VISUALIZING THE ISLANDS OF NAPOLEON: NAPOLEONIC *LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE* IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

Ji Eun You

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Approved by:

Dr. Mary Sheriff

Dr. Pika Ghosh

Dr. Wei-Cheng Lin

ABSTRACT

JI EUN YOU: Visualizing the Islands of Napoleon:
Napoleonic *Lieux de Mémoire* in Nineteenth-Century Britain
(Under the direction of Mary Sheriff)

Between Napoleon's exile to St. Helena in 1815 and his reburial in 1840, a vast repository of Napoleonic imagery appeared in Britain, where the political of national identity brought about an intense reflection on how to articulate the national past. Informed by Pierre Nora's notion of the intersection of memory, history and nation in sites of memory, or the *lieux de mémoire*, I examine how the memory of Napoleon was simultaneously crystallized and concealed through a popular motif of the three Napoleonic islands – Corsica, Elba and St. Helena. A close visual analysis on the representational space of the island images reveals the illusory masking of the vicariousness and elusiveness of British Napoleonic memories through strategic use of pictorial devices. Thus, through Napoleonic images of the mid-nineteenth century, this thesis explores the play of memory and history and their visualization in the in real and represented island spaces.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

When in 1815 Napoleon Bonaparte was sent to the island of St. Helena (located 1,200 miles west of the South African coast), the great distance that separated him from Europe hardly dampened the enthusiasm with which artists and printmakers in Britain continued to produce images of the emperor. Between his first exile to Elba in 1814 and the return of his remains from St. Helena to Paris in 1840, Napoleonic imagery flourished in a variety of media, techniques, and styles. Developing from this phenomenon was the popularity of the three islands that featured prominently in Napoleon's life – Corsica, Elba and St. Helena – as places where memories of him could be found. Popular depictions showed views of the islands, ports, and his residences, as well as the emperor standing on their shores. The little island of St. Helena where Napoleon was banished could hardly contain the imaginative power that his epic figure conjured up in nineteenth-century Britain. The aim of this thesis is to situate Napoleonic imagery within the nineteenth-century concerns for representing the past, focusing on the way that the memories of Napoleon were frozen in both actual island spaces and representations of islands. Using Pierre Nora's framework of *lieux de mémoire*,[1] or the sites of memory, I approach the Napoleon imagery in Britain with particular sensitivity toward the embodiment of memory in space. While the impact of the Napoleonic Wars touched most Western European countries, the concern

[1] *Les Lieux de Mémoire* was originally published in French as a multi-volume collection of essays with Pierre Nora as the editor (Paris: Gallimard, 1984). The introductory essay written by Nora was translated into English in 1989: See "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*." *Representations*, No. 26 (Spring, 1989), 7-24. The collection was also translated in two multi-volume editions: one, under the title of *Realms of Memory*, eds. Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); the other, *Rethinking France*, eds. Nora and David P. Jordan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

specific to Anglo-Napoleonic relations present a challenging inquiry for scholarship on the visualizing memories of Napoleon. His origins on Corsica made it complicated to classify Napoleon within the existing British stereotypes of the French, as well as the "revolutionaries," for the island that long been under Genoese rule, and became French territory only five years prior to the birth of Napoleon.[2] Moreover the issues surrounding Napoleon in Britain were hardly a matter of foreign politics alone. From the early 1800s, Napoleon had a strong presence in Britain, where his figure was a recurring motif against which moral and military superiority could be tested.[3] Further, upon his surrender after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 he came under British jurisdiction and so he entered into the British imagination more deeply. The multiple and imaginative dimensions of the visualization of Napoleon in Britain were further amplified by the fact that the emperor had never actually set foot on British soil. Perhaps to compensate for the lack of their own domestic version of Napoleonic relics, there was a great demand for artifacts and representations of the emperor in Britain.[4]

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Napoleonic imagery placed a lesser emphasis on satirical treatment of the emperor within political discourse. Instead, there were other forms and genres of art produced and successful between 1815 and 1840, many with a greater appeal to sentiment. The island motif became a particularly productive site in the Napoleonic representations that shaped and aided the visualization of the emperor. Frequently represented were the three islands historically significant to the life of Napoleon.

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[2] Stuart Semmel. *Napoleon and the British* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 15-16.

[3] Stuart Semmel. *Napoleon and the British*, 27. See also Simon Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12.

[4] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 221-2.

As the site of his first exile, Elba was a palpable signifier of his downfall but it was also a turning point that led to his spectacular, albeit brief, return to the center of European history. St. Helena figured most centrally in narrating Napoleon's decline and death, as well as his resurrection as a Romantic hero. Corsica balanced St. Helena as the place of his birth and youthful years. The selection of images in this thesis, by no means exhaustive, will demonstrate the thematic breadth of the Napoleonic island images found in engravings, illustrated books, paintings, and other objects.

I do not seek merely to add another set of images to the existing repertoire on the typology of Napoleon. Recognizing and examining this particular group of images within the context of mid-nineteenth century Britain shifts our focus from the body politics of Napoleon so evident in previous analyses of satirical images, history paintings, and portraits, and expands of the temporal and thematic scope of Napoleonic imagery. It also calls attention to the context in which the figure of Napoleon could persist after his death in 1821, especially as to how the visualization of Napoleon figured within the debate about British national identity articulated through the representations of memories from the past. This discussion is then situated within the larger scholarly interest in examining the visualization and materialization of national memory in monuments, religious spaces and historic sites.[5] In particular, I frame my analysis through Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* to describe

[5] The analysis of the sites of memory has been most productive in the studies of the World War monuments, and their role in memorialization and nation-making in the twentieth century. See Daniel Sherman, *The Construction of Memory in Interwar France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). David Lowenthal has made a survey of different plays of memory and history spanning multiple eras and regions in *The Past is Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) while Edward Linenthal made a closer examination of cases in America (See *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Closer to the subject of my thesis is the work of Stephen Bann on the historical representations of nineteenth-century Britain. See Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995).

the simultaneous process of freezing and concealing memory[6] in the pictorial representations. Nora's idea allows me to develop my reading of the Napoleonic visualizations as embodying the ambiguous British viewership to the sites of memory.

