

# Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier and Two Revolutions

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ENTHUSIASM FOR THE American Revolution ran high in France in the 1780s, and many works of art reflected it. In the Paris Salon of 1783 two painters showed “tableaux allégoriques” that referred to the happy coincidence of the announcements, in 1781, of the birth of a Dauphin and of the victory of the insurgent colonists at Yorktown.<sup>1</sup> Two publications dealing with the war in America illustrated by French artists had already appeared: Hilliard d’Auberteuil’s *Essais historiques et politiques sur les Anglo-Américains* (Brussels, 1781–82) and a *Recueil d’Estampes représentant les différents événements de la Guerre qui a procuré l’Indépendance aux États-Unis de l’Amérique*, a collection of sixteen prints engraved by François Godefroy and Nicolas Ponce. The second work included a summary of the Treaty of Versailles, concluded early in 1783.<sup>2</sup>

A contributor to both these publications was Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier (1739–1821), called “l’aîné.”<sup>3</sup> The *Mercur de France* for July 1782 advertised his “Frontispice des Essais Historiques et Politiques,” which shows the *Première Assemblée du Congrès* (the Continental Congress) (Figure 1), and explained the subject:

À l’ouverture du Congrès, Peyton Randolph ayant été élu Président, se fait apporter une couronne, & la partage en douze parties égales, qu’il délivre aux Délégués des douze Colonies confédérées [Georgia was not represented] comme le symbole de l’égalité qui doit regner dans les Délibérations, & le gage de l’anéantissement du Pouvoir Royal.

The *Mercur* added: “Cette Estampe est d’une composition sage et très bien gravée.”

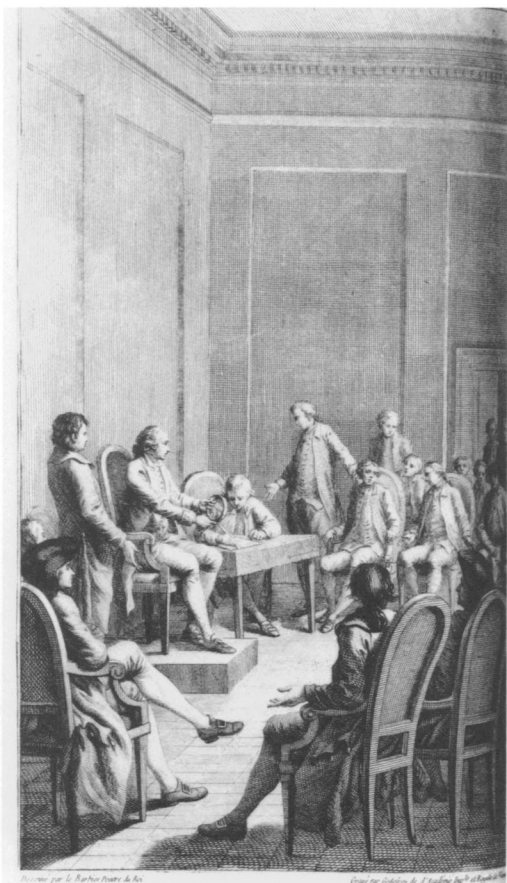
In October of the same year, the *Mercur* an-

nounced four “Estampes majeures” after Le Barbier, which are, in fact, other illustrations of the *Essais historiques*:

1. Éloge funèbre du Docteur Warren.
2. la garnison de Québec enlève le corps de Montgomery [*sic*] pour lui rendre les honneurs funéraires.
3. l’incendie de New-York; elle est d’un très-belle effet, & les Artistes [designer and engraver] y ont donné un soin particulier [Figure 2].
4. la mort de Molly, blessée involontairement par Seymours, son amant, le jour de son mariage [Figure 3].

For the *Recueil d’Estampes*, Le Barbier contributed only the *Reddition de l’Armée du Lord Cornwallis, 19 Octobre 1781* (Figure 4), which was not noticed as a separately published print in the *Mercur*.<sup>4</sup>

If Le Barbier chose his subjects for the *Essais*, as seems probable, the selection is interesting. Except for the opening of Congress, with its suggestion of ancient myth, they are all scenes of intense emotion, dramatic, tragic, heroic, or pathetic. Dr. Warren was killed at Bunker Hill; the text begins, “Contemplez l’ouvrage du Pouvoir arbitraire.” Of General Richard Montgomery, killed December 31, 1775, in the attack on Quebec and honorably buried by his opponents, the text states, “Son mérite personnel l’emporte sur toutes les considérations.” New York City, occupied by the British, suffered a fire on September 21, 1776, supposedly set by some of its citizens, especially the women: “Dans leur désespoir elles veulent tout embraser.” These prints, with the possible exception of Randolph dividing the crown, illustrate actual events; the “Histoire de Seymours et de Molly,” how-



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1. François Godefroy after Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier, *Première Assemblée du Congrès*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)
2. Louis-Michel Halbou after Le Barbier, *Incendie de New-York*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)
3. Halbou after Le Barbier, *La balle a frappé son amant*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

**OPPOSITE PAGE:**

4. Godefroy after Le Barbier. *Reddition de l'Armée du Lord Cornwallis*, 1782. Engraving. The New York Public Library (photo: The New York Public Library)

ever, reads like a romantic invention: Seymours, a captain in the American army, is said to have accidentally killed his bride, Molly, when he fired on two approaching British soldiers during the marriage festivities. The palm tree on the left of the print is frequently found in European representations of American scenery (cf. Figures 7, 12, 16).

Something of the same feeling for the pathetic appears in another work with an American subject. Le Barbier's most successful entry in the Paris Salons, it was shown in 1781 and is described in the catalogue as:

Un Canadien et sa femme pleurant sur le tombeau de leur enfant. Les Canadiens aiment si fort leurs enfants, que l'on a vu quelquefois deux époux, six mois après la mort de leur enfant, aller pleurer sur son tombeau, et la mère y faire couler du lait de ses mamelles.

