

‘Exposé aux regards du peuple’: Sentimental Disciplining in the Print Images of Louis-Marie Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*

LEON HUGHES

ABSTRACT: One of the most important radical newspapers of the French Revolution, Louis-Marie Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris*, included 133 print images over its four-and-a-half-year print run (18 July 1789–28 February 1794). These prints were a medium for visualising the rapidly changing events of the Revolution. This article situates itself in the developing field of histories of emotional experience, where consideration of cheap popular media, such as prints, has largely been missing from the historiography of the French Revolution. Seeking to redress this gap, this article argues that through these prints Prudhomme taught revolutionaries how they were meant to feel towards the represented events. It advances this argument through three distinct, but linked, visual themes: the presentation of crowds, both celebratory and violent, reciprocal surveillance and a pedagogical urban environment, each of which was never stable, but dynamically produced throughout the corpus of 133 prints.

KEYWORDS: FRENCH REVOLUTION, REVOLUTIONS DE PARIS, PRUDHOMME, PRINTS, SENTIMENTALISM.



SITTING TIED TO a chair on the raised scaffold, Pierre Nicolas Perrin was subjected to the crossed arms and furious looks of the crowd gathered at the Place de la Révolution, 20 October 1793 (Fig. 1). Perrin was a man of renown in the Revolution; a deputy from the department of the Aube and member of the National Convention's *Comité de surveillance des marchés*, but had been condemned to 12 years in 'irons' and 'hard labour for the benefit of the State', after having abused his governmental position to steal 400,000 *livres* over two months.¹ However, before being transferred to the *bagnes*

¹ Art. VI. Première Titre. *Code pénal de 1791*; André Zysberg, 'Au Siècle des lumières, naissance du bague' in Jacques-Guy Petit, ed., *Histoire des galères, bagnes et prisons. XIIIe-XIXe siècles. Introduction à*

of Toulon, Perrin was subjected to 6 hours on the Place de la Révolution, 'exposed to the public gaze'.²

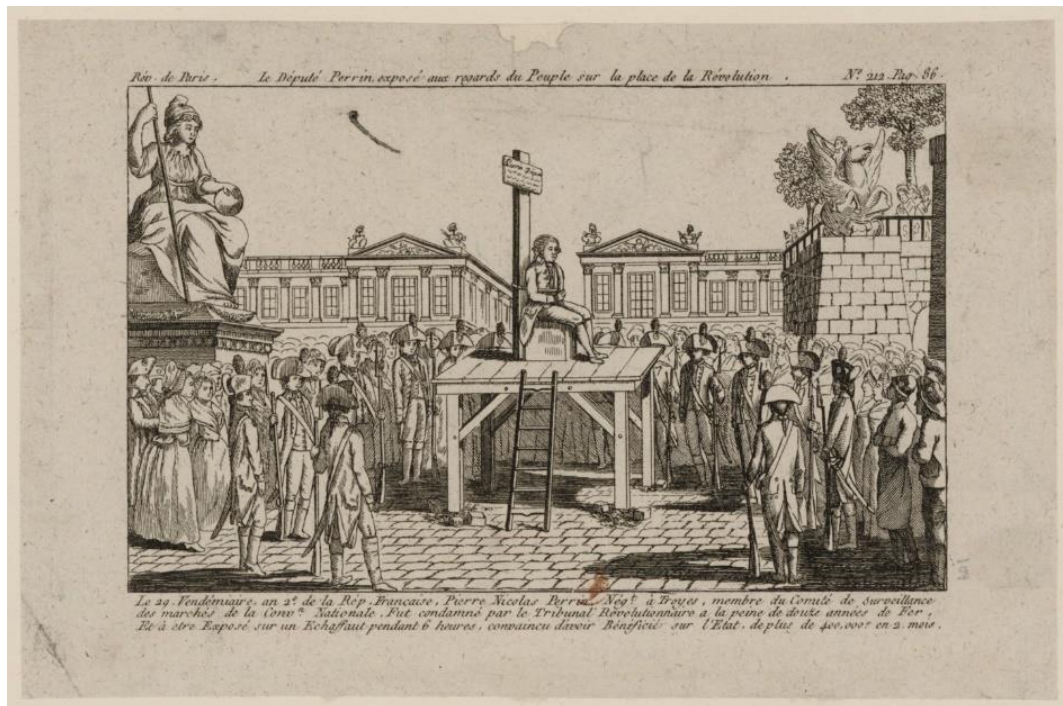


Fig. 1. 'Le Député Perrin exposé aux regards du peuple sur la place de la Révolution', *RdP*, No. 212, du 3 août au 28 octobre 1793, p. 87.

The title of the print, 'exposé aux regards', was established in the *Code Pénal*, 6 October 1791. Used four times throughout the legal code, 'exposé aux regards' established punishment-through-exposure, or the staging of convicted individuals in highly visible places where they were publicly denounced for their crimes; an intended solution to contemporary criticism of *ancien régime* judicial obscurity and promiscuity.³

l'histoire pénale de la France (Toulouse: Privat, 1991), p. 186; Adolphe Robert, Edgar Bourlouton and Gaston Cougny, eds., *Dictionnaire des parlementaires françaises* (Paris: Bourlouton, 1891), t.IV, p. 597.

² This was the second gravest form of punishment after execution (when the placard would remain erected for 12 hours). There were two lesser degrees of punishment: 4 hours and solitary confinement without chains, termed the 'gêne', and 2 hours and enclosure in a confined space, termed 'détention', Titre I, Article 28 and Titre III Article 2, *Code pénal de 1791*. See Pierre Lascoumes, Pierrette Lenoël and Pierre Poncela, eds., *Au nom de l'ordre. Une histoire politique du code pénal* (Paris: Hachette, 1989).

³ Robert Badinter, ed., *Une autre justice, 1789-1799. Contributions à l'histoire de la justice sous la Révolution française* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), p. 13; Jacques-Guy Petit, *Ces Peines obscures: la prison pénale en France (1780-1875)* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), pp. 27-28. On visibility during the Revolution see Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 180-186. On parallels between revolutionary politics and

Justice was confirmed by its collective witnessing as well as by educating those onlookers of the crime. Punishment-through-exposure was a solution for revolutionaries who were at pains to 'authentically' perform their emotional engagement with the Revolution, whilst rooting out those among them with suspected hidden motivations.⁴

Yet, this punishment-through-exposure, and the performance of emotions it solicited, was enacted not just in the physical space of the Place de la Révolution, but also in representational media, such as Fig. 1.⁵ This question of how representational media informed revolutionary 'structures of feeling' is central to this article. Ben Anderson updates Raymond Williams's original figuration of 'structure of feeling', defining it as 'collective affective qualities that dispose bodies'.⁶ Despite the extensive work on the print and visual culture of the French Revolution, there has been a decided lack of engagement in the field of histories of emotional experience.⁶ This is to the

theatre see Paul Friedland, *Political Actors: Representative Bodies and Theatricality in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

⁴ Marisa Linton, *Choosing Terror: Virtue, Friendship and Authenticity in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2004), p. 44. On historicising the idea of 'authentic' experience see Rob Boddice, 'Authenticity and the Dynamics of Experience', *Digital Hex Handbook*, 19 September 2022 <<https://sites.tuuni.fi/hexhandbook/theory/rob-boddice-again-authenticity-and-the-dynamics-of-experience>> [accessed 15/08/2023].

⁵ This is informed by Henri Lefebvre's mutually constitutive spatial triad of 'spaces of representation', 'representational space' and 'spatial practices', *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

⁶ Ben Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2014), p. 119. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 132.