With sensitivity towards the vicariousness of the British experience with Napoleon, I analyze the examples of Napoleonic *lieux de mémoire* in two different levels of space: in the actual sites of memory, and on the surface of representation. The latter aspect of this analysis intends to complicate Nora's framework by recognizing the many representations of Napoleonic *lieux de mémoire*, and highlighting the visual strategies used to overcome the elusiveness of the Napoleonic memories. I explore an image of the island of Elba, and two examples from an illustrated travel book about Corsica as a way of thinking about both memory embodied in space and the representation of memory-space. The analysis of the prominent place given to islands in the Napoleonic *lieux de mémoire* extends this interest in the spatial dimension of the congealed memories. Informed by the highly diverse and ambiguous symbolism of the island during the nineteenth-century colonial period, I examine how islands became a receptive space for the fluid nature of the play between memory and history. Furthermore, using several works portraying scenes of St. Helena, I interrogate the spatial dimension of represented *lieux de mémoire* though the ways in which the insertion of figures (both of Napoleon and passersby) produces varied relationships between the real viewer and the image. Thus, by threading together, through the island motif, previously neglected Napoleonic representations in mid-nineteenth-century Britain, I examine the proliferation of Napoleonic imagery as a play of memory and history during the formative period of the British nationalism.

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[6] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7.

NAPOLEONIC IMAGERY IN BRITAIN

As scholarship has focused on images of Napoleon produced during his lifetime,[7] the Napoleonic imagery has been approached primarily through the political satires that pervaded the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[8] That genre declined in the late 1810s, a time that coincided with the exile and subsequent death of the emperor in 1821. Relatively little has been written about the images that flourished after his exile to St. Helena. These images rarely included any overt political message, but rather they treated memories of Napoleon in several ways: as a cultural figure symbolic of the liberal cause, as a tragic hero, as a reminder of the past British victory over France, or as a nostalgic reflection of the past.

Historian Stuart Semmel has recently compiled a comprehensive overview of the textual and pictorial representations of the emperor in a specifically British context.[9] With

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[7] There are few works that make the figure of Napoleon in post-1815 Britain their primary subject of interest. The use of Napoleonic figures in British political discourse was analyzed in detail by Edward Tangye Lean in *The Napoleonists: A Study in Political Disaffection, 1760-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); Joseph De Mougins-Roquefort, *Napoléon Prisonnier Vu Par Les Anglais* (Paris: J. Tallandier, 1978); Rory Muir, *Britain and the Defeat of Napoleon, 1807-1815* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); and Mark Philp, ed., *Resisting Napoleon: The British Response to the Threat of Invasion, 1797-1815* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006). For analyses of Napoleon in the context of Romantic literature, see Bainbridge, *Napoleon and English Romanticism*. For the study of visual materials, Gerald Finley has made a case study of Turner's work on *The Life of Napoleon* written by Sir Walter Scott. See Gerald E. Finley "Turner's Illustrations to Napoleon," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 36 (1973), 390-396.

[8] As early as 1884, scholars such as John Ashton compiled catalogues of British Napoleonic caricatures: See John Ashton, *English Caricature and Satire on Napoleon I* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1884). In 1911, Alexander Meyrick Broadley published a similar catalogue on Napoleonic caricatures: See Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *Napoleon in Caricature 1795-1821* (London: John Lane, 1911). More recently, the catalogue for the exhibition *Napoleon and the Invasion of Britain* presented a selection of British Napoleonic caricatures at the Bodeleian Library: See Alexandra Franklin and Mark Philp, *Napoleon and the Invasion of Britain* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2003).

[9] Stuart Semmel has examined British appropriation of Napoleon most extensively in *Napoleon and the British.* See also Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past: British Tourism, Collecting, and Memory after Waterloo," *Representations*, No. 69 (2000), 9-37; and "British Radicals and 'Legitimacy': Napoleon in the Mirror of History," *Past & Present* No. 167 (May, 2000), 140-175. The study of French cult of Napoleon by Sudhir Hazareesingh in *The Legend of Napoleon* (London: Granta, 2004) makes a valuable comparison when studying the British use of Napoleon. See also Hazareesingh, *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); and "Napoleonic Memory in Nineteenth-Century France: The Making of a Liberal Legend."*Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 120, No. 4 (September, 2005), 747-773.

Napoleon as the organizing axis, Semmel parsed out in specific the issues of British national identity that became important points of debate in the rapidly changing society. Framed by an interest in the development of a national character in the nineteenth century, Semmel's analysis examines how Napoleon as a symbolic motif appeared in the visual and textual figuration of his memories as a way to articulate the British identity.

This search for national identity through a conscious reflection on the past was largely shaped by a growing sense of distance between the past and the present. Historically, this new attitude towards the past was propelled by such major historical events as the French Revolution, as well as other social transformations such as rapidly expanding colonial endeavors and industrial ventures. As a result, there was a perceived "break" between the present and the past, which created a certain crisis in British thinking about history, demanding an "adjustment in the way they looked at their past."[10] Therefore, as historical continuity became a matter of debate, the endeavor of nation-making involved a careful but intense reflection on and articulation of the nation's own past that could provide a logical explanation and validation for the present.[11] While the country did not experience the same degree of dramatic turbulence as their French neighbors did, they were not immune to a significant reorganization of society that called into question their sense of national identity. Even if we cannot now agree on whether there was, in fact, a homogenous community

[10] Nora, *Rethinking France*, xv. This idea of perceived break from the past in the nineteenth century has been discussed in relation to the notion of "historical consciousness" and the development of history as a scholarly, scientific discipline. For the methodological approach to the historical writings of the nineteenth century, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), especially pages 38-41 for his description on the early nineteenth century's "crisis in historical thinking." Stephen Bann complicates White's framework by focusing on the historical representations during Romantic period in *Romanticism and the Rise of History*, 35-36.

[11] Nora, *Rethinking France*, xvi; and Bann also makes a convincing case study for the intersection of memory and history in the national context through the popularity of Henri IV as a symbolic motif mobilized by the Restoration government that created a link to the earlier periods in French history. See Bann, 134-144.

identifiably "British" at the time,[12] it is undeniable that there were signs of the traditional structure of society undergoing major changes. Linda Colley lists several aspects of the developing phase of "Britain": the modernization of industry, the intermarriage between English aristocrats and Scottish merchants, the expansion of school systems, the debate over universal (male) suffrage, and crowd politics are all just few examples.[13] The union of Ireland and the growing voices of the liberals also contributed to the shift in society.[14] Therefore, I evoke the term "British" in this thesis to refer to the population of the British Isles, without discriminating particular groups.

