JOSEPH DUCREUX (French: 1735-1802)

Portrait of Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Controller-General of France
Pastel on five joined sheets of paper laid on canvas, oval: 28 ½ x 22 ⅞ inches
72.4 x 58.1 cm.
Signed near the subject's right shoulder: *Du Creux*
Executed 1774-77

This dignified, commanding and psychologically penetrating portrait of the illustrious French scientific economist and statesman, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Baron and later Marquis de l'Aulne, is one of the masterpieces of the artist Joseph Ducreux. The artist was born on June 26, 1735 in the capital city of the Duchy of Lorraine, Nancy, the son of Anne Béliard (c. 1714–c. 1780) and the painter Charles Ducreux (life dates unknown), the First Painter to a former king of Poland, Stanislas Leszczynski, whom his son-in-law Louis XV had appointed the Duke of Lorraine and Bar. After apprenticing with his father, the young Joseph Ducreux—or as he sometimes signed his works *"Du Creux"*—took up residence in Paris where in November 1760 he married Philippine Rose Cosse (d. 1816), with whom he would have five children. Over time he perfected the art of painting portraits in the media of colored chalks and oils. He is known to have received instruction from eighteenth-century France's preeminent pastellist, Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788) and in time received advice from the near contemporary painter and draftsman Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805). By 1762 he had begun to keep chronological lists of his sitters (see Georgette Lyon, 1958, cited in References below, pp. 161-174). In late October 1764 he was elected to membership in the Académie de Saint-Luc, the old artists' corporate guild.

Joseph Ducreux's first stroke of good fortune came in 1769, when he was selected by Louis XV's Foreign Minister, the Duc de Choiseul, the major architect of the newly forged Franco-Austrian alliance, to travel to Vienna to portray the adolescent Archduchess Marie Antoinette, who had been betrothed to France's heir to the throne, the Dauphin Louis Auguste de France, the future Louis XVI. To prove his skills, Ducreux first had to produce likenesses of Madame Adélaïde, the nearly forty-year-old spinster daughter of Louis XV, and the Dauphin's younger sisters, "Mesdames" Clotilde and Élisabeth. The latter two are known from engravings by Louis Jacques Cathelin. These works were done either from life or from existing portraits painted by other artists. (See Laurent Hugues, "La famille royale et ses portraitistes sous Louis XV et Louis XVI," in *De Soie et de poudre: portraits de cour dans l'Europe des Lumières* [ed. by Xavier Salmon], Versailles, 2003, pp. 147-151.) In the two years that Ducreux spent in Vienna, where he arrived in mid-February, he depicted other members of the imperial house of Habsburg-Lorraine, including the Empress Maria Theresia and her son and co-ruler Joseph II. The latter pastel (now lost; original executed in 1771 and engraved by Cathelin in 1772) was apparently based on Pompeo Batoni's double portrait of the Emperor and his brother Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and he was elected to Vienna's Akademie der bildenden Künste. In ensuing years Ducreux painted in pastels and in oil on canvas numerous portraits of Marie Antoinette. Of the known versions, the earliest in date and finest are preserved in the collections of the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

Back in Paris by mid-November 1769, Joseph Ducreux continued to enjoy French royal patronage, and after the accession to the throne of Louis XVI, he sometimes used the title of "first painter to the Queen." In 1781, he participated at the Salon de la Correspondance in which he exhibited a pastel portrait of its founder, Mammès Claude Catherine Pahin de la Blancherie (lost). The following year in the same venue he exhibited a pastel portrait of the venerable old American emissary to France, Benjamin Franklin. As he was never inducted into the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, under the Ancien Régime he was unable to participate in the biennial exhibitions that took place in the Salon Carré of the Louvre.

In subsequent years, the artist worked increasingly in oil on canvas, and it was at this point that he initiated a considerable series of images of himself with various burlesque, caricatural, reflexive and exaggerated facial expressions, bodily stances and gestures that conveyed manias, passions of the soul and physical and emotional states of being. (See Jacqueline Armingeat, "Ducreux et la grimace," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. LV, May 1960, pp. 357-359.) Such works were undoubtedly influenced by Charles Le Brun's *Conférence…Sur l'Expression generale & particuliere Enrichie de Figures gravées par B. Picart* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1698) and the Swiss writer Johann Kaspar Lavater's *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe* (Leipzig, 1775-1778), a book translated into French as the *Essai sur la Physiognomie destiné à faire connoître l'homme & à le faire aimer*. They link Ducreux to the Charakterköpfe (character heads) of the contemporary German-Austrian sculptor Franz Xaver Messerschmidt. (See Antonio Boström, *Messerschmidt and Modernity*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012, pp. 19-20.) Two such histrionic self-portraits dating from 1790 were recently acquired by the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