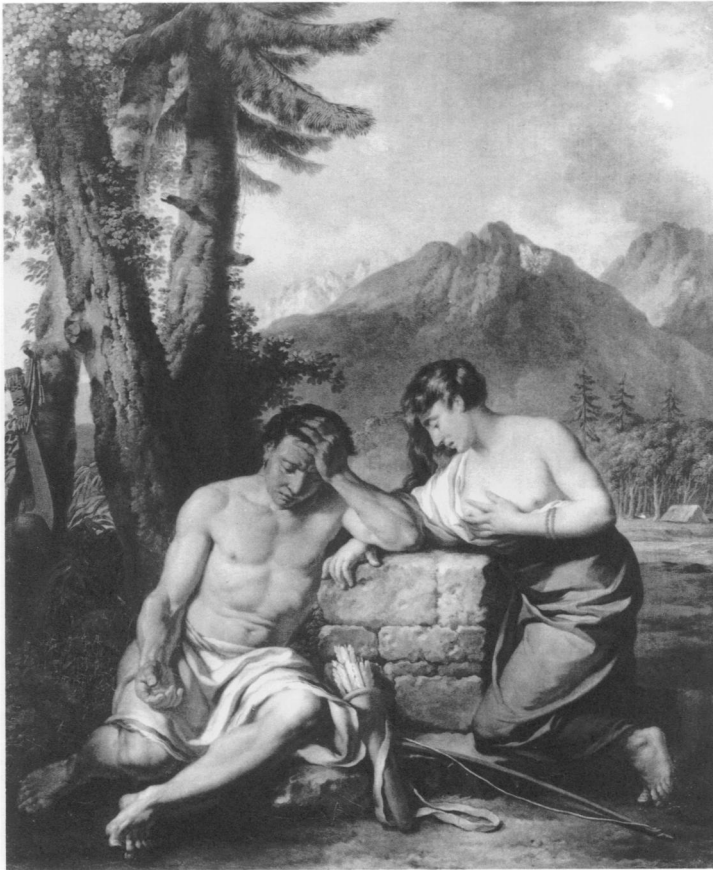
These Canadian Indians (Figure 5), who, performing an improbable and slightly distasteful act, may seem to us sentimental and even faintly ludicrous, were certainly to Le Barbier's contemporaries tender and pitiful; the subject was surely a deeply moving one, true to the highest ideals of human nature and worthy of the Noble Savage. The artist had heeded Diderot's injunction:

Touche moi, étonne moi, déchire-moi, fais-moi tressailler, pleurer, frémir, m'indigner d'abord; tu récréeras mes yeux après, si tu peux.<sup>5</sup>

Diderot did not, however, have high praise for the *Canadiens*; without mentioning the subject at all, he described the painting as: "Sec et cru; bien de composition, dessin correct, la touche n'en est pas grande, la couleur n'est ni mauvaise ni bonne. Il n'y a point d'harmonie dans le tout."<sup>6</sup> Perhaps it was the exotic setting, so remote from those of the paintings he admired by Greuze and Chardin, that repelled him.

The subject of the painting comes from a 1780 book by Thomas Raynal, in which the custom is reported as a fact.<sup>7</sup> An engraving after Le Barbier's *Canadiens* was announced in the *Mercure de France* of May 1787; the painting was said to have had "un succès décidé et très-merité." It was engraved again by François Robert Ingouf in 1795 and reproduced by Joseph Charles Marin as a terracotta group, shown in the Salon of 1795 (no. 1066) and now in the Musée du Nouveau Monde, La Rochelle (Figure 6).<sup>8</sup> The holes in the tomb show that the terracotta was the model for a clock. To modern minds the idea, again, is not a happy one, but it probably seemed





5. Le Barbier, *Indiens du Canada sur le tombeau de leur enfant*, 1781. Oil on canvas. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

touchingly appropriate in the late eighteenth century. Time, not yet worn on every wrist, was still, like death, a solemn thing. The clock face inserted between the mourning parents would not then have seemed laughably incongruous.<sup>9</sup>

A second entry of Le Barbier's in the 1783 Salon shows another of his characteristics, conscientiousness—a willingness to go to some trouble to get details right. The painting was the *Siège de Beauvais*, which illustrated the heroism of a local woman, Jeanne Hachette, in 1472; even today, her courage is remembered in the city. The Salon catalogue includes a statement presumably supplied by the artist: “Le site de ce tableau est pris sur les lieux même.”<sup>10</sup> The painting must have been finished by 1780, as the *Mercure* for October of that year published a very poor poem, probably contributed by a friend of the

artist's, dedicated “A M. Le Barbier l'aîné, Peintre du Roi, sur son Tableau du Siège de Beauvais, où la valeur des Dames fut si utile.” The poem concludes: “son art ravit tous les suffrages.”

The wording of this dedication shows that as early as 1780 Le Barbier was known as a Peintre du Roi. In the Salon of 1783 he showed a painting, *Henri IV et Sully*, which had been “ordonné par le Roi”; it was one of the nine compositions commissioned by the comte d'Angiviller, Directeur des Bâtiments, “des traits nobles et vertueuses de notre histoire.” They were to be used as cartoons for tapestries in the Gobelins manufactory.<sup>11</sup> The Salon catalogue, again surely informed by Le Barbier, notes that the incident had been included in a play, the *Chasse de Henri IV*,<sup>12</sup> but that the playwright had set the event in the Gallery at Fontainebleau, although it actually took place “dans l'allée anciennement dite des Muriers-Blanc.” Again Le Barbier shows his concern with accuracy, for the painting does indeed depict the king and his minister in a tree-shaded alley, with the palace of Fontainebleau in the background. The painting is now in the Château of Pau. In the Salon of 1787 Le Barbier exhibited another painting made for the Gobelins, the *Courage des femmes de Sparte*.<sup>13</sup> Like the *Incendie de New-York* and the Beauvais subject, it celebrated the heroism of women.

It was probably in 1786 that Le Barbier received an even more important commission for tapestry designs, although it came from the Beauvais manufactory, not the comte d'Angiviller. Perhaps Le Barbier had met the director of the manufactory when he visited the city to identify the setting for his picture of Jeanne Hachette. A letter written to the minister of finance on July 12, 1783, from the comte de Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs who did so much for the American colonists, provides a background for the commission:

On promet depuis longtemps de nouveaux tableaux à la manufacture de Beauvais, dont le travail languit parce que le public parait dégoûté des anciens genres, et il serait bien essentiel que ce projet fut suivi avec activité . . . le Sr. De Menou, directeur-entrepreneur, demande que vu la préférence que l'étranger semble accorder à cette manufacture [here one suspects an allusion to the Gobelins], les demandes considérables qu'on lui fait des dites tapisseries et le nombre des ouvriers qui augmente chaque année, il lui soit alloué la somme de 1800 l. [livres] qui reste due à laditte manufacture pour lui pro-

curer les tableaux de deux tentures extraordinaires des sujets choisis de goût et distingués.<sup>14</sup>

Three years later, perhaps to his surprise, De Menou received twenty thousand *livres* for two tapestry series, the “*quatre parties du Monde*” and “*tableaux des arts, sciences, agriculture, commerce,*” both to have furniture upholstery *en suite*.<sup>15</sup> The second series, with its earnest, “modern” subjects so typical of the period, was to be designed by Jean-Jacques Lagrenée the Younger. The *Quatre Parties* was to be by Le Barbier. His cartoons for the wall hangings, cut

