emperor is the great spoil of war. A European-French infantryman and *un tirailleur algérien* (Algerian light infantryman) sprawl dead across the foreground, reminding viewers of the sacrifice of the French and colonial troops even while they gaze on the apparent callousness of Napoléon and his generals. This triumphalist scene takes a very different stance from the almost charming depiction by Camphausen of Napoléon III and Bismarck having a chat after the battle of Sedan (fig. 6.42; 1878, location unknown). This seemingly casual conversation between the two national leaders is only made possible by the fact that one is now a prisoner.

The relative dearth of imagery of common soldiers as prisoners of war gave Lalaing's subject a cachet and allowed him license to invent. He might have followed the model set by Italian artist Lega Silvestri (1826–1895), which depicts Italian troops escorting pouting Austrian prisoners through the sunny countryside during the Austro-Italian War of 1859 (fig. 6.43; 1859, Galleria della Arte Moderna). A contemporaneous *image d'Épinal* engages in a similar theme depicting French *zouaves* escorting a column of white-uniformed Austrians (fig. 6.44; 1859, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). Both painting and print clearly distinguish captor from captive. Although the two differ significantly in form and medium, they share a common emphasis on victory over an (Austrian) adversary. They also establish a clear hierarchy between victor and vanquished, armed and disarmed. Bavarian artist Albrecht Adam's lithograph of two Russian prisoners of war, presided over by a French guard, is remarkably social (fig. 6.45; 1812, Musée de l'Armée, Paris). The men chat on the porch of a house, hardly a picture of subjugation. They fit into Adam's "picturesque voyage" of military subjects in Russia drawn from observation while he was attached to Napoléon I's Grande Armée. The hierarchical relationship

between captor and captive here is only subtly indicated by the fact that the French guard is fully uniformed and armed, whereas the Russian prisoners are less formally attired and have been relieved of their weapons.

Lalaing's dejected soldiers have more in common with the prisoner of war from Rome depicted by Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) (fig. 6.46; 1881, Musée Georges Garret, Vesoul). The sharp features, darkened face, and black hair of Gérôme's painting all share a similarity with the phenotypic characteristics of Lalaing's hussars. Gérôme's figure is to be understood as someone inhabiting a land along the Mediterranean. His similarity to the French soldiers hints at a racial debate about French ancestry occurring in France at the time, whether it was Latin (Roman) or Germanic (Gallic). Gérôme's prisoner resembles the latter-day hussars not only in his dark hair and sharp features but also in his dejected, far-off expression, his clear abandonment of any hope for liberty. His Roman captors treat him like an animal, which is made plain by the sign above him that reads, in Latin, "beware of dog." The chain around his neck along with the bowl and the bones near his right leg underscore the inhumane treatment and degradation he has received from the Romans. The man is evidently past his youth, leaving us to imagine years spent suffering this cruel manner of captivity. Firm muscles and a lean physique bespeak a life of hard labor and malnourishment, whereas the subtle indication of sagging skin on his right thigh underscores his advancing age. His still-muscular and energetic body, a tour de force in academic male nudity, contrasts to his despondent facial expression. This fit physique also contrasts to the shriveled and slumped bodies of the French hussars in Lalaing's rendition of *Prisonniers de guerre*. Gérôme's depiction of a former warrior, conquered and humiliated, aligned perhaps better with popular French expectations about German brutality than it would have with either Prussian or international policy regarding prisoners of war.

These images of prisoners of war are few and far between, which attests to the fact that retaining captives long after a battle was not a common military practice before the Franco-Prussian War. The figures in both Silvestri's painting and the *image d'Épinal* from the Italian campaign (as it was known in France) are all outdoors and on the move, perhaps even on their way to be transferred to their home armies. The Russian prisoners Adam depicted seem to maintain a quasi-domestic existence, again set outside rather than inside a residence. Even Gérôme's leashed war prisoner sits outside. These separate examples make Lalaing's representation even more striking for its stasis and its interior setting. There is little sense of camaraderie among the men, as one might expect from a painting of soldiers during this period. The men are associated by virtue of their shared misfortune and by their similar physical appearance and uniforms. They have lost the customs of sociability even to cohere as a group.

We might consider Lalaing's canvas alongside Alphonse-Marie de Neuville's *In the Trenches* (fig. 6.47; 1874, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore). The Walters Art Museum's online label succinctly describes the point of the earlier work: "Members of the Garde Mobile (French expeditionary forces) are huddled in a shallow trench during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. Neuville has conveyed the general misery and tedium between battles that is associated with trench warfare." The subject is bleak, and so is the artist's formal handling of it; nevertheless, the scene solicits our empathy for the freezing and forlorn volunteer fighters. The impenetrable gray gloom that swirls above their makeshift trench gives a literal cast to the figurative expression, "in over their heads." Neuville (1835–1885) reminded viewers of the Prussian threat by means of an inexplicably abandoned black helmet with signature *pickelhaube* in the lower-left foreground, a device he had already used in *Les Dernières Cartouches* (The Last Cartridges) (fig. 5.1; see Chapter V). I would not argue that *In the Trenches* was archetypical of all military art produced

during this period, but it does reveal some of the priorities that military painters followed and that critics valued such as the mobilization of affect, fastidious research, and special artistic effects.⁷⁵ The eyewitness account, sometimes embellished and sometimes wholly fabricated, had long been a staple of military painting as a genre. Details gave proof of witness, which inspired military artists such as Neuville to amass substantial collections of uniforms, guns, and other militaria.

A modestly scaled canvas (less than half the size of *Prisonniers de guerre*), *In the Trenches* nevertheless delivers a visual bonanza of martial accoutrements: each man is clothed in distinct garments with a differently patterned blanket or coat covering him; cantinas, guns, sandbags, pots, a sad fire amid the ice, immerse us in the *mise en scène*. The canvas is the physical manifestation of knowledge, labor, and materials of a painter with a decades-long career who had also endured the extremities of the Franco-Prussian War firsthand. Lalaing bypassed this devotion to research at work in Neuville's painting. Compared to *In the Trenches*, *Prisonniers de guerre* evinces a remarkable economy of means. Lalaing did not concern himself with or seek to emulate imagery of prisoners of war, what little of it existed at the time. He distilled the concept of "prisoners of war" to a simple equation: French + soldier + dilapidated

⁷⁵ As the Walters Museum label informs us, the artist's dealer Adolphe Goupil found the picture overly grim and only paid Neuville a pittance for it. Susan Siegfried has argued that battle painters in the early nineteenth century pursued either what she termed the "documentary mode," which she aligned with artist-general Louis-François Lejeune, or the "affective mode," which she aligned with Antoine-Jean Gros. Critical responses to military paintings in the late nineteenth century suggest that these modes were alive and well, if not referred to directly in this way, even though the subjects that artists chose had shifted away from grand-format battle paintings toward more episodic moments, such as *In the Trenches*, and scenes of everyday life in the military. Writers sometimes contrasted de Neuville with Édouard Detaille, noting that the former usually went for effect and the latter for precision. François Robichon identified five forms of realism in which he grouped military painters during this period. He situated Neuville in the category "subjective realism" and Detaille in the category "objective realism," going on to name "photographic realism," "naturalistic realism," and "documentary realism." Susan Siegfried, "Naked History: The Rhetoric of Military Painting in Postrevolutionary France," *The Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (June 1993): 235–58; François Robichon, *La Peinture militaire française de 1871 à 1914* (Boulogne-Billancourt: Association des amis d'Édouard Detaille, B. Giovanangeli, 1998).

room = martial pathos. The next section will address another calculated move on the Anglo-Belgian artist's part: exhibiting the painting in the Paris Salon, a viewing context in which an image of wretched French hussars in a German prison had the potential to rouse political divisions and national trauma.

The Martial Body in Ruins

The hussar at the center of *Prisonniers de guerre* faces us directly; his cavernous eyes shoot out a devastating gaze at once poignant and pathetic. We witness the man succumb to his despair before our eyes. His companions slump over, doze off with mouth open, or crouch together in a shadowy corner, all of them further along the path to desperation than this man who will, nevertheless, soon catch up. We can only guess as to how long the men have spent in such dire circumstances. The conditions inside the prison cell are blatantly wretched. Lalaing demonstrated his virtuosic skill at depicting crumbling plaster walls and a dirt floor littered with debris. The prison wall, which forms the shallow backdrop of the scene, is a sprawling topography of brown, tan, and purple hues, rendered with a subtlety and precision analogous to photography, which entrances the viewer with its cosmos of scars, scratches, and divots. Sunlight reflects on the wall in the upper right corner, pouring in from a window just out of view, reminding us of an outside world beyond the reach of these defeated soldiers. Shadows formed by iron bars and tree branches underscore the paradoxical meaning of the window as signifying both freedom and its unattainability.

Contemporaneous critics were mostly enthusiastic about Lalaing's tableau in their reviews of the Salon of 1883. Several reviewers grouped the artist with other military painters who had works in the same exhibition, including established names such as Paul Alexandre

Protais (1825–90), Charles Édouard Armand-Dumaresq (1826–95), Henri Louis Dupray (1841–1909), Pierre-Georges Jeannot (1848–1934), and Marius Roy (1853–1921), among other artists far less known today. Writing for *Le XIXe siècle*, Edmond About noted that “[t]he painters of 1883 have a clear tendency to contemplate the soldier’s trade in its small details (*petits côtés*).”⁷⁶ About associated Lalaing with this new trend, reviewing *Prisonniers de guerre* in tandem with scenes of everyday life in the military by artists such as Jeannot and Roy. A reviewer of the Salon of 1884 for *Le Soir* reminded readers of *Prisonniers de guerre*, addressing it as a “scene of military life.”⁷⁷ Still, Lalaing’s canvas is a far cry from Jeannot’s picture of the stiff, faltering professionalism of new student corporals, who stand at attention while being reviewed by their commanding officer, the golden dome of Les Invalides in the distance (see fig. 2.31 in Chapter II). The difference in tone between these two works was noted by the critic Vurpas, who adored Lalaing’s painting and provided a lengthy description of “the physiognomies of these unfortunates, overwhelmed with fatigue, dying from exhaustion” in his review for *Le Soir*.⁷⁸ Overwhelming exhaustion, fatigue, and boredom were ideas frequently brought up by critics in relation to the work. Such aspects differ markedly from Roy’s depiction of unbothered, almost carefree, barracks-mates preparing the morning soup in *Au quartier, huit heures et demie* (In the Barracks, 8:30 a.m.) (fig. 2.6; see Chapter II). The disposition of the figures in these three paintings all contrast and so do the circumstances in which the soldiers find themselves. Jeannot and Roy pictured aspects of the daily routines of soldiers of the rank and file, whereas Lalaing

⁷⁶ [“Les peintres de 1883 ont une tendance manifeste à envisager le métier de soldat sous ses petits côtés.”] Edmond About, “Salon de 1883,” *Le XIXe siècle*, May 25, 1883.

⁷⁷ [“une scène de la vie militaire”] “Salon de 1884,” *Le Soir*, April 30, 1884.

⁷⁸ [“Les physionomies de ces malheureux, accablés de fatigues, mourants d’épuisement, sont saisissantes d’observation intense et de rendu.”] Vurpas, “Le Salon.”

chose an exceptional situation—cavalrymen as hostages—and the relentless boredom that comes with prolonged detention.

Lalaing's painting is puzzling in this way, not just in relation to contemporaneous works that presented a much more positive view of soldiers' lives but also in considering the national context in which it was shown. The work was first presented to the public at the Paris Salon of 1883, a time when the country was still reeling from the shock of defeat and revolution and was in the process of arming itself for a future war of revenge. In 1883, the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune that had succeeded it—evoked together in Victor Hugo's famous expression "l'année terrible" (terrible year)—occupied a liminal space between current events and recent history. The devastation of 1870–1871 still occupied public attention and discourse, thanks in large part to artists processing individual and national trauma in their paintings, photographs, and prints throughout the decade of the 1870s. In 1883, a panorama depicting the battle of Champigny by Detaille and Neuville, constructed a year earlier, attracted hundreds of thousands of viewers each year, located just off the boulevard des Champs-Élysées. Additionally, a national exposition was held in 1883 in which Meissonier exhibited *Les Ruines des Tuileries* (The Ruins of the Tuileries) for the first time since he had sketched the scene in watercolor in May 1871 (fig. 6.48; c. 1871, Musée national du château de Compiègne). The tableau references the destruction of Napoléon III's residence at the Tuileries palace, a high-profile architectural casualty of the "semaine sanglante" (Bloody Week), which brought about a cruel end to the Commune. As the Versaillais army stormed Communard barricades and strongholds across the city, revolutionary leaders purportedly set fire to monuments symbolic of the Second Empire regime. Although the event Meissonier depicted occurred during the suppression of the Commune, the artist emphasized the loss of martial glory over political divisions in the form of a Latin-inscribed

ashlar at the bottom of the painting that reads, in translation: “The glory of our forefathers lives on through the flames.”

The decade of the 1880s gave rise to *revanchisme*, led by nationalist Paul Déroulède (1846–1914) and augmented by the military reforms and populist aura of General Georges-Ernest Boulanger (1837–1891). Military paintings exhibited at the Salons were both a cause and an effect of a steep rise in militarist fervor among the populace at large. That a Belgian artist would exhibit a painting about the disgrace and imprisonment of formerly glamorous hussars in this politically charged atmosphere was thus a bold career move. One that worked. Lalaing made the painting for an audience who would “get it,” tailoring the work exactly to its historical moment and the national-cultural dynamics inflecting its venue. The painting was widely praised by critics for its originality and won a third-class medal. Not all critics wrote in praise of the painting. Albert Pinard, writing in the socialist newspaper *Le Radical*, and Serquigny, writing in the Bonapartist *Le Petit Caporal*, were both unimpressed by it but for different reasons.⁷⁹ Pinard thought the figures looked “flabby” yet admittedly well studied. His dismissal of Lalaing’s painting was part of his impatience with military art in general, which he felt compelled to review but found repellant. Serquigny, on the other hand, took issue with the attitude of the figures, questioning whether Lalaing’s discouraged French soldiers accurately represented how they would have comported themselves in this situation. Serquigny appreciated the rendering of the pockmarked wall.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Lalaing configured the war prison as an exclusively male space. It seems unnecessary to state that all prisoners in the painting are men. What we do not see, however, are the jailers, whom we probably imagine also to be men. The unpictured jailers are

⁷⁹ Albert Pinard, “Le Salon,” *Le Radical*, May 4, 1883; Serquigny, “Le Salon,” *Le Petit Caporal*, June 8, 1883.

also presumably German. The painting establishes two forms of relationship between men, explicitly or implicitly. First and most obvious is the shared condition of imprisonment experienced by them. The second is the oppressively hierarchical nature of the prison establishment. There is perhaps no better clue to the lost autonomy of Lalaing's hussars than the shadow formed by bars over the window at upper-right. The restriction of the personal autonomy of actual prisoners of war, as mentioned above, varied in degree. National military organizations also circumscribed the lives of their own soldiers. Before entering the prison, the movements and activities of these hussars would have been regulated and relegated to certain spaces such as the barracks, the camp, or the battlefield, although their relatively high status in the military hierarchy afforded them liberties to go into civilian spaces, too, such as the boulevard and the ballroom.

The absence of visual references to the German jailers in *Prisonniers de guerre*, not even an errant black helmet as in Neuville's paintings, lets us know that the German victory was not Lalaing's point. The single-minded focus of the painting is on the French defeat. That is almost certainly why he chose to depict hussars and not, say, artillerymen, infantrymen, even the hussars' cousin branch of light cavalry, *chasseurs à cheval*. Of Napoléon III's forces, hussars were the embodiment of martial bravado. As fashion scholar Alison Matthews David has shown, hussars held near-celebrity status during the Second Empire, hyper-sexualized by their dashing, colorful uniforms, which is how they were represented in contemporary visual culture.⁸⁰ The shame of their failure, compounded by the suffering and bodily decay they endure in prison,

⁸⁰ Alison Matthews David, "Decorated Men: Fashioning the French Soldier, 1852–1914," *Fashion Theory* 7, no. 1 (2003): 12.

transforms these hussars into what historian Bertrand Taithe would call “living symbols of defeat.”⁸¹ They have lost the war; they have lost their dignity; and they are losing time.

In lieu of depicting German prison guards, which would have introduced an overt power differential between captor and captive, German and French, Lalaing indicated that the truly oppressive force bearing down on these men was the passage of time. The ever-present question of how to pass the time and the thought of losing time join with physical deprivation and the restriction of liberty to ensure a truly torturous situation. Lalaing’s painting illustrates Botzenhart’s point that “(t)he prisoners who remained healthy probably suffered mostly from cold, dampness, homesickness, and boredom.”⁸² The critic About noticed the artist’s attention to the effects of captivity on the human body in his review: “It’s M. de Lalaing who translates with a veritable eloquence the profound boredom, the drooping idleness, the slow consumption of *Prisoners of War*, hollowed out by homesickness (*la nostalgie*) more so than by the privations of their half-lost bodies in their too-large uniforms.”⁸³ The men’s uniforms, unbuttoned and fraying, are far from the dashing sartorial display for which hussars were known and have been transformed into visual indicators of atrophy. About’s term “la nostalgie” has a double meaning in French as either “homesickness” or as “nostalgia,” a longing for an irretrievable past. The latter connotation evokes the irretrievable past of Napoleonic legend and the martial glory it promised, which had almost assuredly seduced these five young men into joining the ranks of the hussars in the first place but now seems like a bitter memory.

⁸¹ Bertrand Taithe, *Defeated Flesh: Welfare, Warfare, and the Making of Modern France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 180.

⁸² Botzenhart, “French Prisoners of War in Germany,” 590.

⁸³ [“C’est M. de Lalaing qui traduit avec une véritable éloquence l’ennui profond, le désœuvrement affaîssé, la lente consommation des *Prisonniers de guerre*, vidés par la nostalgie plus encore que par les privations et le corps à demi perdu dans leurs uniformes trop larges.”] About, “Salon de 1883.”

The painting provides little information about how these soldiers passed the time or maintained their daily existence, no evidence of books, letters, games, cigarettes, even food. The lack of these forms of activity in a painting otherwise saturated with visual minutiae conveys the disappearance of the men's humanity. The only thing they do is sit, either falling asleep or contemplating their plight. We may experience a shiver of disgust to think about the poor hygienic conditions these men have endured or to ponder questions of where and how these men eat, bathe, if at all, and relieve themselves. What is the likelihood they have recently washed their bodies, if not their uniforms? Lalaing spared us these graphic particulars.

The evident lethargy, exhaustion, and resignation of the figures in *Prisonniers de guerre* bespeaks a prison sentence that has lasted far longer than it should have. The abdication and capture of Napoléon III following the battle of Sedan should have meant the end of the conflict between the Kingdom of Prussia and its allies and the French Second Empire, at least according to prevailing military theories of the day. Instead, the new republic in France established under the leadership of Léon Gambetta (1838–1882) pledged to continue fighting, which they would do for six more months. Scianna has noted how this extension of hostilities introduced a completely new dynamic to the conflict, as the German army was no longer facing off against a trained and uniformed French army but rather a heavily armed and resistant civilian population.⁸⁴

The unanticipated continuation of the war had posed a challenge to German leadership responsible for the care of hundreds of thousands of French prisoners. This also would have meant that French soldiers in German prison camps and fortresses, who otherwise may have only been incarcerated for a few days or weeks, came to endure months of imprisonment. The patriotic fervor on the part of the hussars' co-nationals, which prolonged the war, also prolonged

⁸⁴ Scianna, "Predisposition to Brutality," 973.

their internment. By March 1871, newly elected President of the Republic Adolphe Thiers (1797–1877) successfully negotiated for the release of Marshal MacMahon and his army, which he redeployed to combat the Paris Commune.⁸⁵ It is an historic irony that we are invited to sympathize with the plight of these soldiers who, on their release, would be responsible for the overthrow of the Commune and resulting executions of tens of thousands of Commune prisoners in the summer months of 1871. Lalaing's emaciated prisoners, though, seem hardly capable of overthrowing anything. The caricaturist Cham (Amédée de Noé) laid bare the irony of French armies being tasked with invading the capital in his satirical print from the series *Les Folies de la Commune*, published by the journal office for *L'Éclipse* (fig. 6.49; 1871). An infantryman in the blue overcoat, red trousers, and white gaiters of the French army glibly asks: "Of the two of us, who would have said it would be me who would retake Paris?"⁸⁶ Meanwhile, a Prussian soldier with an exaggeratedly long, curved nose wearing an ankle-length green coat stares angrily at the ground from beneath his black helmet with *pickelhaube*, standing in for the German armies still stationed outside Paris who beheld both the Commune and its suppression.

Lalaing included another marker of deterioration: the back wall. The bodies of the hussars may indeed be in a ruined state, as the critic About remarked; still, the prison they inhabit is literally falling into ruin. The peeling and uneven plaster, mold, and dirt, all of which fill the greatest expanse of the canvas to the point of swallowing up the figures, all declare the process of ruination. Ruins are signs of destruction and decay wrought on the built environment. Architectural ruins fascinated commentators in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and have

⁸⁵ René de la Croix de Castries, *Monsieur Thiers* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1983) 344–46.

⁸⁶ ["Des deux, qui serait dit que ce serait moi qui prendrais Paris ?"]

been the object of study today.⁸⁷ As present-day scholars Florence Hetzler and Julia Hell have argued, ruins need time in order to become objects of aesthetic, intellectual, or philosophical contemplation.⁸⁸ Ruins alluded to the sublime forces of nature and history that overpowered human ingenuity and hubris. By 1870, this understanding of ruins had become enmeshed with man-made ruins created by urban destruction. Photographs of the devastation of contemporary cities such as Delhi and Lucknow in India or Richmond, Columbia, and Atlanta in the United States appealed to the same international armchair tourist market as depictions of the antique ruins of Pompeii, Karnak, and Jerusalem. Two sieges of Paris, together lasting from September 1870 until May 1871, resulted in the destruction of much of the city, which had already undergone upending demolitions during the fifteen-year renovation campaign by Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–1891).

Meissonier's *Ruines des Tuileries* condenses the multiple meanings ascribed to the ruins of Paris on the surface of a canvas (see fig. 6.35). The work engages with contested narratives of French history and patrimony. On the one hand, the artist eulogized the past triumphs of France, seeking solace in the glory days of Napoléon I and perhaps looking forward to a return to former splendor in the future. On the other hand, Meissonier downplayed the sharp ideological divisions that shaped the social and political landscape of the French capital in the immediate aftermath of

⁸⁷ Julia Hell and Andreas Schönle, eds., *The Ruins of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Julia Hell, *The Conquest of Ruins: The Third Reich and the Fall of Rome* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); Michael S. Roth, *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997); Shelley Hornstein, *Losing Site: Architecture, Memory and Place* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011); Florence M. Hetzler, "The Aesthetics of Ruins: A New Category of Being," *Journal of Aesthetics Education* 16, no. 2 (Summer 1982): 105–08; and "Causality: Ruin Time and Ruins," *Leonardo* 21, no. 1 (1988): 51–55; Esther da Costa Meyer, "The Place of Place in Memory," in *Spatial Recall: Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, ed. Marc Treib (New York: Routledge, 2009); Alisa Luxenberg, "Creating *Désastres*: Andrieu's Photographs of Urban Ruins in the Paris of 1871," *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998): 113–37.

⁸⁸ Hetzler, "Causality," 51; Julia Hell, "Imperial Ruin Gazers, or Or Why Did Scipio Weep?" in *The Ruins of Modernity*, 172–74.

l'année terrible (which persists in current French political discourse), a period scholars have characterized as one of confusion, disillusionment, and loss of national identity amid these national disasters.⁸⁹ The Tuileries ruins were not yet subjected to the passage of time needed for nature to do its aestheticizing and mnemonically nullifying work on the wreckage of the palace. The rubble Meissonier depicted was not that of ancient Rome, Egypt, or Palestine or ruins in an imagined future but instead ruins recently created and observed in the present.

The destruction of the Tuileries palace may be understood in corporeal as well as political terms as an alteration of the physical and psychological tissues associated with the palace's former inhabitants. In formal terms, the broken fragments of stone and stripped columns in Meissonier's painting recall a tortured and mutilated human body. Art critic Jules Claretie described the ruins in these terms: "Immense, desolate, reddened and blackened by flames, the yet superb carcass of the monument appears in its grandeur and in its ruination. It seems that the fire had given the exterior of the palace a bit of that silent majesty of the debris of the past."⁹⁰ Rather than a testament to a heroic history that has endured through time, the Tuileries ruins were a festering wound on the urban body of modern Paris. The palace, a well-known edifice in Paris's first *arrondissement*, had probably been taken for granted or largely ignored by the inhabitants of the city, yet by virtue of being destroyed, the ruins turned the palace inside-out, literally as well as metaphorically. Elaine Scarry's discussion of the body undergoing torture provides a striking metaphor for the architectural body of the Tuileries. The building thereby

⁸⁹ Peter Starr, *Commemorating Trauma: The Paris Commune and Its Cultural Aftermath* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 13.

⁹⁰ ["Immense, désolée, rougie et noircie par la flamme, la carcasse superbe encore du monument s'apparaît dans sa grandeur et dans sa ruine. Il semble que l'incendie ait donné à l'extérieur du palais un peu de cette majesté silencieuse que prennent les débris du passé."] Jules Claretie, quoted in Luxenberg, "Creating *Désastres*," 132.

underwent a semiotic shift into what Scarry called an “unignorable body.”⁹¹ The event epitomized Scarry’s incisive summation of the fundamental purpose of warfare: “to alter (to burn, to blast, to shell, to cut) human tissue, as well as to alter the surface, shape, and deep entirety of the objects that human beings recognize as extensions of themselves.”⁹²

Lalaing made visible the connection between the ruined body of the soldier and the ruined urban environment. Meissonier himself made this connection evident in the form of a severed head of a sculpture in the lower-right foreground of *Ruines de Tuileries*. Lalaing’s pathetic hussars are, arguably, the physical manifestations of the lost glory that so preoccupied Meissonier. Lalaing would not have seen Meissonier’s canvas before he created *Prisonniers de guerre*, but he was probably familiar with photographs of the ruins of Paris. These flooded into Britain in 1871 and fed a tourist industry in Paris to which French and international audiences alike migrated to gaze at the decimated capital. The ruins of the Tuileries palace were left standing for nearly twelve years following the Commune. They were finally demolished the same year that Lalaing exhibited his canvas at the Paris Salon and that Meissonier unveiled *Ruines des Tuileries* at the National Exhibition. The existence and visibility of wounded and maimed soldiers from the Franco-Prussian War served as yet another uncomfortable reminder of the war’s devastation wrought on young men’s bodies and of the nation’s humiliating downfall.⁹³

⁹¹ Scarry, on the theoretical implications of the human body turned inside out, stated: “The literal fact of ‘opening’ or exposing the body is just one way of accomplishing that: thus the phrase often used here, ‘open body,’ may be more generally understood as the ‘unignorable body.’” Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 349, end note.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 64.

⁹³ Taithe, *Defeated Flesh*, 180.

Conclusion

The collapsing of time implied by Herkomer's *Last Muster* and made explicit in his *Old Guards' Cheer* exists today in institutional form in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. Next to the Royal Hospital stands the National Army Museum, founded in 1960, a comparatively young institution in a comparatively young building. The placement of the two institutions next to one another reveals a Janus-faced approach to military history similar to the one proposed by the old pensioners and young girl in *Old Guards' Cheer*. The juxtaposition of the National Army Museum with Chelsea Hospital next door is a spatial and architectural indicator of the ideal ages of their inhabitants. The didactic framing of texts in the National Army Museum is geared toward a young audience, with questions posed such as "Could you be a soldier?," transparently meant to inspire adolescent Britons to future military service by educating them about the nation's martial past and present. In the same afternoon, one might observe, as I did, both an episode of a parent corralling children in these gallery spaces at the National Army Museum and a funeral ceremony for a Chelsea pensioner who had answered the call for their own "last muster."

Lalaing's image has a much darker legacy. Prisoners of war became a recurring feature of conflicts and representations of conflicts in the twentieth century. Subsequent Geneva Conventions were drafted to stipulate the proper treatment of apprehended enemy combatants as well as civilians. These conventions failed to prevent the inception of the concentration camp, first used extensively in the Boer War and then to horrific effect in World War II. Concentration and extermination camps throughout Europe and euphemistically labeled internment camps in the United States confined almost exclusively civilian populations—deemed enemies of the state—by targeting specific racial, ethnic, and/or cultural groups. The War on Terror, instigated

at the beginning of the twenty-first century, would in many ways continue this vein, creating a new figure type of an enemy non-combatant, the terrorist, which draws on the phenotypic and religious stereotypes of “Middle Eastern” and “Islamic” and uses loopholes in international law to justify torture. Who knows how the purportedly humanitarian Lalaing would have gone about representing the atrocities of Auschwitz, Abu Ghraib, and Guantanamo Bay?

EPILOGUE

The French soldier remained the same. Underneath the current somber greatcoat as underneath the brilliant uniform of his predecessors, “the soul of France has not changed.”¹

“Au Musée de l’Armée,” *La France militaire*, 1906

Transformations of a Genre

In this epilogue I call attention to some of the profound pictorial and cultural transformations in artists’ approaches to martial subjects in the years leading up to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and this serves as the background for a consideration of the integration of military history into (French) national history through the creation of the Musée de l’Armée. During these years the figure of the soldier—as image, as cultural construct—followed two inversely related paths. On the one hand, the naturalistic mode of depicting military themes was less and less considered a form of modern art, both in France and in Britain. On the other hand, two concurrent, top-level initiatives helped secure the army’s place in the larger national mythology in France: a mural commissioned from Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille (1848–1912) for the apse of the Paris Panthéon and the founding of the Musée de l’Armée at its current site in l’Hôtel des Invalides.² Both projects came to fruition in 1905, a particularly significant year in

¹ [“Le soldat français est demeuré le même. Sous la capote sombre actuelle comme sous l’uniforme brillant de ses prédécesseurs « l’âme de la France n’a pas changé ».”] “Au Musée de l’Armée,” *La France militaire*, December 7, 1906.

² As for Britain, it was not until 1917 that the nation’s first state-funded institution commemorating military service was created: the Imperial War Museum (originally named the National War Museum). The original purpose of the museum was to acknowledge those who had died in the Great War, which was still ongoing at the time of the museum’s founding. Institutions devoted to the “deep” history of the British armed forces would be formed much

French military and political history, as it witnessed both a new law separating church and state and another one finally establishing universal conscription, which would remain in place in one form or another until 2001. With these two projects, the figure of the common soldier completed a transformation from popular culture type and fine-art motif into national and nationalist icon—a transformation already underway throughout the nineteenth century.

What makes this case interesting is that pictorial shifts in the depiction of military subjects corresponded to major shifts in cultural attitudes toward war itself. The causes and effects of these transformations are many and complex, and this in this epilogue I can only provide an adumbrated account. The depiction of armed struggle as an artistic category of representation underwent transformations at almost every level during this period: formal, conceptual, medial, and institutional. The genre of military painting (*la peinture militaire*) quickly faded from the Paris Salons after 1900 and came to be written out of histories of French art.³ Military artists in Britain experienced a similar fall from grace: several continued to exhibit depictions of imperial adventures at the Royal Academy exhibitions and other galleries in the years leading up to World War I (1914–1918) though mostly to mediocre reviews, and military artists frequently struggled to make a living through painting alone.⁴ The highly researched literalness along with the understated heroism that had helped works by Detaille, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville (1835–1885), and Elizabeth Thompson, Lady Butler (1846–1933), among others, cause sensations at the major exhibitions of the 1870s had largely come to be considered,

later: the Scottish Military and Naval Museum, currently the National War Museum in Edinburgh (1933); the National Army Museum in London (1960), and the Royal Armouries Museum in Leeds (1983).

³ François Robichon, *La Peinture militaire française de 1871 à 1914* (Boulogne-Billancourt: Association des amis d'Édouard Detaille, B. Giovanangeli, 1998), 94.

⁴ Peter Harrington, “The Edwardian Period and the Great War,” in *British Artists and War: The Face of Battle in Paintings and Prints, 1700–1914* (London: Greenhill Books, 1993), 301–10.

by the early 1900s, traditional and institutional. Even by the 1880s, artists were compelled to update the genre once again by re-envisioning the life of the soldier and his role in society while celebrating cutting-edge technologies and scientific developments.

Scholars have naturally offered different explanations for why this occurred in both France and Britain in roughly the same time frame. Robichon, writing on France, has argued that the decline of military painting resulted from a broader aesthetic shift in the French art world, where the modes of realism and naturalism, which had dominated art production over the past thirty or more years, had lost much of their favored status by century's close.⁵ As Robichon noted, the depiction of war became more obviously aestheticized or, put another way, engaged with a modernist aesthetic that had been developing in the past decades in which oil painters were exploring different ways of interpreting reality. Harrington, for his part, addressing the British situation, has claimed that the genre largely ceased to interest viewers following the Boer War (1899–1902), coinciding with a general fatigue among British publics toward the nation's near-continuous imperial wars.⁶ Three or more decades of seeing such imagery almost every year by numerous artists at the Salons, Royal Academy exhibitions, and dealers' galleries, then reproduced in prints and books, all feeding into and fed by the visualization of the news, conceivably desensitized formerly enthusiastic publics all while being denounced by increasingly influential antimilitarist, anti-nationalist, and anti-imperialist journalists and art critics.

Formal and conceptual transformations also had much to do with who was doing the representing. Those who had established their careers in military painting in the late nineteenth century moved on to different pursuits, ceased to be considered relevant, or died. Detaille's

⁵ Robichon, *La Peinture militaire*, 94.