In 1791, Ducreux travelled to London, and there five of his works were exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts and made much of his titles as painter to the king and queen of France and the Emperor of Austria. (On February 21, 1791 Ducreux etched and published in London an expressive and quite facetious self-portrait in profile which bears a remarkable inscription: *Invented & Engraved by J. Ducreux Painter to the King of France. – to His Imperial Majesty & Principal painter to the Queen of France. "His Imperial Majesty"* is either a reference to the aforementioned Emperor Joseph II, who had died in February of the previous year or to his brother and successor Leopold II, whom Ducreux never painted. At the end of April 1792 France would declare war on Austria.) He soon returned to Paris and as the monarchy was collapsing and France was at war, he found it politically and professionally expedient to make an about-face and embraced the revolutionary cause. In time he produced portraits of prominent political leaders, among them Georges Couthon, Louis Pierre Manuel, Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve and Maximilien Robespierre. That year he exhibited some of his expressive self-portraits at the first open Salon, where one critic sometimes identified as the painter Philippe Chéry, praised his work: *"…on ne sauroit peindre avec plus de vérité avec des tons plus purs & plus frais. La tête tourne bien, elle est bien modelée. Continuez, M. Ducreux."* ("…it would be impossible to paint with more veracity, purer and fresher tonalities. The head turns well, with fine modeling. Continue, M. Ducreux.") (M. D . . . [Philippe Chéry]. *Explication et critique impartiale de toutes les peintures, sculptures, gravures, dessins, &c., exposés au Louvre d'après le décret de l'Assemblée nationale, au mois de septembre 1791, l'an III de la Liberté*. Paris, 1791.) Thereafter he showed his works on a regular basis at the Salon until the year before his death.

Despite his sometimes eccentric and irascible temperament, with much support from his wife Ducreux entertained in the various residences he and his family occupied, a number of celebrities of the Directoire and the Consulat, such as Juliette Récamier, the future Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais and the composer Étienne Nicolas Méhul, all of whom at one time or another sat to him.

Joseph Ducreux died of an attack of apoplexy on 5 Thermidor an X of the revolutionary calendar (July 24, 1802) as he was walking along the road leading from Paris to the town of Saint-Denis. The primary sources for documentation on his life and works are Georgette Lyon's monograph on the artist published in 1958 and Neil Jeffares' consistently updated and copiously illustrated online version of his *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800* published in book form in 2006. (Both cited in References below.)

The oldest of the artist's six children, his daughter, Rose Adélaïde, who shortly before her death on the island of Saint-Domingue became the wife of the local prefect Jacques François Lequoy de Montgiraud, was an artist of considerable achievement prior to and during the French Revolution. (See Joseph Baillio, "Une Artiste méconnue: Rose-Adélaïde Ducreux," *L'Œil*, No. 399, October 1988, pp. 20-27.)

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot was of ancient Norman lineage. Etymologically his patronym derives from the Scandinavian words designating the mythological god of thunder, weather, agriculture and the hearth, Thor. (An exceptionally rich source of genealogical, biographical and archival data on Turgot is available online, the Fonds Turgot at the Archives nationales de France: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/rechercheconsultation/consultation/ir/pdfIR.action?irId=FRAN_IR_054019.) He was born on May 10, 1727 in his family's townhouse on the old rue Portefoin near the Enclos du Temple in the Marais district of Paris. His was a family of magistrates and regional administrators that for centuries had been employed by the French Crown under both Valois and Bourbon monarchs. (See Pierre Foncin, "Remarques sur la généalogie des Turgot," *Revue Historique,* vol. CXV, Fasc. 1, 1914, pp. 64-84.) His parents were Madeleine Françoise Martineau de Bretignolles (1698–1764) and Michel Étienne Turgot, Marquis de Sousmont, Paris' Provost of Merchants (Prévôt des Marchands) between 1729 and 1740, an office that was the equivalent of Lord Mayor of the city. In this capacity Turgot *père* enlisted the services of the cartographer Louis Bretez and the engravers Claude Lucas and Antoine II Coquart to produce, between 1734 and 1739 the large and detailed map *en perspective cavaliere* of the French capital in twenty etched and burin-engraved plates known as the *Plan de Turgot* and was responsible for ordering the creation of a number of the metropolis' architectural and sculptural monuments, notably Edme Bouchardon's *Fountain of the Four Seasons* on the rue de Grenelle.

A rather shy and introverted child, Anne Robert Jacques grew up in his parents' residence. As the youngest of three sons, he began training for a career in the Church and, after completing humanistic studies at the Collège de Louis-le-Grand, he specialized in theology at the Sorbonne and in the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. By 1750, however, the Abbé de Brucourt, as he was for a time called, realized that he was intellectually unsuited for religious life and did not take holy orders. He opted for his family's traditional calling as high-ranking civil servants in the magistrature or in provincial administrations. From 1753, when he purchased the office, until 1761, he

was employed as a *Maître des requêtes* in the appellate court of the Parlement de Paris.

One of Turgot's formative experiences occurred between 1753 and 1756 during an inspection of France's trade and industry in the company of a particularly dedicated administrator of commerce, Jacques Claude Marie Vincent, Marquis de Gournay (1712–1759), to whose doctrines he would adhere. At that time he met the old patriarch Voltaire, who became a staunch supporter of his modern economic theories. Turgot however was neither a *philosophe* nor—as his enemies claimed—a statesman more wed to theory than to action. His reputation as a man of science and letters was so well established that he was asked to write a number of scholarly articles for the famous *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. All the while he was a frequent guest in some of the major intellectual salons of the capital.