6. Joseph Charles Marin, *Indiens du Canada sur le tombeau de leur enfant*. Terracotta clock model. La Rochelle, Musée du Nouveau Monde (photo: Musée du Nouveau Monde)

into the strips needed for the Beauvais looms, were listed in the 1820 inventory of the manufactory, but are not known to exist now; several for the upholstery are in the Mobilier National, Paris. A complete set of the tapestries, probably woven in 1790–91, is in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>16</sup>

Of the four hangings of the continents, the designs of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia* are fairly conventional in their iconography. The value of trade is given prominence; there are barrels and corded bales ready for shipment in *Europe*, and in *Asia* camels are being laden with goods. On one sofa-back the personification of *Africa* offers chained slaves as well as elephant tusks.<sup>17</sup> *America*, however, is given a new interpretation (Figure 7).

*America*, a timid young girl wearing a feather headdress and a short skirt of blue feathers, shrinks



back, although her arm is reassuringly grasped by the stalwart goddess of liberty. America has the bow and quiver of earlier personifications of the continent, but lacks the alligator and severed head pierced by an arrow that accompanied her savage predecessor (Figure 16). The Stars and Stripes, topped by a liberty cap, waves above. A tiny yellow fleur-de-lis appears among the stars, but this juxtaposition of the Bourbon lily and the liberty cap was not, at the time, incongruous.<sup>18</sup>

Reclining on the clouds beside this couple are Prosperity with her cornucopia and Peace with her

7. *L'Amérique*, French (Beauvais) after Le Barbier, 1790–91. Wool and silk tapestry, 12 × 15 ft. (3.66 × 4.57 m.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978, 1978.404.1

olive branch, but the woman flying below them is decidedly warlike. She is France, holding a shield with fleurs-de-lis and brandishing a thunderbolt as she swoops down upon a cowering foe (Figure 8). The enemy, Britannia, vainly raises her shield while the scepter falls from her hand; her leopards (precursors of the British lion) sprawl in impotent rage beside her,<sup>19</sup> and dismantled cannon and cannonballs lie nearby in total disarray.

Above this disconsolate group rises a sturdy column of the Tuscan order, the simplest and purest, symbolizing the pristine virtue of the young republic; to it, a winged Victory or Fame attaches garlands of laurel, from which hangs a medallion with the head of George Washington (Figure 9). This is probably copied from a print by Benoît Louis Prévost after a



profile portrait by Pierre Eugène du Simitière (Figure 10).<sup>20</sup> The bird on the far right, about to leave the ground, may be a symbol of the freedom now attained by the former British colonies—for it is clear that the subject of the tapestry is not so much the continent as it is the United States of America. The image is so striking that a few years later the entire set of tapestries was described as “emblématique de la Révolution Américaine.”<sup>21</sup>

The basic idea of France as the protector of the young nation is the same as that on the reverse of the *Libertas Americana* medal of 1783 by Augustin Dupré (Figure 11), which is well known to have been suggested by Benjamin Franklin.<sup>22</sup> The United States is shown as the infant Hercules strangling two serpents, representing the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga and

the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Franklin, however, wanted to have France “sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet,” whereas on the medal, and especially on the tapestry, she plays a much more active role; on the latter, the Herculean achievements of the Americans are not even suggested.

Another possible source for Le Barbier’s conception is a print of 1778 by Jacques Le Vasseur after Antoine Borel, *L’Amérique Indépendante* (Figure 12), which is dedicated to the “Congrès des Etats unis de l’Amérique.” Here America is still the Indian maiden, though with a turtle at her feet instead of an alligator; she clings to a pedestal on which stands the goddess of freedom, who holds a liberty cap on a pole. Minerva, with spear and shield, rushes down upon a

8. Detail of Figure 7





9. Detail of Figure 7



10. Benoît Louis Prévost after Pierre Eugène du Simitière, *George Washington*. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 17.3.756.1924

11. Augustin Dupré, *Libertas Americana*, 1783. Bronze. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1936, 36.110.41



defeated Neptune, who has the three leopards of England on a broken panel (a rudder?) beside him. A somewhat mysterious Hercules also attacks with his club, and Mercury (or Commerce) and Ceres (or Agriculture) look on. Benjamin Franklin presides benignly, his hand placed reassuringly on America's shoulder, and a palm tree rises behind them.

France is also a prominent figure on the sofa-back designed by Le Barbier that portrays Europe and America (Figure 13). She holds her fleurs-de-lis shield and extends her hand across the ocean, where Neptune rides in his chariot, to America—as if introducing her to the Old World. Victory hovers above, holding a palm frond and a wreath. Europe has her usual attributes beside her, including the horse, and America is here again the Indian maiden; the feathers on her head are red, white, and blue, and she has a turtle shell at her side (Figure 14). One hand, however, rests on a fasces, without the ax head, which symbolizes the union of the states. The round shield,





12. Jacques le Vasseur, after Antoine Borel, *L'Amérique Indépendante*, 1778. Engraving. Providence, John Carter Brown Library at Brown University (photo: John Carter Brown Library)

like those of some Indian tribes, and the confused trophy held by America's companion, suggest that Le Barbier saw imported American Indian objects. A cartoon for one *America* chair-back in the *Mobilier National* (Figure 15) clearly shows a banded, feathered peace pipe. A contemporary iconological dictionary states: "Le columet . . . est chez ces peuples le signe heureux de la paix, c'est pour cela qu'on y a attaché les aîles du caducée de Mercure, symbole connu de la paix" (Figure 16).<sup>29</sup>

The seat of the *America and Europe* sofa, which, as is usual in French upholstery, contains no human figures, shows on the left a parrot and a monkey holding a feather headdress for America, and on the

13. *L'Amérique et l'Europe*, French (Beauvais) after Le Barbier, 1790–91. Wool and silk tapestry sofa covers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978, 1978.404.5





14.  
Detail of Figure 13

15.  
Le Barbier, *L'Amérique*. Cartoon for a chair-back, oil on canvas. Paris, Mobilier National (photo: Mobilier National)

16.  
Nicolas de Launay after Hubert François Gravelot, *L'Amérique*. Engraving. From Gravelot and Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Iconologie par Figures ou Traité complet des Allégories, Emblèmes, etc. . . .* (Paris [1789–91]) I, p. 21. Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



16



right symbols of Europe, dominated by the Gallic cock perched triumphantly on a globe. In the background is a more unusual object: a broken column with a snake twined around it that is attacked by an eagle. The eagle became a symbol of the United States in 1782,<sup>24</sup> and since a snake almost always represents an enemy, it may here stand for Great Britain. The same motif is on the seat of one of the three *America* chairs; it also appears, however, on an *Africa* chair (Figure 17), and so must be supposed to have a wider meaning. A comparable image may be seen in a drawing in the Morgan Library by Pierre Clément Marillier showing a dead snake twisted round a column base or altar (Figure 18).<sup>25</sup> The clue here is an open book inscribed “*Système de la nature*”; this is the title of Baron d’Holbach’s famous attack on religion and government. Perhaps Le Barbier was thinking in general terms of man’s struggle against oppression,

but expressing his then-dangerous sentiment cryptically.