⁶ Lynn Hunt noted that visual sources could be a way out of the 'interpretative cul-de-sac' of French Revolutionary historiography, but this call has not been sufficiently taken up yet, Lynn Hunt, 'The Experience of Revolution', *French Historical Studies*, 32.4 (2009), p. 676. For revolutionary print culture see, among others, Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, eds., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary, 1789-1810* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Joan B. Landes, 'More Than Words: The Printing Press and the French Revolution', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 25.1 (1991), pp. 85-98. There are several notable exceptions, but they all deal with painting rather than print: Colin Jones, *The Smile Revolution in Eighteenth Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Amy Freud, *Portraiture and Politics in Revolutionary France* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2014); Sophie Matthiesson, 'Facing the Unknown: The Private Lives of Miniatures in the French Revolutionary

detriment of such scholarship for the Revolution saw a huge outpouring of visual sources, especially in the quotidian journal and newspaper media, which were increasingly mediating daily revolutionary experience relationally to contemporaries living through these events.⁷ To include print media in such accounts is particularly important because the population in late eighteenth century France was, for the most part, illiterate, and because, as Richard Taws notes, it is a form that has been historiographically downplayed in favour of the more traditional aesthetics of painters like Jacques-Louis David.⁸

Popular forms of visual media have been invariably difficult to analyse due to their ephemeral quality.⁹ This ephemerality, as argued by Richard Taws, was necessary for revolutionaries who were constantly trying to contend with the provisional quality of their politics.¹⁰ The felt transience of the Revolution hence became coupled with the post-1789 'media event', enabled by the removal of censorship laws, reduced production costs and growing public demand.¹¹ Print media became a device to both comprehend events felt to be out of control and, with the expansion of the public sphere, a tool to guarantee popular liberty, which reduced reliance on the traditional authorities of the First and Second Estates.¹² This was compounded by the growing contemporary 'incommensurability of human perception and historical facticity', as

Prison' in Mette Harder and Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, eds., *Life in Revolutionary France* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), pp. 318-335.

⁷ Rolf Reichardt, 'Prints: Images of the Bastille' in Darnton and Roche, pp. 223-251.

⁸ Richard Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional: Art and Ephemerality in Revolutionary France* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2013), p. 3.

⁹ See James Leith, 'Ephemera: Civic Education Through Images' in Darnton and Roche, pp. 270-290.

¹⁰ Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional*, p. 1.

¹¹ There was a daily Parisian circulation of 130,000 newspapers in 1791, peaking at 150,000 in 1797, see Rolf Reichardt, 'The French Revolution as a European Media Event', *European History Online* (2012) <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/reichardtr-2010-en>> [accessed 11/10/2023]. Etchings could be produced within roughly a week and production costs reduced from c.1 *livre* to a couple of *sous*, see Rolf Reichardt, and Hubertus Kohle, *Visualising the Revolutions: Politics and Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), p. 35.

¹² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989). See also David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Stephanie O'Rourke argues, whereby empirical certitude was questioned, generating various apparatuses to confirm individual experience.¹³ Print media could function in this incommensurability and, combined with the semiotic unmooring of the visual during the Revolution, became a dynamic channel for expressing ideas to the popular masses.¹⁴ To quote Reichardt and Kohle, 'a centuries-old cultural framework, represented by the person of the king, had to be replaced by an entirely new one'; this led to many contemporaries believing that 'the radical overturning of social relations was doomed to fail unless it was bolstered by appropriate forms of visualisation'.¹⁵ This double transience of both material ephemerality and representational semiotics led to an unprecedented rise in popular images and caricatures such that, as Lynn Hunt provocatively puts it, during the Revolution 'words were rushing to keep up'.¹⁶

This felt acceleration was both effected by, and responded to, visual media during the Revolution which held a 'collective affective quality' to re-cite Anderson. This is why the history of emotions provides such an important analytic through which to study Revolutionary prints: it asks how contemporaries felt in the embodied contextual conditions, and then how these print media instrumentalised such feelings representationally.¹⁷ This can be considered next to recent developments in French Revolutionary historiography whereby embodied emotional experience has been foregrounded and confirmed through collective ritualised displays of feeling.¹⁸

¹³ Stephanie O'Rourke, *Art, Science and the Body in Early Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), p. 178.

¹⁴ On the increasingly elastic boundaries between different aesthetic media see Richard Taws, 'The Guillotine as Anti-monument', *The Sculpture Review*, 19.1 (2010), p. 34.

¹⁵ Reichardt, and Kohle, p. 107.

¹⁶ Hunt, 'The Experience of Revolution', p. 673.

¹⁷ Rob Boddice and Mark Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). Histories of emotion have often been overly logocentric, coming from intellectual history and poststructuralism. On 'emotives' as 'emotional speech acts' see William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and on 'emotional vocabularies' see Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

¹⁸ David Andress, ed., *Experiencing the Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Francesco Buscemi, 'The Importance of Being Revolutionary: Oath-Taking and the "Feeling Rules" of Violence (1789-1794)', *French History*, 33.2 (2019), pp. 218-235; Adrian O'Connor, "'Through the Bonds of Sentiment':

However, studies of revolutionary emotional experience must incorporate the visual form more sufficiently into their analysis. This is especially due to the dominant late eighteenth-century conceptualisation of emotions through the prism of 'sentimentalism'.¹⁹ Sentimentalism was underpinned by Lockean Sensationalism: the mental *tabula rasa* was impacted by senses inscribing the exterior world onto the interior mind, but which developed throughout the eighteenth century to include affective responses to such stimuli as well as raw stimulation.²⁰ Hence, the human was understood as 'having the ability to be, and to feel, moved' and consequently developed from passive impressionability, an active, 'positive and formative moral response'.²¹ This moral response was seen as the emotional basis of the socio-moral order; sensibility, properly trained in the Rousseauian tradition, was meant to foster a collective social conviviality and *bienfaisance*.

Humans were hence conceptualised as sensibly impressionable, and sentiment became understood as a 'key political resource and a crucial solution to [...] how to secure the socio-political order'.²² By openly performing sentimental emotions, individuals could assure others of their common feelings. Civic sentiments became a preservative for social and national bonds amidst the uncertainty and anxieties of a revolution in free flow.²³ This politicisation of sentiment led to an array of 'sensory pedagog[ies] of everyday life': music, dance, festivals, paintings, sculpture, prints were all thought to instil civic sentiments in the *citoyens* and *citoyennes* of the Revolution through a 'kind of opening up to vivid impressions'.²⁴ This article does not attempt to

Fraternité and Politics in Revolutionary France' in László Kontler and Mark Somos (eds), *Trust and Happiness in the History of European Political Thought* (Leden: Brill, 2017), pp. 176-201.

¹⁹ Reddy calls this the revolutionary 'emotional regime', although this term hasn't been used by the author as it is felt to be overly programmatic, Reddy, p. 124.

²⁰ Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 1-17; Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991); Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 94-112.

²¹ Jones, pp. 65-66.

²² Edward Jones-Imhotep, 'The Unfailing Machine: Mechanical Arts, Sentimental Publics and the Guillotine in Revolutionary France', *History of the Human Sciences*, 30.4 (2017), p. 12.

²³ Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class*, p. 46; Vincent-Buffault, pp. 77-88.

²⁴ Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 74-76; Jones, p. 66.

account for the actual emotional experience of late eighteenth-century readers. Rather, it contends that by positioning sentimentalism at the centre of one's analysis of visual media, one asks how revolutionaries conceptualised the socio-political effects of such media for affectively ordering society. In representing revolutionary bodies-in-space, the sensible impact of such visual media on their audience were implicit in their production.