He was decisively drawn to the ideas of the British empiricists, especially John Locke, the *philosophe* Montesquieu and the French economists known as the Physiocrats, especially François Quesnay and the Marquis de Mirabeau. (The latter group advocated the removal of tariffs and other impediments to free trade in order to benefit the general population.) Turgot eventually became recognized as one of the founders of modern political economic principles. His best-known work, *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses*, was first published anonymously in three installments between 1769 and 1770 in the Physiocrats' official periodical *Les Éphémérides du citoyen*. It had a definite impact on the agrarian capitalism that the Scottish philosopher Adam Smith later expounded in his magnum opus, *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).

Turgot proved his mettle by his enlightened administration of tax collection in the rather impoverished province of the Limousin as Intendant de la généralité de Limoges, a post he occupied between August of 1761, when he was thirty-four years old, and 1774. During that time he reported to a succession of Controllers-General of Finance: Henri Léonard Jean-Baptiste Bertin, Clément Charles François Laverdy, Étienne Maynot d'Invault and the Abbé Terray. Turgot approached the task before him with "apostolic fervor." (Douglas Dakin, *Turgot and the* Ancien Régime *in France*, London, 1939, p. 53.) The range and scale of his accomplishments there were remarkable; they included the systematization of state assistance to the poor, the stabilization of grain prices, the introduction of new crops, a more equitable tax system and a pioneering program to create a network of roads throughout province.

In May of 1774, soon after the death of Louis XV and the accession to the throne of his grandson Louis XVI, Turgot travelled to Versailles where, with the support of his former classmate the Abbé de Véri, he called on the young monarch's recently appointed minister of state and mentor, the Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, Comte de Maurepas (1701–1781). The latter's principal objective was to rid the government of the intensely unpopular ministerial triumvirate then in power: Chancellor Maupeou, the minister of foreign affairs the Duc d'Aiguillon, and the aforementioned Controller-General of Finance, the Abbé Terray. Turgot served for a short interim as Minister of the Navy in the summer of that year, but on August 24 he replaced Terray and soon took up residence in the Hôtel du Contrôle-général on the rue Neuve des Petits-Champs. Soon after his first and very auspicious meeting with Louis XVI at the Château de Compiègne, Turgot addressed a letter to the king. It contained a three-point proposal for setting the nation's much dilapidated economy on a better course:

"V.M. a bien voulu m'autoriser à remettre sous ses yeux l'engagement qu'elle a pris avec elle-même, de me soutenir dans l'exécution des plans d'économie qui sont en tout temps, et aujourd'hui plus que jamais, d'une nécessité indispensable. J'aurais désiré pouvoir lui développer les réflexions que me suggère la position où se trouvent les finances; le temps ne me le permet pas, et je me réserve de m'expliquer plus au long quand j'aurai pu prendre des connaissances plus exactes. Je me borne en ce moment, Sire, à vous rappeler ces trois paroles:

Point de banaueroute:
Point d'augmentation d'impôts;
Point d'emprunts.
Point d'augmentation d'impôts: la raison en est dans la situation de vos peuples, et encore dans le cœur de V.M.

Point d'emprunts, parce que tout emprunt diminue toujours le revenu libre ; il nécessite au bout de quelque temps ou la banqueroute ou l'augmentation d'impositions. Il ne faut, en temps de paix, se permettre d'emprunter que pour liquider des dettes anciennes, ou pour rembourser d'autres emprunts faits à un denier plus onéreux.

Pour remplir ces trois points, il n'y a qu'un moyen. C'est de réduire la dépense au-dessous de la recette, et assez au-dessous pour pouvoir économiser chaque année une vingtaine de millions, afin de rembourser les dettes anciennes. Sans cela, le premier coup de canon forcerait l'État à la banqueroute."

[Your Majesty has graciously authorized me to place before his eyes the agreement that he has made to support me in the execution of the plans for saving expenses which are invariably, and today more than ever, indispensably necessary. I would have wished to be able to lay out the ideas that the current financial situation suggests to me. Time does not permit me to do this, and I will be satisfied to explain my reasoning in greater detail when I have a precise understanding of it. At this juncture, Sire, I am content to remind you of these three phrases:

No bankruptcy;
No increased taxation;
No borrowing.

No tax increases because of the condition of your people and what is in Your Majesty's heart.

No loans, because all loans invariably decrease unencumbered revenues. In short order they bring about either bankruptcy or an increase in taxation. In times of peace we must not allow ourselves to borrow to liquidate old debts or to pay off other loans taken on at a higher interest rate.

There is only one way to carry out these three points. It is to reduce expenditures until they are less than receipts, and sufficiently less so that each year brings about a savings of around twenty million used to reimburse previous

indebtedness. Without this, the first salvo of canon fire would force the State to declare bankruptcy.]