The Napoleonic imagery in the second quarter of the nineteenth century therefore appears as a place where the British could negotiate the different ways of articulating and perceiving the past, and ultimately their own sense of identity, during this transitional period. In the early political satires, the figure of Napoleon most often appeared in government propaganda during war threats of French invasion.[15] The images were often derogatory caricatures and sometimes treated Napoleon as a hybrid animal (Fig. 1). The pictorial mutilation and humiliation of his body managed the anxiety toward not only the impending

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[12] The debate as to whether there was a "British" identity as a homogenous idea has been divided into two camps, one seeing the growth of more definitive sense of nationalism in the nineteenth century, particularly around the middle class, and the other finding evidences of persistent loyalty to the regional identity and the precariousness of "British" as a unified community. For those who argued the advancement of "British" identity, Linda Colley has made her arguments in *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). The studies on the continuity of regional identities in contrast to national identity can be found in Samuel Raphael, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (London: Routledge, 1989); Alexander Grant and Keith John Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom?: The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 1995); Jonathan Charles Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology, and Politics During the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[13] Colley, 162, 290 and 378.

[14] Colley, 145-147.

[15] Alexandra Franklin, "John Bull in a Dream Fear and Fantasy in the Visual Satires of 1803," in *Resisting Napoleon*, ed. Mark Philp (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 126-8.

threats of military advancement, but also potential cultural invasion in which the degenerate, alien and Catholic emperor may rally against the moral, Protestant British.[16] By the 1820s the influence of satirical genre waned, and the emphasis on the threatening or demeaning figure of Napoleon was considerably nuanced. He was transformed into Prometheus and elevated as both the champion of the liberal cause and a tragic hero.[17] At this time, he was as much of an imaginary figure as a real historical person. That is, he became a malleable "fabrication" that could be molded and sustained by the Romantic writers as a way of evoking Romantic narratives or British domestic political issues, such as the debate around the Reform Acts in 1832 that brought liberal changes to the electoral system.[18] Therefore, the memory of the emperor froze into tangible forms as a way of embodying recent British history while also creating a narrative for the historical trajectory of the nation.

FROZEN MEMORY AND THE *LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE*

As the articulation of national history became a pressing issue for the British, it is possible to discern three intersecting discourses in Napoleonic representations: memory, history and nation. The prominence given to Napoleonic images as embodiments of the past in Britain occurred precisely at a moment when the nation sought to fortify its validity through reflecting on its past. Through the notion of *lieux de mémoire* Pierre Nora examined closely in the French context the play between memory and history at the critical moment of a transition to a formulated consciousness of nationhood.

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[16] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British,* 67.

[17] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British,* 223-225.

[18] On the cultural fabrications of Napoleon by Romantic literary figures such as Wordsworth and Byron, see Bainbridge, 4-6. The details about the debates surrounding the Reform Act and the usage of the figure of Napoleon by different political factions can be also found in Lean, 278-281.

Nora defines the *lieux de mémoire* as the sites where "memory crystallizes and secretes itself,"[19] and describes them as marking the transitional stage wherein scholarly history begins to replace living memory as the dominant attitude towards the past. That is, at the "acceleration of history" that privileges an analytical, critical approach seeking to reconstruct the past, memory gradually freezes itself in sites and objects that makes it visible and available for historical appropriation while also hiding itself away as it loses its "unself-conscious, commanding … spontaneously actualizing" properties.[20] The two processes of crystallization and withdrawal of memory occur simultaneously, and it is for this very play of memory and history that Napoleonic imagery as *lieux de mémoire* will be examined.

In his engagement with nineteenth-century French memoirs, Nora argues that it is possible see the convergence and divergence of memory and history. Between the 1820s and the 1840s, Nora observed, there was a huge increase in the production of memoirs written by notable statesmen. Produced mostly in serial format, these memoir collections sought to provide a textual spectacle of collective memories. Indeed, the memoirs were written by various voices originating from different political factions and classes, sometimes slipping into fictitious realm, and consumed by equally divergent groups.[21] Memory frozen in the form of written text provided the "testimonies of the past as the foundations for the French

[19] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7. The original French text of the quoted definition reads as follows: "les lieux [sont] où se cristallise et se réfugie la mémoire." While the word "crystallization" in English mostly retains its original meaning from French, the current translation of the latter half of the definition as "secretes" has the potential for misinterpretation. Thus for this thesis, I will use words "conceal," "hide" and "withdraw" interchangeably to better describe the loss of the vital qualities of living memory in the crystallizing process. As for the crystallization, I occasionally substitute this term with the idea of "freezing" memory.

[20] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 8-9.

[21] Pierre Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State: From Commynes to de Gaulle," in *Rethinking France*, eds. Pierre Nora and David Jordan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 404-408.

nation's present legitimacy" that the Restoration and July Monarch much needed.[22] Therefore, at a historical moment when the nation sought the validation of the present by the past, the textual materialization of collective memory in the multi-volume memoir collections constituted national history, thus forming "a reciprocal circularity, a symbiosis at every level" among memory, history and nation.[23] In other words, objects and spaces functioning as *lieux de mémoire* in the nineteenth century, such as the memoirs, embodied memories in a manner specifically creating a reciprocal linkage, or, a constructive play between memory and history propelled by the developing idea of a modern nation.

As we have seen, however, memory is not simply crystallized as it makes itself tangible. It also conceals itself away from history, in the sense that the actual memory withdraws itself underneath its crystallized shell. When Nora analyzed the memoirs of mid-nineteenth century France, he remarked that this was the "last moment where memoirs truly *were* memory."[24] On the one hand, this statement reflects Nora's belief that the memoirs as *lieux de mémoire* came at a turning point in French history writing. Before this last moment, France privileged personal memory as the primary source of knowing the past and this memory alone could constitute the history.[25] For Nora, the proliferation of serial memoirs at the moment of intense debate about national history in the 1820s, indicates the introduction of history as the memories in the sense that they were consciously written, justified, ordered, published collectively and disseminated widely.[26] Therefore, as the early nineteenth-century

[22] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State," 406-407.

[23] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 10.

[24] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State," 409.

[25] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State," 410.