To return to 'Le Député Perrin exposé aux regards du peuple sur la place de la Révolution' (Fig. 1), this was a print produced for Louis-Marie Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* (18 July 1789 to 28 February 1794).²⁵ The *Révolutions* was one of the most successful revolutionary papers with 225 issues: Desmoulins (over)estimated 200,000 weekly subscribers at its peak, and it enjoyed a long print-run, counterfeits, international readers, and contemporary praise and envy from other journalists.²⁶ Prudhomme was the primary editor and owner of the *Révolutions*, but it would be wrong to solely attribute it to him, as it was run as a professional venture with a large team of writers and printers all contributing to its production.²⁷ However, it is difficult to sufficiently explicate the relationship between Prudhomme, his editors (the two principal ones were Antoine Tournan, who collaborated on the first 12 editions before leaving to set up his own journal, and Élysée Loustallot, who died 19 September 1790 and was seen as setting 'spirit of the popular *Révolutions*') and the printers.²⁸ Yet, as Prudhomme held final editorial authority, this article treats the print representations of the *Révolutions* as ultimately reflective of his politics. Prudhomme was sensitive to the commercial opportunities of the printed newspaper: he chose a small octavo form to facilitate the

²⁵ Claude Labrosse et Pierre Rétat, *L'instrument périodique. La fonction de la presse au XVIIIe siècle* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1985), p. 143; Christophe Palierse, 'La Révolution du droit naturel dans les *Révolutions de Paris* (juillet 1789-septembre 1790)', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 285 (1991), p. 353; Eugène Hatin, *Histoire politique et littéraire de la presse en France* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1860), t. IV, pp. 317-364.

²⁶ Censer, *Prelude to Power*, p. 25.

²⁷ Hugh Gough, *The Newspaper Press in the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 56.

²⁸ Jack R. Censer, *Prelude to Power: The Parisian Radical Press, 1789-1791* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 23.

easy dissemination of the *Révolutions* by street hawkers in the urban *voie public* and printed separate images (133 in total) to be combined afterwards by subscribers.²⁹

This article, using twelve key examples from the 133 prints of the *Révolutions*, asks how visual media was used by a radical journalist such as Prudhomme to visualise the Revolution.³⁰ Informed by contemporary histories of emotion, it contends that Prudhomme attempted to establish, and develop, certain themes in his visual media that both made coherent and representationally stabilised a Revolution felt to be out of control.³¹ Three themes in particular - the presentation of celebratory and violent crowds, reciprocal surveillance, and a pedagogical urban environment – worked to produce and orient revolutionary bodies-in-space. These themes were never stable in the *Révolutions*, but reiteratively negotiated by Prudhomme relative to the rapidly changing events of the Revolution. This thematic dynamism was enabled due to contemporary attempts to use ephemeral media to respond to the ‘ongoing incompleteness’ of the Revolution.³² Print ephemera, in its ability to be produced cheaply and quickly, enabled fast reaction to transient events. Through these prints, Prudhomme could react to the instability of the Revolution and hold it momentarily in some form of representational coherence.

²⁹ The octavo format involved one or more sheets of paper on which 16 pages of text were printed and folded; Prudhomme used 3 sheets, to make 48 pages of c.6x9 inches. Robert Darnton, ‘An Early Information Society: News and the Media in Eighteenth-Century Paris’, *The American Historical Review*, 105.1 (2000), p. 9; Jeremy Popkin, *Revolutionary News: The Press in France, 1789-1799* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 99.

³⁰ The radical press was generally characterised by distrust of constituted authority, saw popular sovereignty as a genuine political force, and couched its arguments in high emotional pitch, see Censer, *Prelude to Power*.

³¹ On the print functions of standardisation and dissemination see Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

³² Taws, *The Politics of the Provisional*, p. 2.

I. Prudhomme, the *Révolutions de Paris*, and the Production of Revolutionary 'Event'

Print ephemera hence enabled Prudhomme to respond quickly to ensuing events; this was reflected in the *Révolutions*'s rhythms of production. The table below (Fig. 2) shows the total print run of the *Révolutions* with red indicating an edition without a print, yellow indicating an edition with a map and green an edition with a print (although there could be multiple prints included in one edition). The data illustrates that across its four-and-a-half-year print run the paper itself was remarkably consistent in production: an edition was produced weekly until August 1793, when it became significantly more irregular. However, this regularity did not extend to the print images, which underwent lengthy hiatuses in production. At the start of the Revolution this was due to the adjustment to the technical and commercial aspects required for running such a large press: it was only in February 1790 that some coherence to the prints was achieved. This was followed from May 1790 with an impressive production of one departmental map each week for all 83 new *Départements*, with singular prints intermixed. However, by late spring 1792 to the beginning of November 1792, Prudhomme was producing print images much more regularly to coincide with the height of popular involvement in the Revolution, something that the radical Prudhomme was at pains to highlight. By the end of 1792, this regularity decreased, with a momentary spike around Louis XVI's execution in late January-early February 1793. From late February 1793 to the start of August 1793 prints became sparse, and then from August 1793 to February 1794 the editions themselves became incredibly sporadic. This relates to the tightening of controls relative to the Committee of Public Safety and the Revolutionary Tribunal; Prudhomme himself was imprisoned on 4 June 1793, which partly explains the ending of the *Révolutions*'s regular print run.³³

³³ Prudhomme commemorated this in a print, 'Le citoyen Prudhomme expulse de sa Maison ainsi que son Epouse et ses Quatre enfans, pour avoir depuis 1788, osé montrer le patriotisme le plus ardent et dévoilé les faux patriotes', *RdP*, No. 204, du 1 au 8 juin 1793, p. 464.

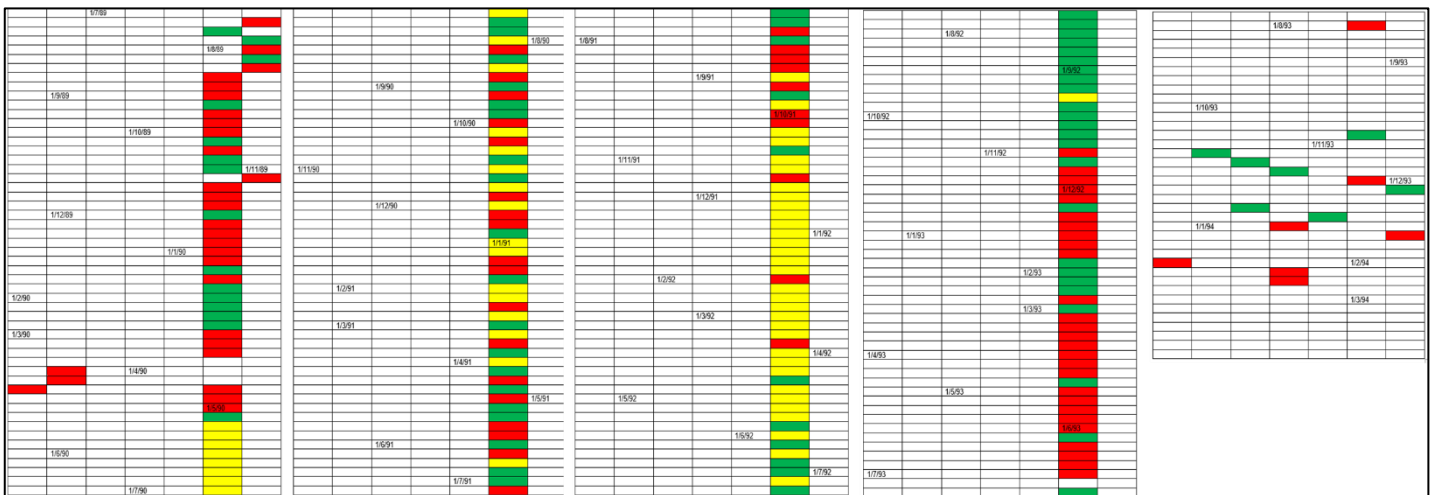


Fig. 2. *RdP*, 18 July 1789 to 28 February 1794. Each row is a week, from Monday to Sunday. Red indicates no print image. Yellow indicates a map but no print image. Green indicates one, or multiple print images in one edition.