⁶ Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 301.

student Eugène Chaperon would move away from painting and toward theater; Pierre-Georges Jeannot focused on his illustration work and the occasional painting of frothy café scenes; and a greater share of military paintings exhibited at the Salons looked back to Revolutionary and Napoleonic subjects. Neuville had died in 1885; Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissoner in 1891. Military painting had a brief though largely unappreciated resuscitation in Britain in the starting months of World War I. Among artists to continue making military pictures during the conflict were Lady Butler and relative newcomers John Charlton (1849–1917), William Barnes Wollen (1857–1936), and Lucy Kemp-Welch (1869–1958), most of whom exhibited their works outside the large, official venues.⁷ The metamorphoses of military painting signaled, perhaps more so than a new distaste for war or even the incommensurability between a mode of image-making and the “realities” of war, that the pursuit of objectivity in art, specifically in oil painting, had a date stamp. *The Illustrated London News* summed up the problem: “The general character of this work reminds us too closely of the battle-pieces of thirty years ago: there is nothing save in detail, to identify it with the New War. And there, in a nutshell, is the weakness of three-fourths of the year’s war pictures—they do not belong to the year.”⁸ Even before World War I, Detaille himself had mused that film would render painting’s role in depicting historical events, specifically war, obsolete.⁹

While the lucidly realistic depiction of soldiers, battles, and martial environments disappeared over time from the Paris Salons and Royal Academy exhibitions—which had similarly lost much of their preeminence—artists would still represent the overarching concept of

⁷ Harrington, *British Artists and War*, 304.

⁸ *The Illustrated London News*, May 8, 1915, quoted in *ibid.*, 306.

⁹ Robichon, *Detaille*, 131.

war and adjacent martial subjects though in fundamentally different ways. Throughout the nineteenth century and especially by its close, military artists had to contend with the shifting material conditions, technologies, strategies, and logics of warfare. Major developments in the conducting of warfare, such as smokeless powder, automatic and long-range weaponry, and monotone, camouflage or khaki uniforms, all had a direct bearing on how painters crafted their compositions and employed color in their works. Cavalry charges, saber combat, and vibrant apparel, aspects that had made paintings visually engaging and affectively thrilling, were increasingly out-of-step with the concurrent means through which engagements were fought.¹⁰ To these challenges were added the twin problems of reproducing the experience of battle while ascribing some higher meaning to state-sponsored mass murder, a set of contradictions that became unresolvable when the carnage of war was experienced on a mass scale in Europe during World War I. This multicontinental conflict seemed to resurrect the age-old question most famously raised by Carl von Clausewitz about whether war is truly representable, which was debated by nineteenth-century critics and would later be reexamined by twentieth- and twenty-first-century theorists. As art historian Peter Harrington has evocatively argued: “The war was unimaginable, and the artists’ task was to make it possible to imagine the war in other terms—in unfamiliar terms—so as to represent the valueless, formless experience of this war.”¹¹ Put broadly, what emerged from World War I was a painterly focus on the immensity of the devastation, the brilliant flashes and dark clouds from bombs, landscapes laid waste, and cities ruined. The understanding of the individual soldier as a human being bound up in a larger

¹⁰ Ibid., 303.

¹¹ Ibid.

historical destiny gave way to the soldier as part of a collective machine variously bent on and subject to annihilation.

If the individualist mode of image-making, oil painting, served to mechanize the soldier by the height of World War I, the mechanical mode of image-making, photography, paradoxically visualized more personal, individual experiences of war. The advent of the handheld camera by the late nineteenth century, which saw widespread use by soldiers by the time of the Second Boer War (1899–1902), helped document conflict on a scale of production and to a granular level of detail that no nineteenth-century painting, print, or even newspaper could have hoped to rival.¹² Nineteenth-century photographs of war were usually studio productions, often officially commissioned, as opposed to the swell of images created during World War I for private use that far outstripped governments' abilities to control the visual narrative of the conflict. Vernacular photographs accompanied an international postcard industry, which circulated images of ruins, portraits of soldiers of any rank and nationality, reviews of troops, meetings of generals—indeed, any manner of subject—between acquaintances, relatives, and anyone one felt impelled to contact through the mail. Imagery of ruins, allegorical figures of nations, bombs, smoke, and soldiers, would find additional homes in the form of propaganda posters, which drove a parallel culture war between 1914 and 1918. World War I was also one of the first major conflicts to be documented extensively through moving image as film overcame one of the longstanding challenges of war photography, that is, depicting combat in real time.

As was the case when Detaille, Neuville, and Lady Butler seemed to reinvent military painting overnight in the early 1870s, the pictorial transformations outlined above present a story of both rupture and continuity. Gone may have been the professional moniker “military painter;”

¹² *Ibid.*, 275.

(temporarily) gone may have been the impulse to ennoble the soldier's profession or to capture the "pathos and glory" of conflict. However, a pictorial fascination with masculinity caught amid destruction and violence arguably persisted into and through World War I, as it arguably persists in the present day. Indeed, one may even find traces of Detaille, Neuville, and Lady Butler in American films produced over a century later, such as Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), and Kathryn Bigelow's *The Hurt Locker* (2008), to name only a few among many that take the common soldier as a central focus. What the enduring popular fascination with military painting in the nineteenth century and war films in the twentieth and twenty-first only partially explains is the peculiar entanglement of military history with broader conceptions of nation, which arguably became greater over the duration of the nineteenth century. That story would fill another dissertation. Nevertheless, I still want to conclude the current study by considering one prime example in France where the figure of the common soldier was woven into the national mythology: le Musée de l'Armée.

Legacies

In 1906, the rightwing, decidedly promilitary paper *La France militaire* quoted in the epigraph equated the French soldier with the "soul of France." At any point during the nineteenth century, a statement such as this would have been open for debate. However, by the time this article appeared, not only had the "French soldier" been a hotly contested concept with the Dreyfus Affair but, so too, had the very "soul of France." The purpose of the article was to announce that visits to the newly founded Musée de l'Armée were to be arranged so that officers and soldiers from various corps could learn about the nation's prestigious military history by viewing "the glories, trophies and grandeurs that the museum contains" in order to "engender

fecund thoughts in the spirit of the chiefs as in the soldiers.”¹³ Attendees had the privilege of hearing an inspiring tale of the museum’s history by its first director, General Gustave Léon Niox, echo through the Courtyard of Honor. In a gleeful endorsement of the Musée de l’Armée, the article names the new institution the “national museum of France,” characterizing it as a site of instruction for active service members and a general public alike. The point was to instill a religious aura in the visitors, as Eugène Gossin commented:

The Museum of the Army is the temple where the cult of this ideal carries on, the reliquary where the memories that bring into being, in some form, the traditions and the great thoughts of the Nation are piously conserved. It is neither works of art nor rare and precious objects that draw the visitor. Foreigners, led there by curiosity, are obliged by a mysterious force to come there to give homage to the grandeur of France, while it is a quasi-religious sentiment that brings French families on a pilgrimage to the altar of their ancestors.¹⁴

What was sought after with le Musée de l’Armée was a collective, national, consensual history of the French armed forces and its centuries’ long involvement in conflict.¹⁵ French families could perform a sort of martial ancestor worship while foreigners would worship at the altar of the grandeur of France.

These aims constituted a move away from the antiquarian focus on weapons, uniforms, accoutrements, and technology, which had characterized its predecessors, such as le Musée de

¹³ “Au Musée de l’Armée.”

¹⁴ [“Le musée de l’Armée est le temple où se perpétue le culte de cet idéal, le reliquaire où sont pieusement conservés les souvenirs qui matérialisent, en quelque sorte, les traditions et les grandes pensées de la Nation. Ce ne sont ni des chefs-d’œuvre d’art, ni des objets rares et précieux qui attirent le visiteur. Les étrangers que la curiosité y conduit sont contraints par une force mystérieuse à venir y rendre hommage à la grandeur de la France, mais c’est un sentiment quasi religieux qui y amène les familles françaises en pèlerinage vers l’autel des ancêtres.”] Eugène Gossin, quoted in Barcellini, *Le Musée de l’Armée*, 158.

¹⁵ The museum itself was bound to the same regulations as any military establishment. It fell under the direct supervision of the Minister of War (at the time Henri Berthaux) and was to be directed by an officer, whether in active service or in the reserve. Two sub-directors: one technical and one artistic. The original collections brought together weapons and accoutrements, prints, works of art, and documents donated by collectors, members of the Sabretache, and the state, in addition to long-term loans from other national museums, including Versailles and Cluny; the growth of the early museum was slow stilted due to the lack of an acquisition budget. *Ibid.*, 125–27.

l'artillerie. The institution was founded with an assistant director of military technology and an assistant director of art, incorporating a hybrid status into its very organizational hierarchy. The new museum also expanded on the scope of le Musée historique de l'Armée by taking an innovative, synthetic approach to military history as viewed through the lens of the common soldier, as historian Caroline Barcellini has shown.¹⁶ This latter establishment had been created by the Société de la Sabretache, which had come together in 1891 following the success of the Pavilion of the Ministry of War at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. The Musée historique de l'Armée, at its founding, took advantage of the accretion of decades of collecting and research by the members of the Société. The namesake of the organization, “la sabretache”—a by-then obsolete pouch worn by Napoléon I’s cavalry—bespeaks the group’s fixation on obscure militaria and their fervent hoarding of a fecund material martial past. The founders drew inspiration from the three already existing military museums in Vienna, Berlin, Madrid, Saint-Petersburg, and Brussels—the last three of which were generally geared around the exhibition of arms, armor, and weaponry—after receiving reports from diplomats stationed all over Europe.¹⁷ The Imperial Museum of Vienna provided a close museological model for the founder of the Musée historique, General Vanson; nevertheless, the Museum of the Army in Berlin formed a likely ideological model, as the German institution had been founded following the Franco-Prussian War as a triumphalist celebration of the nation’s military successes in Denmark, Austria, and France.¹⁸ The proponents of founding a new military museum in France thus looked

¹⁶ Having two museums devoted to military history in Les Invalides created administrative problems and public concern. Ibid.

¹⁷ There had existed a museum of Ottoman military history in Hagia Irene in Istanbul since 1846. However, this seems not to have influenced the founders of the Musée historique de l'Armée. Today, the museum is housed in the former *Mekteb-i Harbiye* (Military Academy), where it had moved in the middle of the twentieth century.

¹⁸ Barcellini, *Musée de l'Armée*, 34–42.

to Germany yet again as a model for educational reform.¹⁹ The founding of the Musée historique was met with official reticence but finally opened in 1896.²⁰

Linking the French soldier metonymically to the “soul of France,” the museum theoretically configured him as a quasi-mystic, trans-historic emblem of martial and, by extension, national glory, whose origins extended back how far? To the era of Napoléon I? Richelieu? Clovis? Le Musée de l’Armée also took on an overtly funereal cast. Les Invalides became both museum and mausoleum. Like its predecessors, the new museum occupied a space adjacent to the tomb of Napoléon I and to the veterans’ retirement home after which the complex is named. The new museum benefited from its attachment to Napoléon’s tomb, with which it coordinated its opening hours and which drew tourists and heads of state alike.²¹ The museum welcomed a general public, military, artistic, and historical societies, student visits, and official guests, attracting domestic and foreign tourists.²² Barcellini has surmised that the museum attracted niche groups of visitors who had prior interests in military topics, hardly the “national” audience claimed by Director Niox and repeated in *La France militaire*.²³

The painter Detaille had been instrumental in the establishment of le Musée historique de l’Armée, although he was not directly involved in its later fusion with le Musée de l’artillerie. He became firmly attached, nevertheless, to the militarized national history that his four-decade artistic career had promoted. In 1916, four years following the artist’s death and while France

¹⁹ Ibid., 38.

²⁰ The history of the museum as outlined in this paragraph is found in Caroline Barcellini, *Le Musée de l’Armée et la fabrique de la nation: Histoire militaire, histoire nationale, et enjeux muséographiques* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010), 29–34.

²¹ Ibid., 160.

²² Ibid., 157–58.

²³ Ibid.

was deep into a devastating world war, the state accessioned a large collection of his works to le Musée de l'Armée. His collection was installed in a gallery that honored one of the institution's most important founding figures; (fig. 7.1; 1916, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris). The state's donation of these works countered the artist's will, which stipulated that his collections of paintings, arms, and armor should form the basis of a new museum of costume history. The official disregard for Detaille's wishes notwithstanding, the accession of his works into le Musée de l'Armée shaped how his art would be understood by posterity. When Detaille's paintings entered the museum's collection, they gained a double status as works of art and as historical objects. This institutional framing of his works associated him with the history of the French army over the history of French painting. The problem Detaille poses for art history, therefore, is not just his work's ties to political conservatism of his time but also the fact that it has been institutionally framed, even during his lifetime, as something *other* than art.

The disciplines of military history and art history have broadly though not entirely followed this pattern in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Detaille's images often appear as frontispieces for books on military history or as illustrations of battles rather than in the sometimes quite wide-ranging surveys of nineteenth-century art, even those that delve into contemporary history painting, modern-life painting, and realism and naturalism—all categories in which Detaille might otherwise be viewed. My closing point is not necessarily that Detaille (or his colleagues) deserves to be included in nineteenth-century textbooks or taught in classrooms. Rather, what this dissertation has sought to do is demonstrate the powerful connections between conceptions of manhood and mythologies of nationhood, both of which were structured around a fabricated and curated martial past. In the late nineteenth century, the figure of the common soldier provided a means for artists in France and Britain (as elsewhere) to investigate shifting

and contested ideals of manhood while navigating turbulent social and political waters. While the focus of this dissertation has remained on artists in only two nations—and even then only a small number—room is left open for investigations of similar issues in other nations that aspired to martial excellence during the late nineteenth century, for example, Germany, Russia, the United States, India, Japan, and the Ottoman Empire. This work does not merely expand a canon traditionally centered on a European avant-garde but rather gives us a greater historical perspective into an incredibly robust cultural phenomenon with an international if not global reach.

FIGURES



Figure 1.1. Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770. Oil on canvas, 59 x 84 in. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada.



Figure 1.2. Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Friedland*, 1807, 1863-1875. Oil on canvas, 53.5 x 93.5 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 1.3. Jean-Baptiste-Édouard Detaille, *Defense of Champigny*, 1879. Oil on canvas. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 1.4. Aimé-Nicolas Morot, *Rezonville, 16 août 1870, la charge des cuirassiers*, 1886. Oil on canvas, 46 x 96.3 in. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 2.1. Eugène Chaperon, *La Douche au régiment* (The Shower in the Regiment), 1887. Oil on canvas, 31.9 x 21.3 in. Omer M. Koç collection.



Figure 2. 2. Pierre-Georges Jeanniot, *Conseil de révision* (Review Board) (alternate title *Les Conscrits* [Conscripts]), 1894. Oil on canvas, 30.6 by 34 in. Private collection.

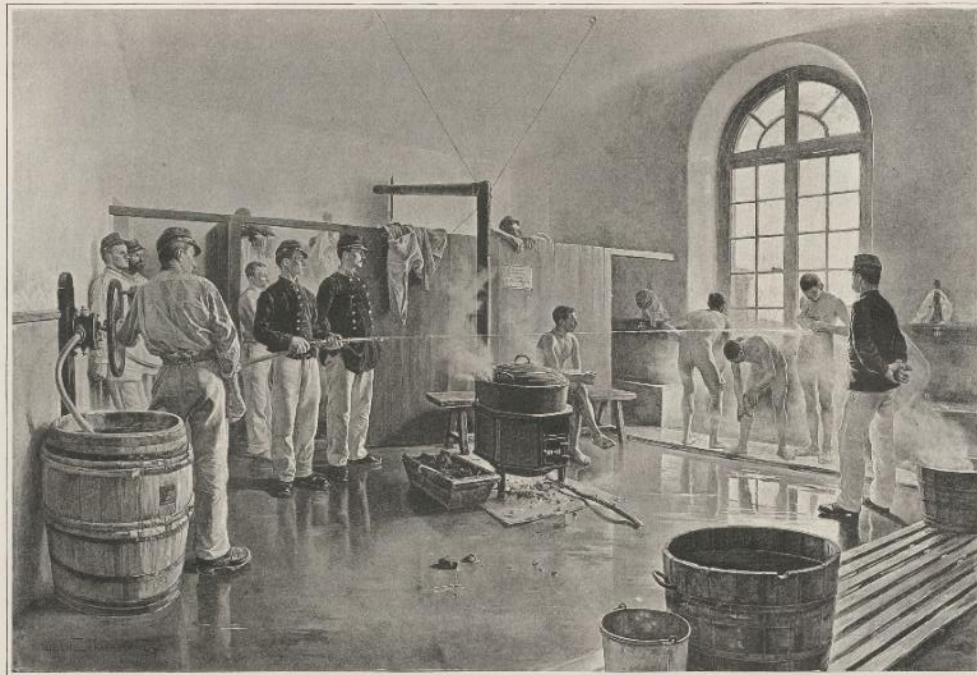


Figure 2. 3. Pierre-Georges Jeanniot, *Conseil de révision*, 1895. Oil on canvas, 36.2 x 47.2 in. Pau, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



CHAPERON. — LA RÉPÉTITION

Figure 2.4. Michelet, after Eugène Chaperon, *La Répétition* (The Rehearsal), in Arsène Alexandre, *Histoire de la peinture militaire en France* (History of Military Painting in France), Paris: H. Laurens, 1889, unpaginated. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



E. CHAPERON. — LA DOUCHE AU RÉGIMENT.

Figure 2.5. Unidentified engraver, after Eugène Chaperon, *La Douche au régiment*, in Albert Wolff, *Le Figaro Salon*, 1887, unpaginated. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.6. Marius Roy, *Au Quartier, huit heures et demie* (In the Barracks, 8:30 a.m.), 1883. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

N° 49

CAHIERS D'ENSEIGNEMENT
ILLUSTRÉS

LA SCIENCE
DES
ARMES DANS LA CAVALERIE

ESCRIME ET GYMNASTIQUE

PAR
E. CHAPERON

TEXTE PAR
ROMUALD BRUNET

I



ASSOULISSEMENTS

PRIX 0,50

Figure 2.7. Eugène Chaperon, *La Science des armes dans la cavalerie* (Weapons Science in the Cavalry), in *Cahiers d'enseignement illustrés* (Illustrated Teaching Notebooks) 49, Paris: L. Baschet, n.d. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

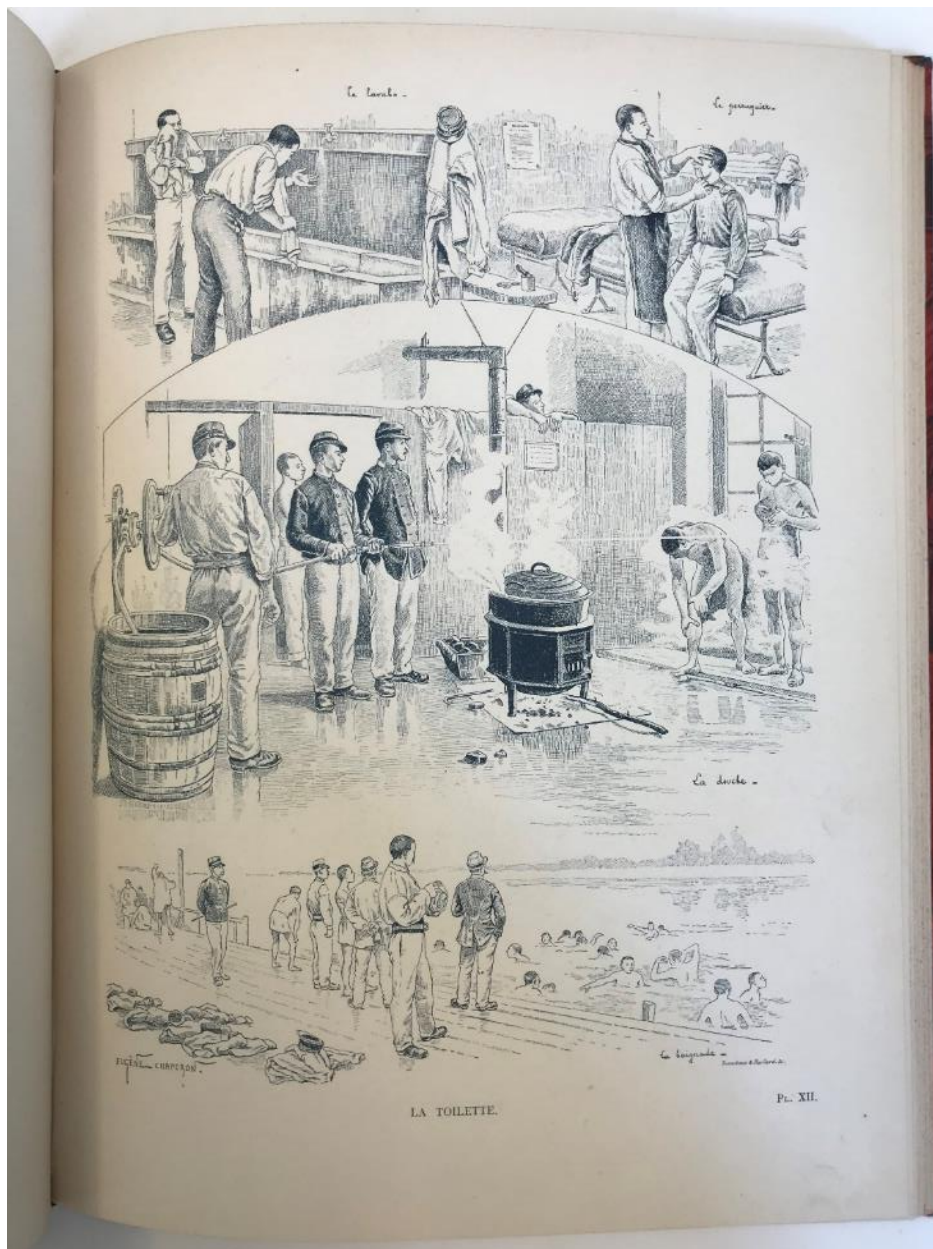


Figure 2.8. Eugène Chaperon, *La Toilette* (Cleaning Routine), in *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français* (The World in Images: The French Soldier) Paris: H. Laurens, n.d, plate XII. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

PRÉFACE



Nous espérons que les croquis de cet album répondront bien au double but que nous a demandé de remplir notre éditeur : initier à la vie du soldat ceux qui ne la connaissent pas, évoquer les souvenirs de ceux qui l'ont pratiquée ou qui en font leur carrière.

Le jeune homme qui, à la veille de partir au régiment, voudra se familiariser d'avance avec sa vie future, la mère de famille qui éprouvera le légitime désir de savoir ce que son fils fait à l'armée et généralement tous ceux qui voudront connaître la vie du « Soldat Français » de son tirage au sort à la rentrée de sa classe seront renseignés en feuilletant cet album; ils y verront les occupations, les peines, les plaisirs à la caserne ou aux manœuvres des différentes armes: artillerie, cavalerie, infanterie.

Il n'y a que quelques années, les seuls souvenirs de jeunesse qu'un homme put évoquer étaient ceux du collège, aujourd'hui il y a en plus ceux du régiment avec ses amitiés tout aussi chaudes et fidèles que les amitiés de collège. Nous serions heureux que telle ou telle scène que nous reproduisons ici, put rappeler à l'esprit de ceux qui ont passé sous les drapeaux, tel souvenir personnel, telle aventure d'un camarade....

Plusieurs officiers auxquels nous avons, avant de commencer, demandé conseil

et plus tard montré nos croquis, ont bien voulu approuver notre œuvre et nous dire qu'elle était utile et bonne; nous aimons à croire que beaucoup d'autres membres de l'armée partageront cette opinion et éprouveront quelque satisfaction à voir retracée la vie de ce « Soldat Français » à la formation duquel ils vont leur existence.

Tous nos dessins ont été exécutés d'après nature; nous avons tout sacrifié à la fidélité des scènes. Nous n'avons pas en

avant de commencer notre travail de plan compliqué à faire, ni même à en chercher un, il nous a suffi de classer logiquement sous de grandes rubriques les différentes occupations du soldat à quelque arme qu'il appartienne.

Nous espérons que les légendes suffiront amplement à la compréhension de nos dessins et qu'en ce qui nous concerne nous aurons donné une juste idée du « Monde militaire en Images ».



Figure 2.9. Eugène Chaperon, *Préface*, in *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français*, Paris: H. Laurens, n.d, unpaginated. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

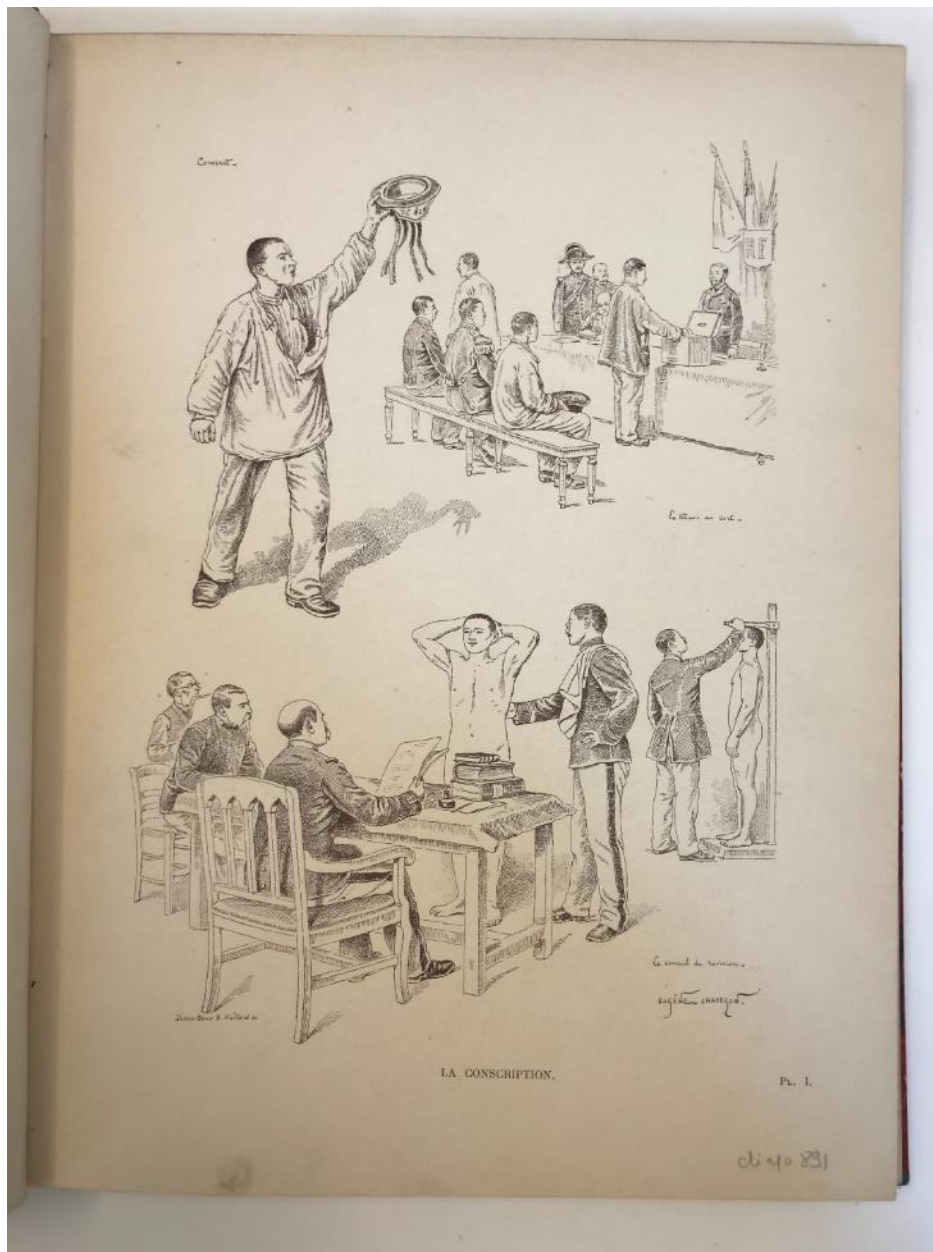


Figure 2.10. Eugène Chaperon, *La Conscription*, in *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français*, Paris: H. Laurens, n.d, plate I. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

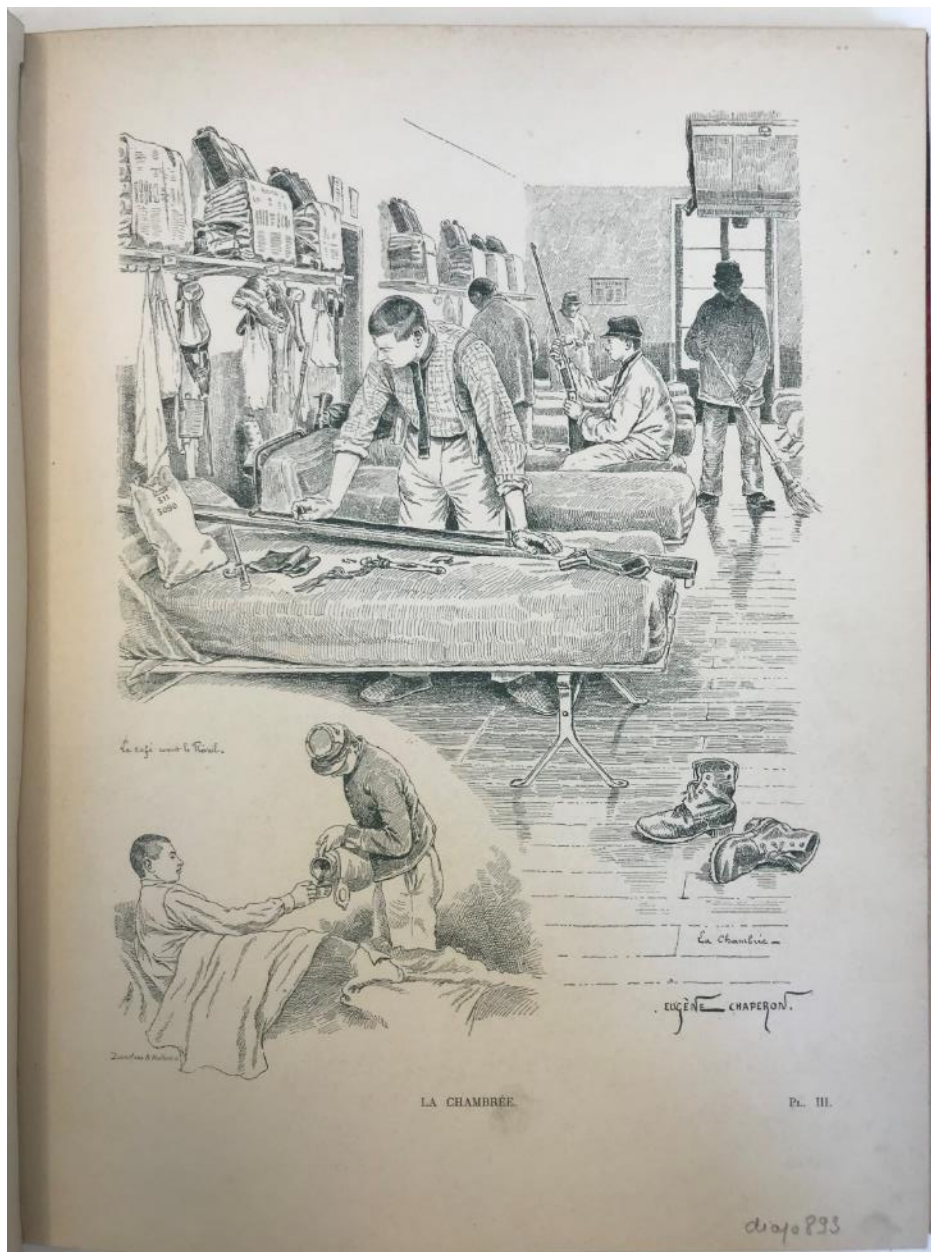


Figure 2.11. Eugène Chaperon, *La Chambrée* (The Room), in *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français*, Paris: H. Laurens, n.d, plate III. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

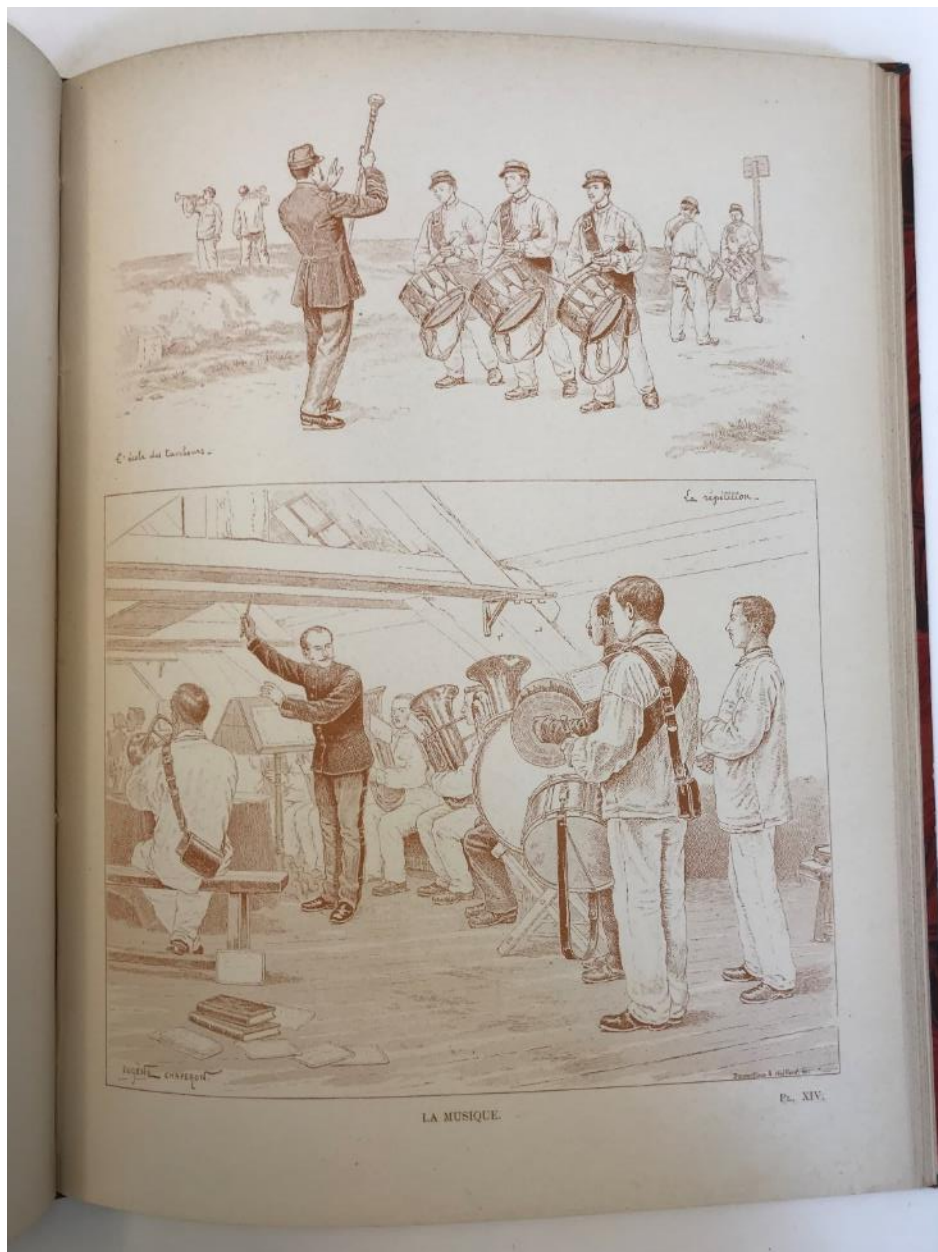


Figure 2.12. Eugène Chaperon, *La Musique*, in *Le Monde en images: Le Soldat français*, Paris: H. Laurens, n.d, plate XIV. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

ventilateurs ordinaires à double enveloppe, à travers laquelle circule, en s'échauffant, l'air neuf qui arrive du dehors par un conduit situé sous le

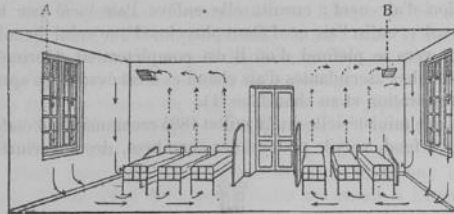


Schéma de la circulation de l'air dans une chambre de caserne la nuit.