(Gustave Schelle, *Œuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant avec biographie et notes*, nouvelle *édition classée par ordre de matières avec les notes de Dupont de Nemours augmentée de lettres inédites…*, vol. IV, Paris, 1922, pp. 109-110.)

Exactly one month later, Turgot was unanimously elected an honorary associate member of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture. (Consult Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, vol. VIII (1769-1779), pp. 162 and 165.)

During the first stage of Turgot's activity as Controller-General of Finance (Minister of Finance without portfolio), when he enjoyed the King's enthusiastic support, he hoped to carry out reforms recalling those he had successfully instituted in the Limousin. He advocated new tax structures and the strictest economy. (For example, he unsuccessfully proposed that Louis' coronation take place in Paris, rather than at Reims, and he was initially hostile to France's alliance with the American insurgency.) He reduced sinecures and unnecessary tariffs, then set about establishing free market (*laissez-faire*) policies in most of the areas of France's economy, especially in agriculture, in order to stabilize prices and ensure a steady supply of goods and services. (One of the finest studies of his activities as Controller-General can be found in Pierre Foncin's *Essai sur le ministère de Turgot,* Paris, 1877, 615 pp.) While in office he was mightily assisted by his disciples and close collaborators, Pierre Samuel Dupont, called Dupont de Nemours (1739–1817) and Nicolas de Condorcet (1743–1794), both of whom wrote important biographies of him. A particularly bad harvest the following spring, however, the minister's strategy, and grain riots (*guerre des farines*) broke out throughout the realm. Military intervention and public assistance initiatives were necessary to put an end to civil disorder.

The new Controller General drafted his "Six Edicts," which were presented to the Conseil du Roi in January 1776. Four were of relative insignificance. However, the other two involved the repeal of the medieval *corvée*, or forced labor on public roads, and the suppression of the old trade corporations and guilds (including the Académie de Saint-Luc with which Ducreux was affiliated), and they provoked fierce opposition on the part of the adversaries that had vested interests in maintaining such outdated institutions. The taxation issue was particularly vexatious, for it spelled the end of nearly complete exemption for the privileged classes. At the end of February of the same year, he was elected to fill the seat left vacant in the Académie royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres as an honorary member following the death of his aged brother-in-law, the Duc de Saint-Aignan (1684–1776).

Not long after his installation in office as Controller-General Turgot, like his colleague and close ally Chrétien Guillaume Lamoignon de Malesherbes, the recently appointed Minister of the King's Household, soon became the target of insidious intrigues hatched at Versailles among members of the Church's hierarchy, the local Parlements, the royal family, the court and even the royal council. Reproached for his tactlessness, he incurred the antipathy of these elites who were naturally inimical to change. He quickly alienated the meddlesome Marie Antoinette, her brothers-in-law the Comte de Provence and the Comte d'Artois, each with their individual coteries, by his attempts to curtail the exorbitant expenditures of their households and by the role he played in

the removal of one of the more disreputable and undeserving of the young Queen's protégés, the Comte de Guines, from his position as ambassador to the court of George III.

The machinations of Turgot's main political enemies, especially the increasingly jealous old Maurepas who had originally championed him, some high church officials and magistrates of various *Parlements* throughout the realm, sealed his fate. Had Turgot's plan of action been enacted, France might well have avoided the fall of the centuries-old monarchy, the horrendous bloodletting of the French Revolution and the decades of warfare on an international scale that ensued. Even the Controller's closest associates were aware of a fatal lack of psychological and political flexibility in his personality. Louis XVI, too vacillating to resist such fierce opposition, ordered that he resign his office on May 12, 1776. Turgot stoically accepted the situation and waived further emoluments from the Crown. His many defenders, who included much of Europe's intelligentsia, were incensed by his dismissal, the news of which spread like wildfire. Countess von Kaunitz-Rietberg, daughter-in-law of the Austrian Chancellor, wrote to Turgot's friend the Abbé de Véri: *"Versailles se réjouira et les provinces seront désolées."* ("Versailles will be euphoric and the provinces disconsolate.") (*Journal de l'abbé de Véri,* Baron Jehan de Witte, ed., vol. I, Macon, 1928, p. 461.) His friend Malesherbes departed the government at the same time. Turgot was replaced by an incompetent, alcoholic debauchee, Jean Étienne Bernard Clugny de Nuits, whose tenure in office lasted only a few months.

Relations between the King and his former minister had always been warm, and his departure did nothing to affect their respect for each other. After leaving the Hôtel du Contrôle-général, Turgot changed residences several times before purchasing in late June of 1779 in the Faubourg Saint-Germain a townhouse on the old rue de Bourbon belonging to Louis Camus de Pontcarré de Viarmes et de la Guibourgère, a Councillor in the Parlement of Paris. (See Ernest Coyecque, "La maison mortuaire de Turgot," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 25th year, 1898, pp. 36-45.) There he dedicated his last two years to his correspondence, his many friends, the expansion of his extensive library, scientific experimentation, writing essays and treatises and translating Latin poetry into French. The Hôtel Turgot, which is now occupied by the Fondation Custodia and the Institut Néerlandais, organizations that were created by the Dutch art historian, Frits Lugt, and his wealthy wife, née Jacoba Klever, in order to house their magnificent collections, library and archives.