An aquatint by Jean Baptiste Chapuis after Le Barbier (Figure 19) includes broken columns and other shattered remnants of classical architecture. The meaning here is certainly the victory of freedom over ancient tyranny, for the subject of the print is the liberation of the enslaved. It must date from between 1794, when slavery was abolished in the French colonies, and 1802, when Napoleon reinstated it. The majestic seated armed woman places one foot on a lion and a pile of weapons. Behind the lion is a sheep and a fallen fortress, presumably symbolizing a time of peace (the lion lying down with the lamb), but the huge globe of the world on the right is still encircled by chains. The woman must be France; the young girl in a helmet gesturing toward the released slaves perhaps represents the colonies. The markings on

17. *L’Afrique*, French (Beauvais) after Le Barbier, 1790–91. Wool and silk tapestry chair covers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. Claus von Bülow Gift, 1978, 1978.404.4

18. Pierre Clément Marillier, drawing for vignette. Pen and ink and sepia wash over graphite. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, Gordon N. Ray Collection (photo: The Pierpont Morgan Library)



the globe are not very readable, but France seems to place her left hand on America.

Le Barbier was primarily an illustrator: some three thousand engravings are said to have been made from his drawings. He must have accepted what commissions came his way, but one may suspect that some were more congenial than others. One drawing not known to have been engraved, which may have been his own conception, shows Minerva holding a medallion with the head of Rousseau that Glory is about to attach to a column as a pendant to a medallion of Socrates (Figure 20).<sup>26</sup> The drawing was formerly in the Marillier collection, and is signed: Le Barbier l'aîné 1770. Rousseau was evidently a hero to Le Barbier, as he was to the men who made the French Revolution.

The effect of the Revolution on art and artists began unobtrusively. The Salon of 1789 opened as usual on August 25, the feast day of St. Louis. One of the Academy professors, Louis Jean Jacques Durameau, showed a small sketch (no. 6), "le projet d'un Tableau de 14 pieds de haut, sur 30 de large,

que l'on supposoit placé au Château de Versailles, dans le Salon d'Hercule"; it represented the "Séance des États-Généraux de France à Versailles, le 5 Mai 1789." The sketch is not known to exist still and the large picture was never made. Drawings of the same event and of the "Constitution de l'assemblée Nationale, du 17 Juin suivant" were contributed by Jean Michel Moreau (nos. 324, 325); the first of these is now at Versailles.<sup>27</sup> Two works illustrating an even more recent occurrence were a large painting by Hubert Robert (no. 36), *La Bastille dans les premiers jours de sa démolition* (probably the work now in the Carnavalet Museum, Paris), and one of Le Barbier's contributions: "99. Henri, dit Dubois, Soldat aux Gardes-Françoises, qui est entré le premier à la Bastille." Le Barbier was lucky to have had this portrait hung, since, according to a news item in the *Observateur* for August 12, 1789, the comte d'Angiviller had "défendu, de la part du roi, à M. Le Barbier, de l'Académie de Peinture, d'exposer aux hommages du public le portrait du Grenadier qui arbora le drapeau sur les tours de la Bastille."<sup>28</sup> But the count's orders no longer had the force of law and he had gone into exile before the Salon of 1791 opened on September 8 of "L'An III.<sup>e</sup> de la liberté"<sup>29</sup> "par ordre de l'assem-

19. Jean Baptiste Chapuis after Le Barbier, *La libération des esclaves*. Aquatint. La Rochelle, Musée du Nouveau Monde (photo: Musée du Nouveau Monde)



blée Nationale” instead of “suivant l’intention de sa Majesté, par M. le comte De La Billardrie d’Angiviller, Directeur Général des Bâtiments, Jardins, Arts et Manufactures du Roy.” Since 1737, these words had been part of the formula used on the title page of the Salon catalogues, only the names and titles of the director general varying. D’Angiviller’s name appeared first for the 1775 exhibition.

The Salon of 1791, unlike its predecessors, was open to anyone who wished to submit a work; the Revolution had changed the world of art as it had everything else. Le Barbier showed “Lycurgus présente son Neveu aux Spartiates, en leur disant: Seigneurs! Voici votre Roi qui vient de naître” (no. 43), a subject that, with its mention of kingship, could not possibly have been exhibited a year later.<sup>30</sup> Le Barbier’s *Le Pouvoir de l’Amour* (no. 737) was politically neutral; neither work could have been much noticed, however, in the enormous exhibition that included David’s four-foot-wide *Dessin du Serment du Jeu de Paume* and his *Serment des Horaces*, *Brutus*, and *Mort de Socrate* (nos. 132, 134, 274, 299). Le Barbier had played his part nonetheless in the revolution that had taken place in the Académie over the two previous years.<sup>31</sup>

A *Conseiller* at the Académie (that is, an officer of a rank below that of professor),<sup>32</sup> the engraver Johann Georg Wille, kept a diary in which he noted what happened at the “assemblées de l’Académie.” These he attended fairly regularly, even if “il ne s’y passe rien d’intéressant excepté les embrassades de part et l’autre,” the annual custom at the last meeting in December.<sup>33</sup> The year 1789 began peacefully with a formal visit of the members to the comte d’Angiviller; the Seine was frozen over until January 20; Wille bought “un gilet d’écarlate, supérieurement brodé en diverse couleurs, selon la mode d’aujourd’hui.” But on July 14 he notes, “Ce jour fut le plus terrible que j’ai jamais vu,” and gives a vivid, often-quoted description of what he had seen on that momentous day. By August the students at the Académie had set up an armed guard at the premises, although they saluted Wille and the other officers. In September a satirical attack on d’Angiviller was read; it was disavowed by all the Académie members. On October 3, however, a dispute arose between Joseph Marie Vien, who had become director the previous May, and David. Nevertheless, at the last meeting of the year “tout le monde s’embrasse selon l’usage,” and it was



20. Le Barbier, *Hommage à Rousseau*, 1770. Drawing. Location unknown (from Hippolyte Buffenoir, *Les portraits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* [Paris, 1913] pl. 11)

not until February of 1790 that the *Académiciens*—including Le Barbier, who had held this rank since 1785—presented unacceptable demands to the officers. Wille reports what happened:

MM. David, Giraud et Moreau parlèrent le plus et avec beaucoup de feu. M. Le Barbier fit une motion très-longue et paisiblement, quoique interrompu souvent par plusieurs de nos officiers. Enfin la chaleur de la dispute fut grande. Cependant nous ne pouvons accorder, selon nos statuts, leur demande, qui étoit l’égalité de tous les membres du corps en général.