L'air chaud partant de chaque dormeur s'élève et s'échappe par les orifices A et B, comme l'indiquent les flèches, tandis que l'air frais pénètre par les vitres perforées dont sont munies les fenêtres à leur partie supérieure, en descendant dans la direction des flèches.

plancher ; les tuyaux de fumée, qui ont leur origine assez près du sol, vont obliquement l'un vers l'autre pour se réunir en un tuyau unique

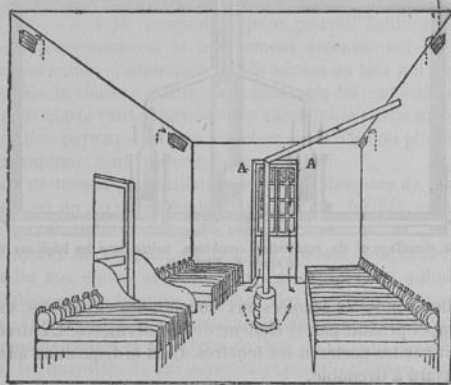


Schéma de la circulation de l'air dans une chambre de caserne chauffée et à fenêtre munie à sa partie supérieure de vitres perforées.

L'air échauffé au contact du poêle s'élève et s'échappe par les orifices d'évacuation situés près du plafond, tandis que l'air neuf pénètre par les vitres perforées A A et descend dans la direction marquée par les flèches.

qui monte directement vers le toit ; ce tuyau unique est entouré d'une large gaine concentrique en tôle, qui, partant du plancher, s'ouvre au-dessus du toit et qui, à sa partie inférieure, est percé d'une fenêtre grill-

Figure 2.13. Unidentified engraver, *Schéma de la circulation de l'air dans une chambre de caserne la nuit* (Diagram of the Air Circulation in a Barracks Bedroom at Night), in Charles Viry, *Principes d'hygiène militaire* (Principles of Military Hygiene), Paris: L. Battaille et Cie, 1896, 153. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

plus simples. Les hommes se mettent sur un rang, dans un local spécial, et sont douchés au moyen d'une pompe ordinaire d'arrosage. On peut asperger 90 hommes à l'heure, comme le montre la fig. 31.



Fig. 31. — La douche au régiment. Dessin de Chaperon.

A la caserne municipale Schomberg, à Paris, l'aspersion se fait de haut en bas au moyen de pompes d'arrosoir auxquelles aboutissent des conduites d'eau chaude.

M. Herbet, ingénieur, a fait construire par la maison Egrot un appareil à douches tièdes qui fonctionne avec succès dans les garnisons de Belfort et de Besançon. Il se compose d'une chaudière à vapeur et d'un

Figure 2.14. Unidentified engraver, after Eugène Chaperon, Fig. 31. - *La douche au régiment. Dessin de Chaperon*, in Eugène Ravenez, *La Vie du soldat au point de vue de l'hygiène* (The Life of the Soldier from the Hygienic Viewpoint), Paris: J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1889, 232. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 46. — Exercice en armes sur l'Esplanade des Invalides. Dessin de Jeannot.

Figure 2.15. Unidentified engraver, after Pierre-Georges Jeannot, *Fig. 46. – Exercice en armes sur l'Esplanade des Invalides. Dessin de Jeannot* (Fig. 46 – Weapons Exercise on the Esplanade des Invalides. Drawing by Jeannot), in Eugène Ravenez, *La Vie du soldat au point de vue de l'hygiène*, Paris: J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1889, 325. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

économique mais qui ne peut servir qu'à une seule chose, au nettoyage de la peau.

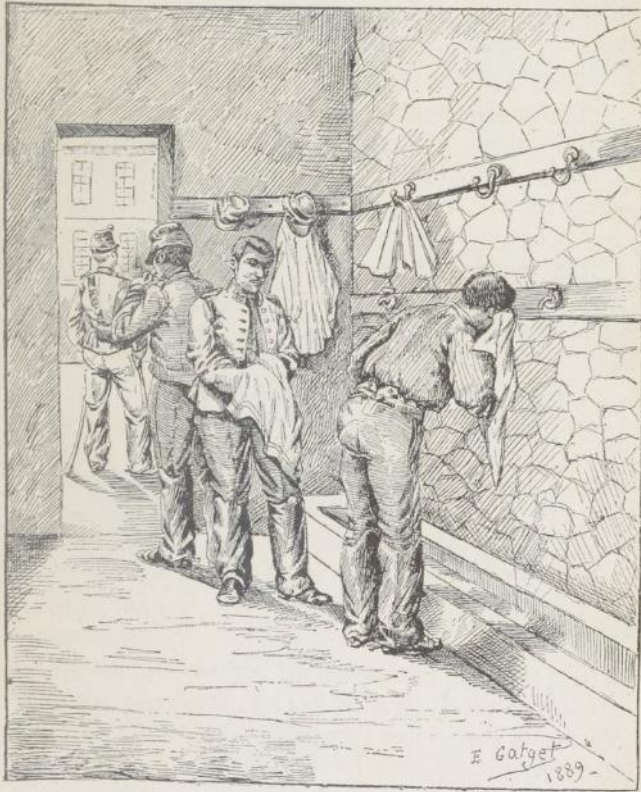


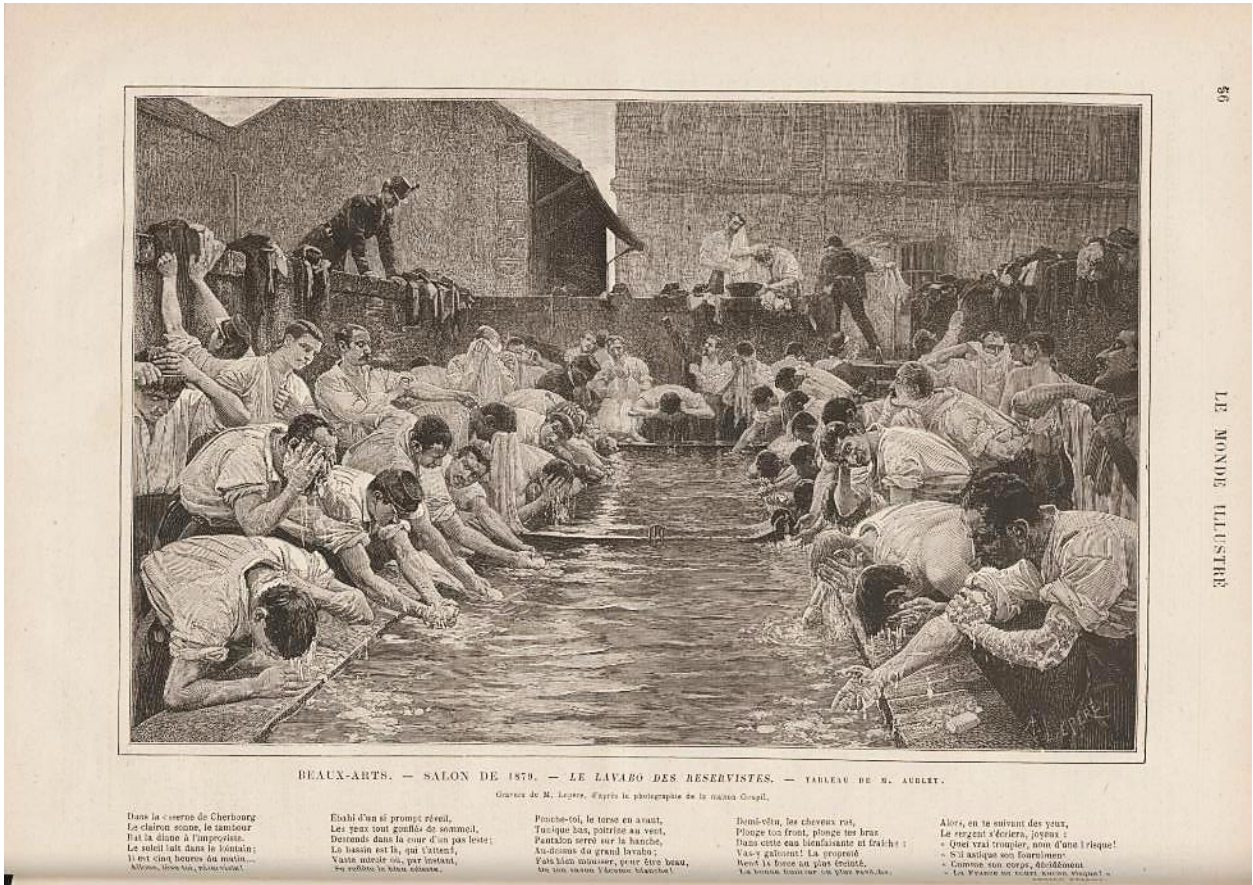
Fig. 30. — Le lavabo.

Le système préconisé par le docteur Haro est des

Figure 2.16. Unidentified engraver, after Ernest Gatget, *Fig. 30. — Le Lavabo* (Fig. 30 – The Washbasin), in Eugène Ravenez, *La Vie du soldat au point de vue de l'hygiène*, Paris: J.-B. Baillière et fils, 1889, 231. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.17. Detail, Eugène Chaperon, *La Douche au régiment*, 1887.



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LE MONDE ILLUSTRÉ

BEAUX-ARTS. — SALON DE 1879. — LE LAVABO DES RÉSERVISTES. — TABLEAU DE M. AUBLET.

Gravure de M. Lepère, d'après la photographie de la maison Cougny.

Dans la caserne de Cherbourg
Le charbon saone, le tambour
Est la cause à l'empresse.
Le soleil luit dans le fontain;
Il est cinq heures du matin...
Mieux, trop vite, l'attention!

Essai d'un si prompt réveil,
Les yeux sont gonflés de sommeil,
Dehors dans la cour d'un pas lesté;
Le bassin est là, qui l'attend;
Vaut mieux s'y aller, par instant,
Que se lever le matin ébahi.

Pouche-toi, le torse en avant,
Touche bas, poitrine au vent,
Frotte-toi sur la hanche;
Au-dessus du grand lavabo;
Fais bien mousser, pour être bien,
Les trois autres l'attention!

Deviens-tu, les cheveux ras,
Plonge ton front, plonge tes bras.
Dans cette eau l'effrayante et fraîche;
Vas-y gaiement! La propreté
Met à la base un plus grand,
Le bassin, toujours en plus bas, ha.

Alors, en te suant des yeux,
Le regard s'éclaircit, joyeux:
« Quel vrai triomphe, non d'une l'attaque!
« Si l'attention son fortitude
« Comme son corps, abondamment
« Le bassin se voit, se voit, se voit! »

Figure 2.18. Lepère, after Albert Aublet, *Beaux-Arts – Salon de 1879 - Le Lavabo des réservistes – Tableau de M. Aublet* (Fine Arts – Salon of 1879 – The Reservists' Washbasin – Painting by M. Aublet), in *Le Monde illustré*, July 26, 1879, 56. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.19. Édouard Detaille, *La Baignade du régiment à Saint-Germain-en-Laye* (The Regiment's Bath at Saint-Germain-en-Laye), c. 1880. Oil on canvas, 26.2 x 51.4 in. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

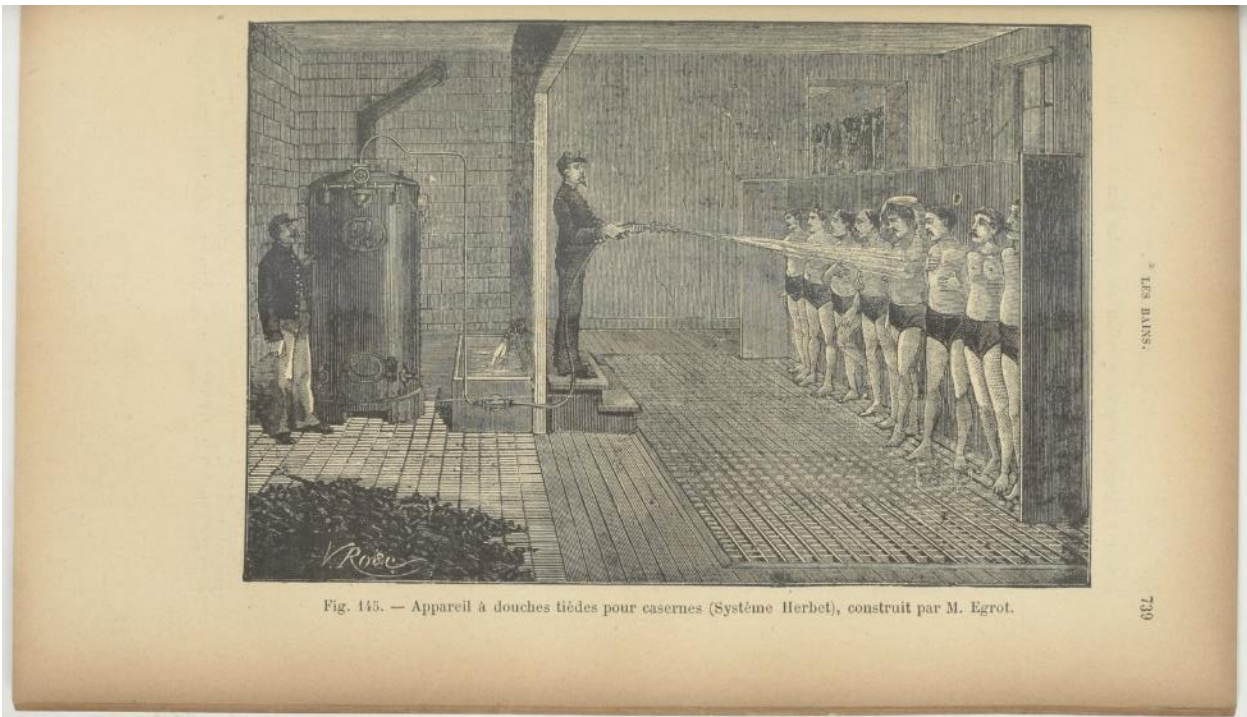


Fig. 145. — Appareil à douches tièdes pour casernes (Système Herbet), construit par M. Egrot.

Figure 2.20. Laurent Victor Rose, *Fig. 145 – Appareil à douche tièdes pour casernes (Système Herbet), construit par M. Egrot* (Fig. 145 – Warm Shower Apparatus for Barracks (Herbet System) Constructed by M. Egrot), in Georges Morache, *Traité d'hygiène militaire (2e édition, entièrement remaniée, mise au courant des progrès de l'hygiène générale et des nouveaux règlements de l'armée)* (Treatise on Military Hygiene [2nd Edition, Completely Reworked, Update on the Progress of General Hygiene and New Rules in the Army]), Paris: J.-B. Baillière et Fils, 1886, 739. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

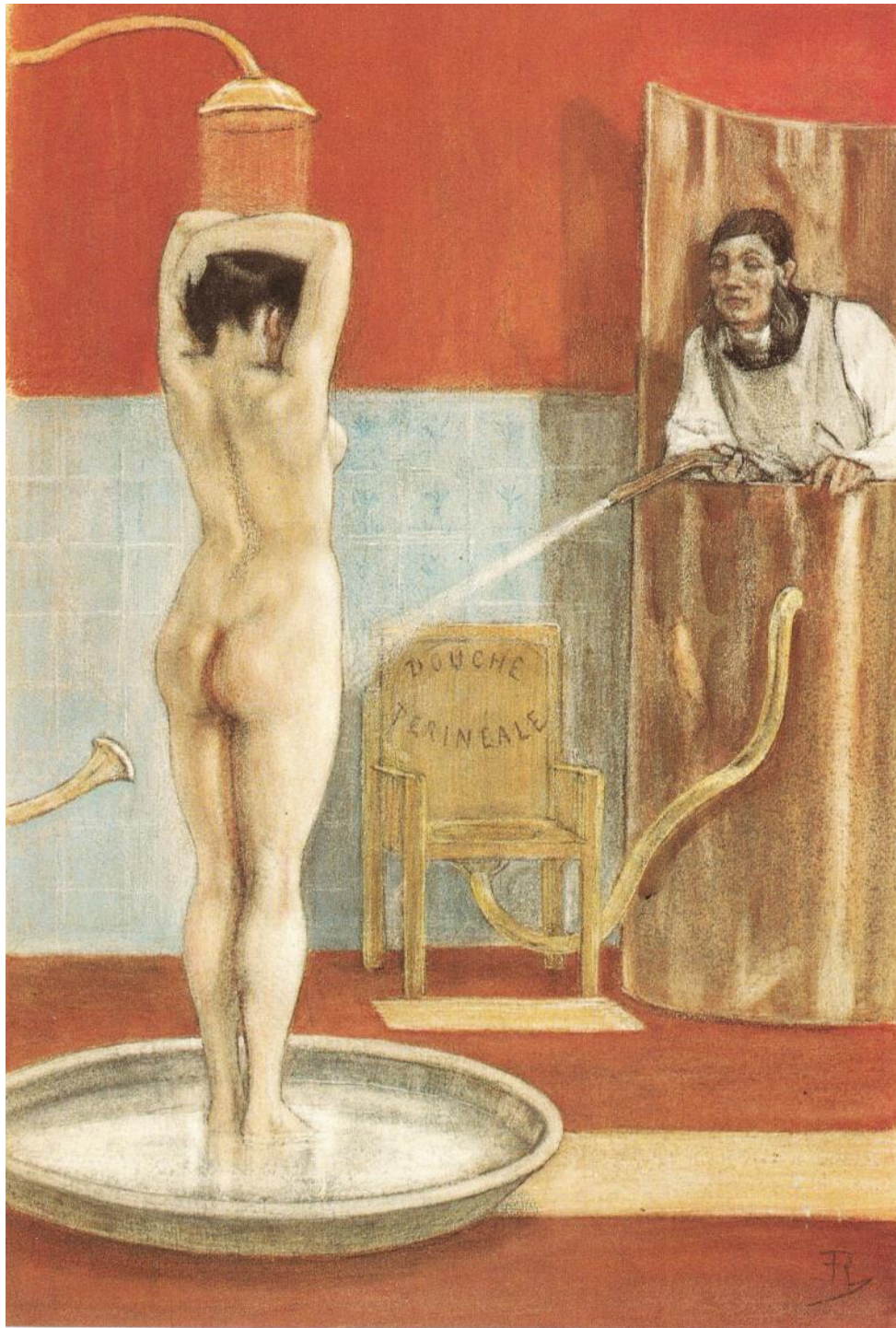


Figure 2.21. Félicien Rops, *La Douche périnéale* (Perineal Douche), 1878–1881. Gouache and tempera, 8.5 x 5.7 in. Namur, Belgium, Musée provincial de Félicien Rops.



Figure 2.22. Detail, Eugène Chaperon, *La Douche au régiment*, 1887.



Figure 2.23. Detail, Eugène Chaperon, *La Douche au régiment*, 1887.

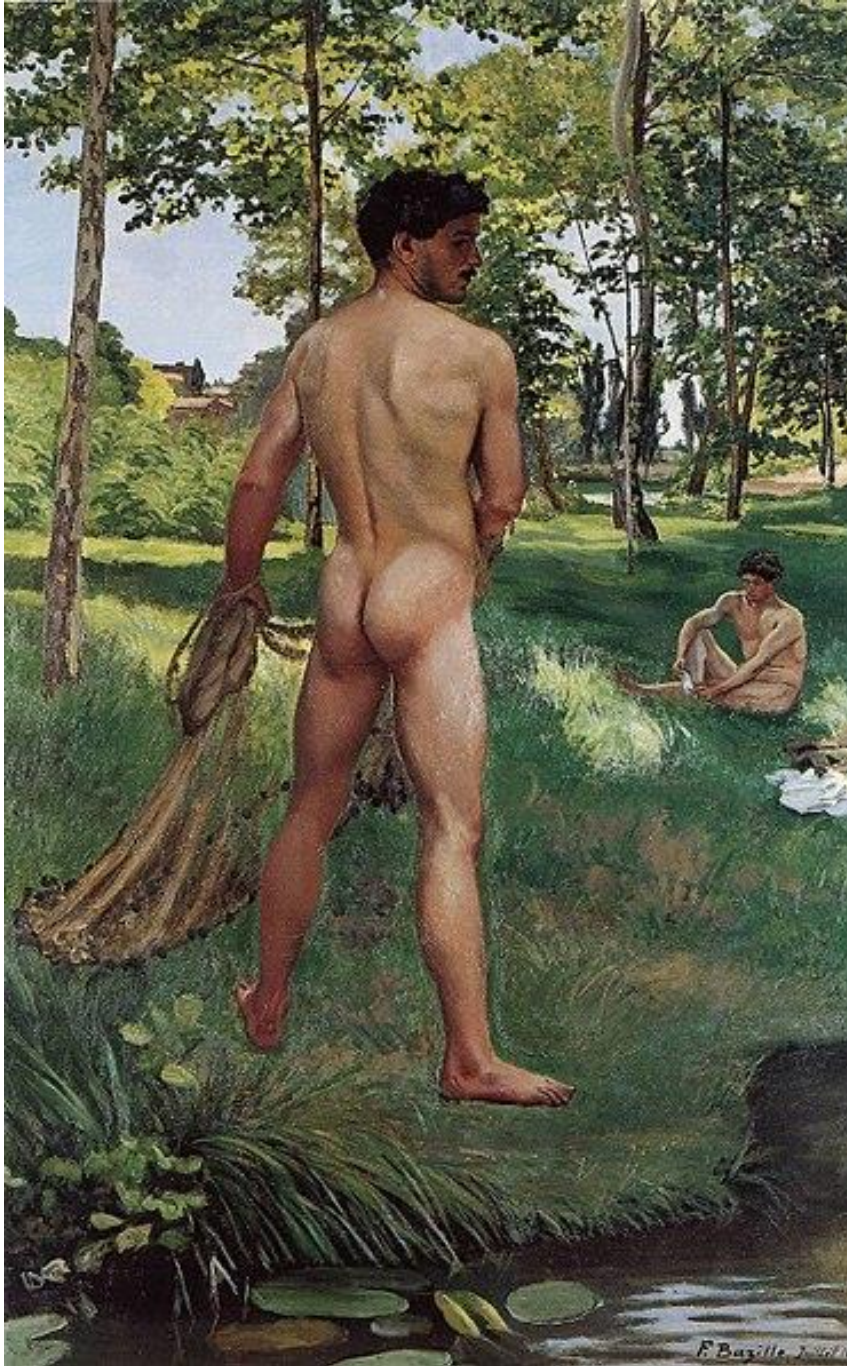


Figure 2.24. Frédéric Bazille, *Le Pêcheur à l'épervier* (The Fisherman with the Casting Net), 1868. Oil on canvas, 52.8 x 32.7 in. Remagen, Germany, Arp Museum Bahnhof Rolandsdeck.



Figure 2.25. Frédéric Bazille, *Baigneurs (scène d'été)* (Bathers [Summer Scene]), 1869. Oil on canvas, 62.2 x 62.6 in. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard Art Museums.



Figure 2.26. Thomas Eakins, *Swimming*, 1884–1885. Oil on canvas, 36.4 x 27.4 in. Fort Worth, Amon Carter Museum of American Art.



Figure 2.27. Gustave Caillebotte, *L'Homme au bain* (Man at His Bath), 1884. Oil on canvas, 57 x 45 in. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

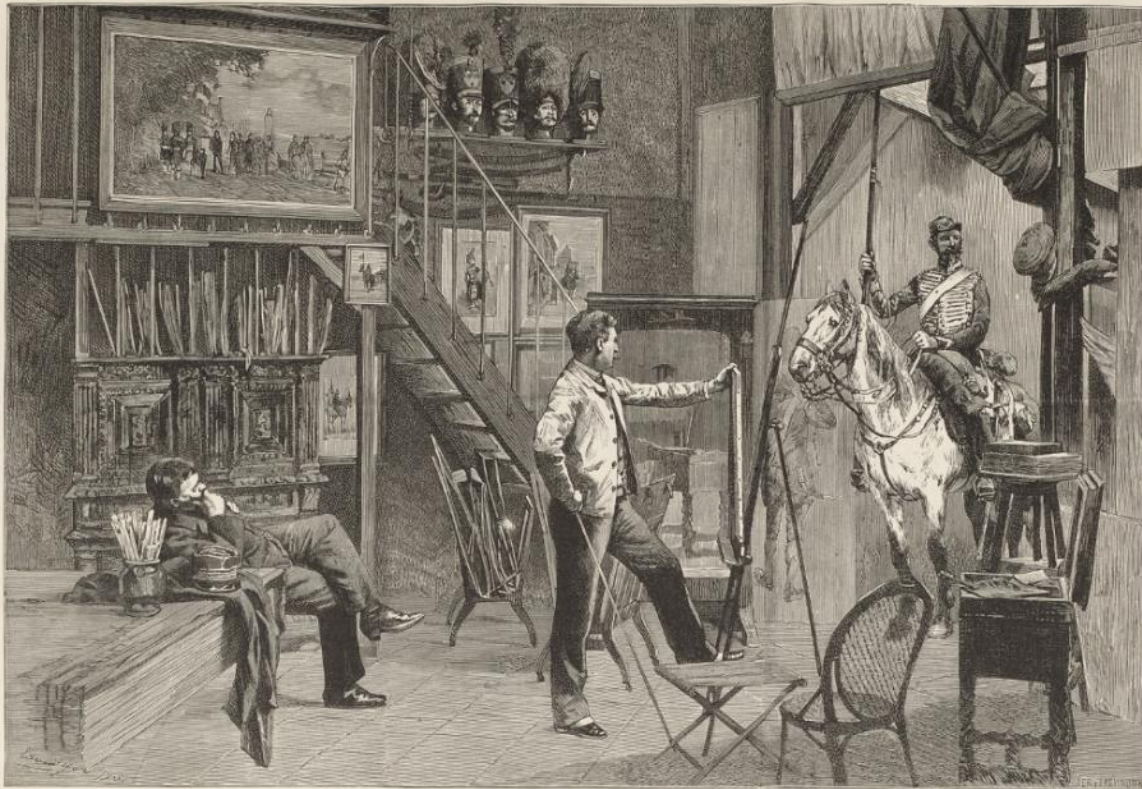


Figure 2.28. Gustave Caillebotte, *Les Raboteurs de parquet* (The Floorscrapers), 1875. Oil on canvas, 75.6 x 57.5 in. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



BELLA NAPOLI TERRA DI FUOCO

Figure 2.29. Wilhelm von Gloeden, *Bella Napoli, Terra del fuoco* (Beautiful Naples, Land of Fire), c. 1895. Halftone print on paper, 3.1 x × 4.1 in. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.



LES ATELIERS DE PEINTRES : ÉDOUARD DETAILLE

27 MAI 1886

L'ILLUSTRATION

N. 216 - 1886

Figure 2.30. *Les Ateliers des peintres: Édouard Detaille* (Painters' Studios: Édouard Detaille), in *L'Illustration*, May 27, 1886.



Figure 2.31. Pierre-Georges Jeannot, *Les Élèves caporaux* (Student Corporals), 1883. Oil on canvas, 38.8 x 51.2 in. Private collection.



Figure 2.32. Pierre-Georges Jeannot, *Ligne de feu* (Line of Fire), 1886. Oil on canvas. Gravelotte, France, Musée départemental de la Guerre de 1870 et de l'Annexion.



Figure 2.33. Imagerie Pellerin, *À Propos de la loi sur l'armée* (About the Army Law), from *Série aux armes Épinal* (Épinal Weapons Series) no. 82, 1892. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

LES TRIBULATIONS D'UN CONSCRIT

MARQUE DÉPOSÉE
HISTOIRES & SCÈNES
Humoristiques
CONTES MORaux - MERVEILLEUX



LE DÉPART
Après avoir embrassé ses parents, sa promise et ses amis, le conscrit Colombeau s'en va dans la ville en son régiment tout garni; ce qui prouve qu'il a des parents et de la bonne volonté: un conscrit peut faire son chemin.



L'ARRIVÉE AU RÉGIMENT
La route, comme dit Colombeau, n'est plus longue que large; il était cependant tout surpris dans la ville de son régiment tout garni; ce qui prouve qu'il a des parents et de la bonne volonté: un conscrit peut faire son chemin.



UN PREMIER SACRIFICE À LA PATRIE
— C'est-à-dire possible d'avoir bonne coupe qui tombe tout en perfection à la coupe.
— N'y a pas de danger, pourvu qu'on arrive au sein de suite avec du jus de bois borbis.



LA BIENVENUE
— Ça vous fait tout faire dix-huit sous, parce que c'est vous à payer: un autre ça serait tout faire quatre-vingt-dix.
— Malheur! j'aurais mieux aimé m'inscrire: de la rigueur on n'aurait point oublié sa grise.



LA PREMIÈRE TOILETTE
— D'habitude, mon cher, vous êtes tout comme une andouille chiconnologique; il ne vous manque plus que des dents de peul de lapin et la croix.



LA PREMIÈRE CULOITE À LA PREMIÈRE PIPE
— Tu vois, Colombeau, tout bon quand même; y a rien de tel que le jus de la pipe pour dissiper les vapeurs du jus de la trolle.



LA SALLE DE DISCIPLINE
Vulgairement appelée le Salon de Conservation. Plus besoin d'être puni, il suffit d'être militaire. Société, paix, civilité, ordre et respectabilité: grand et à discrétion. Voilà ce que c'est que d'avoir l'avantage de servir son pays.



LA CORVÉE DE PROPRIÉTÉ
Régime de propreté aux habitants du Salon de Conservation. Rien de tel le matin pour joindre du réveil de la nature et se mettre en appétit.



AU PANSAGE
— Neut pas faire attention; il y a des chevaux qui savent comme ça à l'échelle avec les conscripts; ceux-ci ont d'ailleurs le droit de leur rendre la service.



LA PREMIÈRE LEÇON D'ÉQUITATION
La position laisse à désirer, l'assiette est défectueuse, mais dans ce ne devient pas cavalier de premier coup, demandez plutôt à Colombeau.



AUX VIVRES
À progresser par les vivres, c'est tout pas votre service, c'est bien plutôt une promesse; et quand le fourgon arrive à destination, il faut aller à la ville, le plaisir s'en dure que plus longtemps... demandez plutôt à Colombeau.



LA GARDE D'ÉCURIE
— Rien de nouveau, sauf que les chevaux ne sont beaux, et qu'il y en a deux de démodés.
— Et vous ne les avez pas vus? — Ah! bien non, pour sûr! j'en ai bien trop dit.



UNE LEÇON DE GALANTEE FRANÇAISE
— Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on s'y prend, pour s'en, pour s'inscrire auprès du conseil; d'habitude, c'est de la que ça se fait... voilà comment ça se fait... et si tu n'es pas content.



UNE AFFAIRE D'HONNEUR
Quand il s'agit d'un duel à mort, on bande les yeux aux adversaires; qui marchent dans deux l'un sur l'autre, au petit bonheur.
— Et dans l'histoire la police au corps, et même jusqu'à ce que la tige enroulée ou qu'il l'ai collé que la réciprocité.