Louis XVI presented his former minister with a three-quarter-length replica of his state portrait in coronation regalia painted by Antoine François Callet (sold at auction, New York, Sotheby's, January 31, 2013, lot 94), as well as a silver bowl engraved with the lilies of France and a key bearing the same symbol that Louis himself had cast and burnished in one of his private workshops overlooking the Cour des Cerfs in the Palace of Versailles. As for Turgot's feelings for the King, they are extolled in the biography of the minister that was published in far-off Philadelphia one year after his death by Dupont de Nemours, who during the French Revolution immigrated with his family to the United States: *"Il avait toujours eu, il conservait dans sa retraite un extrême attachement, certainement alors bien désintéressé, pour la personne et la gloire du Roi."* ("He always had and maintained after his withdrawal an extreme attachment, which was totally disinterested, to the person and the glory of the King.")

Turgot became a supporter of the newly constituted United States that had embarked on a War of Independence from England, he maintained a very cordial relationship with the American emissaries to the court of France, especially Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. In a letter he addressed on March 22, 1778 to Dr. Richard Price, a staunch Welsh Unitarian supporter of the American cause, Turgot wrote:

> *Il est impossible de ne pas faire des vœux pour que ce peuple parvienne à toute la prospérité dont il est susceptible. Il est l'espérance du genre humain. Il peut en devenir le modèle. Il doit prouver au monde, par le fait, que les hommes peuvent être libres et tranquilles, et peuvent se passer des chaines de toute espèce que les tyrans et les charlatans de toute robe ont prétendu leur imposer sous le prétexte du bien public. Il doit donner l'exemple de la liberté politique, de la liberté religieuse, de la liberté du commerce et de l'industrie. L'asile qu'il ouvre à tous les opprimés de toutes les nations doit consoler la terre. La facilité d'en profiter pour se dérober aux suites d'un mauvais gouvernement forcera les gouvernements d'être justes, et de s'éclairer; le reste du monde ouvrira peu-à-peu les yeux sur le néant des illusions dont les politiques se sont bercés. Mais il faut pour cela que l'Amérique s'en garantisse, et qu'elle ne redevienne pas comme l'ont tant répété vos écrivains ministériels une image de notre Europe, un amas de puissances divisées, se disputant des territoires ou des profits de commerce, et cimentant continuellement l'esclavage des peuples par leur propre sang*. (*Œuvres de Turgot, nouvelle édition avec les notes de Dupont de Nemours, augmentée de lettres inédites…*, Paris, 1844, vol. II, pp. 809-810.)
>
> [It is impossible not to wish ardently that this people may attain to all the prosperity of which they are capable. They are the *hope* of the world. They may become a *model* to it. They *may* prove by fact that men can be free and yet tranquil; and that it is in their power to rescue themselves from the chains in which tyrants and knaves of all descriptions have presumed to bind them under the pretense of the public good. They may exhibit an example of political liberty, of religious liberty, of commercial liberty, and of industry. The asylum they open to the oppressed of all nations should console the earth. The case with which the injured may escape from oppressive governments, will compel Princes to become just and cautious; and the rest of the world will gradually open their eyes upon the empty illusions with which they have been hitherto cheated by politicians. But for this purpose America must preserve herself from these illusions; and take care to avoid being what your ministerial writers are frequently saying She will be—an image of our Europe—a mass of divided powers contending for territory and commerce, and continually cementing the slavery of the people with their own blood.]

On March 20, 1781, Turgot died in his Paris townhouse at the age of fifty-three from virulent complications of gallstones and a congenital gout condition. (Turgot's first attack of gout occurred in 1760 when he was thirty-three years old.) His body was laid to rest two days later in the church of the Hospice des Incurables on the rue de Sèvres, today's Hôpital Laënnec. (Shockingly, the hospital and the Chapel in which Turgot, his father and Cardinal François de La Rochefoucauld [1559–1645], an advisor to King Henri IV who later served as Grand Aumônier de France and was the founder of the charitable Hôpital des Incurables, were entombed—all classified as historical monuments— were sold by the Assistance Publique-Hôpitaux de Paris to a

commercial enterprise. It has been widely reported that the tombs were atrociously defiled when they were covered in cement or concrete.)

As he never married and had no direct descendants, the bulk of his estate eventually devolved to his older brother, Étienne François Turgot, Marquis de Sousmont, a military officer, scientist, a knight and administrator of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller of Malta and the commander of one of the island's galleys in the Mediterranean. In 1763 Louis XV's Foreign Minister, the Duc de Choiseul, named him Governor General of French Guiana, a possession he hoped to colonize with Maltese subjects and German speakers from the Rhineland. By the time Turgot landed in South America, the death toll from tropical disease and famine among the settlers was horrific, and he returned to France. The operation was a colossal failure and Étienne François, accused of embezzlement, was one of those made to play the role of scapegoat. After being served with a *lettre de cachet*, he retired in disgrace to his Château de Bons in Normandy to devote himself to the study of natural history and various other sciences.