Hence, prints in the *Révolutions* were used sporadically throughout the Revolution, in conjunction with a reliably consistent text-based journal. The octavo format of the publication lent itself to narrative continuity as news was reported in a continuous sequence with an intimate journalistic voice.³⁴ The prints were attempts by Prudhomme to take this continuous reportage and hold it in a singular representation. Prudhomme was using the print medium to highlight certain chosen revolutionary events which, to quote Koselleck, were moments 'separated *ex post* from the infinity of circumstance'; produced after their occurrence and named.³⁵

During the first months of production, prints were often produced retrospectively; they were sent to subscribers months later, or produced when editions were reprinted. The frontispiece of No. 1 (12-17 July 1789) records that it is the ninth edition of that first number, whilst it is noted in No. 12 (26 September-3 October 1789) that 'the delivery of the introduction, that we have promised free to our subscribers, was only delayed due to an engraving that we intend to put on the frontispiece'.³⁶ The introduction that Prudhomme mentions here was published three months later as a

³⁴ Claude Labrosse, 'Fonctions culturelles du périodique littéraire' in Labrosse et Rétat, p. 59.

³⁵ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), p. 107. See Lynn Hunt, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest: Central University Press, 2008), p. 76; Sanja Perovic, *The Calendar in Revolutionary France: Perceptions of Time in Literature, Culture and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 4.

³⁶ *RdP*, No. 12, du 26 septembre au 3 octobre 1789, p. 1.

standalone piece, on 30 January 1790, suggesting either the care that his editorial team were taking over this engraving, or their desire to focus on the engravings for events in the editions preceding the introduction, notably the 12 prints included in No. 1, 12-17 July 1789.

This plethora of prints led Prudhomme to produce a retrospective list, the 'Avis au relieur pour placer les gravures' (Fig. 3), which detailed where 'bookbinders' – *les relieurs* – should insert their images. Through this device, Prudhomme emphasised the active participation of the *Révolutions*'s subscribers in the combination of the textual journal with the prints. This list includes the three prints from the introduction, and so can be adjudged to have been produced after 30 January 1790. This list acted as a process of completion whereby Prudhomme provided subscribers with a method of knowing if they owned or had seen all the prints produced by the *Révolutions*, a method of visually scripting the quasi-mythological origin story of the early Revolution.³⁷ Yet, Fig. 3 only mentions 10 prints of the 12 in No. 1 (numbers 4-12, with an extra print listed under number 9): 'Nuit du 12 au 13 juillet 1789 à Paris' and 'Vue intérieure de la Démolition de la Bastille' are not included in this list. Thus, the visual production of events in the early revolution was ongoing past 30 January 1790, and the process of listing suggested in Fig. 3 was not definitive.

³⁷ On lists as a modality of control see Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1994). On revolutionary scripts see Keith M. Baker and Dan Edelstein, eds., *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015).

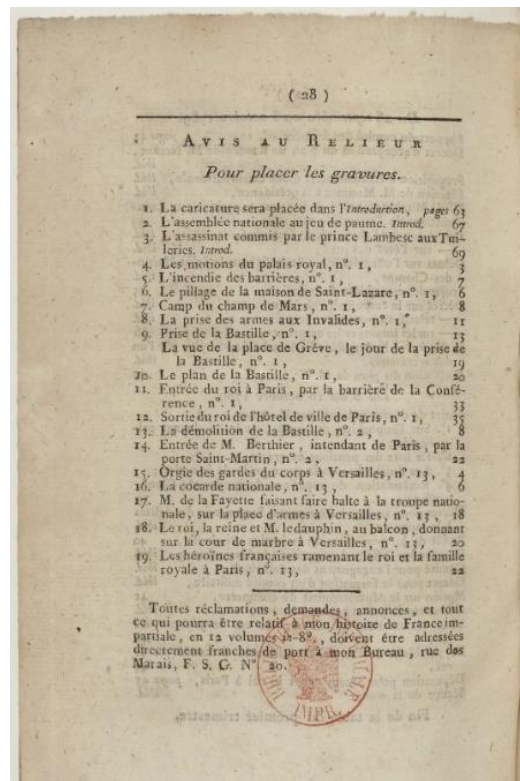


Fig. 3. 'Avis au relieur pour placer les gravures', *RdP*, No. 13, du 3 au 10 octobre 1789, p. 28.

Hence, the *Révolutions's* prints functioned as singularities which represented named events in the Revolutionary 'historical narrative', and so can be treated as standalone representations, but also as part of a larger corpus intentionally put together by Prudhomme and his editorial team, to be recombined by subscribers *post-facto*. To consider these prints as representational singularities intersects with the previous discussion of sentimentalism for, in producing this series of discrete images, Prudhomme attempted to discipline visually the *impact sensible* of each image on his audience. This was a complex and non-linear process whereby the visual themes of the *Révolutions's* prints were in constant flux as Prudhomme implemented his own kind of sentimental, sensory pedagogy. The following three sections will develop this argument around three distinct but connected themes which were dynamically produced across the *Révolutions's* 133 prints: the first two – crowds and surveillance – centre on the conditioning of revolutionary bodies, whilst the third considers the iterative production of the urban environment through which these bodies moved.

II. Sentimental Crowds

Crowds were ubiquitous yet contentious visual tropes in revolutionary prints: *le peuple*, the calm, magnanimous collective made visible the new social contract of *la patrie*, but could easily slip into *la foule*, the violent, carnivalesque throng descending into chaos.³⁸ The line between these two crowds was thin, and yet the emotional valences of each were distinct. In the early Revolution, the promise of *le peuple* inspired a nascent optimism, epitomised by the first Fête de la Fédération (14 July 1790): 'Pacte Fédératif des français le 14 juillet 1790' (Fig. 4) shows the celebration on the Champ de Mars, and 'Bal et Illumination aux Champs Élysées, le 18 juillet 1790 au soir' (Fig. 5) the festivities on the Champs Élysées a few days later. These prints made revolutionary society visible, not just as abstract discourse, but as an observable object.³⁹ The mass of bodies populating space enabled Prudhomme to construct an embodied authentication of the new civic social relations, and a hopeful affective pedagogy, as this visible *peuple* witnessed and partook in proceedings.⁴⁰



Fig. 4. 'Pacte Fédératif des français le 14 juillet 1790', *RdP*, No. 53, du 10 au 17 juillet, p. 1.

³⁸ Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt, 'Imaging the French Revolution: Depictions of the French Revolutionary Crowd', *The American Historical Review*, 110.1 (2005), pp. 38-45. On the historiography of the crowd in the French Revolution see Micah Alpaugh, *Non-Violence and the French Revolution: Political Demonstration in Paris, 1789-1795* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 1-23.

³⁹ Hunt, 'The Experience of Revolution', pp. 677-8.

⁴⁰ Lynn. Hunt, 'The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution', *The American Historical Review*, 108.1 (2003), p. 11; Palierse, p. 375.



Fig. 5. 'Bal et Illumination aux Champs Elisées, le 18 juillet 1790 au soir', *RdP*, No. 54, du 17 au 24 juillet 1790, p. 55.

At the front of both these prints, specific individuals are emphasised in various moments of fraternal interaction. Dancing, conversing, hand-shaking and embracing dissolve the previously rigid class divisions in an atmosphere of joy and wonder at such world-altering proceedings, as gestured to by the child at the bottom of Fig. 4.⁴¹ These moments are mirrors for the kind of interactions which were happening throughout France during these celebrations; through these embodied signifiers of sentimental individuals authentically 'becoming revolutionary' contemporaries could begin to be taught how to feel and act in such situations.⁴²

Moreover, behind these individuals another disciplining is ongoing as the figures picked out fade into a crowd amorphic in its generality. This crowd is a commanding *thing*, receding into the background of the print in an unbounded spectacle of *la patrie*.