UNE, DEUX, TROIS... LE VOILA PARTI
Pendant que le poste Colombeau marche ainsi à la rencontre de son adversaire qui est obligé avec les trompettes, deux gendarmes, passant d'ailleurs, l'arrivent et le ramènent au quartier.



DISPARU!
Pour tomber de disgrâce, ses camarades s'empressent de lui, l'entraînent vers une concubine et le font sauter en l'air avec une telle vigueur qu'il disparaît dans les nuages. — Puisse son cadavre servir d'exemple et faire enfin venir dans les régiments l'habitude de cette crasse glabrieuse!

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H164415

Figure 2.34. Imagerie Pellerin, *Les Tribulations d'un conscrit* (The Tribulations of a Conscript), in *Série aux armes Épinal* no. 64, 1891. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.35. Imagerie Pellerin, *Mascarades*, 1888. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.36. Honoré Daumier, *Le Conseil de révision*, from *Caricatures du jour* (Daily Caricatures), 1842. Lithograph, 8.1 x 10.4 in. Amherst, Massachusetts, Mead Art Museum at Amherst College.



Figure 2.37. Gustave Courbet, *The Stone Breakers*, 1849. Oil on canvas, 74.8 x 118.1 in. Reproduction following the destruction of the original. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie.

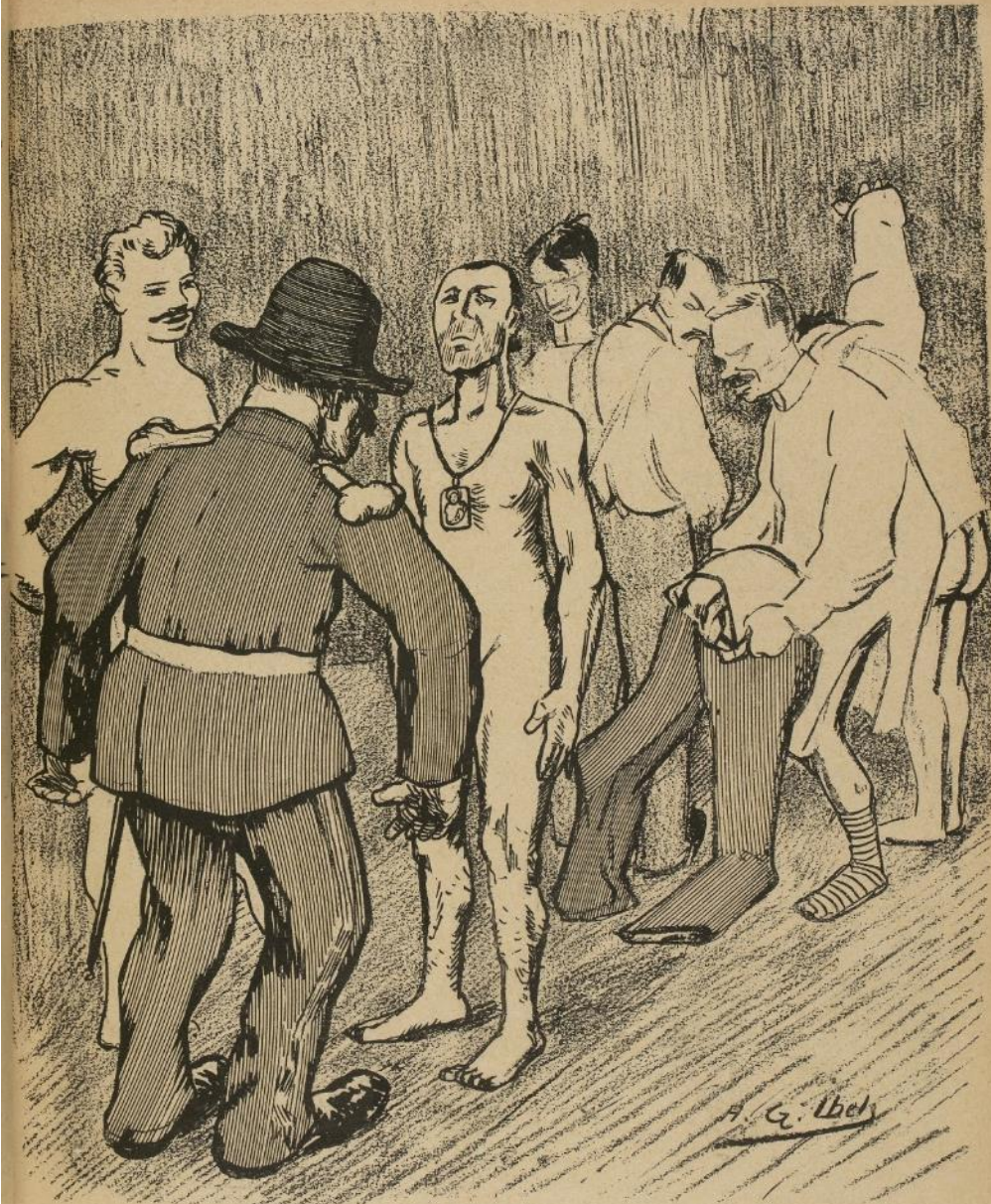


CONSEIL DE REVISION
— TOUSSEZ!

L'ASSIETTE AU BEURRE

2444

Figure 2.38. Georges (Geo) Dupuis, *Conseil de révision - Toussez!* (Review Board – Cough!), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, January 16, 1904, 2444. Lithograph. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.



LE SCAPULAIRE

—Eh bien, quoi, le séminariste ? On vous a dit de vous déshabiller com-plè-te-ment !

787

Le Conseil de Revision

Figure 2.39. Henri-Gabriel Ibels, *Le Scapulaire* (The Scapular), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 787. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.40. Auguste Roubille, *La Pudeur* (Modesty), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 788. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

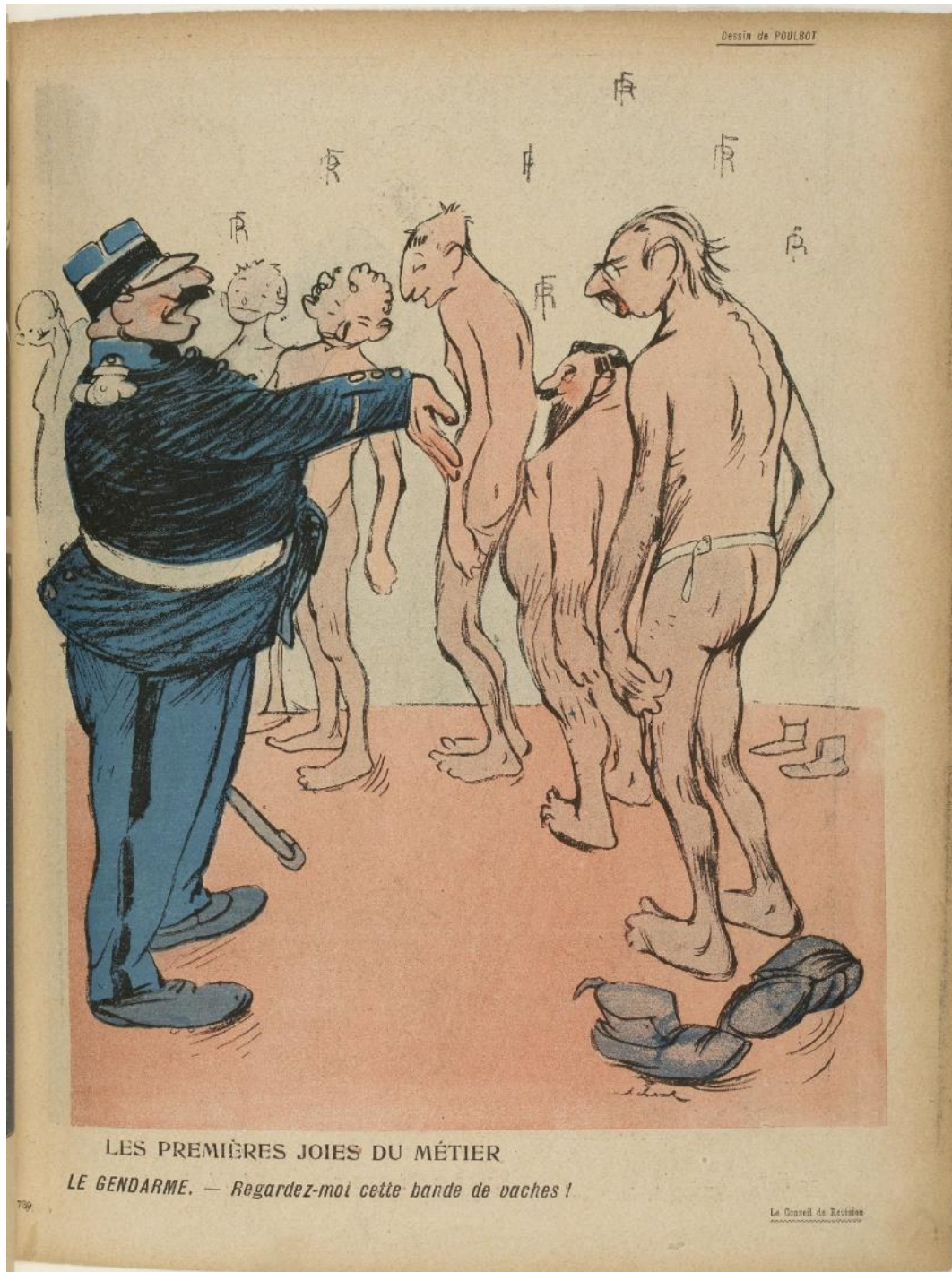


Figure 2.41. Francisque Poulbot, *Les Premières Joies du métier* (The First Joys of the Trade), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 789. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

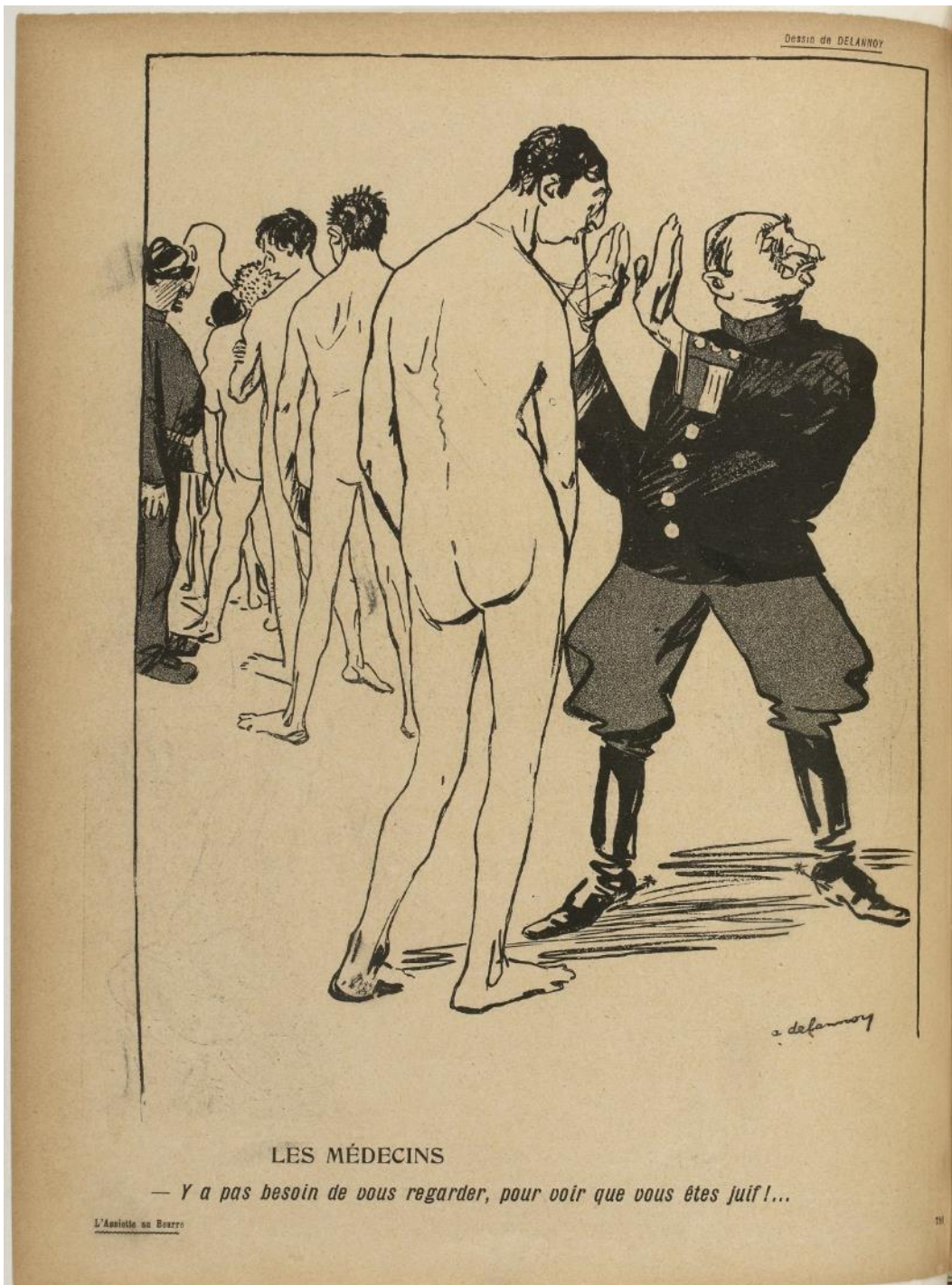


Figure 2.42. Aristide Delannoy, *Les Médecins – Y a pas besoin de vous regarder, pour voir que vous êtes juif!...* (The Doctors – No Need to Examine You, For I Can See You Are Jewish!...), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 790. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

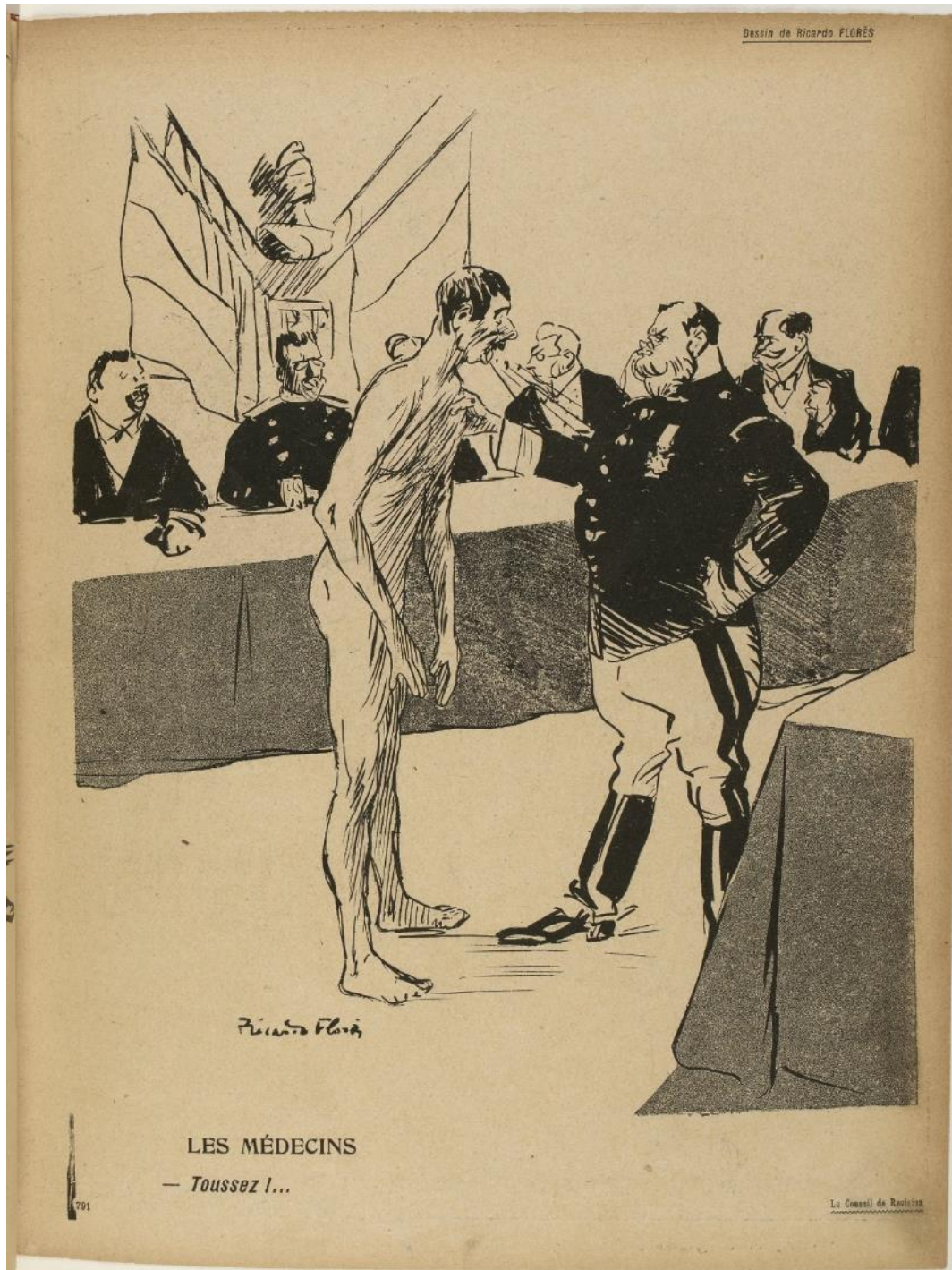
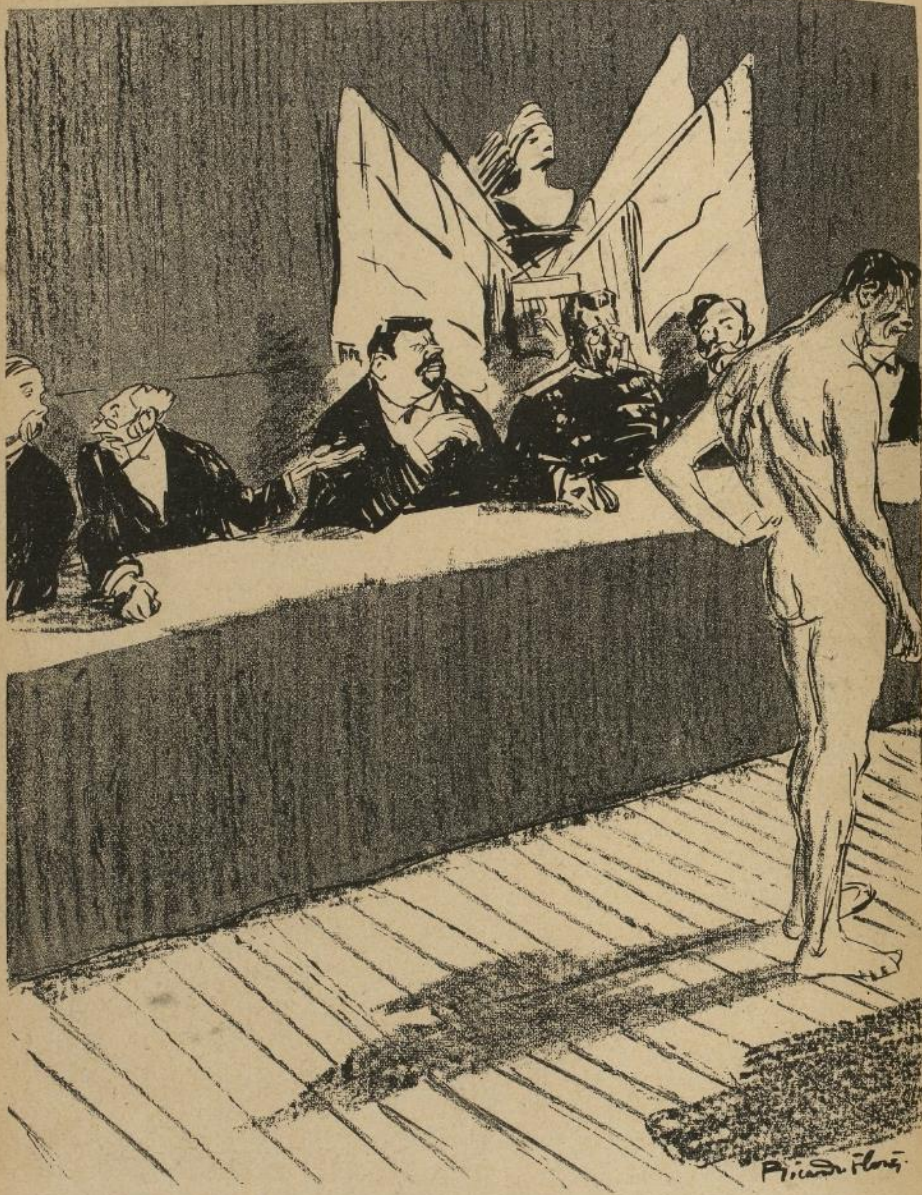


Figure 2.43. Ricardo Florès, *Les Médecins* (The Doctors), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 791. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



ORGUEIL PATERNEL

— Un beau gas, hein !... C'est mon fils...

Figure 2.44. Ricardo Florès, *Orgueil paternel* (Paternal Pride), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 794. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.45. Alex, *Les Belles Manières* (Good Manners), in *L'Assiette au beurre*, March 10, 1906, 795. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.46. Meignen and Benazeth, *Bulletin de conscrit* (*Conseil de Révision – Honneur Patrie – Bon pour les Filles*) (Conscript's Bulletin [Review Board – Honor Fatherland – Good for the Girls]), c. 1900. Chromolithograph. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

Le Petit Journal

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LE TRAITRE

Dégradation d'Alfred Dreyfus

Figure 2.47. Henri Meyer, *Le Traître. Dégradation d'Alfred Dreyfus* (The Traitor. Degradation of Alfred Dreyfus), in *Le Petit Journal: Supplément illustré*, January 13, 1895. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

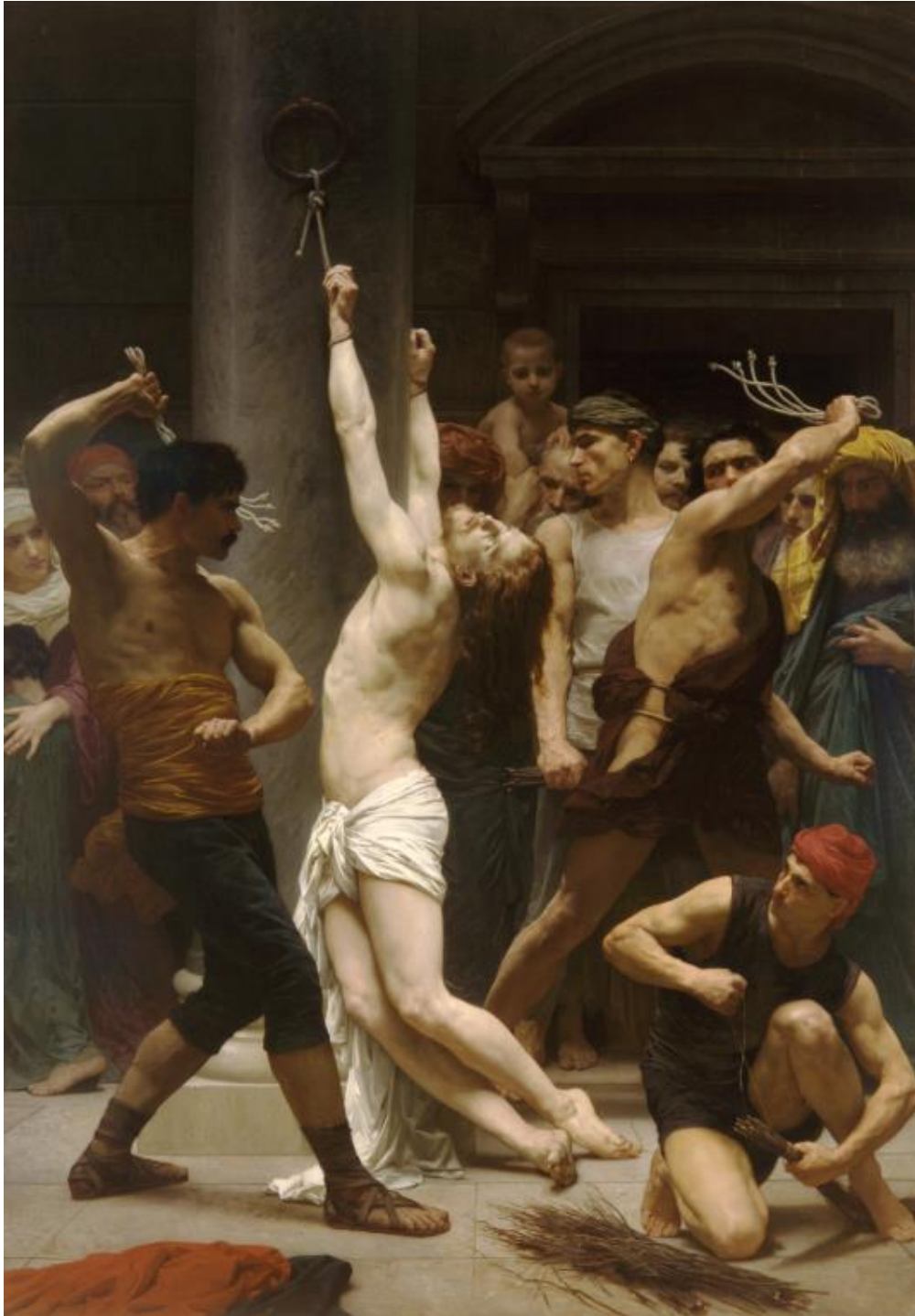


Figure 2.48. Guillaume-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Flagellation de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (Flagellation of Our Lord Jesus Christ), 1880. Oil on canvas, 121.7 x 83.5 in. La Rochelle, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

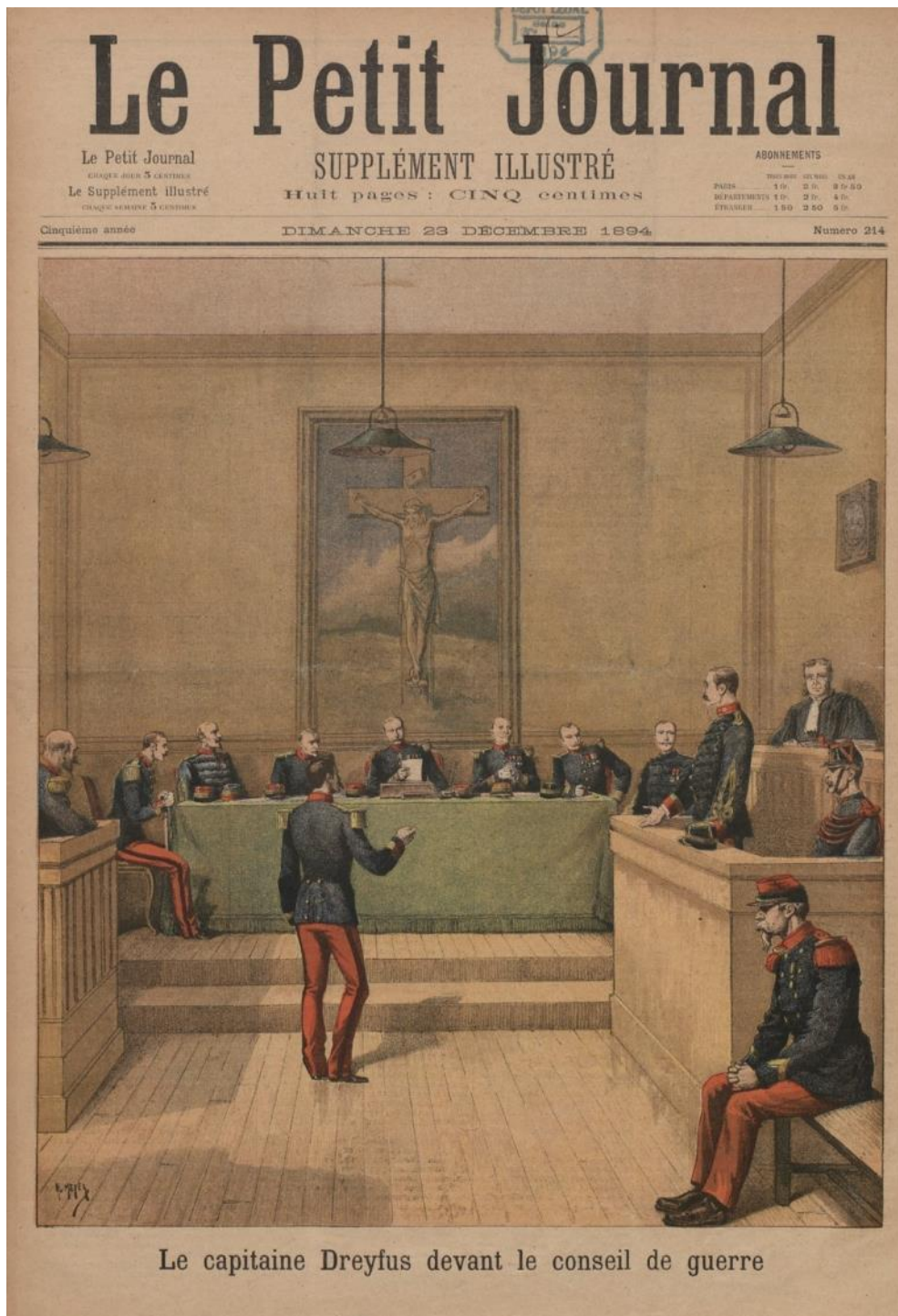


Figure 2.49. Henri Meyer, *Le Capitaine Dreyfus devant le conseil de guerre* (Captain Dreyfus before the Military Tribunal), in *Le Petit Journal: Supplément illustré*, December 23, 1894. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 2.50. Jean Joseph Weerts, *Pour l'Humanité, pour la patrie* (For Humanity, For the Fatherland), 1895. Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais.



Figure 3.1. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *La Fièvre* (Fever), 1896. Oil on canvas. Paris, Musée du service de santé des Armées.



Figure 3.2. Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Le Siège de Paris* (The Siege of Paris), 1870–1884. Oil on canvas, 21 x 28 in. Paris, Musée d’Orsay.



Figure 3.3. Detail, Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Le Siège de Paris*, 1870–1884.



Figure 3.4. Louis-Ernest Barrias, *Monument à la Défense de Paris* (Monument to the Defense of Paris), 1883. Bronze, 18 ft. Paris, Place de la Défense.



Figure 3.5. Gustave Doré, *L'Énigme*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 77 in. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.

LEGRAND (Paul). — *Mélancolie*.

Figure 3.6. Unidentified engraver, after Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Mélancolie* (Melancholy) (also called *Mélodie* [Melody]), in Salon de la Rose-Croix, *Catalogue du Salon de la Rose † Croix: Geste esthétique*, March 10, 1892, 31. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 3.7. Detail, Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Le Siège de Paris*, 1870–1884.



Figure 3.8. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Horrors of War*, 1637–1638. Oil on canvas, 81 in x 136 in. Florence, Palazzo Pitti.



Figure 3.9. Antoine-Jean Gros, *Bonaparte visitant les pèstiferés de Jaffa le 11 mars 1799* (Bonaparte Visiting the Plague-Stricken at Jaffa, March 11, 1799), 1804. Oil on canvas, 206 x 281 in. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Figure 3.10. Émile Betsellère, *L'Oublié!* (The Forgotten!), 1872. Oil on canvas, 49.4 x 79 in. Bayonne, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 3.11. August Lançon, *Morts en ligne* (Dead Bodies in a Row), 1873. Oil on canvas. Gravelotte, Musée départemental de la guerre de 1870 et de l'Annexion.

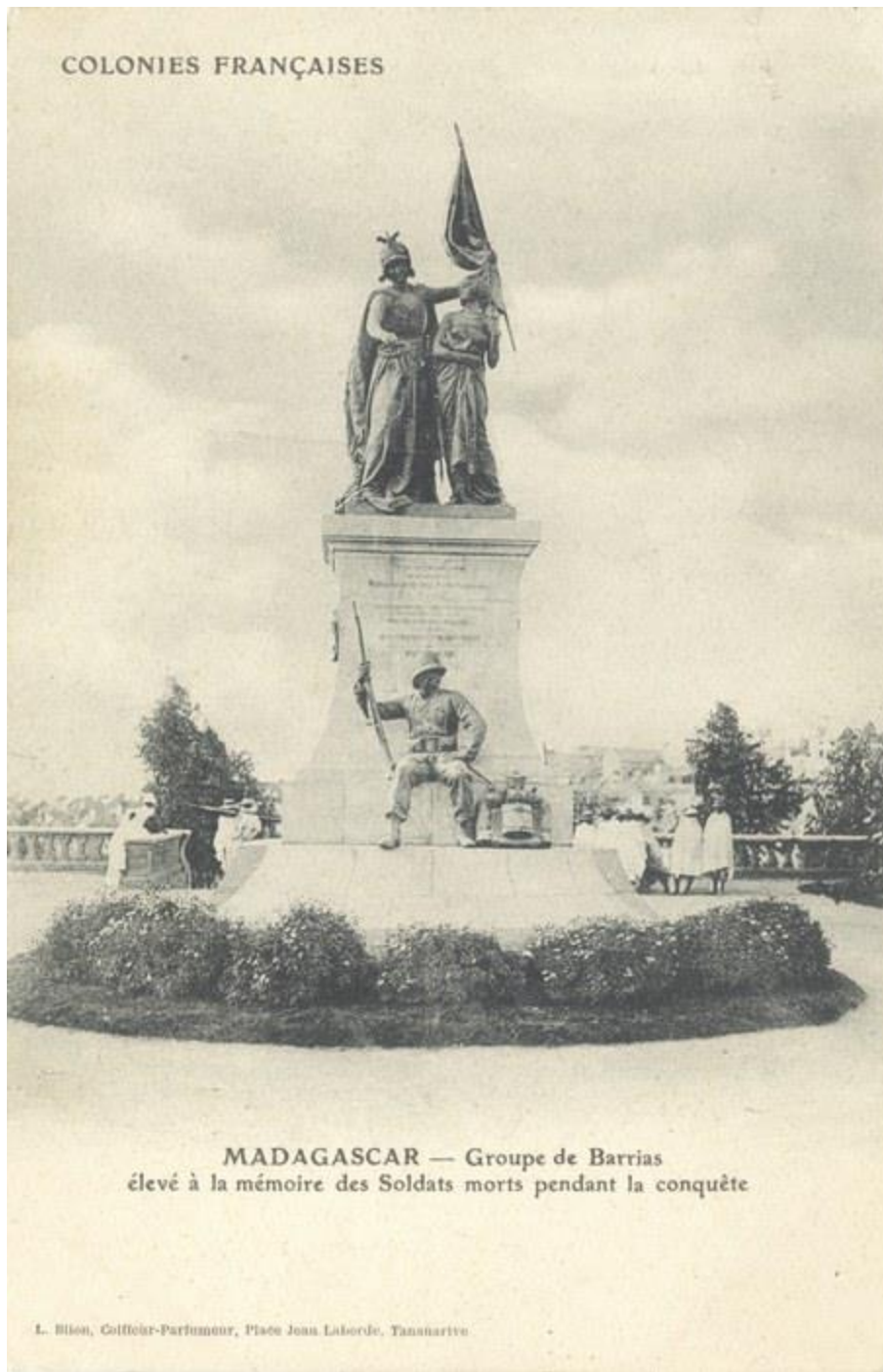


Figure 3.12. L. Blion, *Madagascar—Groupe de Barrias élevé à la mémoire des Soldats morts pendant la conquête* (Madagascar—Group by Barrias Erected to the Memory of Soldiers Killed during the Conquest), 1905. Postcard, from the series *Colonies Françaises*.