The iconography of the relatively short-lived Anne Robert Jacques Turgot is not insignificant, especially with respect to prints. (Alfred Fray-Fournier, "Catalogue de portraits limousins et marchois, *Bulletin de la société archéologique et historique du Limousin*," vol. XLIII, Limoges, 1895, pp. 568-569.) As for portraits of him that were executed from life, some date from the period during which he was serving as the Intendant of the Généralité of Limoges. They all depict him with the thick, long locks of his hair curled at the side of his head and flowing onto his shoulders and down his back. The small, circular graphite drawing of his head in profile executed in 1763 by Charles Nicolas Cochin fils must have been presented by the subject to his liberal aristocratic friend, the Duchesse d'Enville, née Louise Élisabeth Nicole de La Rochefoucauld (1716–1797), who kept it at her family's Château de La Roche Guyon where Turgot lived for a period of seven months after his dismissal from office. The year before she died, she presented it to the wife of a certain "Jos. Blount," and in 1964 it was acquired by Frits Lugt for his Fondation Custodia. (It was featured in the following exhibitions:. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, *Franse Tekenkunst van de 18de Eeuw uit Nederlandse Verzamelingen*, 1974, no. 26, illus. in cat.; and New York, Frick Collection, *Watteau to Degas: French Drawings from the Frits Lugt Collection*, 2009-2010, no. 16, illus. in cat.) That small sheet was certainly the basis for several prints, primarily those of Claude Henri Watelet, Jean Victor Dupin and Pierre Adrien Le Beau.

A bust-length likeness of Turgot as Intendant of the Limousin was apparently painted the following year by François Hubert Drouais, who had previously painted a likeness of his older brother the Chevalier Turgot (François Hubert Drouais' original portrait of Turgot's older brother, last recorded in the Château de Lantheuil, is reproduced in Roger de Lavigerie's article on the genealogy of the Turgot family [cited in References, 1929, p. 91], where the sitter is misidentified as the Conseiller au Parlement, Benoît Antoine Turgot de Saint Clair [1705–1771]), is said to be in the Hôtel de Ville of Limoges. He is dressed in the black robe and pleated cambric neck band of his office. A copy painted in 1822 is in the Préfecture of the same city.

One of the portraits made of the minister during his incumbency as Controller-General of Finance is the present pastel by Joseph Ducreux, which has often and erroneously been dated to the year of his death, i.e. 1781. It shows the powerfully built state

official bust-length, with his head turned slightly to his right and his sparkling brown eyes confronting the spectator. The complexion of his wide visage is somewhat ruddy, his nose prominent, his chin firm and his abundance of natural but powdered hair is coiffed in a multitude of curls called *"rouleaux"* or *"marteaux,"* some of which fall onto his shoulders and are accented with strokes of jet black and dark gray pastel. The minister's neck is swathed in a white linen scarf, and from the opening of his charcoal gray, buttoned coat emerges an ornamental ruffle or jabot of sheer lace. Ducreux's low-keyed palette is limited to flesh tones of white, ochre, brick red, orange pink and more or less warm browns, tones that are subtly modulated with touches of light blue and gray. In the second part of his *Mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Turgot, ministre d'état,* which Dupont de Nemours had published in Philadelphia, the author provides a vivid description of Turgot's physical features as well as his open and straightforward temperament, traits that Ducreux perfectly captured in his portrait of him which the artist must have executed between the time he assumed his position as Controller General of Finance and shortly after his resignation:

> *Sa figure était belle; sa taille haute & proportionnée. Ennemi de toute affectation, il ne se tenait pas fort droit. Ses yeux, d'un brun clair, exprimaient parfaitement le mélange de fermeté & de douceur, qui faisait son caractère. Son front était arrondi, élevé, ouvert, noble & serein; ses traits prononcés, sa bouche vermeille & naïve; ses dents blanches & bien rangées. Il avait eu, surtout dans sa jeunesse, un demi-sourire qui lui a fait tort; parce que les gens qui ne le connaissaient pas y croyaient presque toujours voir l'expression du dédain, quoiqu'il ne fût, le plus souvent, que l'effet de la naïveté & d'un peu d'embarras. Il s'en était corrigé par degrés en vivant dans le monde, & l'était totalement vers la fin de son ministere. Ses cheveux étaient bruns, abondants, parfaitement beaux; il les avait tous conservés, &, lorsqu'il était vêtu en Magistrat, sa manière de porter la tête les répandait sur ses épaules avec une sorte de grace naturelle & négligée. Il avait la couleur assez vive sur un teint fort blanc, & qui trahissait les moindres mouvemens de son âme. Jamais homme n'a été au physique & au moral, moins propre à dissimuler."*
>
> [His face was handsome; he was tall and well-proportioned. An enemy of all pretentiousness, he did not stand upright. His luminous brown eyes perfectly expressed the mixture of strength and good-natured benevolence that distinguished his character. His forehead was roundish, high, candid, noble and serene. His features were pronounced, his mouth vermilion and unaffected; his teeth were white and well aligned. In his youth, he exhibited a half-smile that was detrimental to him because those who didn't know him interpreted it as an expression of disdain, whereas most often this was only the result of guilelessness and a bit of shyness. He had corrected this in stages while in society and was completely rid of it by the time he left the ministry. His hair was brown, thick and perfectly attractive. He never lost any, and, when he was dressed in judicial robes his manner of holding his head spread them onto his shoulders with a natural, unstudied elegance. A lively coloring spread over a pale complexion revealed the least fluctuations of his inner being. Never was there a man who was physically and morally less inclined to dissemble."]
>
> (Ibid., pp. 262-263.)