[26] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State," 404-5.

writers used these memoirs of various individuals with the scrutinizing eyes of a historian, the process of assessing national legitimacy merged memory and history together in the memoirs. But this coupling was the last moment in which there was a push to "link" memory and history.[27] Afterwards, Nora perceives the "acceleration of history" where highly institutionalized and disciplined history tears itself away from memory and, in fact, engulfs memory by pushing it aside to the private realm.[28] Therefore, *lieux de mémoire*, like the memoirs of the mid-nineteenth century, are the temporary and elusive combination of memory and history during a historical period of transition.

The withdrawal of memory in *lieux de mémoire* alerts us to another kind of final moment of memory, for Nora clearly differentiates between memory and *lieux de mémoire*. The "true memory" operates at an almost subconscious level and is transmitted through repetitive actions such as gestures, languages and customs that perpetually reactivate the present. It conflates past with present, and pulls to multiple directions simultaneously.[29] *Lieux de mémoire*, in the way they are consciously made to embody memory, thus point to the end of living, actualizing memory in the object. They are frozen memories that were shaped and retained by the advance of history, the materiality of which indicates the increasing exteriority of memory.[30] Therefore, the *lieux de mémoire* mark the tangible sign of the end of memory.

And yet, *lieux de mémoire* remain fundamentally the "embodiments of memorial

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[27] Nora, *Rethinking France*, xvi.

[28] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 16.

[29] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State," 8.

[30] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State," 12-13.

consciousness."[31] Even at the expense of compromising the more organic property of memory work, the *lieux de mémoire* is the last place where memory could find a place to survive in the advancement of history.[32] Memory survives, for example, in memoirs, in the way the personal recollections of the past demands a subjective engagement from its viewers and readers. As the audience imagined a sense of direct access to the past via these personal recollections, *lieux de mémoire* created an illusion of temporarily blurring the past and present. In other words, *lieux de mémoire* crystallize memory in a way that its structure or form bears the traces of memory work.

At the same time, the simultaneous temporality created in the *lieux de mémoire* through spatial deployment of time seems to share greater affinity with images, even though Nora has mostly focused on textual memoirs. This is not to say that "memory," especially memories of Napoleon, has a particular form or that text cannot embody memory. Whereas texts deploy events and descriptions in a sequential order – both in the way they are laid out in the narrative, or physically in written text – images could mimic the working of memory that privileges the dispersive, simultaneous and spontaneous as the eye move freely across the surface. Therefore, I argue that the particular ways in which images allow for this simultaneity and fluidity of time should attract greater attention from those who are interested in the crystallization of memory in the nineteenth century.

THE "MAP OF ELBA": NAPOLEON, MEMORY AND BRITAIN

The notion of *lieux de mémoire* informs the ways in which an image such as the "Map of Elba" (Fig. 2) could be approached as an example of frozen memory in the period of

[31] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 12.

[32] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 12.

transition in the nineteenth century. Upon seeing a representation like the “Map of Elba,” a nineteenth-century British viewer encountered a visualization of Napoleonic memory markedly different from those that came before. This colored lithograph consists of five vignettes forming three vertical parts. At the top of the page is a schematic map of Elba. Immediately below, there is a miniature head portrait of Napoleon, flanked by two facsimiles of his signature, one as Napoleon himself and the other as Chief Consul. A view of the port occupies the bottom register. No narrative or event is immediately recognizable from this eclectic assemblage, departing from the images more popular during earlier period with clearer messages such as political satires or official portraits and history paintings.

The “Map of Elba” is, in fact, representative of Napoleonic imagery in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, which was increasingly replacing the pictorial diatribes of the preceding decade along with the official commissions for Napoleonic representations that also decreased with his abdication. These eventually gave way to calmer, sentimental (sometimes to the point of melodramatic) portrayals of the emperor in a smaller and less official capacity. By the 1820s, the parameters of Napoleonic imagery had expanded to include the representations of the objects and spaces that made implicit reference to him, such as the images of Napoleonic islands, of various residences occupied by him, as well as portraits of those notable figures associated with him. Exploiting the developing techniques and market for print culture, these images were disseminated through single-leaf image sheets, illustrations in books, and displayed next to paintings and material objects. Even twenty years after his death in 1821, the memories of Napoleon widely and deeply persisted in the British imagination.

The “Map of Elba” brings together this variety of motifs and forms developing in the

mid-nineteenth century. That this image consists of a collection of multiple motifs is explicitly recreated through *trompe l'oeil* effect. The five vignettes are depicted on a single, two-dimensional surface and yet, each element looks as if was pasted onto the paper. The artist rendered the illusion of shadow for each vignette, thus accentuating the singularity of the individual vignettes by giving them a layered, pasted effect. The borders are rendered to appear as a three-dimensional picture frame, as if there is a light source coming from the top right-hand corner, casting shadow underneath it.

This *trompe l'oeil* effect emphasizes the collective nature of the assemblage. By delineating each vignette within the overall plate, the artist directs the viewer's attention to the distinctiveness of each element, as well as the juxtaposition of elements. It was exactly in this collective manner that memories frozen in various visual forms constituted history in the mid-nineteenth century in Britain. For it was this translation from individual, disparate fragments to the collective, public and shared realm that memories which are "without historical value or authority when taken separately, together offer a complete picture of an era."[33] In other words, the *trompe l'oeil* effect of the "Map of Elba" recreates the manner in which memories are materialized and mobilized for history.

More specifically, the plate visualizes a particular type of history that revolves around a central figure. Assorted pictorial forms that crystallized memories were juxtaposed with the figure of Napoleon as the axis pulling and projecting them together onto a single surface. The head portrait of Napoleon in the middle register, places him in both literal and symbolic epicenter of the plate. (Fig. 3)This centrality given to the portrait/person as the organizing unit of history, together with the visual program of assembling varying pieces of frozen memory, recalls the scrapbooks from the eighteenth century in which engraved head

[33] Nora, "Memoirs of Men of State,"404.

portraits of famous historical figures were collected (Fig. 5). Marcia Pointon argues that the phenomenon shows how "biographical personal history, mediated through the discourse of portraiture, bridged the conceptual gaps between the identification of the personal and definitions of the social."[34] That is, the "personal history" was condensed and visualized in the form of a head portrait, which then acted as a portal connecting private biographies to the public, social history. These portraits, collectively, constituted the organizational units in an "epistemology that can be understood as ordering society and making visible the body politic."[35] More specifically, these biographic heads were collected and juxtaposed by the social class, career or family of the sitter. They visibly reenacted on the paper both genealogy and body politics of the society, thus providing tangible representations of history through a collection of frozen memoires that validated the present.[36]

Recalling this specific visual tradition (which still held currency in the 1820s), the "Map of Elba" also shows the ways in which the biographic heads not only organized the body politics but also projected these personal memories onto specific sites. The historical figures represented in the portraits were often associated with specific places that created a sense of national, historical geography the same way they formulated the structure of society.[37] This connection between figures and sites was made as the scrapbooks of head portraits drew together other forms of visual condensation of the past such as the cutouts of writings and other engraved views that were pasted around the portrait (Fig. 6). The "Map of Elba" similarly appropriates the island of Elba for the British imagination of the world, as it

[34] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 54.