Figure 3.13. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille* (In Front of Detaille's *The Dream*), 1897. Oil on canvas, 52.8 x 41.3 in. Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 3.14. Detail, Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille*, 1897.



Figure 3.15. Detail, Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille*, 1897.



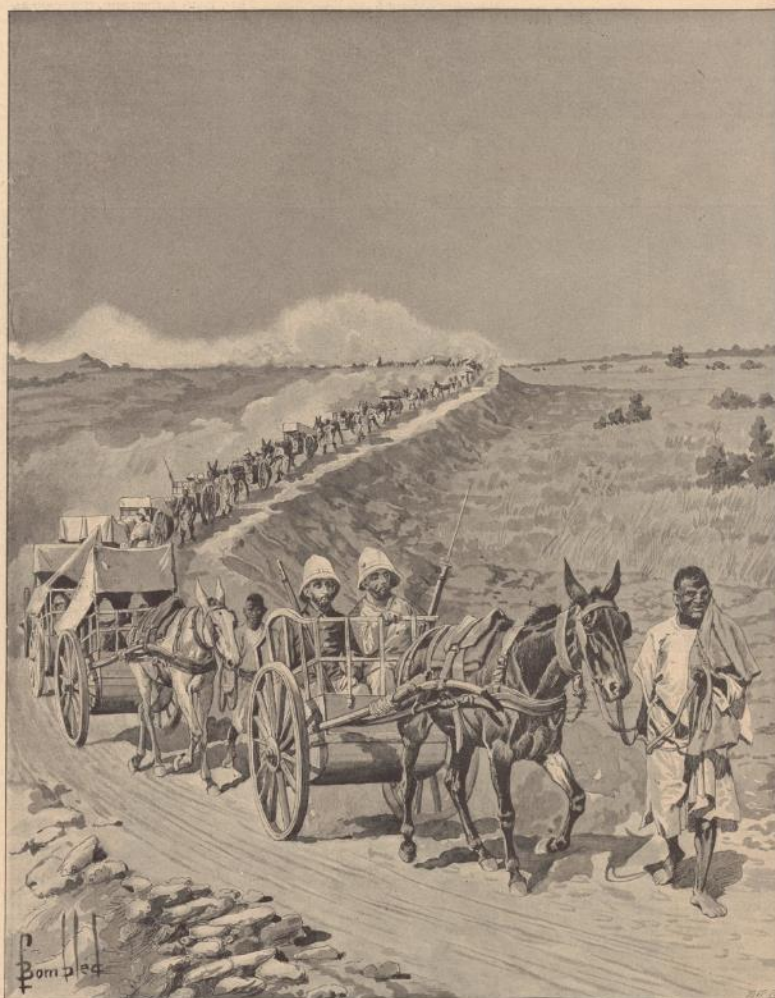
Figure 3.16. Detail, Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Devant Le Rêve de Detaille*, 1897.



Figure 3.17. Louis Tinayre, *Episode de l'expédition de Madagascar en 1895 (la marche sur Tananarive : le départ de la colonne légère du général Duchêne pour sa marche sur Andriba, le 15 septembre 1895)* (Episode from the Madagascar Expedition in 1895 [The March on Antananarivo: The Departure of General Duchêne's Light Column for the March on Andriba]), 1895. Oil on canvas, 28.7 x 39.4 in. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.



Figure 3.18. Louis Tinayre, *Episode de l'expédition de Madagascar en 1895 (Attaque des troupes Hovas du village de Tsarasaotra occupé par la brigade Metzinger, le 1er juillet 1895)* (Episode from the Madagascar Expedition in 1895 [Attack by Hova Troops on Tsarasaotra Village Occupied by Metzinger's Brigade, July 1, 1895]), 1895. Oil on canvas, 25.6 x 39.4 in. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.



EXPÉDITION DE MADAGASCAR. — DÉPART DE SUBERBIEVILLE D'UN CONVOI DE MALADES ÉVACUÉS SUR MAROLOLO.

Dessin de M. L. BOMBLÉD.

(D'après une photographie de M. L. TINAYRE, notre envoyé spécial.)

Figure 3.19. Louis Bombled, after a photograph by Louis Tinayre, *Expédition de Madagascar – Départ de Suberbieville d'un convoi de malades évacués sur Marololo* (Madagascar Expedition – Departure from Suberbieville of a Convoy of Sick Evacuated from Marololo), in *Le Monde illustré*, October 5, 1895, 216. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



M. Boudouresque. M. Pagès. (M. Wolf.)

EXPÉDITION DE MADAGASCAR. — M. WOLF, CORRESPONDANT DU *Berliner Tageblatt* ET SES PORTEURS.
 (D'après une photographie de M. L. TINAYRE, notre envoyé spécial.)



EXPÉDITION DE MADAGASCAR. — L'HOPITAL N° 3. — (Dessin de M. SLOM, d'après la photographie de M. L. TINAYRE, notre envoyé spécial.)

Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 3.20. (Top) Boudouresque, after a photograph by Louis Tinayre, *Expédition de Madagascar – M. Wolf, correspondant de Berliner Tageblatt et ses porteurs* (Madagascar Expedition – M. Wolf, Correspondent for *Berliner Tageblatt* and His Porters); (bottom) André Slom, after a photograph by Louis Tinayre, *L'Hopital N° 3* (Hospital Number 3), in *Le Monde illustré*, October 5, 1895, 220. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 3.21. Unidentified engraver, after Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *La Fièvre*, in *Black and White*, December 12, 1896, 759. Austin, University of Texas.



Figure 3.22. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Myologie du bassin vu par sa face latérale gauche* (Myology of the Pelvis Viewed from Its Left Lateral Side), 1879. Drawing. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 3.23. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Étude d'ostéologie et de myologie du membre supérieur droit, vu par sa face externe, en pronation* (Osteologic and Myologic Study of the Upper Right Limb, Viewed from Its External Side, in Pronation), 1879. Drawing. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

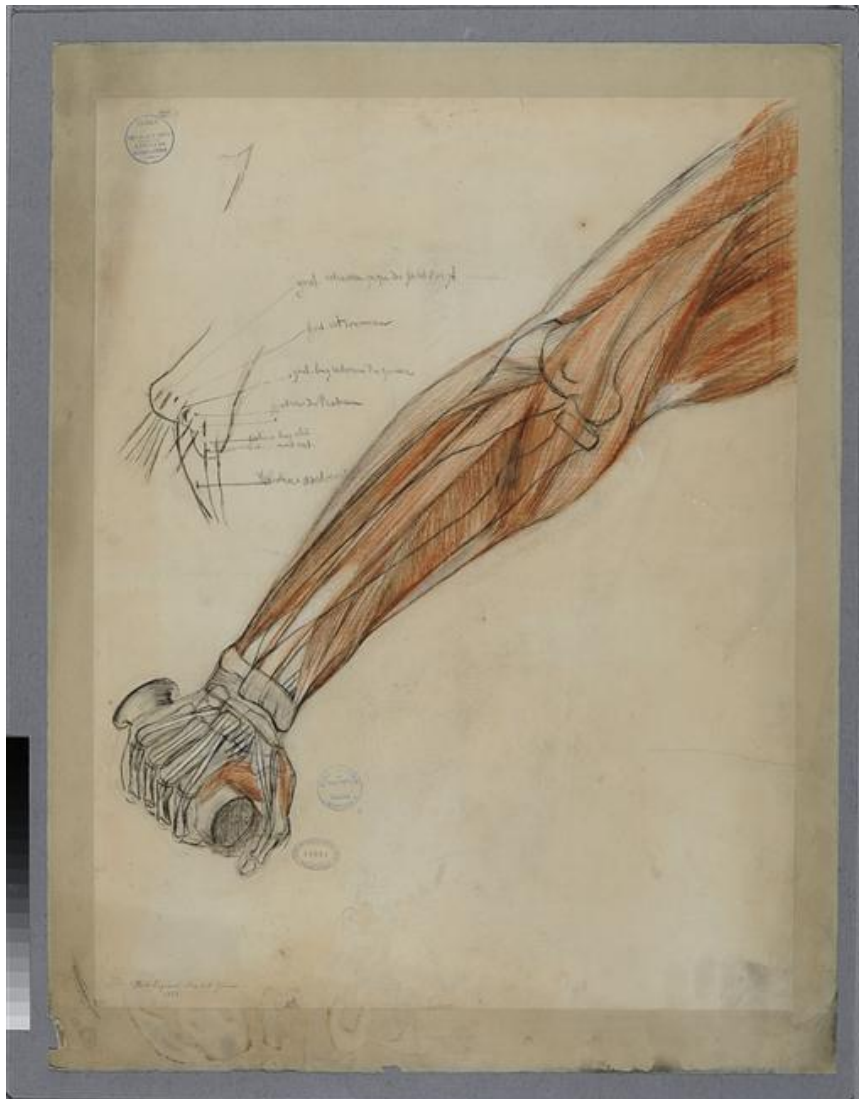


Figure 3.24. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Étude d'ostéologie et de myologie du membre supérieur droit, vu par sa face externe, en pronation* (Osteologic and Myologic Study of the Upper Right Limb, Viewed from Its External Side, in Pronation), 1879. Drawing. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 3.25. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Étude d'ostéologie et de myologie de la moitié inférieure de la jambe droite* (Osteologic and Myologic Study of the Lower Half of the Right Leg), 1879. Drawing. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 3.26. Paul-Emmanuel Legrand, *Figure dessinée d'après nature* (Figure Drawn after Nature), 1881. Drawing, 24.6 x 18.9 in. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

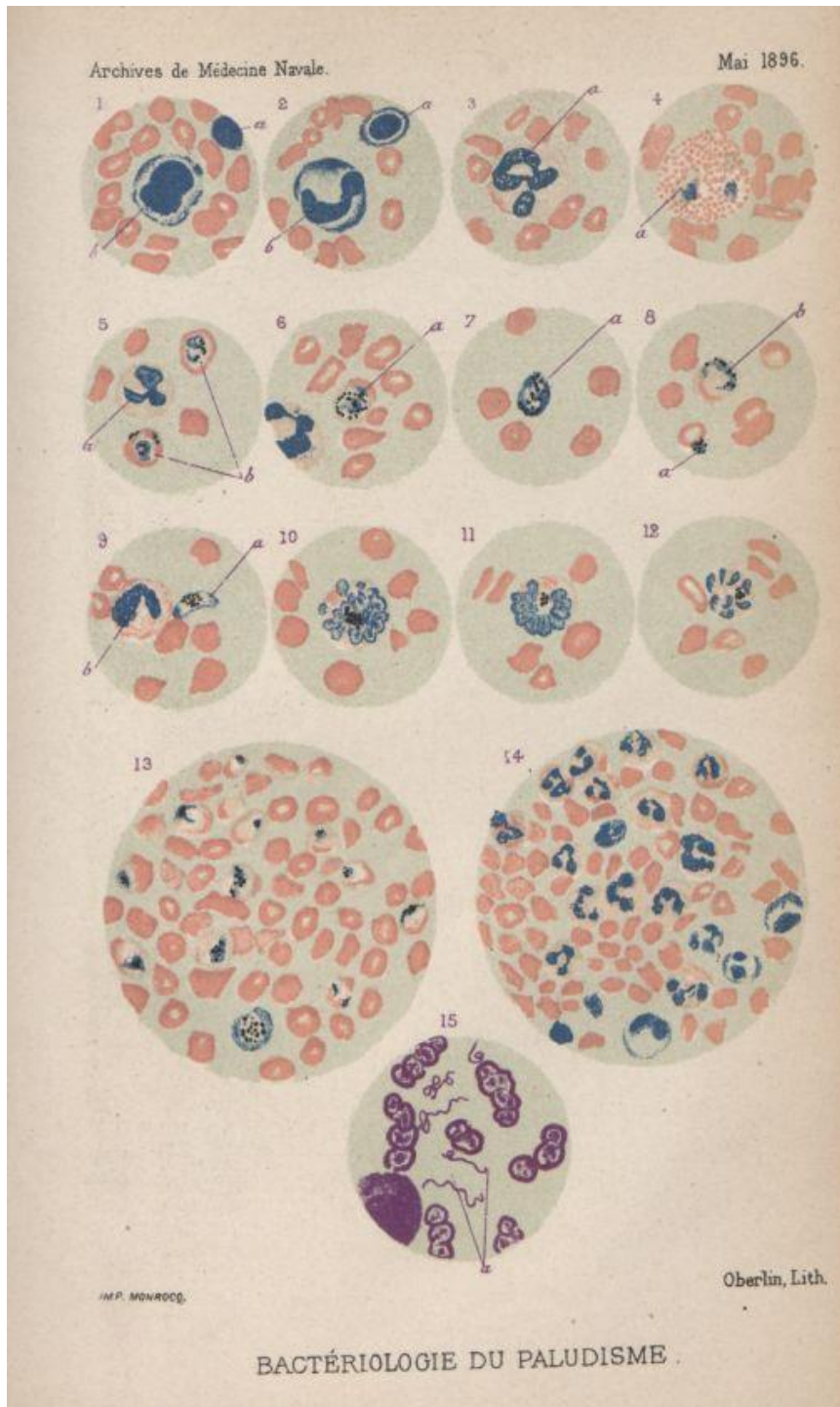


Figure 3.27. Jean-Édouard Oberlin, *Bactériologie du paludisme* (Bacteriology of Malaria), in *Archives de médecine navale et coloniale* 65, Paris: Octave Doin, 1896, unpaginated. Paris, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé.

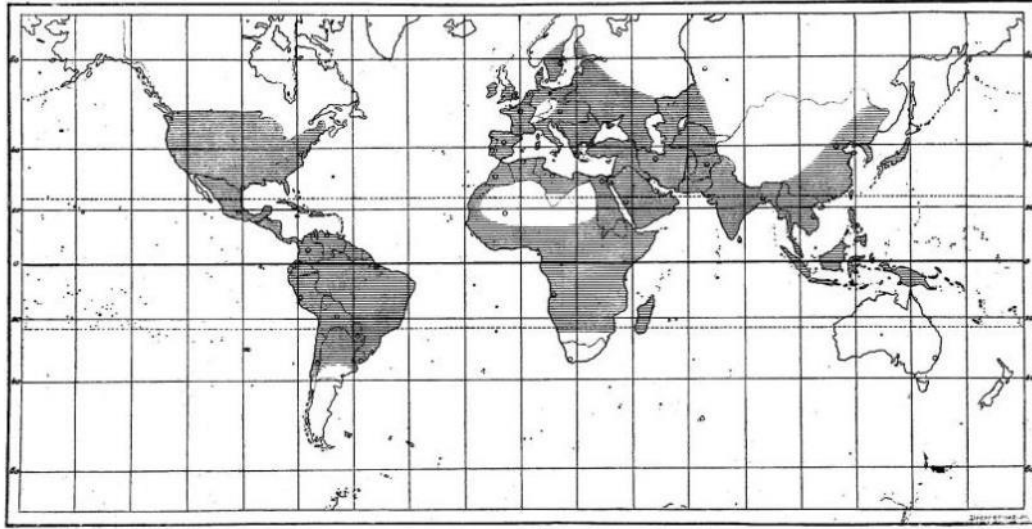


FIG. 1. — Distribution géographique du paludisme.

Figure 3.28. *Le parasite du paludisme - Fig. 1. - Distribution géographique du paludisme* (The Malaria Parasite – Fig. 1. – Geographic Distribution of Malaria), in *Bulletin des sciences pharmacologiques: Organe scientifique et professionnel*, Paris: n.p., 1899–1900, unpaginated. Paris, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé.

Insecte dans tous les lieux infestés et sur sa fréquence particulière coïncidant précisément avec l'époque où les cas de paludisme sont les plus nombreux. Encouragé par les résultats de ROSS, GRASSI s'associe avec son collègue BIGNAMI, qui disposait à Rome d'une salle d'hôpital, et avec BASTIANELLI, avec lequel il se proposait d'étudier la destinée du parasite dans le corps du Moustique. Il récolte des Moustiques dans un lieu infesté et les apporte dans un endroit indemne, dans une chambre de l'étage supérieur de l'hôpital du Saint-Esprit, à Rome. Le 20 octobre 1898 il mit un certain nombre de ces *Anopheles* en liberté dans cette chambre où dormaient deux individus qui s'étaient mis spontanément à sa disposition pour faire cette expérience. Le 1^{er} novembre, apparaissait chez l'un d'eux le premier cas d'infection paludique expérimentale. Enfin, le 22 décembre de la même année, GRASSI publiait tout le cycle évolutif de l'Hématozoaire de l'Homme dans le corps du Moustique. Depuis cette époque, de nombreuses expériences furent faites par GRASSI chez l'Homme. Il fit piquer entre autres un individu paludique par des *Anopheles* sains; ceux-ci s'infestèrent, et, à leur tour, trois d'entre eux, en piquant un individu sain, lui inoculèrent la maladie. Toutefois on pouvait croire encore que le Moustique peut puiser les germes de l'affection dans l'eau des marais, où il naît, pour aller ensuite les inoculer à l'Homme. GRASSI fit donc la contre-épreuve; il alla chercher des larves et des nymphes d'*Anopheles* dans les lieux les plus paludiques que l'on connaisse et les éleva dans son laboratoire; durant trois mois, il fit piquer des individus sains par des *Anopheles* à peine nés et jamais il n'observa le moindre accident. Il était donc dès lors certain que l'*Anopheles* est en Italie le seul véhicule du paludisme; il s'infeste en venant piquer un individu malade, et, après une évolution du parasite dans son organisme, il va l'inoculer à un nouvel individu.

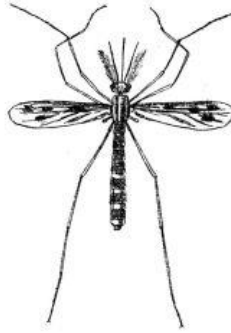


FIG. 6. — *Anopheles claviger*.

On voit qu'en l'espace de quelques années l'étiologie du paludisme avait fait des progrès vraiment considérables. Durant cette époque KOCH fut chargé par le gouvernement allemand d'aller étudier le paludisme sous les tropiques et en Italie pour se livrer à l'étude de la même question. KOCH était l'un des premiers défenseurs du rôle des Moustiques; il fit parler beaucoup de lui par les journaux politiques de tous les pays; mais en réalité, il fit plus de bruit que de besogne et n'apporta aucune expérience en faveur de la théorie. Il faillit décourager GRASSI par ses railleries et ses attaques malveillantes; aussi le savant

Figure 3.29. *Le parasite du paludisme - Fig. 6. - Anopheles claviger* (The Malaria Parasite – Fig. 6. – *Anopheles claviger*), in *Bulletin des sciences pharmacologiques: Organe scientifique et professionnel*, Paris: n.p., 1899–1900, unpaginated. Paris, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de Santé.



Figure 3.30. Alfred Touchemolin, *Séance de vaccination antivariolique au Val-de-Grâce* (Smallpox Vaccination Session at Val-de-Grâce), c. 1900. Oil on canvas, 31.9 x 48.4 in. Paris, Musée du service de santé des Armées.



Figure 4.1. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *The Remnants of an Army*, 1879. Oil on canvas, 52 x 92 in. London, Tate.



Figure 4.2. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *Calling of the Roll after an Engagement, Crimea, 1854* (also known as *The Roll Call, Crimea, 1854*), 1874. Oil on canvas, 37 x 72 in. London, Royal Collections.



Figure 4.3. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *28th Regiment at Quatres Bras*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 38.3 x 85.1 in. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.



Figure 4.4. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *Balaclava*, 1876. 40.7 x 73.8 in. Manchester, Manchester Art Gallery.



Figure 4.5. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *Return from Inkerman*, 1877. Oil on canvas, 34.1 x 41.1 in. Kingston upon Hull, UK, Ferens Art Gallery.



Figure 4.6. Ernest Meissonier, *La Campagne de France (The French Campaign)*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 20 x 30 in. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 4.7. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *Listed for the Connaught Rangers: Recruiting in Ireland*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 42 x 67 in. Lancashire, Bury Art Museum.



Figure 4.8. Detail, Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *The Remnants of an Army*, 1879.



Figure 4.9. Richard Caton Woodville, Jr., *Maiwand 1880: Saving the Guns*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 52.4 x 78.3 in. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.



Figure 4.10. James Tissot, *Abandoned*, 1882. Oil on panel, 13 x 21 in. Private collection.



Figure 4.11. Frederic Leighton, *Perseus and Andromeda*, 1891. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 50 in. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.



Figure 4.12. Detail, Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *The Remnants of an Army*, 1879.



Figure 4.13. R.E. Sly, *Women Rushing towards Rescue by British Officer*, c. 1844. Lithograph, 5.7 x 9.4 in. Providence, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.



COLONEL STODDART AND CAPTAIN CONOLLY.
AT BOKHARA.

50

FROM AN AUTHENTIC SKETCH TAKEN BY OSMAN BURUKZYE.
REPRESENTING THE TWO BRITISH OFFICERS STODDART & CONOLLY EN ROUTE TO THE FORT PHRANGI BEING THE SECOND INCARCERATION, & LAST TIME SEEN AT BOKHARA, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY
SUPPOSED TO BE AT LIBERTY, & NOW THE SUBJECTS OF DR WOLFF'S ENQUIRY IN CENTRAL ASIA.

Figure 4.14. R.E. Sly, *Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly at Bokhara*, c. 1844. Lithograph, 9.4 x 11.8 in. Providence, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.



THE FIRST OUTBREAK AT CABUL.

FROM A SKETCH BY A CABUL PRISONER.

REPRESENTING THE ASSASSINATION OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNS, AT THE GATE OF HIS RESIDENCE, BRAVERY OF HIS GUARD, SIMULTANEOUS ATTACK ON, AND CONFLAGRATION OF CAPT. JOHNSON'S TREASURY, & THE RESIDENCES OF OTHER BRITISH OFFICERS, & THE FIENDISH CONDUCT OF THE MOB OF 5 OR 600 AFFGHANS A SHORT TIME AFTER THE ISSUE OF THE KING'S FORGED PROCLAMATION FOR THE GENERAL DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY. H&P/MI-1841 2

Figure 4.15. R.E. Sly, *The First Outbreak at Cabul*, c. 1844, 9.4 x 11.7 in. Lithograph. Providence, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.



Figure 4.16. R.E. Sly, *Heroic Defence of Lieut. Bird at Cabul*, c. 1842, 8.5 x 10.7 in. Lithograph. Providence, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.



Figure 4.17. Louis Haghe after Henry Martens, *Heroic Conduct of Four Privates, of H.M. 31st Regt. at the Battle of Mazeena*, c. 1850. Lithograph, 4 x 6.1 in. Providence, Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection.



Figure 4.18. William Simpson, *William Brydon*, 1879. Graphite and watercolor sketch on paper. Providence, Anne S.K. Brown Military Archive.



Figure 4.19. Detail, Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *The Remnants of an Army*, 1879.



Figure 4.20. James Rattray, 2nd Bengal Native Infantry, *Afghaun foot soldiers in their winter dress with entrance to the valley of Urgundeh*, c. 1842. Colored lithograph. London, National Army Museum.

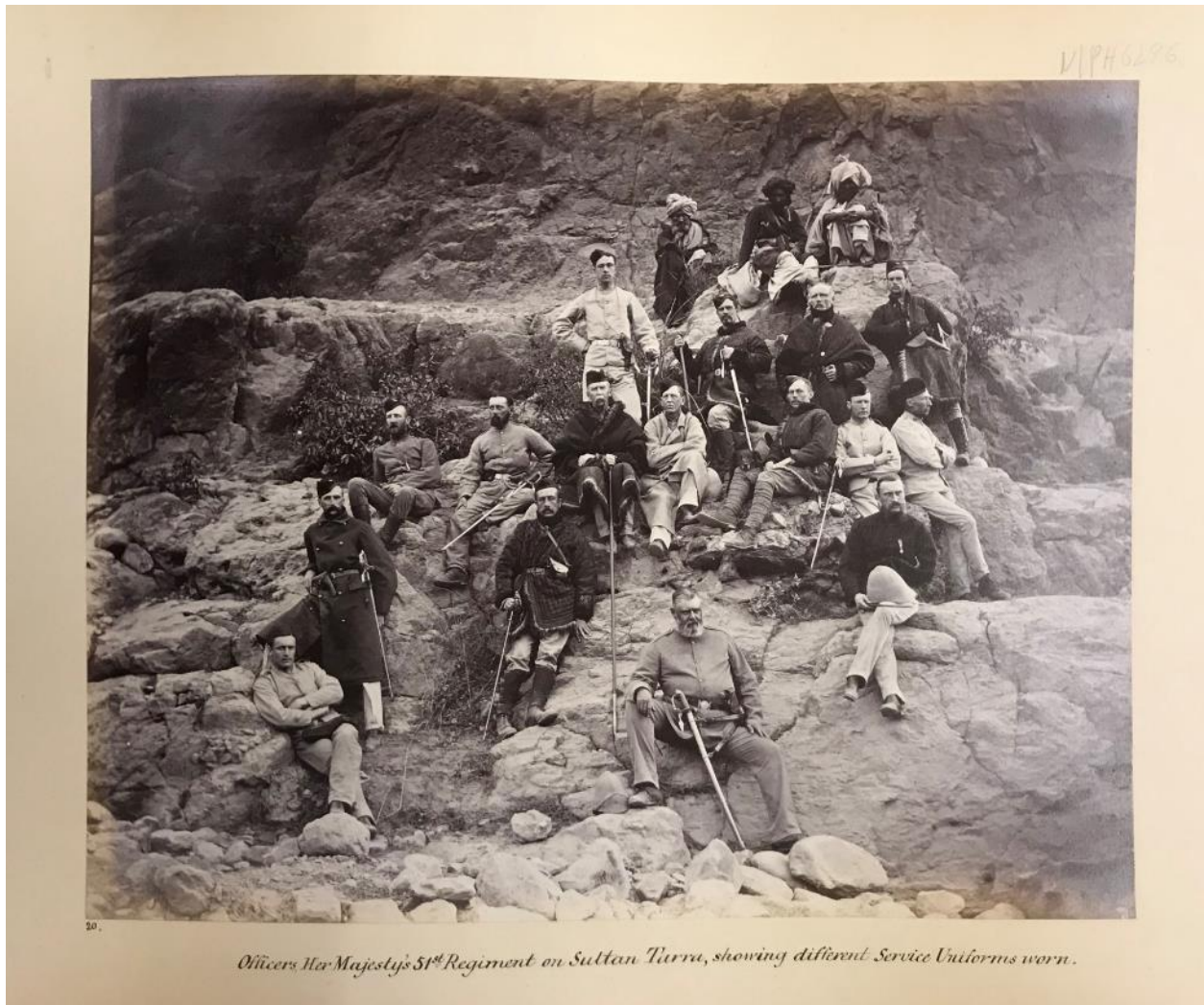


Figure 4.21. John Burke, *Officers Her Majesty's 51st Regiment on Sultan Tarra, showing different Service Uniforms Worn, in Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force, 1879.* Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.

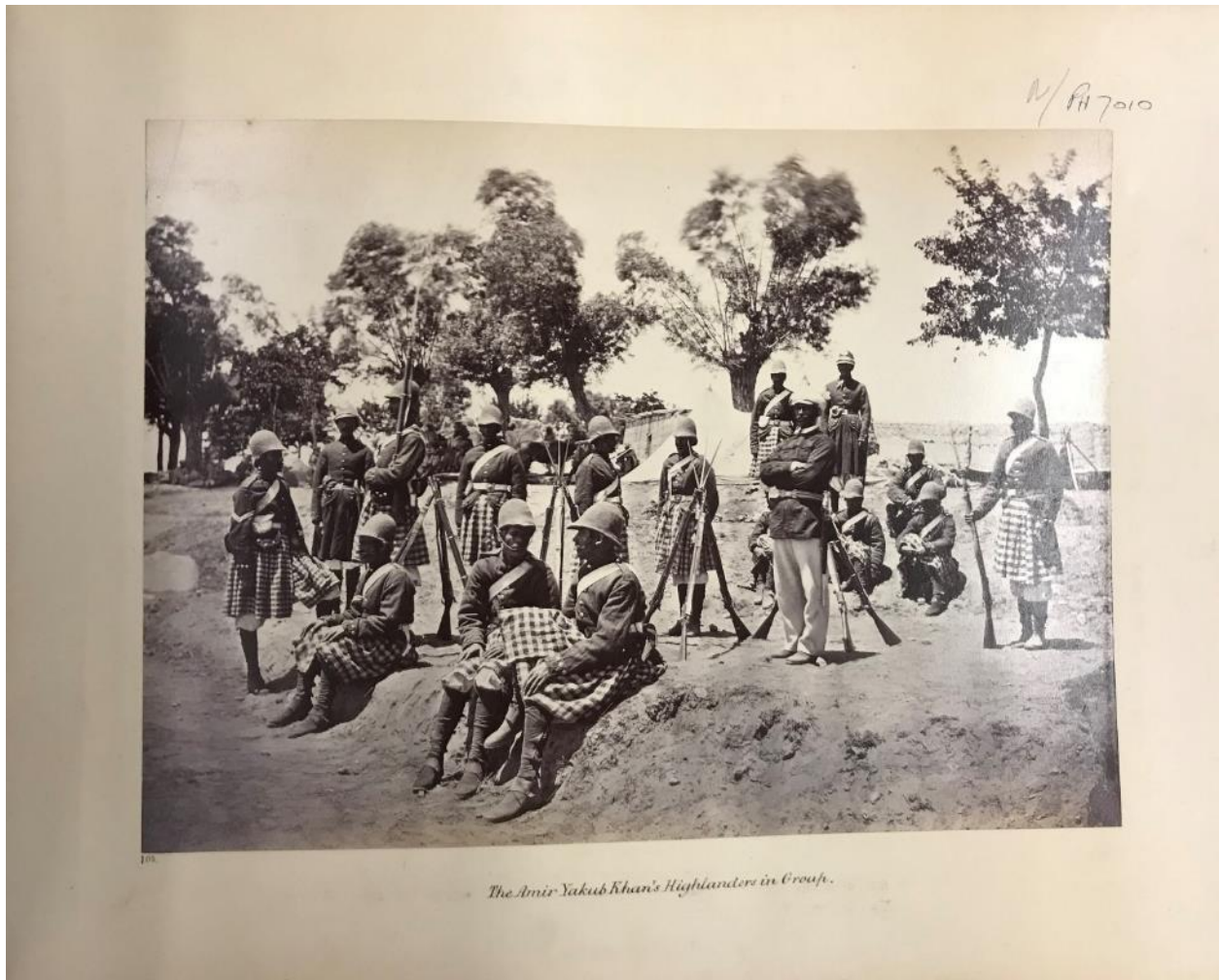


Figure 4.22. John Burke, *The Amir Yakub Khan's Highlanders in Group*, in *Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force*, 1879. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.



The Khan of Lalpura & followers, with Political officer.

Figure 4.23. John Burke, *The Khan of Lalpura and followers, with Political officer*, in *Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force*, 1879. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.24. John Burke, *Halt of Prisoners from Bassaule, with Escort 45th Rattray's Sikhs, on the Khurd Khyber*, in *Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force, 1879*. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.25. Richard Thomas Bott, *Lady Florentia Sale*, 1844. Oil on canvas. Location unknown.



Figure 4.26. Lowes Cato Dickinson, after drawings by Vincent Eyre, *Lady Florentia Sale*, in *Prison Sketches: Comprising Portraits of the Cabul Prisoners and Other Subjects*, John Murray, 1843. Colored lithograph, 6.2 x 4 in. London, British Museum.