The peaceful nature of Le Barbier’s speech comes as no surprise. In addition to the indications in the works already discussed, a drawing in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (Figure 21), provides evi-



21. Le Barbier, design for a candlestick, ca. 1790. Drawing. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Given by the Council, 1911.28.204 (photo: Art Resource, New York; Scott Hyde, photographer)

dence that one of his outstanding characteristics was a love of peace. The drawing presents a personification of Peace, holding laurel wreaths and gazing wistfully at a lighted candle in an upright gun barrel. Cannonballs and other weapons lie at her feet.<sup>34</sup> The design has the cluttered but not usually abstruse symbolism that Le Barbier and many of his contemporaries favored; and that the figure is a contemplative Peace rather than Victory or Glory is typical, in particular, of Le Barbier. His address to the Académie was unsuccessful, but the equality he supported

would soon become official government policy.

After the *Académiciens* had made their requests, the lowest-ranking official group in the Académie, the *Agréés*, presented their demands the following month, and Le Barbier was appointed to a committee to study them. New statutes were proposed in June: “le y eut de tapage, etc. . . . Disputes san fin.” In September, “le y a eu dispute, etc., et beaucoup de motions, etc.” The members were now meeting three times a week, with “beaucoup de motions et de disputes, mêmes quelquefois assez violentes.” On one occasion Vien walked out with most of the other officers; those who remained with the *Académiciens* chose a group that included Le Barbier to present the new statutes to the Assemblée Nationale. The petition claimed that the authorities at the Académie were opposed to the “Décrets sur l’égalité et la Liberté que l’Assemblée Nationale et la justice du Roi viennent de consigner dans la Constitution.”<sup>35</sup>

The conflict, with some incidents not reported by Wille, can be followed more drily in the *procès-verbaux* of the Académie.<sup>36</sup> Le Barbier represented the *Académiciens* as secretary in their quarrel with Vien and the other officers, but he is recorded as approving the gift to the Académie of an engraved portrait of Vien, “comme restaurateur de bon goût dans la Peinture,” at the last meeting in 1790. This goodwill, on the usual day of “embrassades,” did not last; by February 1791, d’Angiviller had written to Vien that he could not accept the new statutes presented to him by Pajou, Le Barbier, and Vincent. Le Barbier is mentioned as asking for a charitable action on March 31, 1792, but he attended very few meetings during the last years of the Académie before it was suppressed by the Assemblée Nationale on August 8, 1793. He did not exhibit that year. The Salon opened on August 10, the anniversary of the attack on the Tuileries of the previous year, and was held in what was no longer called the Louvre, but the Palais National des Arts.<sup>37</sup>

The Conservatoire, the governing body of this Palais National, nevertheless purchased Le Barbier’s large painting, which they called *Le courage héroïque du jeune Desilles, le 30 Août 1790, à l’affaire de Nancy* (Figure 22), in December 1794, and ordered it to be exhibited “dans la salle circulaire dépendante de la ci-devant académie, en attendant qu’il puisse être exposé dans le grand salon.”<sup>38</sup> The painting, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy, had already had a checkered history. Although begun much earlier, ap-

parently shortly after the event it commemorated, it was not shown at the Salon until 1795 (no. 303); the catalogue gave no account of the subject, merely stating: "Ce fait historique de nos jours est si connu qu'on s'est cru dispensé d'en donner les détails." Perhaps even five years later it was thought more prudent not to give details of Desilles's heroism, for his action at Nancy had not been continuously admired.<sup>39</sup> Lt. André-Joseph-Marc Guiller Desilles (or Des Iles) had placed himself between the cannon of his own rebellious troops and the government forces sent to Nancy to suppress them. "Ne tirez pas! Ce sont vos amis, nos frères, l'Assemblée Nationale les envoie" were his last words before the cannon fired.<sup>40</sup>

Le Barbier showed a sketch of this scene to the Assemblée Nationale (the Assemblée Constituante) only a few months later, on December 23, 1790, and on January 29 the secretary to the assembly proposed

22. Le Barbier, *Le dévouement héroïque de Desilles*, ca. 1790–91. Oil on canvas. Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Gilbert Mangin)



that a full-scale painting be commissioned, "pour faire pendant à celui que fait M. David." The prospectus for an engraving of the work reads:

... une société vient de choisir M. Le Barbier l'aîné, peintre du roi, qui s'est transporté à Nancy pour dessiner la vue du lieu où ce jeune officier a donné un si grand exemple de courage. Il a consulté plusieurs militaires qui ont été témoins de cette action, et n'a rien négligé pour le représenter avec plus d'exactitude et de vérité.<sup>41</sup>

Le Barbier's scrupulous attention to detail is again apparent. His choice of this subject, so soon after its occurrence, is another instance of his pacific nature and his feeling for brotherly love.

The Assemblée Constituante commissioned only two paintings, David's *Serment du Jeu de Paume* and Le Barbier's; the contrast, had both been completed and hung, would have been striking indeed. David's, the most discussed of all great pictures that were never painted, was canceled for political reasons: several of

the men to be represented in it were executed during the Terror. Le Barbier's painting had another fate: Desilles came to be condemned as a royalist rather than admired as a heroic martyr to the cause of fraternity. Le Barbier did not finish the painting until after Robespierre's death in 1794; he was paid 1,800 *livres* for it in October of that year.<sup>42</sup> At a meeting on December 7 the Conservatoire du Museum (the Louvre) announced the purchase, and two days later the picture was ordered to be put on exhibition. Le Barbier also designed a print, which was published in 1791, showing Desilles received by Henri IV in the Elysian fields.<sup>43</sup>

The Salon of 1795, in which Le Barbier's *Desilles* was shown, included other evidence of the changed mood of the nation; there was a portrait by Joseph Benoist Suvée, a royalist, made while he was in prison, of the poet André Chénier on the day before