[35] Pointon, 58.

[36] Pointon, 59.

[37] Pointon, 60.

becomes a site pertinent to staging Napoleonic memories. Mimicking the visual program of the scrapbooks of engraved portraits, the plate visually articulates a paradigm through which the biographic head of Napoleon orders a coherent narrative onto the space of Elba through the juxtaposition of the fragments of frozen memories.

Placed in the center of the plate, the porthole portrait of Napoleon then provides one entry point into the particular narrative of collective memory/history presented in the image. The resemblance of the head to the portrait of the emperor in Jacques Louis David's *Emperor in His Study at Tulleries* (Fig. 7) refers to a specific type of Napoleon that gained popularity in Britain, notably after his 1815 escape from Elba. David portrays Napoleon two years after he crowned himself an emperor, and yet, signifiers of his royal status are kept to minimum in the portrait. Instead, David emphasized Napoleon as a diligent civic leader. The viewers could see the clock pointing some time past four in the morning, implying that Napoleon was awake late into the night, drawing up his plans for the new legal code, which is lying on the desk. In this composition, the artist was consciously looking back to the moment when Napoleon first garnered his reputation as the "civic and military leader who had changed the direction of French society through his legal and social contributions."[38] By making visual reference to this particular view of Napoleon, the "Map of Elba" refers to him not as a despotic ruler, but as a hard-working leader. The portrait in the plate further emphasizes the sympathetic view, as he is presented in a much more youthful manner, implying both the figure of Napoleon as a young and serene personality and also the earlier days of Napoleon when he was not yet the despised emperor.

This identification of Napoleon as a civic leader by suppressing references to his

[38] Dorothy Johnson, *Jacques-Louis David: Art in Metamorphosis* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 216.

imperial persona is confirmed by one of the facsimile signatures next to the portrait. The signature on the right side of the middle register is made by Napoleon as Chief Consul, a position that Napoleon held before he came to the throne. The appellation of Napoleon as Chief Consul more specifically stages the island of Elba in a way that constructs the narrative of Bonaparte as a heroic figure. By the time Napoleon came to the island of Elba, he had been ruling France as an emperor for approximately ten years. Therefore, the reference to Napoleon as Chief Consul channeled the crystallized memories around his portrait in a specific direction. For Napoleon, the island of Elba marked a turning point in his life. Before his exile to the island, criticism against him had reached new heights as he ascended to the imperial throne. Liberal thinkers, such as Madame de Staël, fervently and openly opposed him,[39] and his exile to the island of Elba after his defeat in 1814, it appeared to mark the end of the arrogant Napoleon. A year later, when he escaped and came back to Paris, he was self-consciously addressing these criticisms and fashioned himself a new image as a liberal advocate of revolutionary France, a patriotic defender.[40] To many British radicals, such as William Cobbett, Napoleon's smooth march to Paris seemed to indicate the popular support he had. While some remained skeptical of this new outlook, the image of the emperor as a liberal leader became the foundation of the myth of Napoleon that generated favorable depictions of him as a Romantic hero.[41] In other words, Elba signifies the site where the myth of Napoleon as a liberal hero began, changing his image from a hypocritical usurper to revolutionary leader.

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[39] Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory," 749-751.

[40] Hazareesingh, "Napoleonic Memory," 753-5.

[41] Semmel, 161-4. Although Semmel considers the exile to St. Helena as a more definitive moment for the development of the liberal and heroic image of Napoleon, Hazareesingh argues that already during the march to Paris from Elba, the "legends" of Napoleon were circulating rapidly. See Hazareesinght, *The Legend of Napoleon,* 41-45.

With this understanding of history, positioning Napoleon as Chief Consul in the "Map of Elba" was quite strategic in augmenting the appropriation of Napoleon as a liberal, republican leader. It refers back to the years when Napoleon first presented himself as an alternative to the confused Directory government, without conflating his leadership with monarchy. In a sense, he was reenacting the scenario of when Caesar Augustus was named the First Citizen, or the First Consul, an emperor in all other manner but name. Augustus appeared precisely at the moment when Rome was emerging from long years of civil war and heading towards a sense of unity. By referring back to the initial days of the Roman Republic when the consuls headed the state, the title of Consul stood as a symbolic figure of Rome's historical renewal as the ideal republican state. Similarly, Napoleon is referred to as the Consul precisely next to the site where he was transformed into an idealized, republican leader.

For a British audience, this suppression of Napoleon's self-proclaimed royal status in favor of his position as a republican hero denotes one of the ways in which Napoleon could be appropriated into the British imagination, specifically in the context of identity politics. Napoleon had already served as a motif in discussions about British politics, but the particular typology of the heroic Napoleon after the Hundred Days had an especially widespread appeal to the British. He stood as the "representative of the best aspects of the Revolution and the will of the French people," in a way that would not contradict the liberal cause and benefits of the British.[42] The phenomenon of heroicizing Napoleon intensified after the 1820s, particularly once the heated debate around the Reform Act 1832 released the figure of Napoleon from the monopoly on his image held by liberal and minority groups who championed him as the symbol of their cause. He became a hero whose only tragedy was that

[42] Lean, 207.

he "was undone by a moral flaw … destroyed by his lack of principle."[43] In fact, David's portrait of Napoleon had a more direct connection to Britain, for it was privately commissioned in 1811 by a Scotsman who "shared with many a cult for Bonaparte as First Consul."[44] Therefore, this portrait refers not only to Napoleon as a civic leader (with a strong connection to liberal ideas) but also one that was already germane to the articulation of liberal ideas in Britain.