Sating from approximately the same period of Turgot's career are the original busts executed between 1775 and 1777 by the major French sculptor of the Enlightenment, Jean Antoine Houdon (1741–1828). The first was the original preparatory model in terracotta or plaster shown at the Académie royale's Salon of 1775 and was listed as no. 254 in the handbook of the exhibition (*"Le Modèle du Buste de M. Turgot, Contrôleur-Général."*). A signed but not dated plaster bearing at the rear the embossed red wax Atelier Houdon seal is in a private collection; it could well be that sculpture. (This bust was featured in the following exhibition: Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, *Houdon, die sinnliche Skulptur*, 2009-2010, no. 27 [detailed entry by Guilhem Scherf], illus. in cat. in color.) The marble version in a private collection was completed in time for its exhibition at the Salon in 1777 and was listed in the official *livret* under the no. 241 (*"Portrait de M. Turgot, ancien Contrôleur-Général, Honoraire associé-libre de l'Académie."*); the artist signed and dated it the following year. Houdon's bust shows Turgot looking very much like Ducreux's representation of the subject, but he wears a patterned vest and jacket. Subsequently Houdon made plaster and terracotta casts of the marble prime examples of which are in the Art Institute of Chicago (Acc. no. 1962.820) and the Museum of Fine Art, Boston. A plaster example, which was tinted a terracotta color, was among the plaster busts of French and American worthies of the Enlightenment that were acquired from Houdon in 1789 by Thomas Jefferson (See Jefferson's Paris Memorandum Books of 1789: https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-01-02-0023), who is said to have installed it in the entrance hall of his Virginia mansion near Charlottesville, Monticello, but at some point it disappeared and had to be replaced by a modern copy in 1945. Another plaster copy probably supplied by Houdon was presented to the American Philosophical Society by Dupont de Nemours in 1816.

The French economist Gustave Schelle (1845–1927), cited in References, who published the five-volume anthology of Turgot's writings to which he appended a remarkable biography, stressed the same physical traits of the Controller General in the portraits executed from life by both Ducreux and Houdon: *"Lorsqu'on considère le portrait de Turgot par Ducreux, ou son buste par Houdon, on est frappé de la noblesse des traits du ministre, encadrés par une belle chevelure qui retombe avec grâce sur les épaules; on est attiré par la profondeur du regard, par le mélange de douceur mélancolique et d'énergie qui distinguent cette intéressante figure; mais on découvre aussi dans les plis de la bouche un peu de sourire dédaigneux dont j'ai parlé; et l'on n'en est point étonné quand on connaît la vie de Turgot: il était railleur et, dans sa jeunesse, il fut quelque peu frondeur."* ("When considering the portrait of Turgot by Ducreux or his bust by Houdon, one is struck by the nobility of the minister's features framed by a handsome head of hair which falls gracefully onto his shoulders. One is attracted by the depth of his gaze, by the mixture of melancholic geniality and vigor which distinguish this interesting countenance. Yet one also detects in the furrows of his mouth a hint of a disdainful smile to which I have referred. And this is not surprising when one knows the life of Turgot. He was dismissive and, in his youth, he was a bit rebellious.") (*Œuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant* [ed. by Gustave Schelle], Paris, vol. II, 1914, p. 70.) Ducreux's portrait of the Controller General may have been the basis of the rectangular frontispiece engraved by Ambroise Tardieu (1788–1841) for the first volume of Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours' edition of the *Œuvres de Mr. Turgot, ministre d'État…*, a book published in Paris between 1808 and 1809.

What may be free interpretations or modified pastiches of Ducreux's portrait of the Controller General, in which the subject is also represented wearing a dark gray jacket, are known. The finest of them, which is attributed to François Hubert Drouais and his studio now belongs to the aforementioned Fondation Custodia. It depicts the minister with his right hand inserted in his coat. Another, which was apparently painted in 1790 by Pierre Gautherot (1769–1825), is in The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (For that work, see Valentina Nikolaevna Berezina, 1983, cited in References.) Another, oval in shape, is apparently the work of the painter Antoine Graincourt (1748–1823); it is in the Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon (Inv. no. MV 3923; see Claire Constans, *Musée national du château de Versailles: les peintures*, Paris, 1995, vol. I, p. 412, no. 2328, illus.).