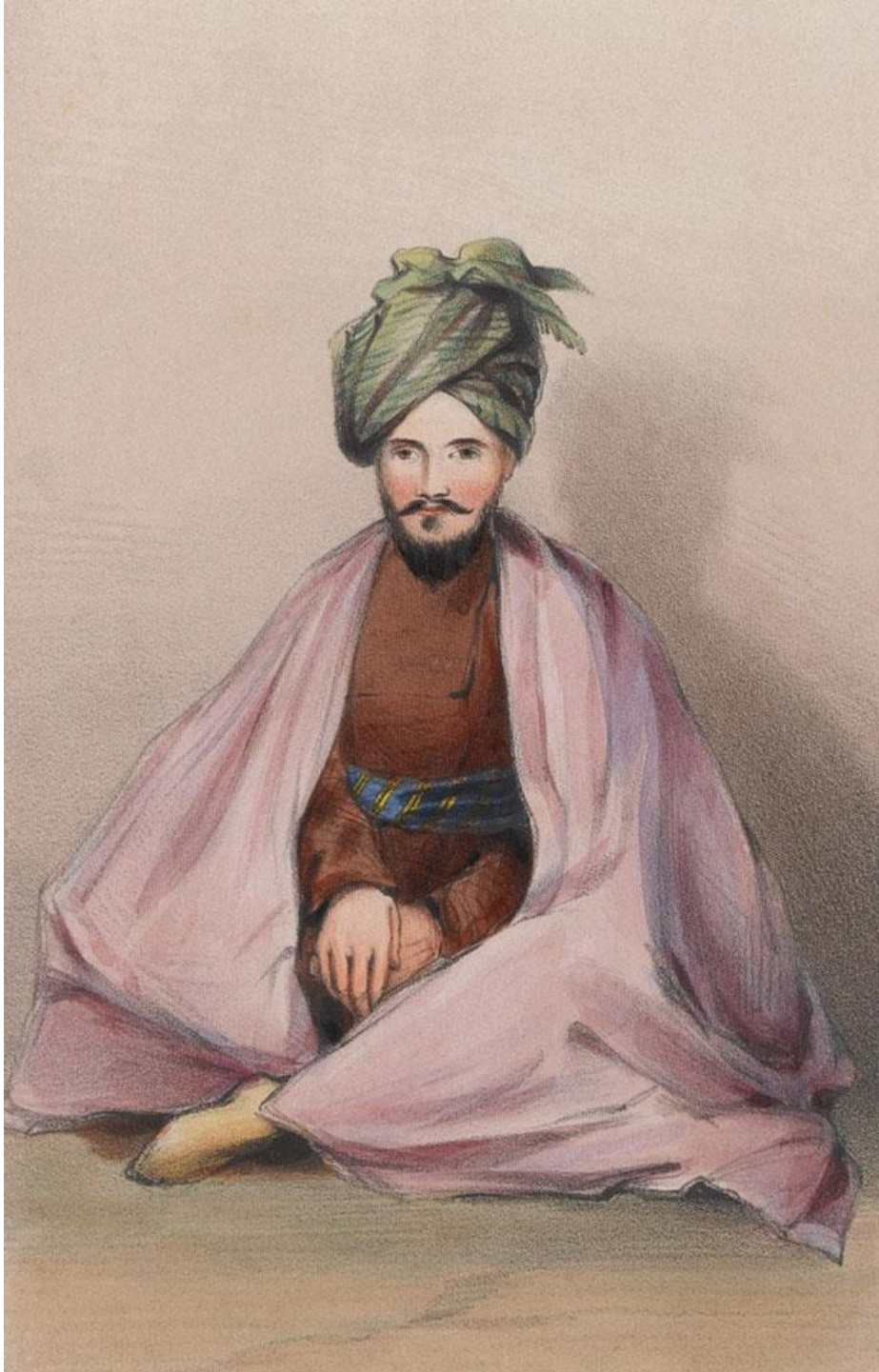


Figure 4.27. Lowes Cato Dickinson, after drawings by Vincent Eyre, *Portrait of Captain George Lawrence, 11th Light Cavalry*, in *Prison Sketches: Comprising Portraits of the Cabul Prisoners and Other Subjects*, John Murray, 1843. Colored lithograph, 6.3 x 4 in. London, British Museum.



Figure 4.28. Lowes Cato Dickinson, after drawings by Vincent Eyre, *Portrait of Shaj Soojahool Moolk*, in *Prison Sketches: Comprising Portraits of the Cabul Prisoners and Other Subjects*, John Murray, 1843. Colored lithograph, 6.3 x 3.9 in. London, British Museum.



Figure 4.29. Photographer unidentified, *Doctor William Brydon*, c. 1873. Photograph. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.30. John Walker, *Skeleton Map of Afghanistan and the Countries of the North-west Frontier of India: Shewing the Principal Routes & Passes*, 1850. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art.



Figure 4.31. Louis and Charles Haghe, after James Atkinson, *View of the Mountain Baba-Naunee*, c. 1839, in James Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghaunistan, 1838-1842*, London: Henry Graves and Company and J W Allen and Company, 1842. Tinted lithograph. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.32. C. Bigot, after drawings by Rupert Kirk, *Defile between Deyra and Kahun*, in *The Views and Defiles of Afghanistan*, 1842, London: n.p., 1845, unpaginated. Lithograph. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art.



Figure 4.33. C. Bigot, after drawings by Rupert Kirk, *Pass of Surtoff*, in *The Views and Defiles of Afghanistan*, 1842, London: n.p., 1845, unpaginated. Lithograph. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art.



Figure 4.34. C. Bigot, after drawings by Rupert Kirk, *Pass of Nuffoosk*, in *The Views and Defiles of Afghanistan*, 1842, London: n.p., 1845, unpaginated. Lithograph. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art.



Figure 4.35. Hullmandel and Walton, after drawings by Lieutenant John Sturt and Captain Thomas Alexander Souter. Color lithographs, from Robert Sale, *The Defence of Jellalabad*, 1846. London, Government Art Collection.



Figure 4.36. Robert Carrick, after James Rattray, *Town and Citadel of Ghuznee*, in James Rattray, *Scenery, Inhabitants & Costumes, of Afghaunistaun from drawings made on the spot*, London: Hering and Remington, 1847. Lithograph, 11.7 x 15.4 in. London, British Library.



Figure 4.37. George Alfred Croly, 26th Bengal Native Infantry, *Fort of Ali Musjeed, Khyber Pass Camp of the 4th Brigade of Major General Pollock's Force, April 1842*, 1842. Watercolor. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.38. Lieutenant John Frederick Irwin, 59th (2nd Nottinghamshire) Regiment, *Cantonments, Candahar*, 1879. Watercolor. London, National Army Museum.

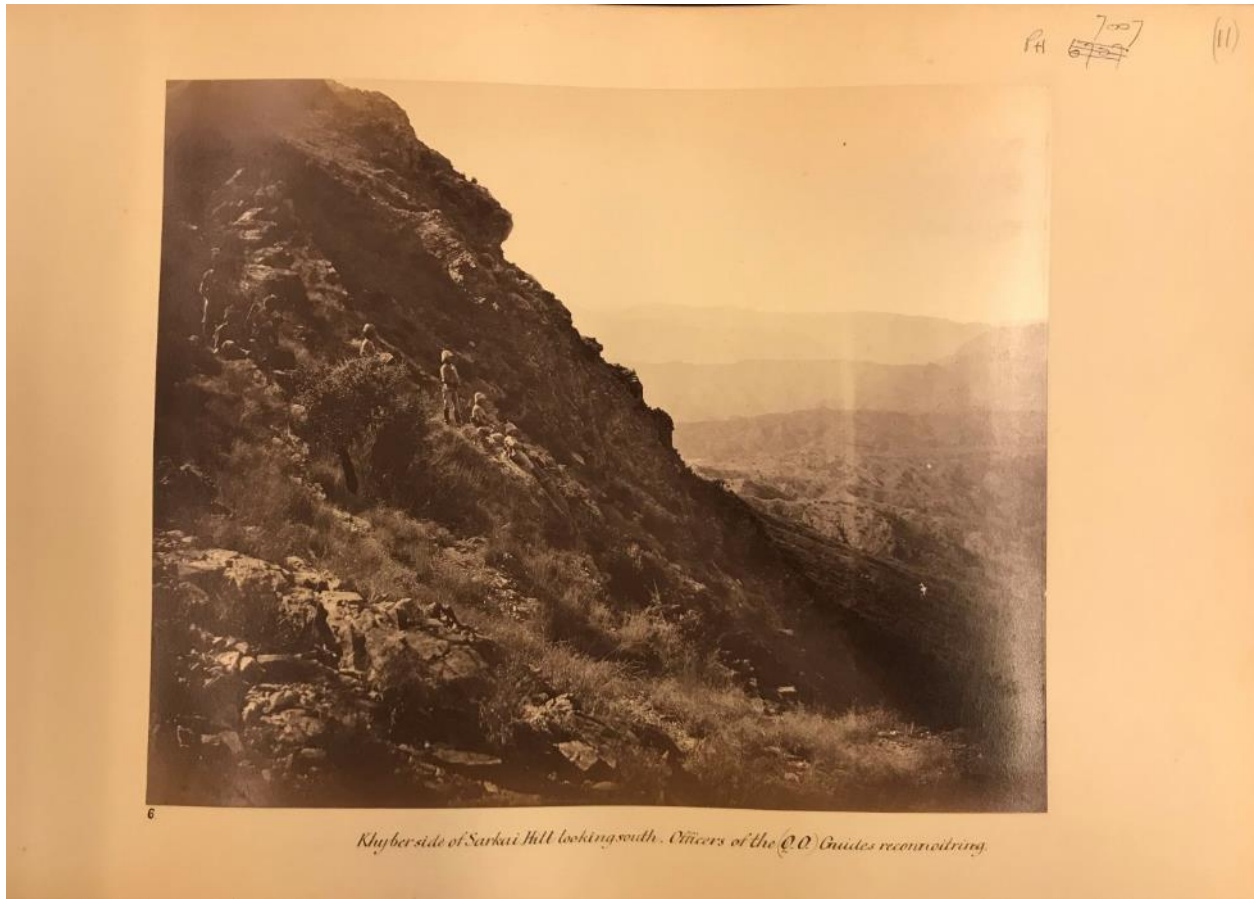


Figure 4.39. John Burke, *Khyber side of Sarkai Hill looking south. Officers of the (Q.O.) Guides reconnoitring*, in *Anglo-Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force, 1879*. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.

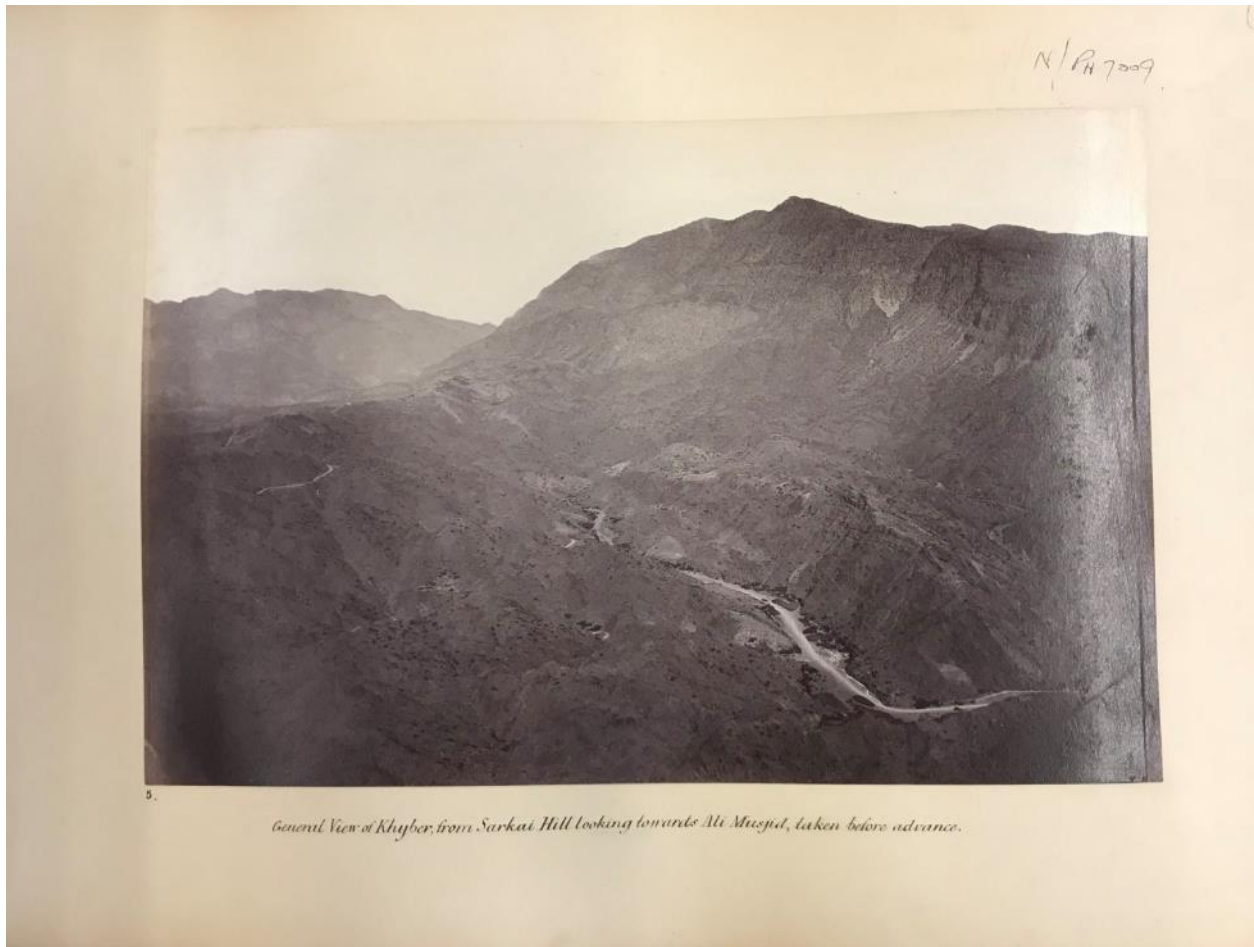


Figure 4.40. John Burke, *General View of Khyber, from Sarkai Hill looking towards Ali Masjid, taken before advance*, in *Anglo-Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force, 1879*. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.

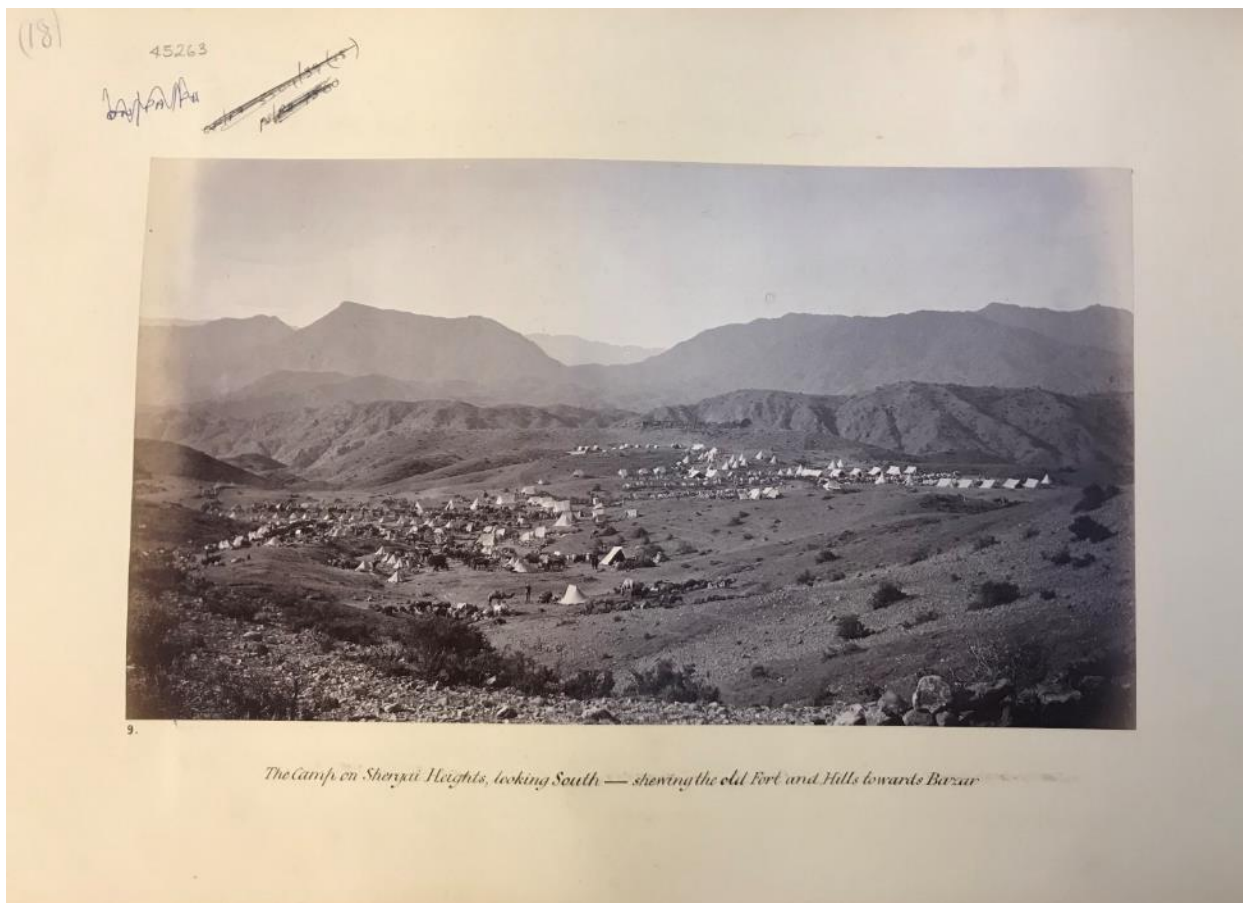


Figure 4.41. John Burke, *The Camp on Shergai Heights, looking South—shewing the old Fort and Hills towards Bazar*, in *Anglo-Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force*, 1879. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.

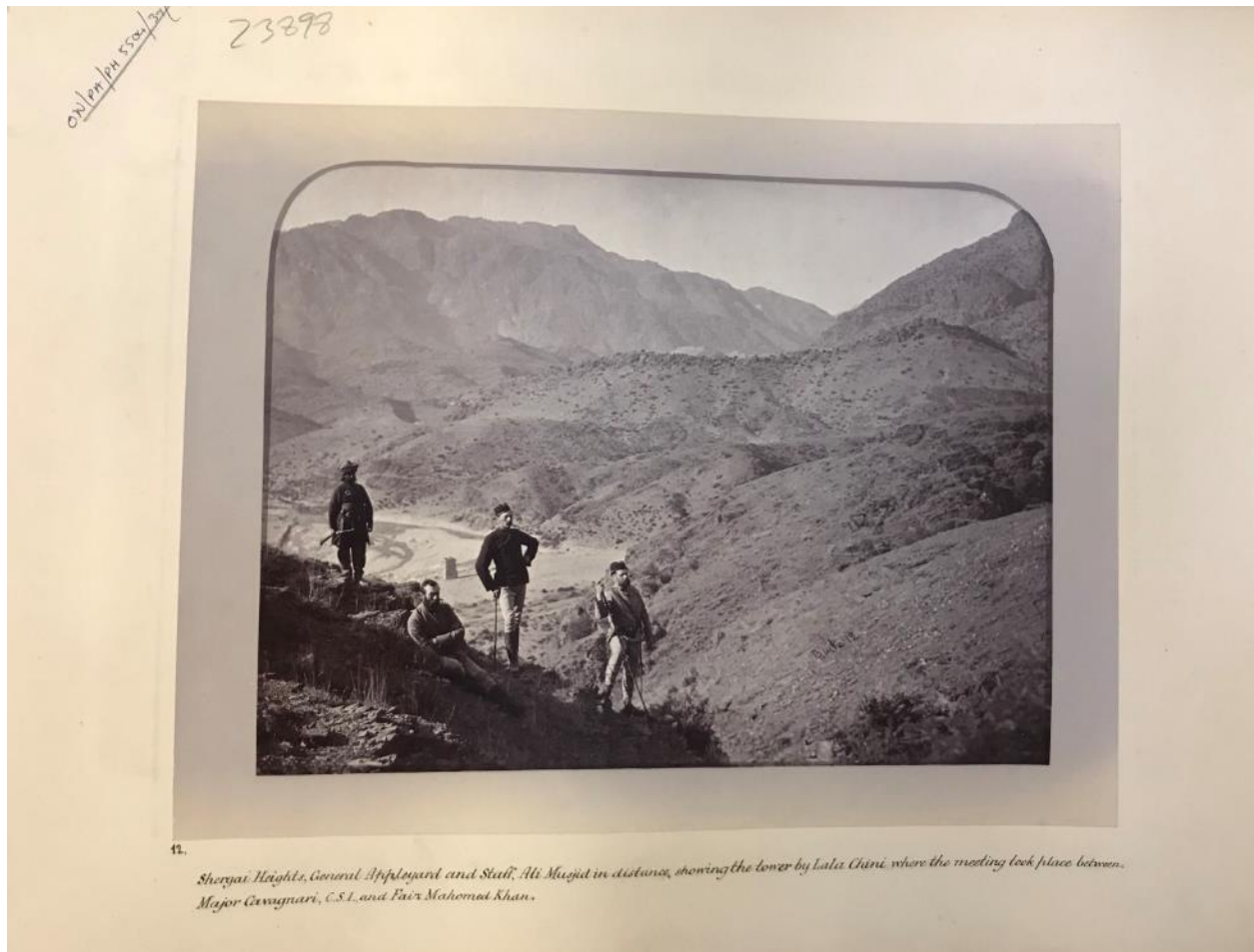


Figure 4.42. John Burke, *Shergai Heights, General Appleyard and Staff, Ali Masjid in distance, showing the tower by Lala Chini where the meeting took place between Major Cavagnari, C.S.I., and Faiz Mohamed Khan, in Anglo-Afghan War 1878–79: Peshawur Valley Field Force, 1879.* Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.43. C.A.M, *Fort Juwrood (near Peshawur) on the frontier of Afghanistan, in Afghanistan 1878–79–80, 1880.* Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.44. C.A.M, *Fort "Ali Masjid" Khyber-Pass, in Afghanistan 1878–79-80, 1880.* Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.45. C.A.M, *Panoramic View of Bala Hissar, in Afghanistan 1878–79-80, 1880.* Albumen prints. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 4.46. C.A.M, *Kabul Gate – Jellalabad*, in *Afghanistan 1878–79–80*, 1880. Albumen print. London, National Army Museum.

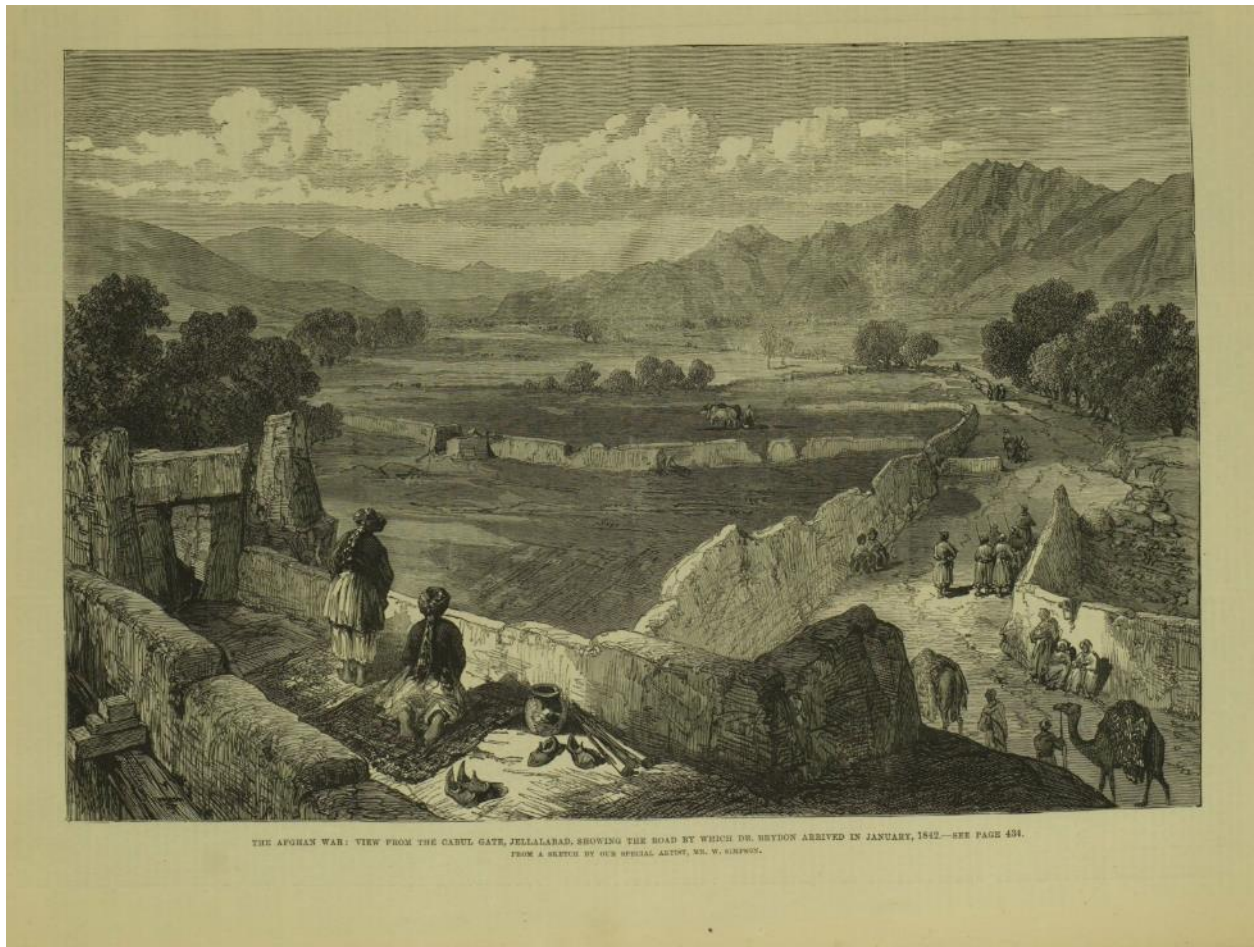


Figure 4.47. William Simpson, *The Afghan War: View of the Cabul Gate, Showing the Road by which Dr. Brydon Arrived in January, 1842*, in *The Illustrated London News*, May 10, 1879.

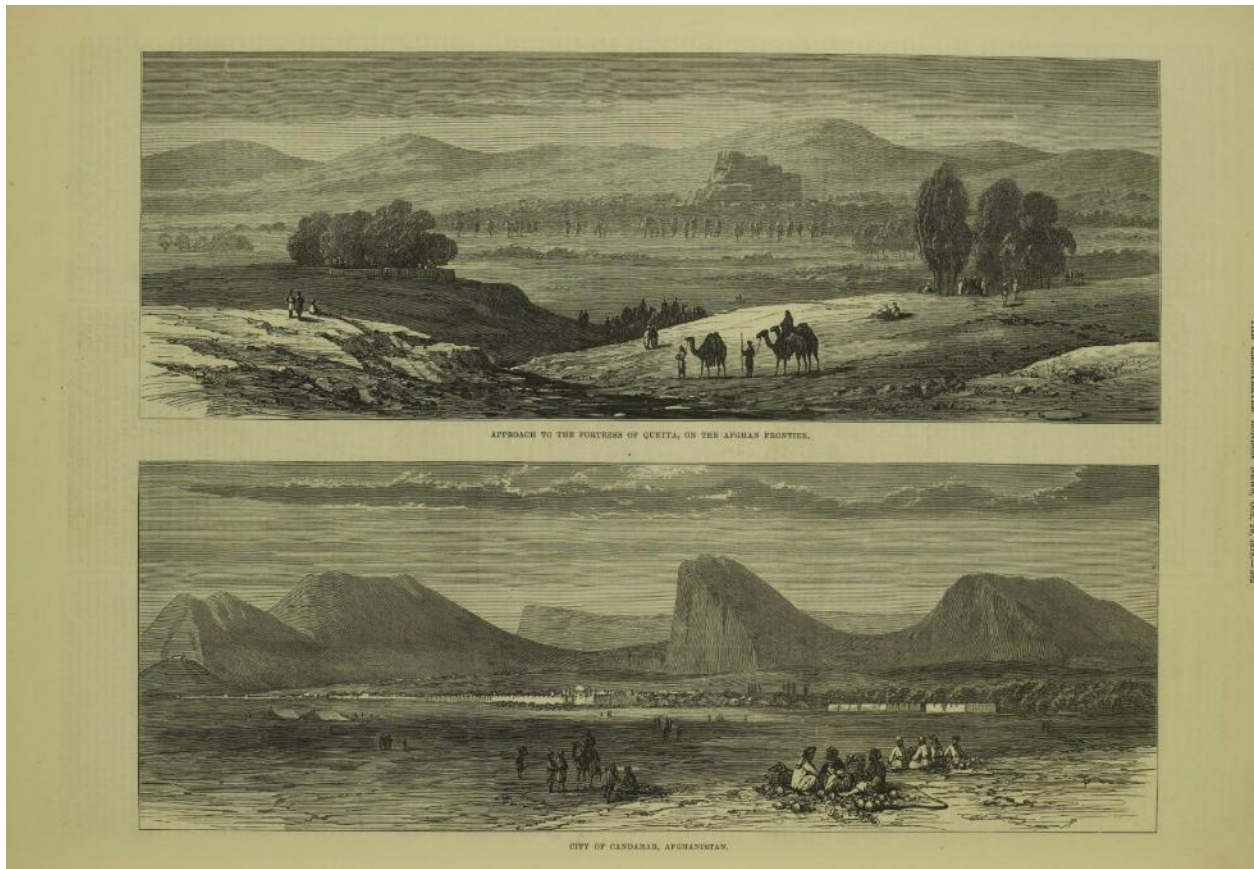


Figure 4.48. (Top) *Approach to the Fortress of Quetta, on the Afghan Frontier*; (Bottom) *City of Candahar, Afghanistan*, in *The Illustrated London News*, October 26, 1878. London, British Library.



Figure 4.49. Leila Kathleen Williamson, *A Pathan Sowar, 23rd Cavalry (Frontier Force)*, c. 1908. Oil on canvas. London, National Army Museum.



Figure 5.1. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches* (The Last Cartridges), 1873. Oil on canvas, 42.5 x 65 in. Bazeilles, France, Musée de la dernière cartouche.



Figure 5.2. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



Figure 5.3. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



SALON DE 1873. — LES DERNIÈRES CARTOUCHES, DÉFENSE D'UNE MAISON CERNÉE PAR L'ENNEMI, tableau de M. A. DE NEUVILLE.
(Publié avec l'autorisation de M. Goupil, seul propriétaire du droit de reproduction de ce tableau.)

Figure 5.4. Louis Paul Pierre Dumont, after Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Salon de 1873—Les Dernières Cartouches*, in *L'Univers illustré*, June 21, 1873. Wood engraving, 7.9 x 11 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



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LES DERNIÈRES CARTOUCHES.

Figure 5.5. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, in Georges Bastard, *La Défense de Bazeilles* (The Defense of Bazeilles), Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1884, unpaginated. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



à Paris chez Bès et Dubreuil, aux côtés de la G^{de} République. 17
COMBAT DE WISSENBURG.
[4 AOÛT 1870.]

La division du général Abel Douay (7 à 8,000 hommes) fut attaquée à 7 heures du matin par 20,000 Allemands et Prussiens. Sous le général Douay, après une lutte gigantesque et disproportionnée, malgré les efforts héroïques de ses soldats, malgré les prodiges de l'artillerie, Douay fut complètement et péroramment repoussé par l'artillerie et s'aperçut à son moment d'une bataille. À 7 heures le général Douay se vit contraint pour assurer le succès de sa division de faire cesser la retraite. Douay fit à la fin comme tous l'indigne d'un homme d'armes, il mourut, son de donner le général Douay dans le plus fort de la mêlée et y trouva une morte glorieuse. Les prussiens perdirent plus de 7,000 hommes.

20281

Figure 5.6. Bès and Dubreuil, after an unidentified artist, *Combat de Wissembourg* (Engagement at Wissembourg), 1870. Engraving, 16.9 x 12.1 in. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 5.7. Joseph Burn Smeeton, after Louis Théodore Eugène Gluck, *La Bataille de Wissembourg* (The Battle of Wissembourg), in *L'Illustration*, April 20, 1870. Engraving, 14.3 x 9.8 in. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 5.8. Jean-Adolphe Bocquin, after Jules Férat, *Combat de Wissembourg, 4 août 1870*, 1870. Engraving, 10.3 x 15.7 in. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 5.9. Hippolyte Lalaisse, *Tirailleurs indigènes (Algérie), 1er régiment, 1854–1870* (Indigenous Light Infantry [Algeria], 1st Regiment, 1854–1870), 1870. Colored lithograph, 18.1 x 13.8 in. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.



Figure 5.10. Charles-Édouard Armand-Dumaresq, *Armée de ligne, Spahis, officiers* (Army of the Line, Spahis, Officers), 19th century. Watercolor and gouache on paper. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.



Figure 5.11. Charles-Édouard Armand-Dumaresq, *Armée de ligne, Spahis, sous-officier français et soldat arabe* (Army of the Line, Spahis, French Non-commissioned Officer and Arab Soldier), 19th century. Watercolor and gouache on paper. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.



Figure 5.12. Paul Alexandre Protais, *Militaires sur un quai à Toulon* (Soldiers on a Quay in Toulon), 1854. Oil on panel, 21.5 x 34.6 in. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 5.13. Roger Fenton, *Troupes algériennes (tirailleurs d'Afrique) en Crimée* (Algerian Troops [African Light Infantry] in the Crimea), in an album of drawings assembled by Queen Marie-Amélie, 1854. Salt-paper print from wet-plate collodion negative, 7.1 x 6.3 in. Chantilly, Musée Condé.