The insistence on Napoleon as First Consul has the effect of enabling the British to elevate Napoleon beyond tumultuous history, and render him a symbolic figure, a kind of a *lieux de mémoire* in which British politics were frozen and hidden in the form of a portrait. In the "Map of Elba," such appropriation of Napoleon often took advantage of the benefits of the creative dimension of representation, freely juxtaposing and placing disparate motifs into a collective, British memory of Napoleon. Thus, the "Map of Elba" crystallizes the memory of Napoleon as the civic, republican, Romantic hero-leader whose idealization allowed its appropriation into British discourse, and the subsequent imagining of the trajectory of British history by the liberals.

Concealed Memory

The crystallization of Napoleon's memory as First Consul and Romantic hero in the *lieu de mémoire* of "Map of Elba" highlights simultaneously the ways in which memory conceals itself. The use of the *trompe l'oeil* effect that accentuated the delineation of each vignette brings to mind the eighteenth-century grangerized scrapbooks, and through its collective assemblage suggests a historical narrative delineating the liberal figure of

[43] Lean, 284, quoting Thomas Carlyle.

[44] Johnson, 216.

Napoleon in Britain. Whereas the *trompe l'oeil* traditionally played on creating an illusion of the real by confusing the space beyond the frame with that of the viewer, the optical trick in the "Map of Elba" does not forge the "open window" that renders the depicted scene as being just out of reach in the actual space. The size of this small plate (16.1' x 10.6') would not have made such illusion possible. Instead, the shadowing of each vignette's frame implicitly distances the viewer and the island by stressing the materiality of the image. The composition accentuates the two-dimensional pastiche of the plate by breaking the smooth surface of the illusory space with the shadowed frames. The "Map of Elba" insistently reminds the viewer that the plate is a fabrication made by the hands of an artist. Thus living memory distances itself from the viewer and hides in pictorial representation. The crystallization of memory makes visible collective memory, but simultaneously emphasizes the distancing of the memory from the time of remembering.

This is not to say that the memory and history that compelled the crystallization were in conflict. On the contrary, I elaborate on how these two participate in a constant play through the double-function of *lieux de mémoire* as both crystallization of memories that pull memory and history together, and the sites where memories are concealed by being torn away from history. This action suspends the *lieux de mémoire* in between the two, making it neither and both memory and history. As much as memory becomes visible, graspable by coalescing with history, memory is also concealed with an equal force that pulls it away from history.

The withdrawn memory nevertheless exposes itself in the gaps of the heterogeneous and ambiguous forms collectively placed in the "Map of Elba," as the assemblage mimics the dispersive directionality of memory. That is, memory crystallizes in a way that still retains

certain properties of memory, functioning as what Nora called the “memorial consciousness” in the frozen, historicized form of memory. In the “Map of Elba,” the particular juxtaposition of the map on top and the view of the port below disorients the viewer and denies the fixed linearity of historical narrative. The distinctive viewpoints of each vignette create a crevice through which the memorial consciousness of the plate seeps. The map at the top sets up the viewpoint of a third person. It operates within a representational logic that privileges the idea of objectivity, quantifiable exactness, methodical rules that could order the actual space into logical representation. Within this map, Elba is placed in approximate relation to the mainland, and thus is incorporated into the pre-existing, knowable world. The viewer is positioned in an omnipotent viewpoint to the land, as he/she objectifies the island in a totalizing gaze. The schematic rendering of the landscape further detaches the viewer from the island, emphasizing the exteriority of the site of memory in relation to the viewer.

The view of the port (Fig. 4) also seems offer the spectator a comprehensive optical consumption of the scene. And yet, it does not offer the same all-knowing perspective as the map. Upon closer examination, there is very little that is immediately identifiable as belonging to the island of Elba. The houses by the port do not bear any notable characteristics, and the flag on top of the fort is left without any distinguishable marks. Here, in the map, the viewer is granted no quantifiable, knowable access to the site of Napoleon’s memory. What appeared at first as the position of dominant gaze is revealed, in fact, as an unattainable position. Looking at the small boats in the foreground, the viewers are now placed on an impossibly high ground, which then displaces them from the assertive position set up by the map.

The view of the port resists permitting the viewer any visual access and neutralizes

the dominant viewpoint staged by the map. The strong wave in the foreground wards off easy entrance to the space; the viewer's access is like that of the boats shown as struggling to stay afloat. The port itself is heavily walled off. In the distance, a huge hill blocks the viewer from attaining any comprehensive view of the island. Such strong emphasis on mountainous geographic details that resist viewers was a common feature in other Napoleonic imagery of island ports. In the view of St. Helena (Fig. 8), for example, the mountain plays a greater role in the visual screen than the view of the port in the "Map of Elba," as it frustrates all visual penetration of the island. Its soaring height even severs the view of the sky and the port, at once deflecting the gaze of the outsiders while turning inwards. The view of the port in the "Map of Elba" similarly neutralizes the concept of the port as a space of fluidity and entrance. The heavy fort, the mountain and the wave create topographical shields behind which the elusive memory hides itself away in the enclosure of the island space. Whereas the map of Elba presented a space that opened itself up under the gaze of the viewer, the insularity of the port works against the viewer, denying access and displacing the viewer from the island.

Collective Inscription

Even in the map that first appeared as privileging the definitiveness of the view by offering knowledge of it also contains elements of irregularity that reveals the memorial consciousness of the "Map of Elba" as a *lieu de mémoire*. The map bears no topographic relief details in its schematic outline of the islands, apart from the hydrographic lines that show the sea levels around the island. Therefore, the map relies much on textual inscription as the primary carrier of its information, yet the confused use of languages does more to disorient the viewers than to direct them. The title in the left top corner indicates that this is a

map of the island of Elba using a scale of British miles, with major ports and cities labeled. The textual inscription thus literally marks out the land. And yet, the labels are not in one language. While the map uses English to name the major elements of the region ("Elba Island" or "Italy"), the names of specific parts of the islands mix English with Italian without apparent consistency. For example, the port in northern central Elba is called "Porto Ferraro," using the native Italian name in conjunction with an English word to describe the function of the site. But the cape in the southeastern corner of the island mixes the English word for "cape" with the Italian name of "Perone." The Italian names and English words weave into one another freely.