⁴¹ Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press), p. 33, 41; O'Connor, p. 419; Marcel David, *Fraternité et Révolution française, 1789-1799* (Paris: Aubier, 1988), pp. 43-59.

⁴² Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: the deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789-1790)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). On Paris-provincial emotional interactions see Micah Alpaugh, 'Les émotions collectives et la mouvement des fédérations (1789-1790)', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 2.372 (2013), pp. 49-80.

It is a hopeful promise of the always-more, *la patrie* as infinite persons coming together in fraternity to produce, through their social bonds, a new form of sovereignty. This crowd positions and directs the gaze of its audience. It is a visual tactic of phenomenological orientation whereby gazes are gathered around revolutionary event-centralities.⁴³ The monumental, as Henri Lefebvre writes, is established through consensus, and Prudhomme establishes it through the multiplicity of onlookers, in conjunction with the viewer of the print.⁴⁴ As stated in the *Révolutions*, upon seeing the Fête de la Fédération the crowd 'opened their eyes to the first dawn of *liberté*' and the audience of the print, in looking with this crowd, could open its eyes too.⁴⁵ This visual orienting through collective witnessing formed an invitation to viewers to look, and crucially feel, *with* the crowd toward the unfolding event, eliciting not passive engagement but a necessarily participatory affective response.⁴⁶

However, Prudhomme's affective pedagogy becomes complicated when one moves from the celebratory, festive crowds to collective demonstrations and gatherings which slipped into violence. 'Vue de la Place de Grève le jour de la prise de la Bastille' and 'Malheur arrivé à Paris le 21 octobre 1789 à 8 heures du matin' (Figs. 6 and 7) depict violent collective justice and the adjudicating function of *le peuple* from the early revolution (July to October 1789). Both prints complicate the simple euphoria of the 1790s Fête de la Fédération, as the *Révolutions's* representation of crowds becomes thematically unstable. They reveal Prudhomme's struggle with whether to direct his audience to condemn or condone these two crowds.

⁴³ Lefebvre, p. 386.

⁴⁴ Lefebvre, p. 144.

⁴⁵ *RdP*, No. 68 du 23 au 30 octobre 1790, p. 116.

⁴⁶ Buscemi, p. 224.



Fig. 6. 'Vue de la Place de Grève le jour de la prise de la Bastille', *RdP*, No. 1 du 12 au 17 septembre 1789, p. 19.



Fig. 7. 'Malheur arrivé à Paris le 21 octobre 1789 à 8 heures du matin', No. 15 du 17 au 24 octobre 1789, p. 26.

In Fig. 6, the decapitated heads of Bernard-René Jourdan de Launay, the ex-governor of the Bastille, and Jacques de Flesselles, the *Prévot de Marchands* suspected of ordering Launay to fire on those storming the royal prison, are paraded through the Place de Grève (present day Hôtel de Ville) on the afternoon of 14 July 1789 to the acclaim of a huge crowd. Fig. 6, much like the Fête de la Fédération, features defined individuals at the front directing gazes to the cortège at the centre of the print, and a receding amorphous multitude at the back. All the onlookers are turned towards the procession, confirming the righteousness of the violence of the already-effected popular executions. There is no ambiguity here, popular justice has already happened; the 'monsters', as Prudhomme terms Flesselles and Launay, who were responsible for the 'crimes' of the Bastille had been brought to reckoning.⁴⁷

This can be contrasted with Fig. 7 which details, one month later, a Parisian baker, François Boulanger, being escorted from his shop to be executed after rumours abounded that he was selling mouldy bread. Yet, the same visual tactics of crowds directing the viewer's gaze are not as clear in Fig. 7. Boulanger is not in the centre of the print, but slightly off to the left and surrounded, even obscured, by a throng of people who are not unanimous in their judgement but are rather shown to be in conversation, or confrontation, raising their arms and blocking each other. The dog in mid-bark and the close focus on Boulanger's removal add 'noise' to this representation, creating an urban cacophony which differs markedly from Fig. 6. This confusion in the visual form of print reflects Prudhomme's own perplexity as he condemns the 'seditious' crowd, acting 'without waiting for justice to be rendered'.⁴⁸ Prudhomme is at pains to note that 'honest neighbours follow him [Boulanger]' and 'all the *coeurs sensibles*' pity the widow and child he leaves behind.⁴⁹ This complicated the idea of the crowd as a visual authentication of Revolutionary justice; the sentiment that the audience of the *Révolutions* are meant to feel towards this episode is modified by what Prudhomme finds to be an unlawful act of collective justice.

Flesselles and Launay, and Boulanger were all executed on the Place de Grève on the 14 July and 21 October 1789 respectively. Prudhomme explicitly notes this point: 'the unfortunate François has finished his honourable life where Flesselles and de

⁴⁷ *RdP*, No. 1, du 12 au 17 septembre 1789, p. 18.

⁴⁸ *RdP*, No. 15 du 17 au 24 octobre 1789, p. 26.

⁴⁹ *RdP*, No. 15, pp. 27-28.

Launay perished'.⁵⁰ For him, this is where the comparisons between the two events end. Prudhomme chooses to represent these two instances of crowd violence at different points in their 'historical narrative'; thereby attempting to dictate how his audience feels towards each event. In Fig. 6 Flesselles and de Launay are already executed, their decapitated heads symbols of summary justice which the celebratory crowd condones in their gestural acclamations. On the other hand, Fig. 7 represents Boulanger before his execution, the fear visible on his face: his emotions become part of a comment on the injustice of this collective violence. Through the presentation of such violence pre- or post-event, Prudhomme was constantly negotiating the representation of collective violence as a form of popular justice.

III. Reciprocal Surveillance

Despite Prudhomme's difficulty establishing a consistent representation of crowd violence throughout his corpus, these masses of spectators were active invitations to *look with* and witness such revolutionary events. These active judgements of events enabled the audience of the *Révolutions* to educate themselves sentimentally, but it also worked as a quasi emotional litmus test: an injunction for its readership to root out others that were not sentimental enough. The prints showed both authentic and inauthentic emotional performances: virtuous individuals committed to the Revolution as well as duplicitous individuals seeking to harm it from the inside. In depicting such divergent emotional performances, these prints acted as a double pedagogic, best epitomised through the second theme of this article: reciprocal surveillance. Surveillance was imperative to the success of the revolutionary project: constant vigilance was required as anxieties about *seeing* and being *seen* abounded.⁵¹ Throughout the prints, almost all the urban scenes feature windows crowded with individuals watching the represented event unfold. These watchers create an atmosphere of pervasive public observation in the Parisian urban milieu.⁵² Parisian urban life, as Daniel Roche and David Garrioch have argued, happened at windows, in

⁵⁰ *RdP*, No. 15, pp. 27-28.

⁵¹ Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right*, pp. 180-186.