Figure 5.14. Philippe Jacques Potteau, *Brahim-ben-Salah. Spahis (Né a Souk arras, province de Constantine)* (Brahim-ben-Salah. Spahis [Born in Souk Ahras, Constantine Province]), 1869. Wet-plate collodion negative, 8.3 x 10.6 in. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.



Figure 5.15. Philippe Jacques Potteau, *Brahim-ben-Salah. Spahis (Né à Souk arras, province de Constantine)*, 1869. Wet-plate collodion negative, 8.3 x 10.6 in. Paris, Musée du quai Branly - Jacques Chirac.



m^{rs} Martinet 172, r Rivoli et 41, r Vienne

Lith. Destouches, 28, r. Paradis P^{re} Paris.

M^{re} POTARD . . . N'est-il pas vrai...brave turco, que vous préférez les Françaises aux Africaines ?....
 M^{re} POTARD . . . Chut!...ma bonne,tu vois bien que tu vas le faire rougir !.....

Figure 5.16. Honoré Daumier, *N'est-il pas vrai, brave turco, que vous préférez les Françaises aux Africaines?...* (Isn't it true, brave Turco, that you prefer French women to African women?...) in "Les Actualités," *Le Charivari*, August 31, 1859. Lithograph, 9.8 x 9 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5.17. Honoré Daumier, *Visite aux tentes des Turcos* (Visit to the Turcos' Tents), from the series *Au Camp de Saint Maur* (In the Saint Maur Camp), in *Le Charivari*, August 13, 1859. Lithograph. Marseille, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 5.18. Draner (Jules Renard), *Turcos: Bono Turcos, pas buveurs d'eau* (Turcos: Good Turcos, not water drinkers) in *Les Soldats de la République* (Soldiers of the Republic) (1871). Engraving, 6.3 x 8.8 in. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

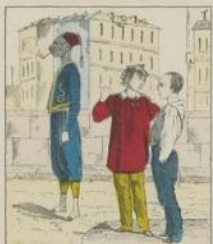
PROF. LAGAL
Mars
1863

SPAHIS & TURCOS.

N°165.



Un Lion d'Afrique.



Dis-donc Ping, c'est-à-dire qu'il a du fumer quel qu'il y a de tabac pour s'habiller ainsi la bécote.



A qui Marjanta. S'ils aient beau chose chose enfants. — Dites donc bougeons, si ça ne vous fait rien, parlez-moi donc français, vous de la place Monsieur.



Dites donc s'avez-vous, pourquoi donc si pâle que ce Turcos il a le teint sans comparaison plus coloré que vous au bout. — Voulez-vous apprendre que cela provient de ce qu'il a vu le jour subitement à l'époque où on le charbon d'Inde était en fleur.



Ah ça mon brave pendant la guerre d'Italie lorsque vous étiez entouré de feu, de fer, de mortelle, n'est-ce que vous ne sentiez vraiment rien? Si fallait vous voir, nous sentions le comble de côté du genre.



C'est épatant comme la représentation de la bonne société vous a faite dans les Maréchaux là, ils sont presque aussi beaux que nous sous les armes.



Dites donc d'puis que ces Corus là sont arrivés à Paris, les payses n'ont s'habillent autrement plus.



Voilà le caducéphale, s'il vous plaît, mais en les imitations pas.



Tiens Ah, j'étais dans un intérêt de rentrer au Centre, sans cela non vous, je n'eusse pas blâmer.



Du reste si vous n'êtes pas sage je vais dire au Monsieur qu'il vous emporte avec lui. — Oh j'en ai pas peur, il est mieux vilain que le Turcos qui vient voir ma femme quand il n'y en a pas.



Une supposition Turco que la pauvre ton âme, qu'le pauvre mon âme et qu'avec en miration.



Oh lui Gagner! un Spahis!... Ce n'est-elle, c'est un marchand d'justice de s'écarter.



Les femmes elles sont blanches, pointer un Turcos mal blanchi à un pays qui les recherche pour le bon motif. Propriété de l'Editeur. (Dijon.)



Dis donc Grosche, plus mal donc c'est blanchir — l'âme c'est un Turco; y en avait d'parents à la face au pain d'épice.



Mais qui qu'était que le Turcos qui était la tout à l'heure, pas qui qu'était?



Mais toi c'est toi qui quitte l'agilité et les fentes de culottes, je te fais Turco! Jour de Dieu!

1863 B 554

Figure 5.19. Imagerie Pellerin, *Spahis et Turcos*. N°165, 1863. Wood engraving, 15.7 x 11.8 in. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

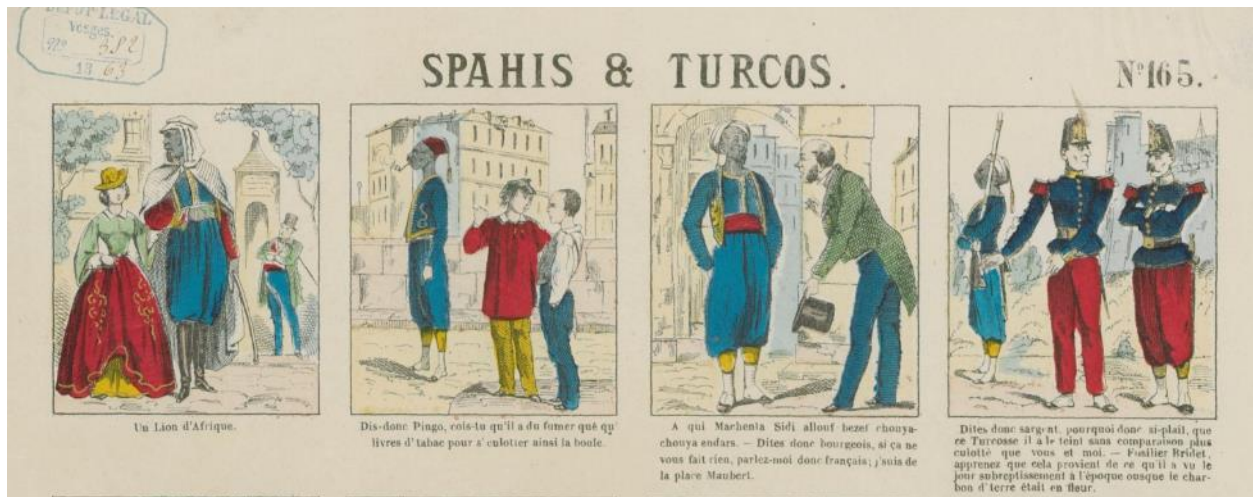


Figure 5.20. Detail, Imagerie Pellerin, *Spahis et Turcos. N°165*, 1863.

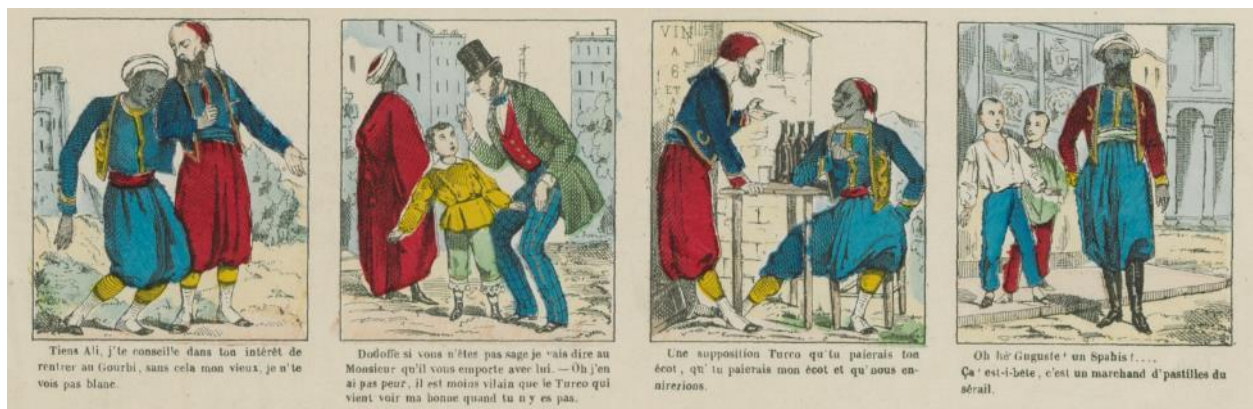


Figure 5.21. Detail, Imagerie Pellerin, *Spahis et Turcos. N°165*, 1863.



Figure 5.22. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



Figure 5.23. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



Figure 5.24. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



Figure 5.25. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



Figure 5.26. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Les Dernières Cartouches*, 1873.



Figure 5.27. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Militaire arabe* (Arab Soldier), c. 1870. Gouache on paper. Private collection.



Figure 5.28. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Un Turco*, c. 1870. Watercolor on paper. Dijon, Musée Magnin.



Figure 5.29. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Turcos retour de Wissembourg* (Turcos Returned from Wissembourg), 1870. Photogravure published by Goupil et Cie. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 5.30. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Bashi-Bazouk*, 1868-69. Oil on canvas, 31.75 x 26 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5.31. Charles Bargue, *A Bashi-Bazouk*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 18.25 x 13.1 in. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 5.32. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Bivouac devant Le Bourget, après le combat 21 December 1870* (Bivouac in front of Le Bourget, after the Engagement of December 21, 1870), 1872. Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 65.4 in. Versailles, Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

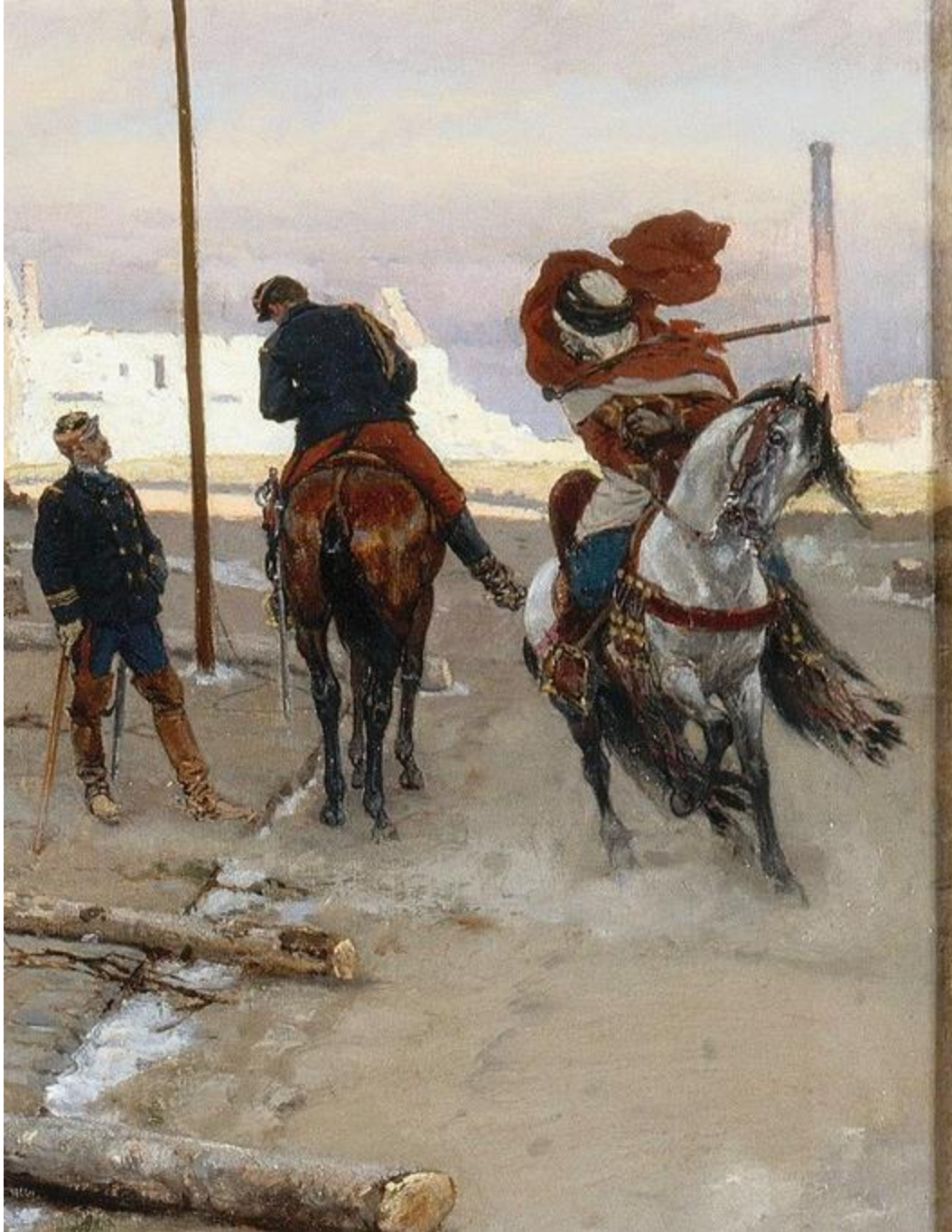


Figure 5.33. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Bivouac devant Le Bourget, après le combat 21 December 1870*, 1872.



Figure 5.34. Detail, Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Bivouac devant Le Bourget, après le combat 21 December 1870*, 1872.



Figure 5.35. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Le Bourget*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 22.6 x 31.1 in. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 5.36. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *The Defense of Rorke's Drift*, 1879, 1880. Oil on canvas, 103 x 153 in. Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales.



Figure 5.37. Elizabeth Thompson Butler, *The Defense of Rorke's Drift*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 47 x 84 in. London, Royal Collections.



Figure 5.38. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Battle of Tell El-Kabir*, 1883. Oil on canvas, 87 x 150.6 in. Edinburgh, National Army Museum of Scotland.



Figure 5.39. Unidentified photographer, *Party of Indian cavalry, British army, France, 1914*, 1914. Photograph. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.



Figure 5.40. Jean Tournassoud, *Reconnaissance of Spahis troops, Oise, 1916, 1916*. Heliogravure. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.



Figure 5.41. Photographer unidentified, *French team, winner of the Football World Cup 2018 in Russia, 2018*. Wikipedia.

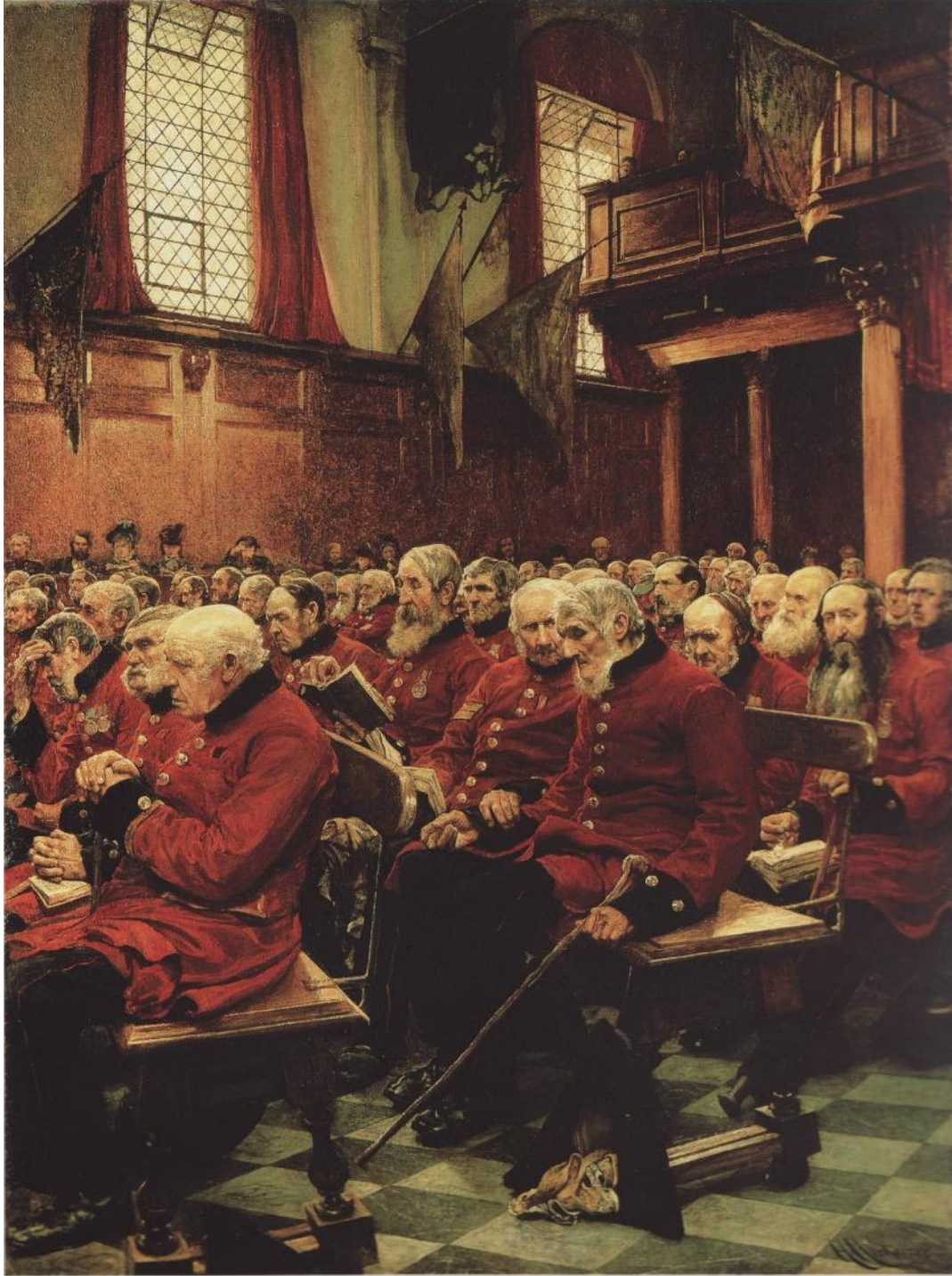


Figure 6.1. Hubert von Herkomer, *The Last Muster*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 84.4 x 62.6 in. Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery.



Figure 6.2. Jacques de Lalaing, *Les Prisonniers de guerre* (Prisoners of War), 1883. Oil on canvas, 60.2 x 87 in. Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 6.3. Hubert von Herkomer, *Eventide—A Scene at Westminster Union*, 1878. Oil on canvas, 43.5 x 78.1 in. Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.



Figure 6.4. Hubert von Herkomer, *The Old Guards' Cheer*, 1898. Oil on canvas, 116.3 x 75.6 in. Bristol, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery.

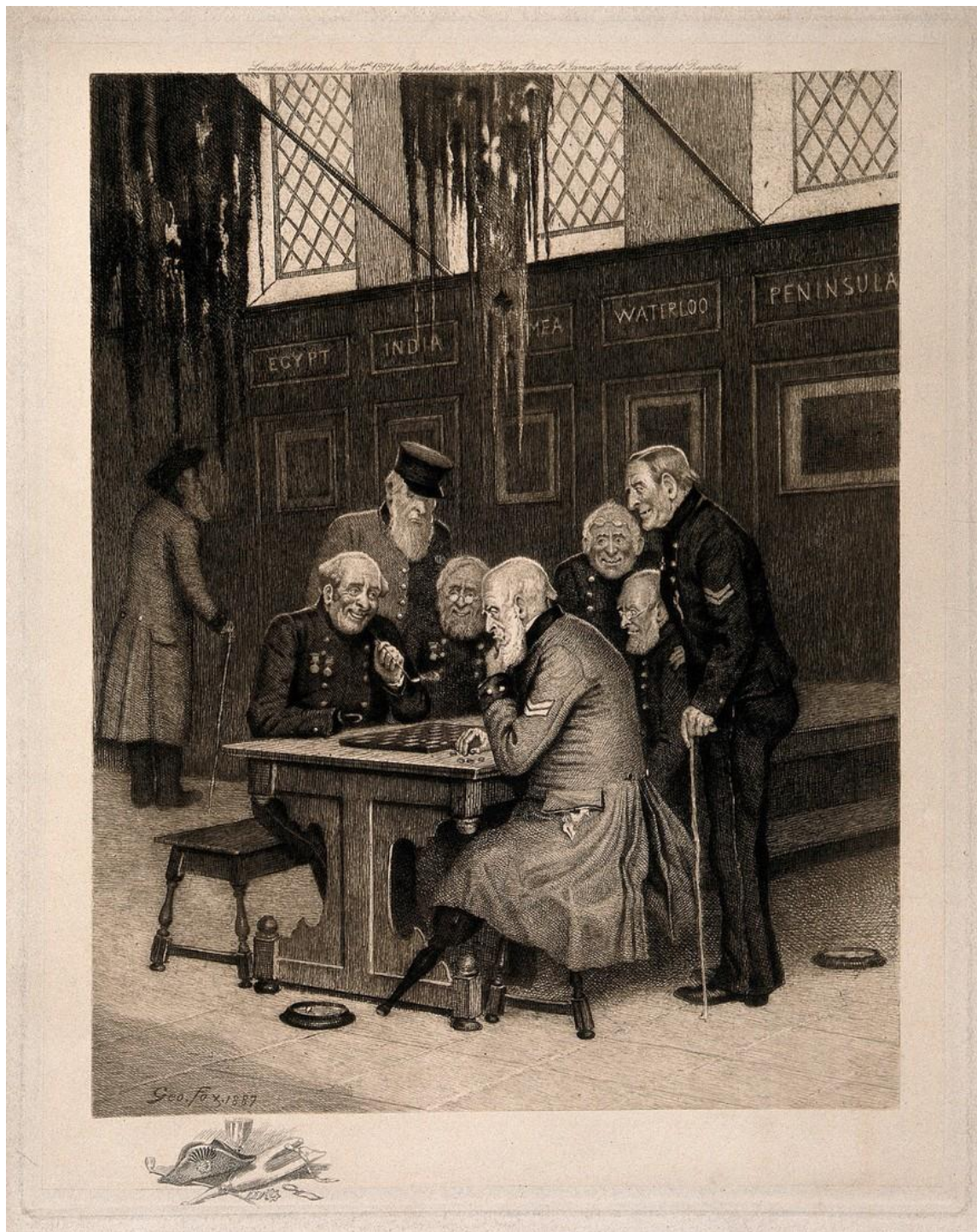


Figure 6.5. George Fox, *A pair of Pensioners, seated at a table, playing draughts, with others looking on, inside the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, with a vignette of tricorn hat, wooden leg, clay pipe, drinking glass and medals at lower left, 1887. Engraving. London, Wellcome Collections.*



Figure 6.6. Artist unidentified, *A Chelsea Pensioner, standing in a landscape: a building, flying the Union flag, behind him*, 1813. Colored aquatint. London, Wellcome Collections.



Figure 6.7. J.C. Stadler, after Charles Hamilton Smith, *Chelsea Pensioners. Cavalry and Infantry*, from *Costumes of the Army of the British Empire, according to the last regulations 1812*, London: Colnaghi and Company, 1812. Aquatint. London, National Army Museum.



SUNDAY MORNING—COMING OUT OF CHAPEL
CHELSEA HOSPITAL ILLUSTRATED

Figure 6.8. *Sunday Morning—Coming out of the Chapel*, in *The Graphic*, February 11, 1888. London, Wellcome Collections.



Figure 6.9. David Wilkie, *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the Waterloo Dispatch* (originally titled *Chelsea Pensioners Receiving the London Gazette Extraordinary of Thursday, June 22, 1815, Announcing the Battle of Waterloo*), 1822. Oil on panel, 38 x 62 in. London, Apsley House.



Figure 6.10. Hubert von Herkomer, "Sunday at the Chelsea Hospital," in *The Graphic*, February 18, 1871. Wood engraving.



Figure 6.11. Hubert von Herkomer, *The Last Muster: Sunday at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea*, from *The Graphic*, May 15, 1875.

of huns and mules received in the war." "Grant to W. France, a retired soldier, of an Atlas House in Durham." "To Richard Franklin, an old soldier, the person of 52, a year from the revenues of Thomas College, Co. Lincoln, held by William Booth, now deceased," and so on. In the year 1814 there is a record of "A license to erect a Hospital in Buckingham for thirty-six unpaired wounded soldiers, dwelling in the town of Three Hundreds of Co. Bucks, and to purchase land for their maintenance not exceeding 2000, a year." Whether erected we know not. In 1851 the House of Commons gave instructions to the Council of State to take care that retired soldiers be allowed, and to "consider of a suitable place for their residence" ("Commons' Journals," Vol. VII, page 513), but no action on such orders can be traced.

Not so this surprising. The regular soldier was not growing in Parliamentary favour at a time when he was required to, and the worst was yet to come. On the dissolution of the Army, 50,000 men were at once thrown on the world, with the memory, as Lord Macaulay remarks, that "waste their dominion the King had been enriched, the

gave (or at all events intended to give) 100,000. He is said to have been to have given 15,000. The accounts are not clear, and the sum was 1,000. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave 1,000, the Bishop of Winchester 500, Mr. Tobias Ruston 1,000. A sum of unpaired Sherwin Service Money, about 1,000, existed, and that the King added to the subscription. With these sums he determined to proceed, Sir Stephen Fox being charged with the chief superintendence. This Minister has, in consequence, been often mentioned as the founder of the Hospital, and a very early transfer of the credit from him sometimes to a very different Court favourite; but there was no reason whatever for depriving the King himself of the merit of launching the foundation, and leaving the execution during the three remaining years of his reign. He did see "some thing," the popular idiom notwithstanding.

The location of the Hospital was probably not a matter of much debate. Chelsea will always be a favourite place of ease and retirement for Londoners, but in those days it was the haunt for scullions of every one of name, and particularly of those about the Court. A modern writer has phra-

King in person on February 27th, 1681, attended by a great number of his courtiers. Sir Christopher Wren designed the intended structure, and, in addition to his consultation therewith as architect, he was appointed to be one of the three Commissioners for the government of the foundation (and thus unobscured in the carrying out of his design), the other two being Sir Stephen Fox, Lord of the Treasury, and the Earl of Rowleigh, Paymaster-General. They were directed to draw up the rules, and consider "what was proper to be done."

The first thing proper to be done was to find money, for the voluntary donations would quickly be exhausted. As the public generally had failed to come with sufficient liberality to the assistance of the King, he determined to turn to the Army itself for support. This was given or obtained by a fixed deduction from the pay, for the continuation of a day's pay in the year from officers and soldiers, by a percentage on the sale and purchase of commissions, and so on. The miles thus opened proved sufficient, and in ten years the Hospital was completed at an expense of about 100,000. Not a penny came from Parliamentary votes.



THE CHAPEL

malice depicted, the loaded gentry plumed, the Church perched. There was scarcely a rural grange who could not tell a story of stripes and insults inflicted by himself or his father at the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers. On the restoration of Charles II, it was with great anxiety that he was quailed to form and maintain a small standing army, and after the lapse of twenty-five years, it the numbers of all ranks only amounted to 7,000, and 1,200 horse soldiers, at a charge of 200,000 a year, and a prohibitive charge existed, and no more money could be obtained. How an anti-clerical this date.

It was under discouraging circumstances such as these that the King undertook the task of founding a home for the scattered veterans by appealing to the public for the assistance. The appeal was not very successful, and it voluntary aid. But the request met with altogether some success. The donors of later periods were not so generous as the first, but the Duke of Devonshire, Sir George Trevelyan, Sir Stephen Fox, states that Sir Stephen Fox

highly described it as the Village of Palace, which it truly was. King Henry VIII, seated a Palace there, in deprecating proximity to his Chancellor, and the Street Kings mark entered the waters and the present drive of a couple of miles through green meadows gently sloping towards the river. Here James I, in his ardour for religion, erected a Theological College, and incorporated it as the "College of King James at Chelsea," with its Priory and twenty Fellows. The College existed for thirty years. The incident is here mentioned, because Chelsea Hospital appropriated the site of this College, and its name is particularly known to the present day as "The Priory."

On the dissolution of the College, Charles II, granted its site of twenty acres to his son, General Sackville, but the Sackville failed to utilize it, and sold it to Sir Stephen Fox for the sum of 1,000, for the purpose of the new Hospital. The Trinity College building had already been taken down, and was a mass of ruins.

The foundation stone of the Hospital was laid by the

Time explained the remarks of the Earl, O. R. Glegg (who, from being a constant officer in the Peninsular War, and a former Chaplain of Chelsea Hospital and Chaplain-General of the Forces, in his "Traditions of Chelsea College").

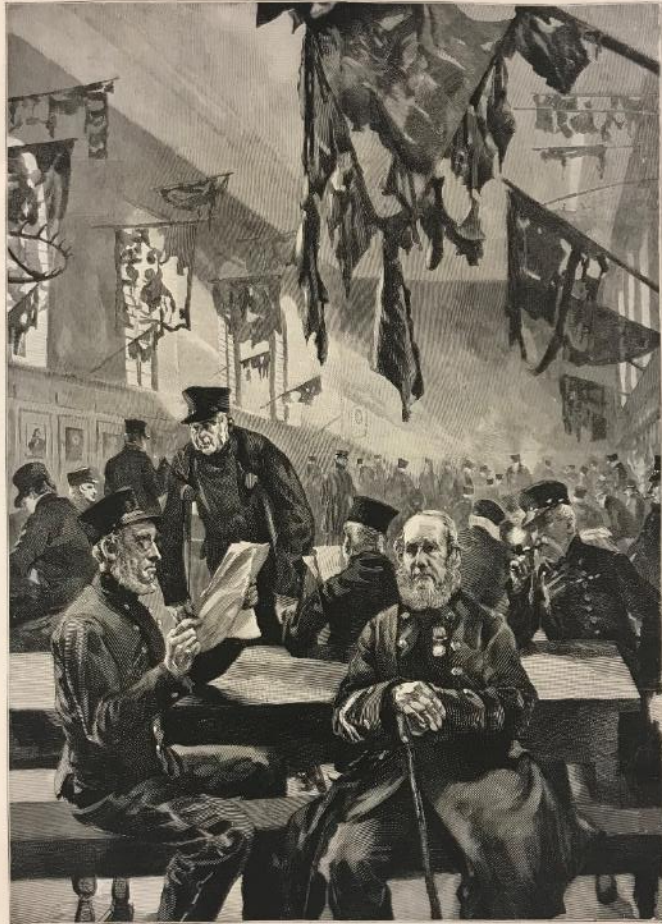
"Within the walls of Chelsea Hospital the veteran has, indeed, seeking to complete it, that why? Because the money, supposed to be paid by his own or his predecessors, and not, therefore, but for an error in policy which never might to have been committed, depending in any degree upon the liberality of Parliament."

The remarks, though correct, on the whole, need qualification. Parliament has for a long time been free from the Hospital, drawing at the present day from the Vote of 15,000,000 for its body of 1,000 Pensioners, in an evidence of public liberality which probably no other nation in the

MO
PAM +
WX 100
1888
R 88 c



Figure 6.13. The Chapel, in The Graphic, February 4, 1888. London, Wellcome Collections.



THE GREAT HALL AS A DAY-ROOM
CHELSEA HOSPITAL ILLUSTRATED

Figure 6.14. *The Great Hall as a Day-Room*, in *The Graphic*, February 4, 1888. London, Wellcome Collections.



STAIRCASE TO WARDS



THE KITCHEN



VIEW FROM THE RIVER

world can exhibit. The Hospital, however, does not cost anything like so much a year as the Dr. Pennington surrounded their own patients, and some of the charges are not to their respect. The Hospital was opened in 1852. The white has in his possession a print of it, having done a few years later, and it appears very much what it now is. A few outlying buildings

have been made, but the general elevation and outline remain unaltered. It was designed to accommodate about 400 soldiers, in hope that no greater number would offer for admission, but this proved a serious miscalculation. The ten years occupied in building brought to light many more applicants than had been anticipated, and when the structure was completed there were at least 700 men whose claims were as urgent as any, but who could not be admitted. To these an allowance is now given, pending future vacancies, and in this temporary allowance the Out-Patient System, which has since grown to such proportions, had its origin. The Standing Army of 4,700 men, now numbers 25,000 in times of peace, the six Out-Patients have grown to 25,000.

Had this enormous growth been foreseen, Chelsea Hospital would not have been built. The idea of collecting into one building such a vast number, or any considerable proportion of it, would have been preposterous, and hence the grounds has often been asked in modern years, What is the object of maintaining this Hospital?

The object has altered with the altered circumstances. A home originally intended for all diseased soldiers meeting a provision by past practice has come to be the hospital for a select few, to whom an allowance in money could not bring, without co-operation, the comforts of housing, food, clothing, medical attention, and other considerations befitting a British soldier in his declining days.

In civil life, our community feeds and maintains at manifold cost refugees for the blind, the paralytic, the epileptic, and incurables from other causes. Considering the hardships of a soldier's life in extreme climates, and the effects on his constitution of distance thus acquired, it may be readily inferred that in his days of decreasance he must show an entire propriety of these evils of lameness, and that out of 25,000 men a vast number will be found to whom a home like Chelsea Hospital brings advantages beyond money value. Every year, therefore, it costs no less than a Hospital for ordinary mortals, and a rigid refusal to admit within its walls any man who presents no claims from extreme debility will either justify the foundation in the present day, and enhance its value. Many old men who have outlived domestic relations, and are inclined to be of use to themselves or others, will doubtless be only too glad to make their pipe of peace in the society of old comrades in a comfortable place with not too much harsh discipline, but however desirable it may be to reward these veterans in every way, special physical suffering deserves priority of relief. The matter of the present condition of the Hospital appears to show that these considerations have their weight with the governing body, and they seem to be too much enforced.

We do not propose to illustrate in this more than a general description of the arrangements of the institution, but before coming to the grounds themselves, a walk round the garden, which was lately open to every one and the leading portions of the building (which are really shown by an ascending perspective at the entrance) will be a good preliminary. J. D.