23. Le Barbier, *Barthélémy de las Casas sauvé de la mort par le lait d'une Indienne*, 1810. Drawing. Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée des Beaux-Arts)

his execution (no. 460), and a sketch (no. 49) by François Nicolas Mouchet described as:

L'Ordre du jour. Esquisse du Tableau dont l'Artiste est chargé par la Nation, comme prix d'encouragement par concours: La Génie de la France, après avoir précipité la terreur dans la fleuve de sang, qu'elle avoit fait coulais, rétablit le règne de la Justice; celle-ci jure de faire observer la Loi, & appellé à son Conseil la Vérité.<sup>44</sup>

For Le Barbier, however, the best days were over. Now nearly sixty, he was not named a member of the Section des Beaux-Arts of the Institut de France at its formation in 1795.<sup>45</sup> He continued to exhibit in the Salons, though often showing only drawings; his subjects were usually classical.<sup>46</sup> He had become, like many of his contemporaries, an enthusiast for what he considered Greek art,<sup>47</sup> and in 1801 published a treatise, *Des causes physiques et morales qui ont influé sur les progrès de la peinture et de la sculpture chez les Grecs*. In this, Le Barbier attributed the beauty of the Grecian nose to the climate of the country, and asserted





that Greek mythology, institutions, and manners, such as public nudity, had given rise to the world's greatest art. He recommended that the government bring Greeks to Paris to serve as artists' models.<sup>48</sup> Le Barbier's other publications express similar views.<sup>49</sup> He wrote to his Venezuelan friend Francisco de Miranda, "Je m'entourne de tous les éléments grecs afin de donner à mes compositions le caractère national."<sup>50</sup>

The works of Le Barbier's later years elicited some admiration, though it was less than fervent. His painting of Virginia seized by her lover, Cecilius, shown in the Salon of 1796, was mentioned in an anonymous poem about the exhibition:

J'admire cette Virginie;  
Je suis content de Lebarbier;  
Il n'a pas beaucoup de génie,  
Mais ce qu'il fait sent le métier.<sup>51</sup>

(One is reminded of David's caustic remark: "Quant à moi, le métier, je le méprise comme la boue.")<sup>52</sup> Charles Paul Landon reproduced prints after paintings by Le Barbier in his *Annales de Musée et de l'École moderne des Beaux-Arts* for the years 1802, 1803, and 1806; of Le Barbier's *Hector adresse des reproches à Paris*, Landon wrote: "La scène est bien pensée, le dessin correct; le coloris vif et brillant." He added that the painting does "obtient les suffrages du public." However, in 1803 when Napoleon asked for the names of the best painters in France, Le Barbier was not among the thirty-five that were given him.<sup>53</sup>

In these years Le Barbier's name is sometimes found on lists with others supporting worthy and charitable causes. These included a petition of 1796 to the Directoire asking that a committee be appointed to study the transfer of works of art from Rome to Paris (clearly in the hope of averting what in fact took place),<sup>54</sup> and another of 1799 pleading for Mme Vigée-Le Brun, on the specious grounds that she was not an émigrée, and had gone abroad only to study works of art.<sup>55</sup> David's name also appears on both these petitions; rancor does not seem to have been virulent among artists of the period. In 1814 Le Barbier was president of a committee of four former *Académiciens* who attempted to effect a reconciliation with the members of the Beaux-Arts section of the Institut de France, but to no avail.<sup>56</sup>

Le Barbier continued to make drawings for book illustrations, which presumably were his main source

of income. Choderlos de Laclos (1794), La Fontaine (1795), Racine (1796), Cervantes (1799), Chateaubriand (1803), and Ovid (1806) are among the authors whose works he illustrated.<sup>57</sup> His drawings for Marmontel's *Les Incas* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, are dated 1810 and show his style at its most classical (Figure 23).<sup>58</sup> His political feelings at the end of the Napoleonic period are succinctly expressed in a drawing in the Musée Dobrée, Nantes (Figure 24);<sup>59</sup> a weeping woman holding a fleurs-de-lis shield gazes at a royal crown on the table beside her. The drawing is inscribed 21. mars 1815; the day after Louis XVIII's flight from Paris and Napoleon's return to the Tuileries. Le Barbier's revolutionary days were long past.

The final years of Le Barbier's long life may well have been comparatively happy. He was instrumental in having the Académie reestablished in 1816, and was the sole painter of the four artists appointed to it by the king.<sup>60</sup> His book *Principes élémentaires de dessin à l'usage de la jeunesse*, first published in 1801, was



24. Le Barbier, *La France*, 1815. Drawing. Nantes, Musée Dobrée, Musées départementaux de Loire-Atlantique (photo: Ch. Hémon)

evidently successful, since it is mentioned, though not favorably, by a number of nineteenth-century writers. Henri Delaborde described Le Barbier as a mediocre painter of whom little was known except his “modèles de dessin,” copied from the beginning of the century “dans les lycées et dans les maisons d’éducation de tout ordre, avec un ennui que chacun de nous se rapelle.”<sup>61</sup> Charles Blanc was even more scathing:

Les souvenirs de l’enfance et de la jeunesse nous ferons consacrer ici quelques lignes à la mémoire de Le Barbier l’aîné dont les misérables modèles de dessin, misérablement gravés au pointillé, nous ont fait tant de plaisir au collège. . . . Dire que de pareils exemples ont été pendant un demi-siècle proposés à notre admiration dans tous les collèges de l’Université, et que personne ne protestait et que notre éducation s’est faite ainsi! . . . Ses Canadiens sensibles, ses caciques vertueux, ses prêtresses du soleil douées d’un profil grec et ornées d’une

ceinture en plumes d’autruche, nous semblent aujourd’hui si ridicules qu’on a peine à comprendre une époque où un tel art pouvait se produire au Salon, sous le nom d’un *peintre du roy*.<sup>62</sup>

A century later, young students are no longer taught to draw this way, if at all, and Le Barbier can be judged less harshly. Something of his character has been revealed by his activities during the two revolutions of his age. He welcomed the American Revolution and was in sympathy with the French Revolution at its beginning. Wordsworth wrote, “Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive!” but the poet later changed his politics; the painter Le Barbier similarly ended up a royalist. He had, however, succeeded in expressing some conceptions of the happier sides of both these great events. One is left with the impression of a conscientious, gentle, and good man—even something of a feminist—with whom a later, war-torn century can sympathize.