⁵² On urban atmospheres see Cigdem Talu, "'The Effect of London': Urban Atmospheres and Alice Meynell's *London Impressions*", *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*, 6.1 (2022), pp. 96-116. For affective atmospherics more generally see Anderson, pp. 137-162.

stairwells and on the street; these figures show how each event was watched and assessed by a multitude of onlookers.⁵³

This pervasive surveillance can be seen in the prints already discussed; in 'Malheur arrivé à Paris le 21 octobre 1789 à 8 heures du matin' (Fig. 7) observers watch the execution of popular justice, to the right of the print. In this scene, there is a simple connection between Prudhomme's judgement of Boulanger's execution and the passive 'collective witnessing' of urban window-watchers. The representation of crowd representation is less straight-forward in 'Fameuse journée du 20 Juin 1792' (Fig. 8).⁵⁴ Set at the 20 June 1792 demonstration, this print once again directs the audience's gaze to a crowd composed of individuals at the front receding into an amorphous block, a display of 'all the people of the first city in the world, full of the *sentiment de la liberté* [...] the touching *fraternité* [...] where they were all mixed up and giving each other an arm'.⁵⁵ This textual description is slightly at odds with the visual scene which shows a cohesive group and looking in the same direction, assumedly to their objective of the Tuileries palace.



Fig. 8. 'Fameuse journée du 20 Juin 1792', *RdP*, No. 154, du 16 au 23 juin 1792, p. 549.

⁵³ Daniel Roche, *Le peuple de Paris: Essai sur le cultur populaire au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1998), p. 336; Daniel Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 21.

⁵⁴ O'Rourke, pp. 155-157.

⁵⁵ *RdP*, No. 154, du 16 au 23 juin 1792, p. 549.

These marchers direct readers' focus upwards via the vertical lines of their pikes to rest on the overlooking windows crammed with onlookers. Prudhomme suggests here that the crowd which marched on the Tuileries was distinct from those watching from above, the onlookers surveying the crowd for the authenticity of their revolutionary sentiments. Prudhomme describes how a 'frank joy animated this picture and passed through the soul of the beholders; gaining strength as we advanced, the crowd became immense'.⁵⁶ This distinction between 'beholders', the '*regardans*' - the deverbial noun of *regarder*, or to look - and the crowd, the '*rassemblement*', makes a formative distinction between crowd-as-instigator and those watchers-as-judgers. Here, the print functions as both an injunction to watch and adjudge others' emotional commitment during such events, then participate oneself if sufficiently 'animated' by this performance. The crowd and onlookers are thus intimately imbricated in an act of collective witnessing.

All the prints shown so far have taken place 'dans la rue', where observation can easily occur from residential buildings.⁵⁷ However, the street, in its public visibility, was an easy space to survey – what about events that happened in more discreet spaces? Prudhomme experimented in using the print medium to dissolve the private-public binary, rendering visible events that would otherwise have been hidden to assuage revolutionary anxieties of duplicity and obscurity. These instances where overhanging windows are free of observers can generally be categorised as taking place in an aristocrat residence, or at night. In removing onlookers, Prudhomme warns that there are instances when the revolutionary surveillance of individuals' sentiment has blind-spots to which attention must be paid.

In 'Départ de Louis XVI le 21 juin à minuit et demie' (Fig. 9), Louis XVI is shown leaving Paris in the dead of night before his flight to Varennes. A small torch in hand, the King is sneaking to the Hôtel de Marigny, before embarking on the waiting coach to the left of the frame. '[H]ow could a whole family escape from our hands in the heart of Paris?', Prudhomme asks, depicting the hunched figure of the king, inconspicuous in his cloak, beside a long textual exposition on how the Capets could have escaped, including questioning the palace guards.⁵⁸ Fig. 9 hence holds a notable silence: there is

⁵⁶ *RdP*, No. 154, pp. 549-550.

⁵⁷ Arlette Farge, *Vivre Dans La Rue à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard-Julliard, 1979).

⁵⁸ *RdP*, No. 102 du 18 au 25 juin 1791, p. 530.

no one watching the King as he escapes in the dead of night from central Paris.⁵⁹ In the *Revolutions's* production of this print *post-facto*, the audience can now witness this previously invisible act, judging Louis for his inauthentic profession of commitment to the Revolution; a sentiment that Prudhomme has now too made visible.⁶⁰



Fig. 9. 'Départ de Louis XVI le 21 juin à minuit et demie', *RdP*, No. 102, du 18 au 25 juin 1791, p. 525.

The silences of Fig. 9 become clearer when one considers 'Diner de Louis Capet au Temple' (Fig. 10), which shows the Capets, captured after their escape, and interned properly in the prison of the Le Temple, north Paris. Three figures (one *guichetier* and two *officiers municipaux*) now surround and watch the Capets, along with the viewer of the print, remediating the lack of observation in Fig. 9. This scene shows the royal family dining together, an event that Prudhomme stresses happens three times a day, and during proceedings Louis and Marie-Antoinette are 'not allowed to speak to each other, by lowered voices or signs'; as the watching guards make sure.⁶¹ The print frames this observation through the central placement of the Capets, the conical shape of the chimney behind them and the light focused on the table giving the impression of the

⁵⁹ On revolutionary nocturnal anxieties see Philippe Bourdin, eds., *Les nuits de la Révolution française* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2013).

⁶⁰ *RdP*, No. 102, p. 525.

⁶¹ *RdP*, No. 171, du 13 au 20 octobre 1792, p. 165.

envelopment of the family. Nevertheless, Prudhomme reports in the text of the *Révolutions* that 'it seems boredom is the only *sentiment pénible* that the previous king experiences', with the scattered wine bottles at his feet pointing to his weakness of character.⁶²



Fig. 10. 'Diner de Louis Capet au Temple', *RdP*, No. 171, du 13 au 20 octobre 1792, p. 164.

There is a sense of intrusive voyeurism in Fig. 10 as the print form enables viewers to inspect Louis from behind the walls of Le Temple. It is not only Louis's constant physical but emotional surveillance that is necessary, something that Prudhomme both encourages and enables through the printed form. In Figs. 8-10, Prudhomme can thus be seen representing moments to be scrutinised for embodied revolutionary commitment. These prints hold the implicit point that through these representations, the surveillance of revolutionary emotional authenticity should take place everywhere: outside on the street or in private moments of domesticity.

⁶² *RdP*, No. 171, p. 164.

IV. Pedagogical Urban Environment

The previous two sections have argued that in the *Révolutions*'s prints, representations of individual bodies oriented readers towards collective affective relationships, which were central to the publication's structures of feeling. In the prints examined so far, the feelings expected of the represented actants and the audience were always mediated relationally to the built environment: the terraformed Champ de Mars, the overlooking residential windows or the private aristocratic residence. This built environment was therefore an active component in Prudhomme's attempts to condition how his audience felt in various spaces. These sites were produced representationally by Prudhomme as part of the 'omni-pedagogic urban environment' of Paris – the urban environment used by revolutionaries to educate sensibly impressionable citizens in the new social order.⁶³ There are multiple locations that were iteratively produced across the prints, yet one of the most prominent, and the one that this section will focus on, was the Place Louis XV (present day Place de la Concorde).

The Place Louis XV is featured twice in the prints of the *Révolutions* before it becomes one of the pivotal centralities of revolutionary Paris from early 1793 as two guillotines were moved to its east and west corners.⁶⁴ The first time the Place de la Révolution was featured with the newly installed guillotine was at Louis XVI's execution, 21 January 1793 when Prudhomme produced a set of two prints to be inserted on the same page of the *Révolutions*. 'Mort de Louis XVI le 21 janvier 1793' (Fig. 11) depicts Louis XVI pre-execution, whilst 'Mort de Louis XVI le 21 janvier 1793' (Fig. 12) shows the moment immediately afterwards. Louis XVI's execution is understood by Prudhomme as the turning point in the Revolution – 'it is only since Monday 21 that we are republicans' – and both these prints centre on the guillotine with all the onlookers turned towards the ex-monarch.⁶⁵ However, this is a subtly different modality of collective witnessing to those described in sections II and III as the bodies represented in Fig. 11 and 12 are passive and inert; the movement in the print comes from the ex-

⁶³ Goldstein, p. 84; Lefebvre, p. 34.