(To be continued)



A STROLL IN THE GARDENS

Figure 6.15. Staircase to Wards, The Kitchen, View from the River, and A Stroll in the Gardens, in The Graphic, February 4, 1888. London, Wellcome Collections.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL, II.



THE GARDENS cover an area of about 100,000 sq. ft., containing a fine London path, crossing on the river embankment, and extending to the King's Road. Pensions cannot be said to be a success.

The remarks just made about the physical impolicy of the pensioners ride a double-edged sword. It is found on inquiry that in very few cases more than one, and that others pay penalties for riding their horses, and thus lose through the new means of maintaining the work of all. Therefore these little gardens have probably won their first day.

The plot of ground known as Burton's Court will during the present year be the scene of a new feature in the military usefulness of the Hospital, one of its extensions for the public. It seems a curious fact in Army arrangements, that London, of all garden cities, has hitherto possessed no space reserved to soldiers and other soldiers, open for the physical development and mental recreation of the soldiers, of whose blood alone are located in the London garrison. The defect the Commissioners of the Hospital have remedied recently. As their lands were purchased for the army part by the Commissioners of the Army, it has been deemed best that the Army should profit by the ground extent from the enjoyment, and, therefore, Burton's Court will be prepared for military sports, where the soldiers can have cricket, football, tennis, and other games. A large amount of money is being expended for the erection of the proper netting, a system will be devised, and military lands will play an active part. The pensioners will have seats from which the amusements can be witnessed, and thus the two generations of military life will come together for their mutual recreation and enjoyment. The effect on the habits of the soldier, thus drawn away from the evil attractions of other places, can be considerable, and the enjoyment of the place will raise the Hospital more popular by the pensioners.

Before leaving the Gardens it may be well to state that the original design of the garden by Devon to stay on by purchase from Hospital funds, and that as the several acquisitions had varied since the fact of Parliament passed a few years ago contained the title of the whole estate by conveying the fee simple to the Commissioners of the Hospital as trust for the pensioners, who may, therefore, look on every inch as their own property. The grounds are kept in order from the pensioners' funds also, not from public funds, and consequently the maintenance of Chelsea, and other vicinities, owe to them the privilege enjoyed of using the park for all and sundry.

The Cemetery is not now used, the dissenters preferring their final rest to the West London Cemetery on the Brompton Road, where a section of land is reserved for the purpose. The Hospital Cemetery has many fine tombs, erected by dissenting officers, and these are some curious inscriptions on the stone placed over pensioner graves. Probably the strongest reads as follows, or did read, but it is no longer easily decipherable.

Here rests William Hamilton, a veteran of seven wars, who received well a pension, of long service he is well, having served upwards of the days of men; military he was well rewarded. Ranged in a battle of many days as well as foreign, was not injured or sick by either, his constitution was such and such, he had his hair and beard, his memory as fresh as the morning dew, he could read the military almanac as strongly as he could the price of goods, and when engaged in the war with Wellington, when about an hundred years old he took



BLACK JACKS



PENSIONERS AT PLAY—SPANISH POLO

Figure 6.16. Chelsea Hospital, II., in The Graphic, February 11, 1888. London, Wellcome Collections.



MENDING HIS CLOTHES

wrote himself a wife. Read, fellow soldiers, and rather than there is a spiritual warfare as well as a material one. From VI of August, 1810, to VII of February, 1822, aged 112." Pressing to the building, the first to attract attention on entering under the Chapel are the Chapel on the left hand and the Grand Hall on the right. These noble apartments are of almost equal size—120 feet by 35, and equal height—but the ceiling of the former being arched, and of the latter flat, gives an enlarged look to the Hall.

The Chapel is suited for about 100 persons, with pews all round by the wall on three sides for the officers and their families. In the semi-dome at the Altar-end is a large painting of the Resurrection, by Schiavini Ricci, but well seen, owing to insufficient light, and from corners with too much light throughout the Chapel generally. The railings before the Altar and the various compartments on each side are richly carved by Goussier-Gilbert. At the other end of the Chapel is the Organ Gallery, the mouldings of which are carved in a similar style. The great feature of the Chapel is the collection of flags and flags taken in war suspended between the windows on each side, and from the Organ Gallery. There are clusters French eagles and American flags—French, American, and East Indian. These flags and eagles were removed to the Hospital in the year 1815, by order of King William IV., from the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and the India House. Considering their age, many nearly 100 years, the flags are in good preservation, the decay and deterioration being hardly on every, though the most colour remains. Many have recently received a new lease of life through the kind attention of the Hon. Lady Cross, who has spent freely both time and money in preserving them from destruction. Some flags were taken at Waterloo, some earlier (French Republic) in Egypt and earlier still. Some of the East Indian flags were taken at Surabogapan in 1795. Of the eagles, four were taken in Martinique in 1810, one in Guadeloupe in 1810, one at Barren in 1811, two at Salambra in 1812, two at Waterloo, and three at different places in the Peninsula.

The scene of Professor Horsker's well-known picture "The Last Master" is at the organ end of the Chapel, all the pantheons having been placed from life, in separate rooms, in his studio. This picture had been occupied by earlier studies of some of the personages, by the same artist.

The Grand Hall was for a long time the pensioners' Dining Hall, but the practice of dining together was discontinued, meals being now served in the ward, where the pensioners form masses of twelve each. The tables and benches remain in the Hall, differently arranged. This apartment, like the Chapel, is hung with flags, but, unlike those in the Chapel, little remains save the poles and shafts. Round the walls are portraits of military commanders, chronologically arranged according to campaigns, historical and dated underneath. At the end is a large allegorical picture by Nimic, of Charles II., surrounded by emblematical figures, with the Hospital in the background. The Hall is now used as a general day-room, where the pensioners smoke, read the news—there being a plentiful supply of papers—play cards, and play games in all—the galleries, or, as the pensioners call them, wards, where they have separately their lanes for sleeping, for privacy in walking, papers, and their little belongings. "Men were but little here before, nor were that little long," as well exemplified in the case of those old fellows, whose recollections are no longer shared by kin or kith, and who cannot look forward to their walking long. There are sixteen of these galleries, each about 100 feet long and 10 feet wide. A corridor 7½ feet wide, runs the entire length, and off the corridor are temporary cubicles, each 6 feet square, containing the pensioners' berths. They are separated, closed in, and locked by means of a chain, which, when closed, covers into the corridor, and windows closed by curtains. Within the cubicle is a comfortable bed of hair, lying on a straw mattress, a small table, and space for a chair, with a box for clothes, &c., under the bed. The back and sides are sewn down with pillows and ornaments as the occupant has taste to provide. In the corridor are dressing-rooms for the pensioners, and long rows of wash-basins, where fresh soap may be procured, every to the regulated ration, as the water itself collected or cooked in a secondary form by those desiring it. Serpents in charge of the wards were subjected to a trial at each end, and there is a space in the ward where duty is to keep the world clean, look after the linen for laundry, and keep it in repair. In the cubicle the pensioners sleep at night, with their shoes, and each or each in different parts was according to his habit. No smoking is allowed here, no lights are permitted, save from gas pendant, no music or noise calculated to annoy, and no



THE STATE ROOM, GOVERNOR'S HOUSE
CHELSEA HOSPITAL ILLUSTRATED

Figure 6.17. *Mending His Clothes*, and *The State Room, Governor's House*, in *The Graphic*, February 11, 1888. London, Wellcome Collections.



Figure 6.19. Albert Pierre Dawant, *L'Enterrement d'un invalide* (Burial of a Pensioner), 1882. Collotype. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.

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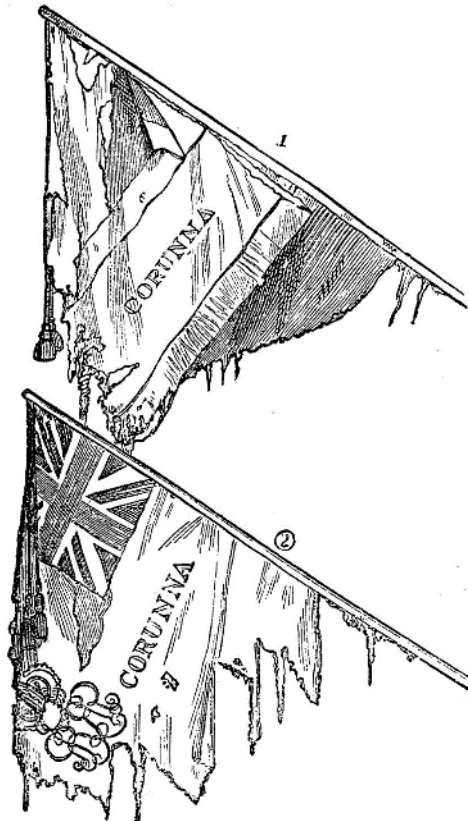
emulate the God-fearing qualities, the loyalty, and the courage of those who had followed to victory the old colours just received. The service closed with the delivery of the Benediction and the singing of the National Anthem. Conspicuous amongst the few invited members of the congregation were two veterans from Chelsea Hospital—John M'Kay, aged ninety-six, who served in the 42nd Regiment, and Benjamin Bunstead, aged eighty-three, who was in the 73rd Regiment. The tattered colours, sketches of which are

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1. The Regimental Colours.—2. The Queen's Colours.

annexed, were subsequently placed alongside those of the Coldstream Guards.

REWARDS FOR THE AFGHAN CAMPAIGN

THE troops at Bellary Ceded Districts, Madras Presidency, comprising O Battery, 6th Brigade, Royal Artillery, 2nd Battalion Royal Fusiliers, 4th Prince of Wales's Own Madras Light Cavalry,

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Figure 6.20. Engraver unidentified, 1. The Regimental Colours—2. The Queen's Colours, in *The Graphic*, November 26, 1881. London, British Library.



Grover & Black, Nottingham.

"THE RIVAL STRATEGISTS."—By E. R. WHITE

Figure 6.21. Grover and Black, after Edward Richard White, *The Rival Strategists*, 1864–1908. Color lithograph. London, Wellcome Collections.

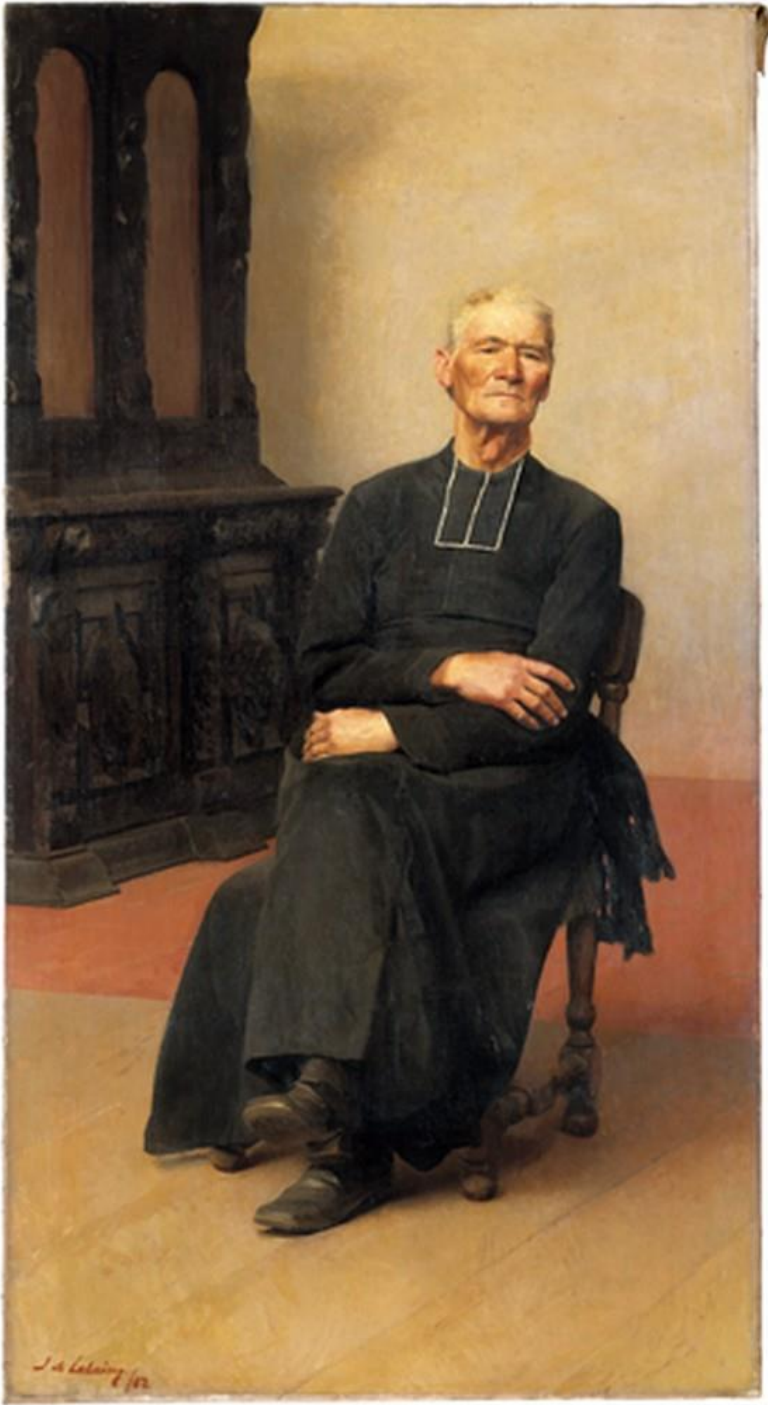


Figure 6.22. Jacques de Lalaing, *Portrait d'un curé de campagne* (Portrait of a Country Priest), 1882. Oil on canvas, 81.5 x 44.1 in. Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten.



Reiterbildnis. Gemälde von Graf Jacques von Lalaing
Gent, Museum

Figure 6.23. Jacques de Lalaing, *Portrait équestre* (Equestrian Portrait), 1883. Oil on canvas, 126 x 185.8 in. Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten. Digital image of original painting unavailable.



Figure 6.24. Jacques de Lalaing, *Le Chasseur primitive* (The Primitive Hunter), 1885. Oil on canvas, 102.4 x 173.2 in. Brussels, Musée royale des Beaux-Arts.



Figure 6.25. Jacques de Lalaing, *Modèle masculin nu de dos suspendu à une colonne* (Nude Male Model Back View Hanging on a Column), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.26. Jacques de Lalaing, *Modèle masculin nu de trois-quart dos suspendu à une colonne, jambes relevées* (Nude Male Model in Three-Quarter Back View Hanging on a Column, Legs Raised), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.27. Jacques de Lalaing, *Modèle masculin nu de face suspendu à une colonne* (Nude Male Model Facing Front Hanging on a Column), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.28. Jacques de Lalaing, *Deux Modèles féminins nus allongés sur un fauteuil et sur le sol* (Two Nude Female Models Spread Out on an Armchair and on the Floor), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.29. Jacques de Lalaing, *Deux Modèles féminins nus allongés sur un fauteuil et sur le sol; Modèle au sol tête reposée* (Two Nude Female Models Spread Out on an Armchair and on the Floor; Model on the Floor with Head Relaxed), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.30. Jacques de Lalaing, *Deux Modèles féminins nus allongés en lutte* (Two Nude Female Models Spread Out in a Fight), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.31. Jacques de Lalaing, *Deux Modèles féminins nus allongés en lutte; modèle dessous regard l'objectif* (Two Nude Female Models Spread Out in a Fight; Model Underneath Looks at the Lens), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.32. Jacques de Lalaing, *Chien couché de trois quart dos* (Dog Lying Down in Three-Quarter Back View), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.33. Jacques de Lalaing, *Chien couché de dos, tête vers le haut* (Dog Lying Down Back View, Head Looking Up), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.34. Jacques de Lalaing, *Chien profil droit, juché sur table basse, en mouvement (flou)* (Dog in Right Profile, Perched on a Low Table, in Motion [Out of Focus]), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.35. Jacques de Lalaing, *Cheval mort, allongé, de face* (Dead Horse, Spread Out, Frontal View), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.36. Jacques de Lalaing, *Cheval mort, allongé, de trois quart* (Dead Horse, Spread Out, Three-Quarter View) c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.37. Jacques de Lalaing, *Cheval mort, allongé, de dos* (Dead Horse, Spread Out, Back View), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Figure 6.38. Jacques de Lalaing, *Cheval mort de profil, plan rapproché* (Dead Horse in Profile, Close-up), c. 1890. Albumen print. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.

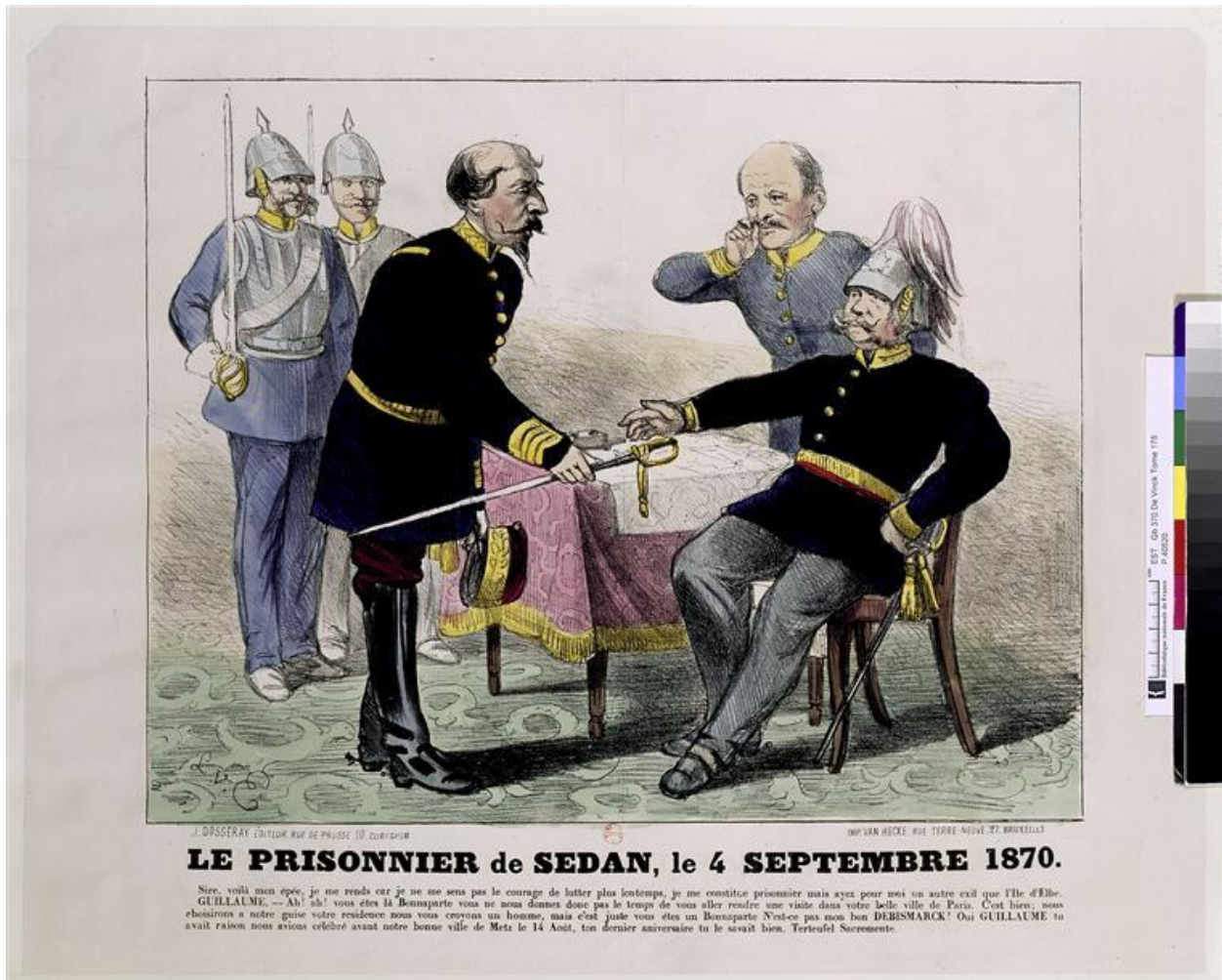


Figure 6.39. Artist unidentified, *Le Prisonnier de Sedan, le 4 septembre 1870* (The Prisoner of Sedan, September 4, 1870), c. 1870. Wood engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 6.40. Artist unidentified, *Bataille de Sedan. 31 août 1870. Napoléon III prisonnier (Battle of Sedan. August 31, 1870. Napoléon III Taken Prisoner)*, 1870. Print. Paris, Musée Carnavalet.



Figure 6.41. Wilhelm Camphausen, *Otto von Bismarck Escorts Napoléon III*, 1877. Oil on canvas. Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum.



Figure 6.42. Printmaker unidentified, after Wilhelm Camphausen, *Napoléon III and Bismarck on the morning after the battle of Sedan*, 1878. Aquatint. From Walter Stein, ed., *Bismarck. Des eisernen Kanzlers Leben in annähernd 200 seltenen Bildern nebst einer Einführung*, Leipzig: Hermann Montanus, 1915.



Figure 6.43. Lega Silvestro, *Bersaglieri Conducting Austrian Prisoners*, c. 1859. Oil on canvas. Florence, Galleria della Arte Moderna.

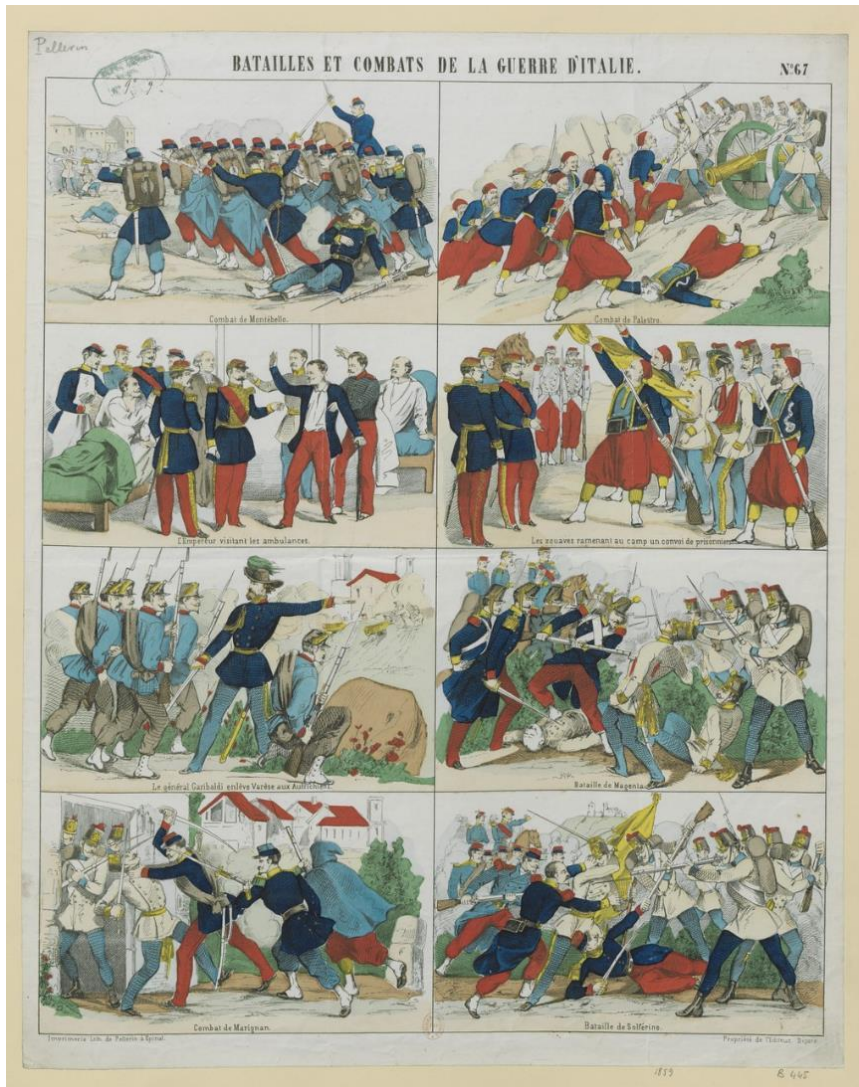


Figure 6.44. Imagerie Pellerin, *Batailles et combats de la guerre d'Italie. N°67, Combat de Montebello - Combat de Palestro - L'Empereur visitant les ambulances - Les zouaves ramenant au camp un convoi de prisonniers - Le général Garibaldi enlève Varese aux Autrichiens - Bataille de Magenta - Combat de Marignano - Bataille de Solferino* (Battles and Engagements from the Italian War. No. 67, Engagement of Montebello—Engagement of Palestro—The Emperor Visiting the Ambulances—The Zouaves Escorting a Convoy of Prisoners back to Camp—General Garibaldi Takes Varese from the Austrians—Battle of Magenta—Engagement of Marignano—Battle of Solferino), 1859. Engraving, 18.9 x 14.6 in. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

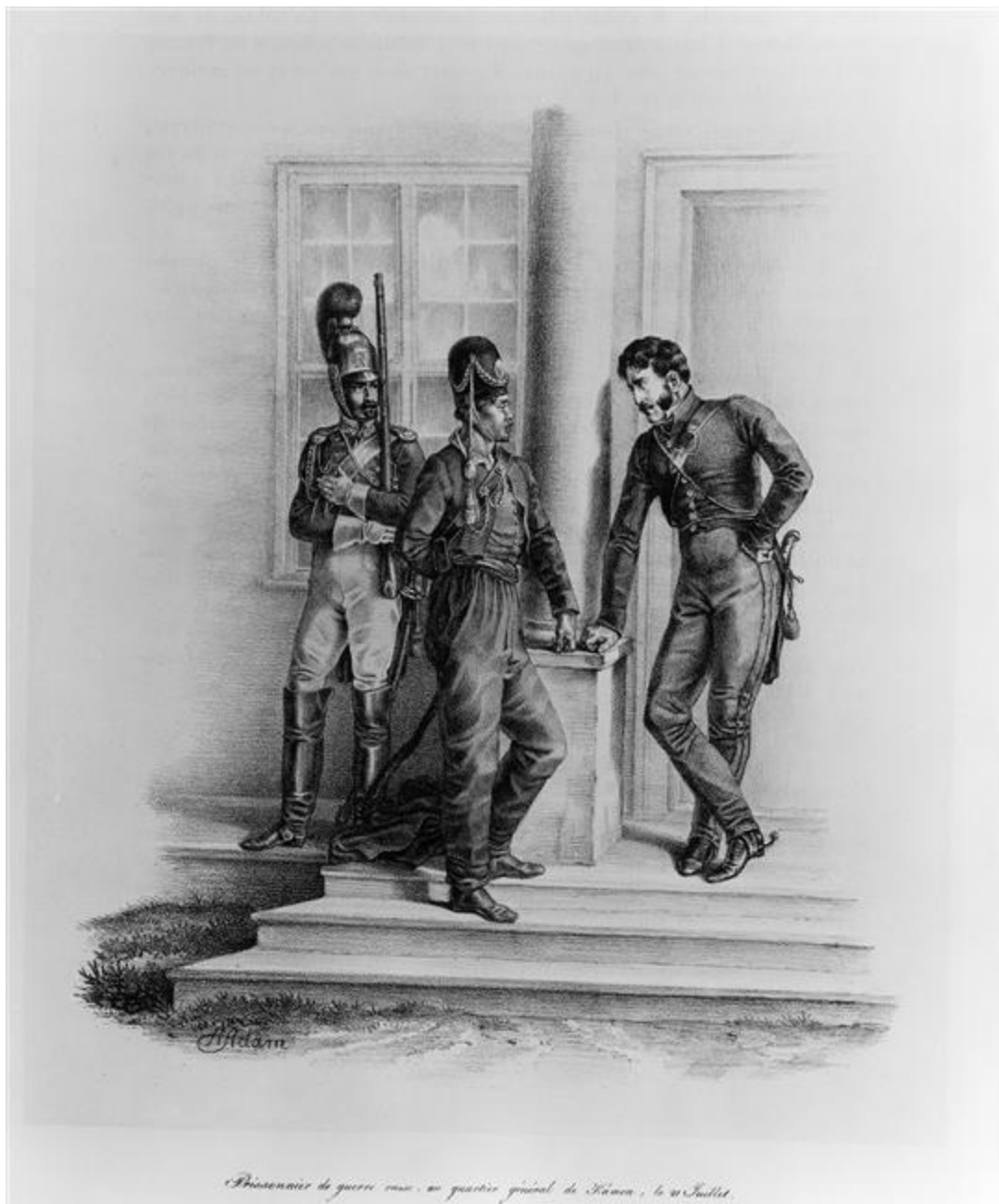


Figure 6.45. Albrecht Adam, *Prisonniers de guerre russes au quartier général de Kamen, le 21 juillet* (Russian Prisoners of War in the Quarter General of Kamen, July 21), plate 23 in the series *Voyage pittoresque et militaire de Willenberg en Russie jusqu'à Moscou fait en 1812, pris sur le terrain même* (Picturesque and Military Voyage from Willenberg, Russia, to Moscow made in 1812, Taken on the Same Terrain), 1828. Lithograph. Paris, Musée de l'Armée.

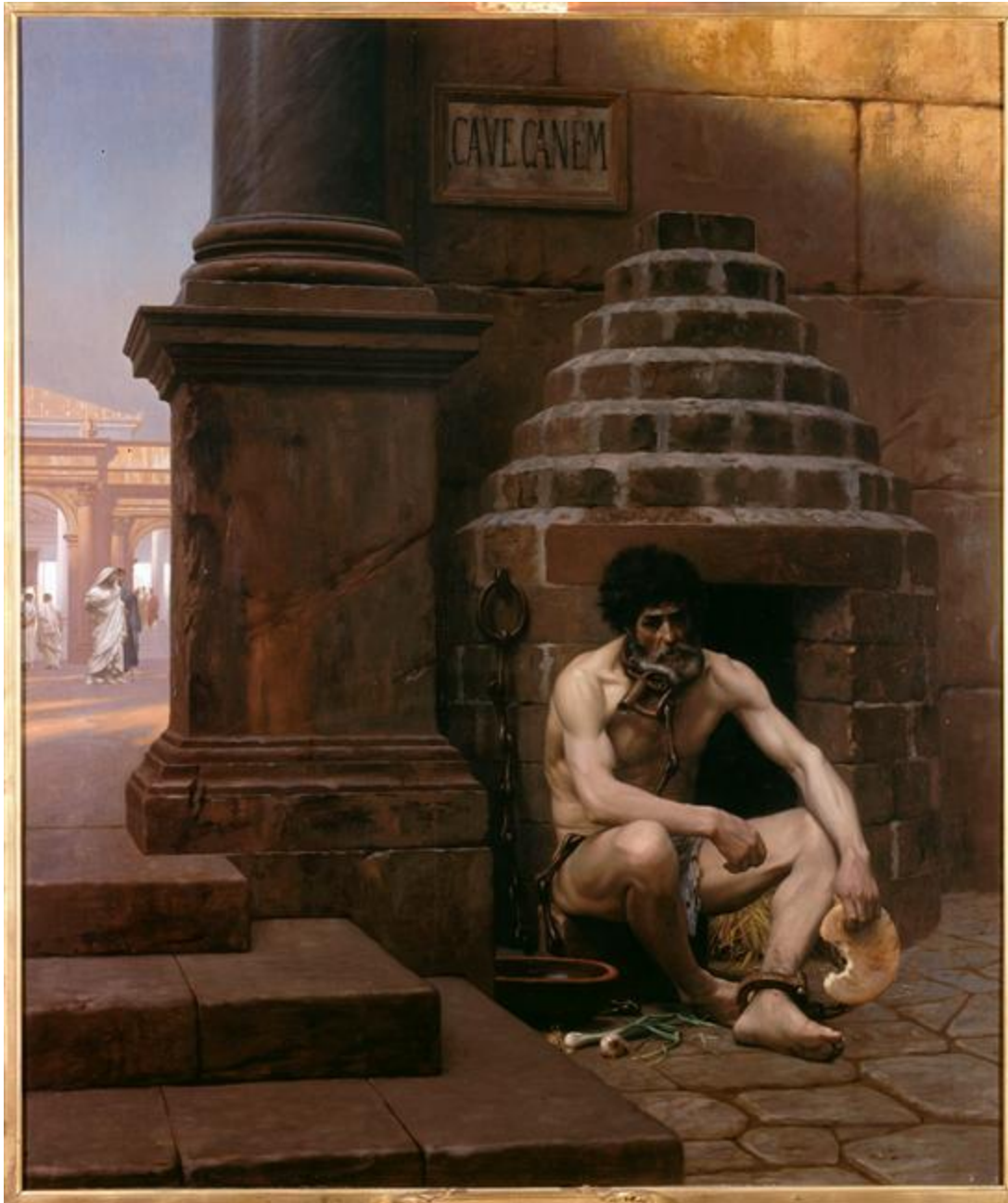


Figure 6.46. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Cave canem, prisonnier de guerre à Rome*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 42.9 x 35.8 in. Vesoul, Musée Georges Garret.



Figure 6.47. Alphonse-Marie de Neuville, *Dans la tranchée* (In the Trenches), 1874. Oil on canvas, 22.7 x 38 in. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.



Figure 6.48. Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, *Les Ruines des Tuileries* (The Ruins of the Tuileries), c. 1871. Oil on canvas, 52 x 38.6 in. Compiègne, Musée national du château.



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Figure 6.49. Cham (Charles Amédée de Noé), *Les Folies de la Commune* (The Follies of the Commune) No. 19, Paris: Office of the Journal *L'Éclipse*, 1871.



Figure 7.1. Photographer unidentified, *La Salle des collections Detaille du musée de l'Armée* (The Hall of the Detaille Collections at the Museum of the Army), c. 1916. Photograph. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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