## NOTES

1. The first work in the Salon catalogue of 1783 is no. 30, by François-Guillaume Ménageot, a painting ordered by the City of Paris, later destroyed in the French Revolution, but known from a small replica now at Versailles; it included personifications of Wisdom, Health, Justice, Peace, and Abundance, and in the background, portraits of the king and queen on a Pyramid of Immortality, with Victory recording the date: “ce qui fait allusion à la prise de Yorck Town, dont la nouvelle est arrivée le même jour de l’accouchement de la reine” (Nicole Willk-Brocard, *François-Guillaume Ménageot, 1744–1816* [Paris, 1978] nos. 13, 14, 179). The second work is no. 58, by François Guérin, for which the catalogue entry noted that the royal birth had been announced “à l’Hôtel de Ville aussitôt que la reddition de l’armée aux ordres de Général Cornwallis.”

2. Pierre de Nolhac, “Le premier livre français sur les États-Unis,” *Les Arts* 15, no. 72 (1918) pp. 15, 16. The designers of the illustrations were Le Barbier, Fauvel, William, Le Paon, Lausan, Marillier, and Godefroy and Ponce themselves. Most of the plates show French victories in the West Indies (including the capture of Grenada) and elsewhere. It has been suggested that Godefroy and Ponce received “croquis d’amateurs envoyés d’Amérique” as the basis for the illustrations: see André Girodie, “Le peintre Gabriel Lemonnier et l’Iconologie de l’Indépendance américaine,” *Bulletin de l’histoire de l’art français* (1929) pp. 230, 231. When the prints were exhibited in Paris in 1793, they served as French revolutionary propaganda, as did the engravings of John Trumbull’s *Death of Montgomery*, *Battle of Bunker Hill*, and the *Surrender at Yorktown*, which were not made until the 1790s (William Olander, “Pour Transmettre à la Pos-

térité: French Painting and Revolution, 1774–95” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983) pp. 70, 425, 426 n.20).

3. Le Barbier almost always signed himself “l’aîné,” but “Le Barbier le jeune” is a shadowy figure indeed. He is known only by a competent and agreeable pastel portrait of the young prince Friedrich Franz I of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, inscribed on the back “Peint à Paris en 1783 Par Le Barbier le Jeune,” in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin. The name Le Barbier is not uncommon, and it may be merely a coincidence that “un M. le Barbier le jeune” read a play with an American subject to a committee of the Italian Comedians on August 7, 1783 (Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets* 27–28 [1786] p. 112).

4. Musée Dobrée, *Nantes et les États-Unis, 1775–1783*, exh. cat. (Nantes, 1976) no. 58. The scene may show Rochambeau motioning to Cornwallis’s deputy, General Charles O’Hara, to present his sword to the American commander-in-chief. See Donald H. Cresswell, *The American Revolution in Drawings and Prints: A Checklist of 1765–1790 Graphics in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1975) no. 324.

5. Denis Diderot, *Essai sur la peinture*, Gita May, ed. (Paris, 1984) p. 57.

6. Else Marie Bukdahl, *Diderot, critique d’art* (Copenhagen, 1980) I, p. 216.

7. Robert Rosenblum, “Caritas Romana after 1760: Some Romantic Lactations,” *Art News Annual* 38 (New York, 1972) p. 53, citing Thomas Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les Deux-Indes* (Geneva, 1780) IV, pp. 22, 23.

8. Grand Palais, *L'Amérique vue par l'Europe*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1976) no. 189.

9. From the late fifteenth century, "every timepiece was apt to become associated with the idea of death" (Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* [New York, 1939] p. 82 n.50). Another clock model including a tomb is the *Three Fates* by Johann Heinrich Dannecker, dated 1791, in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart (Sibylle Einholz, "Johann Heinrich Dannecker," *Kunstchronik* 40 [1987] p. 534, pl. 4).

10. The painting was destroyed in 1940, but a sketch for it exists. See Jean Vergnet-Ruiz, "Une inspiration de Delacroix? La Jeanne Hachette de Lebarbier," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 21 (1971) pp. 81–85.

11. Edith A. Standen, "Lessons in Moral Values: Two Gobelin Tapestries from the *Histoire de France* Series," *Apollo* 106 (1977) pp. 402–405, figs. 2, 3.

12. Presumably the popular play *La partie de chasse de Henri IV* by Charles Colle, performed at the Comédie Française in 1774.

13. The first weaving was put on the loom in 1792, but was still unfinished in 1794, when it was seen by the committee appointed by the revolutionary government to purify the royal manufactures, the Jury des Arts. The verdict was: "Rejeté sous le rapport de l'art, quoique le sujet soit digne d'être conservé sous le rapport moral. La tapisserie sera continué, comme étant d'une belle exécution" (Jules Guiffrey, "Les modèles des Gobelins devant le jury des arts en septembre 1794," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français* ser. 3 [1897] p. 357). The composition was woven again twice between 1800 and 1808; one example was on the art market in 1959 ("Fine Works on the Market," *Apollo* 69 [1959] p. 156). The cartoon is in the Louvre.

14. Quoted in James H. Hyde, "L'iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5th ser., 10 (1924) p. 270. The author adds after "ce projet": "la vente de tapisseries provenant du dépôt des Affaires Étrangères." He gives no source for the quotation. The set of Beauvais tapestries that the king bought every year usually went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be used as a gift to an ambassador or other dignitary.

15. Hyde, "L'iconographie," p. 270, citing Archives Nationales O' 2038<sup>3</sup>. A tapestry representing *Painting and Sculpture* in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, is from the *Arts and Sciences* series, and there is a set of the hangings at Chantilly. The covers of a sofa and six armchairs are in the palace of Fontainebleau and those of a sofa in the Metropolitan Museum (Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [New York, 1985] II, no. 85).

16. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries*, II, no. 86. The attractive and not impossible suggestion that the set was intended to be a gift from Louis XVI to George Washington was made by the first scholar to publish the work and has been frequently repeated, but it is not supported by any contemporary evidence.

17. A large painting of 1787–91 by Gabriel Le Monnier for the Chambre du Commerce of Rouen was described as "Le Génie du Commerce découvre l'Amérique et condamne l'Afrique à la servitude" (Girodie, "Le peintre Gabriel Lemonnier," pp. 225, 226, 235. The author believes this painting to have been influenced by Le Barbier's tapestry design).

18. The rounded liberty cap, of classical origin and used by Paul Revere in the 1770s, was a standard symbol of the American Revolution; the floppy-tipped Phrygian type became the revolutionary French version because of its similarity to the stocking cap worn by workingmen (Yvonne Korshak, "The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 1, no. 2 [Fall 1987] pp. 52–69).