⁶⁴ See 'Anecdote arrivée à Louis XVI quelques jours après sa résidence à Paris', *RdP*, No. 16, du 24 au 31 octobre 1789, p. 22, which shows Louis XVI providing charity to a passing pauper boy on the Place and 'Place Louis XV', *RdP*, No. 161 du 4 au 10 août 1792, p. 240, which shows the iconoclasm of Bouchardon's equestrian of Louis XIV.

⁶⁵ *RdP*, No. 185, du 19 au 26 janvier 1793, p. 204.

monarch and his executioners.⁶⁶ There are no figures picked out in relief at the bottom detailing the fraternal sentimental gestures which could form the new social relations; engagement here was a passive spectatorship in the theatrical *mise en scène* of revolutionary justice.

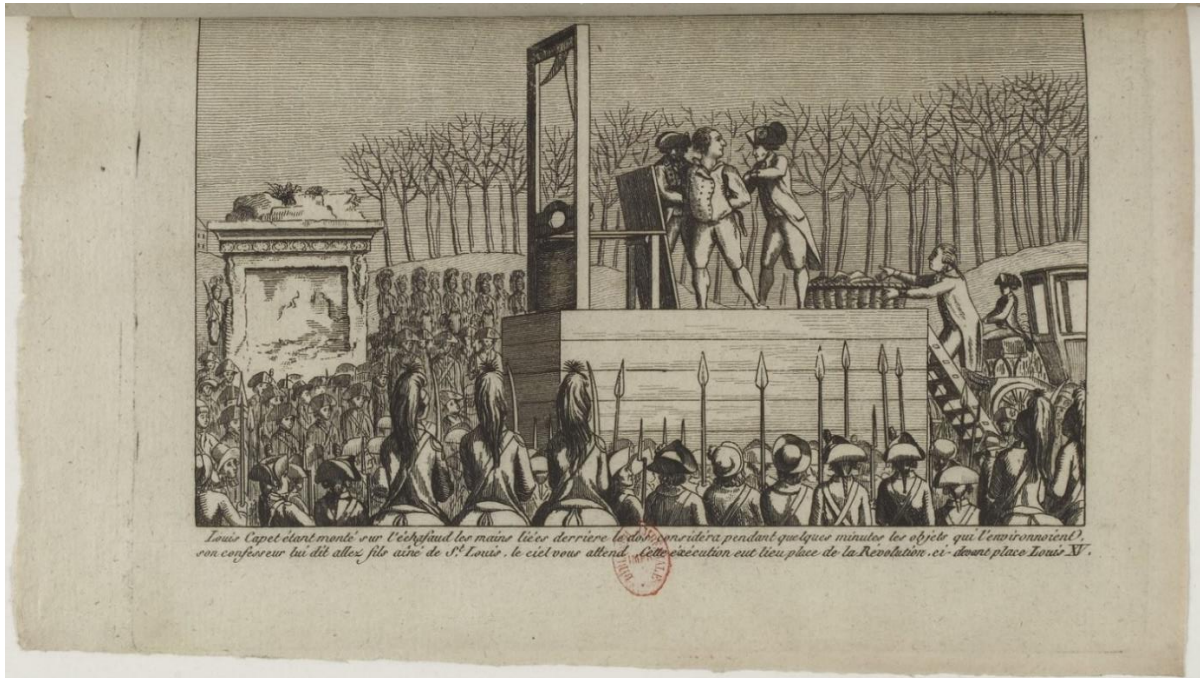


Fig. 11. 'Mort de Louis XVI le 21 janvier 1793', *RdP*, No. 185, du 19 au 26 janvier 1793, p. 203.

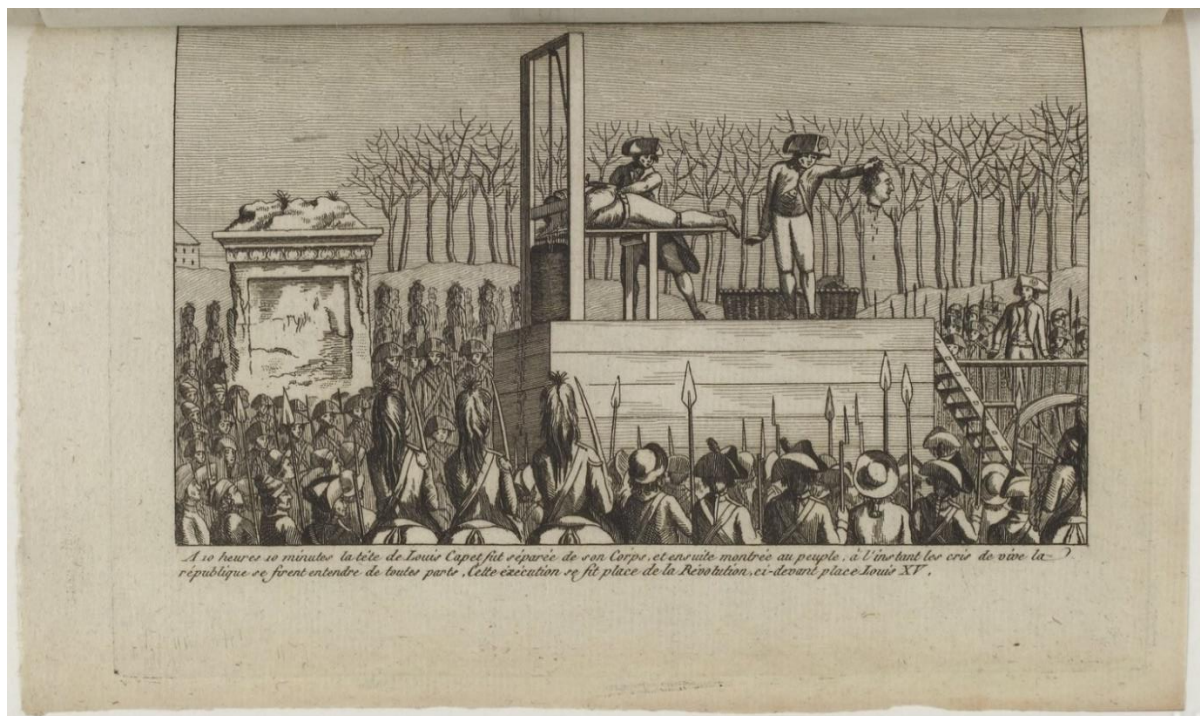


Fig. 12. 'Mort de Louis XVI le 21 janvier 1793', *RdP*, No. 185, du 19 au 26 janvier 1793, p. 203.

⁶⁶ O'Rourke, pp. 155-157, 168.

Printed media was important for rendering the act of guillotining cognisable to contemporaries, for, in the speed of the execution, onlookers struggled to see the fateful moment of Louis's beheading.⁶⁷ Instead, the effect of the sentimental machinery of the guillotine needed representational media to hold its eruptive moment in some coherence.⁶⁸ Prudhomme holds the execution in both the *before* and the *after*. The two prints render Louis's execution visible by first showing Louis upright and still living, and then horizontal with his head held up by Santerre as 'a call to look', both to the immediate participants on the Place, and the audience of the printed representation.⁶⁹ They are called on to verify the event that has just happened and to feel with the collective witnesses of this sensational event.

Prudhomme furthers the temporal rupture enacted through Louis XVI's execution by making a clear link to the resonant memories of the time *before*: 'it's there [on the Place de la Révolution] that several hundreds of citizens, of every age and every sex, miserably lost their life, victims of the awful police order obeyed at the wedding parties of Louis Capet and Marie-Antoinette'.⁷⁰ This spatial association between what came before and what was now removed is represented through the choice to leave on the left of both Fig. 11 and 12 Louis XV's ruined, crumbling, and crucially empty plinth.⁷¹ Prudhomme uses these ruined plinths as a condemnation of Louis XVI, foretelling and condoning his execution by the iconoclasm occurring five months earlier. This blank site was a spatial instantiation of Lefort's phenomenology of democracy as 'empty space', in which there is an 'ever-present desire – and threat – of wanting to fill that gap, to close the uncertainty' between the social body and the institutions of power.⁷² This ruined plinth was a hauntological reminder of the ruination

⁶⁷ O'Rourke, p. 166; Daniel Arasse, *The Guillotine and the Terror* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 35-36.