This mixture of languages seems to show the ways in which a *lieu de mémoire* retains its fluid and plural memories. The Italian language of the island competes with that of the English language, but it also recalls the Italian origin of Napoleon as well as the perceived dubious influence it had on him. Napoleon was a hybrid in the British imagination in the sense that his ethnicity moved him from being an Italian, Corsican, and then to French emperor depending on the context.[45] Napoleon was referred to as a Corsican by those who criticized him as a way of exploiting the existing stereotypes of the Corsicans as barbaric bandits, while he also became one of the most celebrated French, and sometimes universal, heroes. The ways in which the spelling of his last name "Bonaparte" was sometimes Italinized as "Buonaparte" was a popular method for political critics to evoke the Italian/Corsican identity of Napoleon, setting him up as barbaric and degenerate.[46] Therefore,

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[45] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 15-17.

[46] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 36-7 and 242. The British writers were quite aware of the implications of their deliberate use of the Italian spelling, "Buonaparte." William Hone's booklet on Napoleon entitled "Buonapartephobia" lists all the epithets against him (See William Hone and John Childs. *Buonapartephobia: The Origin of Dr. Slop's Name.* London: Printed by and for William Hone, 1820). This usage of the Italian spelling was so negative that when Sir Walter Scott desired to come to terms with the memory of this illustrious

the mixture of languages in the map shows the competing memories about Napoleon placed on a single surface, but this heterogeneous collection of memories does not constitute the dominance of one over the other. Rather, it shows the fluctuating nature of memory. The *lieux de mémoire* are collective, and yet subjective: the inscriptions are homogeneous in the way that they share a linguistic property, but heterogeneous in the way that they conjure up two different figurations of Napoleon. The multilingual inscriptions then gesture to varying aspects of Napoleon that weave together different memories and spaces.

The Island Space

This inaccessibility and vicariousness of memory created by the fabric of plural spaces and times also seems to suspend the *lieux de mémoire* somewhere between real and imagined, specific and generic. More exactly, the "Map of Elba" uses the view of the port as a way of crystallizing memory through the visualization of the site, but the specificity of the site itself – the island of Elba – is concealed as the scene offers few details about the actual island. In fact, this same view of a port appeared with consistency in depictions of all three islands of Corsica, Elba and St. Helena with little distinction. The interchangeability of the islands points to their generic nature in representation. Napoleonic memories exploit the abstract quality of "islandness" in these sites, as well as the ways in which the symbolic construction of the landscape could shape the memory of Napoleon. The symbolism of island in the nineteenth century, I argue, made it a particularly attractive space where the simultaneous process of crystallization and withdrawal in *lieux de mémoire* occur.

The nineteenth-century British reading public was quite familiar with seeing and

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emperor following his death in 1821, he did so by apologizing publicly for his publisher printing the emperor's name with a "u."

reading about islands. Literally thousands of accounts of islands were published in journals and newspapers, alongside illustrated travel books recounting the writers' experiences travelling to and on various islands, and novels set in fictional islands. Audiences met these publications enthusiastically. Descriptions of real and exotic islands "discovered" or managed through colonial endeavors, such as the islands of Norfolk, Pitcairn, Hong Kong, Ceylon, and Newfoundland, appeared alongside fictional accounts of desert islands as in Robinson Crusoe,[47] or sometimes in more poetic articulations, as the "Enchanted Islands."[48]

This interest in island spaces was surely inherited from earlier traditions of the island motif in literature and plays, but with colonial expansion and international travel in full swing, descriptions of mythical islands were mixed with those of real sites. The incredible symbolic flexibility of island spaces in these accounts, however, not only constituted a wide range of island symbolism, but also showed the slippage from one type of symbolism to another. An exotic island could also be dangerous, on account of its fierce natives, or a real island could easily be overlaid with the allegory of religious or mythical stories.

This conceptual fluidity and symbolic ambiguity of the island space derives from the neutralizing power of the site, which Gilles Deleuze attributed to the inherent duality of the island space. Written as a metaphysical reflection on space and the differential system, his observation of islands begins with an explanation of two types of insular origins for the space. On the one hand, "continental islands" were born through the severance from the mainland,

[47] The figure of Robinson Crusoe was in fact conflated with Napoleon (Fig. 9) On the one hand, this ridicules the emperor as a pretentious, superficial personality who adorns himself in exotic lion skin. But there may also be a hint of anxiety towards Napoleon and his situation in the islands, for he could easily dominate the small island. In fact, Napoleon was granted the title of emperor by the Treaty of Fontainbleau, whereby he could legally claim himself as the sovereign ruling over the island. As much as he was a captive to the island, he was also often portrayed as dominating the space, which demonstrates the dualistic symbolism of Napoleonic islands.

[48] See, for example, "The Enchanted Island." *Bentley's Miscellany* (July, 1839), 274.

while “oceanic islands” were “originary,” in the sense that they emerged not as a derivative of existing space, but by the formation of structures like coral reefs.[49] This formation of islands then renders a space that is not quite ocean nor land, but both at once.[50] The island of Elba presented through the view of the port in the “Map of Elba” has a similar nature; it moves fluidly from being a real, physical location to being a symbolic island space, that materializes the site of Napoleonic memory. The two spaces created by the crystallization (the physical, real and visible site of memory) and the concealment (insular, enclosed and imaginative space of memory) converge in the singular space of dualistic, ambiguous island. The island could be visualized as a crystallizing form of the site of Napoleonic memory, while the insularity of the mountainous space pushes away the viewer, simultaneously demarcating and delineating the periphery of the site of memory. Therefore, disparate realms slip into one another with fluidity on the island space, which begins to distance itself and hide from the view the memory embedded in the site. The memory makes itself elusive, oscillating between memory and history, withdrawal and crystallization.

Lieux de mémoire as Image

While plural spaces overlaid one another on the island, they also brought with them

[49] Gilles Deleuze, “Desert Islands” in *Desert Islands and Other Texts, 1953-1974* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2004), 7.