19. The British leopard, the imperial eagle, and the Dutch lion, all in postures of dismay, are the defeated enemies on Pigalle's 1777 monument to the Maréchal de Saxe in the church of St. Thomas, Strasbourg. See Jean-René Gaborit, *Jean-Baptiste Pigalle, 1714–1785. Sculptures du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1985) p. 64.

20. Edna Donell, "Portraits of Eminent Americans after Drawings by Du Simitière," *Antiques* 24 (1933) pp. 17–21.

21. Document of 24 pluviôse an 4 (Feb. 13, 1796) dealing with an offer by Citoyen Salder of the United States to buy the tapestries; J. J. Guiffrey, "Destruction des plus belles tentures du Mobilier de la Couronne en 1797," *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 14 (1887) p. 293, Appendix A, reproduces the document. It is also possible that the title was designed to appeal to the prospective American purchaser, who, however, found the price too high.

22. J. F. Loubat, *The Medalllic History of the United States of America, 1776–1876* (1878; reprint New Milford, 1967) p. 90.

23. Hubert François Gravelot and Charles Nicolas Cochin, *Iconologie par Figures ou Traité complet des Allégories, Emblèmes. . .* (Paris [1789–91]) I, p. 21, s.v. "Amérique." The figure is in accordance with the older iconographical conception of the continent, portrayed with the somewhat infantile charm so popular in the eighteenth century.

24. E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965) p. 69.

25. Gordon N. Ray, *The Art of the French Illustrated Book* (New York, 1982) p. 86.

26. Hippolyte Buffenoir, *Les portraits de Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Paris, 1913) pp. 85, 86, pl. 11.

27. Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 111. An account of the revolutionary subjects in the 1789 Salon is given on pp. 98–133. Many of the quotations in the present article have been taken from this dissertation.

28. Philippe Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume de Jacques-Louis David* (Paris, 1983) p. 135.

29. July 14, 1790, had been proclaimed the first day of "l'An

l" at the Fête de la Fédération (Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 154). The official republican calendar started a new era in 1792 and came into force in 1793; the Salon of that year was held in "l'An 2<sup>e</sup> de la République Française, une & indivisible."

30. A sketch for this picture is in the Musée Historique, Blois (Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 193).

31. A full account of the conflict in the Académie is given in Olander, "Pour Transmettre," pp. 139–156. It is also discussed in Yvonne Luke, "The Politics of Participation: Quatremère de Quincy and the Theory and Practice of 'Concours publiques' in Revolutionary France, 1791–1796," *Oxford Art Journal* 10 (1987) pp. 17–25.

32. The ranks were Recteur, Professeur, Adjoint à Professeur, Conseiller, Académicien, and Agréé; all but the last two classes were officers.

33. Johann Georg Wille, *Mémoires et journal* (Paris, 1857) II. The quotations are from pp. 195–266, covering the period from Dec. 30, 1788, to Sept. 6, 1789.

34. Henry Hawley, *Neo-Classicism: Style and Motif*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art (New York, 1964) no. 58 (date ca. 1790).

35. Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 144.

36. Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture 1648–1793* (Paris, 1875–92) X, pp. 62–224.

37. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *The Triumph of Art for the Public: The Emerging Role of Exhibitions and Critics* (Washington, 1980) p. 39.

38. Yveline Cantarel-Besson, *La naissance du musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1981) I, pp. 119–120.

39. François Pupil, "Le dévouement du chevalier Desilles et l'affaire de Nancy en 1790: essai de catalogue iconographique," *Le Pays Lorrain* (1976) no. 2, pp. 73–110. Desilles's action enabled the government troops to enter Nancy, and Louis XVI gave him posthumously the Cross of St. Louis (*Dictionnaire de biographie française* X [1965] s.v. Des Iles). See also Olander, "Pour Transmettre," pp. 200–206; Philippe Bordes, "Les arts après la Terreur: Topino-Lebrun, Hennequin et la peinture politique sous le Directoire," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 29 (1979) p. 203, and idem, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume*, p. 37.

40. Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art* (Princeton, 1970) p. 91.

41. Bordes, *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume*, p. 103 n.112.

42. Pupil, "Le dévouement," p. 95.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

44. The painting was destroyed in World War II; a drawing for it is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Olander, "Pour Transmettre," p. 451 n.17, fig. 230).

45. Holt, *Triumph of Art*, pp. 43, 211; Alexander Tuety, "Notices sur les artistes candidats à la classe des beaux-arts de l'Institut," *Archives de l'Art français*, n.s. 4 (1910) pp. 244–289.

46. Henri Bardon, "Les peintures à sujets antiques aux xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après les livrets des Salons," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 60 (1963) pp. 220–239.

47. A. D. Potts, "Political Attitudes and the Rise of Historicism in Art Theory," *Art History* 1 (1978) pp. 200–204.

48. Jules Renouvier, *Histoire de l'Art pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1863) p. 72.

49. François Benoît, *L'Art français sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris, 1897) p. 100.

50. Michel N. Benéssovitch, "Le Général Francisco Miranda et ses Amis parisiens (1792–1798)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., 59 (1962) p. 347.

51. Quoted in Renouvier, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Révolution*, p. 12, citing *Les Étrivières de Juvenal ou satire sur les tableaux exposés de l'an V*.

52. Quoted in Thomas Crow, "The Oath of the Horatii in 1785: Painting and pre-Revolutionary Radicalism in France," *Art History* 1 (1978) p. 453.

53. Tuety, "Notices sur les artistes," pp. 245–286.

54. Charles Saunier, *Les Conquêtes artistiques de la Révolution et de l'Empire* (Paris, 1902) pp. 48, 49.

55. André Girodie, *Un peintre des fêtes galantes, Jean-Frédéric Schall (Strasbourg 1752–Paris 1825)* (Strasbourg, 1927) pl. 45, shows signatures to the petition: 255 painters and other intellectuals.

56. Henri Delaborde, *L'Académie des Beaux-Arts depuis la fondation de l'Institut de France* (Paris, 1891) pp. 141, 142.

57. Roger Portalis, *Les Dessinateurs d'illustrations au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1877) pp. 323–337.

58. Grand Palais, *Néo-Classicisme*, no. 91a. The scene illustrated was engraved by Mariage. Both this scene and Le Barbier's *Canadiens* are discussed in Rosenblum, "Caritas Romana," pp. 52–59.

59. Jacques Vilain, "Nantes. Musée Thomas-Dobrée—Desins de l'époque néo-classique," *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 29 (1979) p. 468, fig. 12.

60. Delaborde, *L'Académie*, p. 170.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

62. [Auguste A. P.] Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École française* (Paris, 1863) III, Appendix pp. 29, 30.