⁶⁸ Jones-Imhotep, p. 13.

⁶⁹ O'Rourke, p. 169.

⁷⁰ *RdP*, No. 185, du 19 au 26 janvier 1793, p. 204.

⁷¹ Taws, 'The Guillotine as Antimonument', p. 40.

⁷² Claude Lefort, *Democracy and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988); David A. Bell and Hugo Drochon, 'Preface' in Marcel Gauchet, *Robespierre: The Man Who Divides Us the Most* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), p. ix.

of the *ancien régime*; an artefact next to the Revolution's precarious, secular, and modern future.⁷³

However, this plinth-as-ruined-absence does not sit comfortably in Prudhomme's visual schema. On 16 October 1793 Marie Antoinette was also executed at the Place de la Révolution, for which Prudhomme produced two prints, to be inserted two pages apart. In 'Exécution de la veuve Capet' (Fig. 13) the same ruined plinth as in Louis XVI's execution was used, but in 'La Veuve Capet à la guillotine' (Fig. 14) another type of plinth was produced: clean, garlanded, *Liberté*-surmounted. There is then a tension here in how Prudhomme wants to represent the queen's execution. On the one hand Fig. 13, like Figs. 11 and 12, uses the shadowed and barely visible ruin to position La Veuve Capet beside her husband: a remnant of a broken order.⁷⁴ On the other, Fig. 14 shows the plinth now topped by François Frédéric Lemot's plaster statue of the watching Marianne-*Liberté* as a visual framing device for the executions which will root out the inauthentic sentiments in the revolutionaries' midst.⁷⁵ Instead of showing the plinth as empty and ruined, it is re-made and re-used as a built memorial palimpsest.⁷⁶ The toppled monarch is now a-topped by the reigning figure of *Liberté* watching on, calling *la patrie* to defend her maternal figure as she judges the guilty in allegory.⁷⁷

⁷³ On hauntologies see Mark Fisher, *Ghosts of My Life: Writings on Depression, Hauntology and Lost Futures* (Winchester: Zero, 2014). On ruins in the French Revolution see Nina Dubin, *Futures and Ruins: Eighteenth Century Paris and the Art of Hubert Robert* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2010).

⁷⁴ Reichardt and Kohle, pp. 109-110.

⁷⁵ Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class*, p. 93.

⁷⁶ On the ambiguities around Marie-Antoinette's trial and execution see Perovic, pp. 127-141.

⁷⁷ Joan B. Landes, *Visualising the Nation: Gender, Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France, 1789-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).



Fig. 13. 'Exécution de la veuve Capet', *RdP*, No. 212, du 3 août au 28 octobre, 1793, p. 95.



Fig. 14. 'La Veuve Capet à la guillotine', *RdP*, No. 212, 3 août-28 octobre, 1793, p. 97.

The depiction of these plinths in the prints is indicative of Prudhomme's *post-facto* confusion at how to represent Marie Antoinette's execution as neither is historically accurate: Marie Antoinette was executed on a guillotine facing away from *Liberté*. This confusion was continued in the text of the *Révolutions* as Prudhomme attempted to justify why, despite 'a few weak spirits [who] looked unfortunately affected

by the execution of the widow Capet', she deserved to die.⁷⁸ Prudhomme does so by listing the crimes that she had committed, which, aside from just being the wife of Louis XVI, included 'the scandalous *mœurs* of her private life', spending huge amounts of money raised from taxation and the massacres at the Champs de Mars and the Vendée.⁷⁹ The disgraced queen's 'impure blood' was reflected in the ruined plinth; the *ancien régime* had wasted away due to its corruption. This ambivalence over how to frame Marie-Antoinette's execution is somewhat settled in the three further depictions of the Place de la Révolution in the *Révolutions* which all feature a clean *Liberté*-surmounted plinth (one of which is Perrin's *exposé*, Fig. 1) as Prudhomme begins to look to a brighter future, rather than holding onto a ruined, desecrated past.

V. Conclusion

Looking back to Perrin on the scaffold in the Place de la Révolution, one is struck by the range of prints that were produced by the *Révolutions de Paris* over the course of the Revolution. This was a project in adaptation as events were changing at such a pace over the four-and-a-half-year print run of the *Révolutions* that the visual style and themes had to change with them. However, one aspect of the *Révolutions* that never changed was that it always adopted what Pierre Rétat has termed its 'journalism of the present'.⁸⁰ The *Révolutions* explicitly put the reader, through the engaged and presentist journalistic voice, in the heart of the action. These prints formed a crucial aspect of this intimate engagement in a Revolution which was posited as the personal responsibility of each reader of the journal.

Print media was a dynamic form in the Revolution as it was purposefully made materially ephemeral and dislocated from its traditional symbolic moorings of the *Ancien Régime*. This article has sought to ask how, through a particular focus on one corpus of revolutionary prints, this was done by a radical revolutionary like Jean-Marie Prudhomme. This is by no means a conclusive study. There was a huge outpouring of printed media during the Revolution, and it would be productive to broaden our thinking in response to Lynn Hunt's call to more fully consider the role played by visual sources within the cultural constructions that mediated late eighteenth-century daily

⁷⁸ *RdP*, No. 212, du 3 août au 28 octobre 1793, p. 97.

⁷⁹ *RdP*, No. 212, pp. 97-98.

⁸⁰ Rétat, in Labrosse and Rétat, pp. 145-150.

life. Central to this paper's argument has been that late-eighteenth century sentimentalism was conceptually linked to the printed form as a 'sensory pedagogy of everyday life', replete with possibilities for both printmakers and the audience that was interacting with it.⁸¹ The themes identified in this paper are not exhaustive, but have focused on some of the most pivotal of the *Révolutions's* 133 images, and the interactions between them as Prudhomme attempted to pause, elucidate and spectacularise certain revolutionary events. This was particularly so in 1789 and early 1790 when this event-production was enacted retrospectively.

This article has argued for the interconnection between these visual themes in this process: crowds, both celebratory and violent, surveillance (and subsequent lack thereof), and the iterative production of urban space. Informed by Lefebvre's spatial triad, it has asked how the representation of real bodies-in-space came together to produce a particular felt experience of the Revolution. The *Révolutions de Paris*, one of the most successful revolutionary papers, was an integral aspect of both reporting on and visualising the Revolution for the *menu peuple*. Hence, it is imperative to include it in our consideration of how representational media became a tool of affective conditioning during the Revolution.



BIOGRAPHY: Leon Hughes is a PhD Researcher at Trinity College Dublin. His doctorate, provisionally entitled 'Emotional Experience of Carcerality in the French Revolution, 1789-1799' considers two distinct, but connected questions: how it felt to be imprisoned during the French Revolution and how the figuration of the 'prisoner' was culturally constructed. He is currently a Visiting Researcher at the Max Planck, Center for the History of Emotions and Affiliated Researcher at the University of London Institute in Paris (ULIP). He holds a BA from the University of Oxford and an MA from ULIP, and his previous research focused on nonhuman histories, specifically *Arbres de la Liberté* during the French Revolution. Throughout his research he uses, and is keen to develop, digital GIS methodologies.

CONTACT: hughesl3@tcd.ie

⁸¹ Goldstein, p. 74.