PROVENANCE

Collection of the sitter; presumably by inheritance to his older brother, the
Chevalier Étienne François Turgot, Marquis de Sousmont (1721–1788); by inheritance to his son by his wife Anne Capon (c. 1735–1788),
Anne-Étienne-Michel Turgot, Marquis de Sousmont (1762–1840), Paris; by inheritance to his son by his wife Anne Louise Le Trésor d'Ellon (c. 1769–1855),
Louis-Félix-Étienne Turgot (1796–1866), titled the Marquis Turgot, Paris; to his widow, the
Marquise Turgot, née Louise-Napoléone Mouton de Lobau (1811–1886), Paris; to her son,
Jacques-Louis Turgot (1835–1888), titled the "Marquis Turgot," Paris and the Château de Lantheuil (also called the Château de Manneville), between Bayeux and Caen in the Department of Calvados; to his sister,
Marie-Stéphanie-Félicité Turgot (1833–1897), wife of Jean-Joseph-Gustave Dubois de l'Estang (1823–1881), Château de Lantheuil; to their daughter,
Marie-Louise-Madeleine Dubois de l'Estang (1856–1908), wife of Comte Ludovic-Paulin Jacobé de Naurois (1851–1941), Château de Lantheuil; eventually by inheritance to their grandson,
Charles-Alexandre-Jean-Marie Jacobé de Naurois, titled the "Marquis de Naurois-Turgot" (1913–1974), Château de Lantheuil, as of 1958; by inheritance to his daughter,
Madame Durandy van den Daele, née Ysabel-Marie-Nelly Jacobé de Naurois-Turgot, Château de Lantheuil

ENGRAVING

Ambroise Tardieu (1788–1841); used as the frontispiece of the *Œuvres de Mr. Turgot, ministre d'État, précedées et accompagnées de Mémoires et de Notes sur sa vie, son administration et ses ouvrages*, ed. Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours, vol. I, Imprimerie A. Delance& Belin, Paris, 1808-1809)

REFERENCES

Les Lettres et les Arts, III, 1887, illustrated p. 244

L. Say, *Turgot*, Paris, 1887, illustrated p. 6 (color)

P. de Nolhac, *La Reine Marie-Antoinette*, Paris, 1890, illustrated p. 22

B. Erdmannsdörfer, *Mirabeau*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1900, illustrated p. 11, fig. 9 [*Monographien zur Weltgeschichte* (ed. by E. Heyck), XIII]

J.J.É. de L'Espinasse, *Letters of Mlle. de Lespinasse. With Notes on Her Life and Character by D'Alembert, Marmontel, De Guibert, etc.…* (trans. by K.P. Wormeley), Boston, 1902, illustrated p. 269

P.M.M.H. de Ségur, *Au couchant de la monarchie*, I, *Louis XVI et Turgot*, Paris, 1910, illustrated frontispiece

Oeuvres de Turgot et documents le concernant, avec biographie et notes (ed. by G. Schelle), Paris, 1913-1923, V, p. 665 (erroneously dates pastel to 1774). Illustrated in vol. III

F. Alengry, *Turgot (1727-1781), homme privé, homme d'état, d'après les documents* [sic] *inédits du fonds de Lantheuil publiés par Schelle*, Paris, 1942, illustrated pl. between pp. 80 and 81

G. Lyon, *Joseph Ducreux (1735-1802), premier peintre de Marie-Antoinette: sa vie–son oeuvre*, Paris, 1958, pp. 169, 187-188, 222; 273, note 19. Illustrated pl. V

E. Faure, *La Disgrâce de Turgot, 12 mai 1776*, Paris, 1961, illustrated facing p. 248, pl. XIII

V.N. Berezina, *The Hermitage Catalogue of Western European Painting: French Painting, Early and Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Florence, 1983, p. 215, cited under no. 187

C.-A. Lopez, *Mon cher Papa: Franklin and the Ladies of Paris* (2nd, revised ed.), New Haven and London, 1990, illustrated p. 269

S. Lee, "Gautherot, Pierre," in *The Dictionary of Art*, London, 1996, XII, pp. 205-206

A. de Maurepas and A. Boulant, *Les Ministres et les ministères du Siècle des Lumières (1715-1789). Étude et dictionnaire*, Paris, 1996, p. 350

N. Jeffares, *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, London, 2006, p. 171 (consult also the latter's constantly updated internet site in the form of a PDF for Joseph Ducreux's work as a pastellist: http://www.pastellists.com/Articles/Ducreux.pdf). Illustrated

A.E. Murphy, *The Genesis of Macroeconomics: New Ideas from Sir William Petty to Henry Thornton*, Oxford and New York, 2009, illustrated p. 132

EXHIBITION

Paris, Palais du Trocadéro, Galeries des portraits nationaux, *Exposition Universelle de 1878* (see H. Jouin, *Notice historique et analytique des peintures, sculptures, tapisseries, miniatures, émaux, dessins etc.…*, Paris, 1879, p. 87, no. 411)