[50] This idea of neutralization that creates a highly fluid space is further elaborated in Louis Marin’s articulation of the utopic space. Louis Marin’s interest lies in providing a conceptual model in which discerning the schema that makes the synthesis between memory and history possible. He seeks to lay out the conceptual, schematic and perceptive nature of what he calls “utopic” signifying practice using Thomas More’s *Utopia* as a case study. Utopia occupies the empty space between two contraries as the expression of “neutral” that could be understood as “neither (for) one, nor (for) the other.” Schematically speaking, utopic discourse works to create stages for an imaginary solution to differing elements, in a simulacrum of synthesis that plays on the language of duality. Although I do not make explicit reference to Marin’s works in this thesis, his utopic model frames the idea of space as an imaginary solution for two competing notions as well as the neutralization of the utopic space. See *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces* (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1990).

different temporalities. The process of *lieux de mémoire* occurs not only in the juxtaposition of multiple spaces, but also in temporalities in the way in which the spaces and the figures of Napoleon pull together different times. The portrait and signature together place him at the time of First Consul, but the island Elba brings him to the moment when he abdicated the imperial throne. These moments are then placed next to more ambiguous references, such as the signature "Napoleon," with no specific temporal frame. These multiple temporalities find a point of conflation not only in the island, but also in the pictorial space that embodies or evokes these temporalities. Image as a pictorial surface deploys its elements on a non-linear plane, mimicking the simultaneous and dispersive nature of memory. Unlike a written text in which the temporality often follows a sequence of events laid out in time, the "Map of Elba" as an image juxtaposes in the same time and space the portrait of Napoleon as First Consul and the island of Elba that entered his life only in 1814. And as the analysis of the inscriptions on the map showed, a single image could contain signifiers of more than one moment in time. The temporalities are not fixed into one particular moment, but rather spread out on the space and operating concurrently. Thus the multi-temporality of memorial consciousness in *lieux de mémoire* is conducive to the representation in image rather than text.

More importantly, the pictorial surface also plays on the illusory aspect of representation. As the *lieux de mémoire* attempts to congeal and trap memory in tangible form, they make present what exists no longer. That is, the pictorial surface of Napoleonic imagery offers an imaginative space in which the now-absent figure of Napoleon can be visualized and re-presented, offering the illusion of presence and the possibility of access. This is not to say that representations were taken by the nineteenth-century British viewers as

“window” to the real world. Yet, through the conscious manipulation of various pictorial devices, the image offers viewers a sense of direct engagement with the memory. For example, an image could minimize the traces of artist’s hand as a way of obliterating the presence of a mediatory figure, creating an illusion for the viewers to approach the image directly. The dispersions of time and space in *lieux de mémoire* thus transfer the responsibility of memorial to the viewer, for the memorial consciousness at work in the *lieux de mémoire* diffuses a set of narratives to be recollected. But it is also the memory still seeping through the image in the memorial consciousness that allows the viewer to navigate and personally engage with the more abstract and multidirectional threads of memory. Therefore, the pictorial representation of the *lieux de mémoire* furnished a tangible materialization of memory that could be appropriated by the viewers,animated through subjective engagement with the depicted scene. The pictorial surface of Napoleonic imagery thus offers a particularly attractive space for the *lieux de mémoire*, considering the ways in which image could make the absent visually present, while also effectively embodying the dispersive temporality and spatial simultaneity of memory.

REPRESENTATION AND BRITISH NAPOLEONIC IMAGERY

The pictorial surface could embody the plural spaces and temporalities of *lieux de mémoire* through its illusory effect of endowing a sense of presence to absent things. This aspect of representation makes it an especially pertinent conceptual device in examining the British appropriation of Napoleonic imagery, since Napoleon was absent physically in space (due to the distance to the islands) and time (in the years after his death). Despite the profusion of Napoleonic imagery, the emperor himself was an elusive figure for the British.

The confrontations between Napoleon and British forces all took place outside the British Isles, thus unlike Germany, Austria, or Italy where major battle sites could claim the physical embodiment of the memory of the emperor and his battle, Britain lacked indigenous sites of Napoleonic memory. Even when Napoleon made his final surrender to Britain in 1815, he was kept on board of the HMS *Bellorophone* off the coast of Plymouth, and soon transferred to the HMS *Northumberland* to sail to the island of St. Helena. The portrayal of Napoleon and his memories in Britain, therefore, required an especially careful maneuvering.

The specific situation of Britain,separated both spatially and temporally from Napoleon and from the island spaces of his memories, raises a critical reflection on Nora's conceptualization of *lieux de mémoire*. Framed by the idea of representation as a play of absence and presence, I suggest that representations provided a framework that froze memories of Napoleon while simultaneously creating an imagined space where memory itself could be constructed and experienced with a sense of immediacy. Examining two examples of images of Corsica will show how memories of Napoleon are embodied and crystallized in the pictorial spaces. The analysis contextualizes the images within a culture in which the varying forms of crystallized memories were avidly collected and consumed, with sensitivity to the ways in which pictorial representation could manipulate and fabricate the presence of Napoleonic memory in island space. I also examine the representational space itself with close attention to the pictorial devices that strategically formulate a particular kind of relationship between the viewer and the spaces (both island and pictorial) in constructing memory.

This ambiguous and elusive quality of Napoleonic imagery in nineteenth-century Britain fully benefited from and became very much a part of the popular print culture that

saw a dramatic expansion since the late eighteenth century. The ease of mass production and widened reading public meant the figure of Napoleon became part of a popular discourse and its debates. The production and consumption of Napoleonic *lieux de mémoire* exploited the increased ease of reproduction and dissemination offered by the printmaker, as the same motif was copied, repeated, and manipulated with relative ease and speed. This plural and repetitive rendering of Napoleonic motifs echoes the play of crystallization and withdrawal of memory in the *lieux de mémoire*. As the motifs were reproduced over and over, they created a collective body of imagery that crystallized and historicized the memory and simultaneously concealed it.

The Island of Corsica

While the island of Elba marked a turning point in the life of Napoleon, Corsica became a more layered island in the British imagination. Corsica suffered a turbulent history that entered the British consciousness much earlier and more widely than the other two islands. Before being associated with Napoleon, Corsica made sporadic appearances in travel books before the 1700s, and later gained a huge appeal with the independence movements in the 1720s.[51] Writers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau were intrigued by the independence movements and lauded the Corsicans for having the potential of building a utopia,

[51] Corsica was under the rule of Genoese republic for about five hundred years, before the revolt broke out in 1729. The endeavor was met with severe financial and political difficulties, especially when the French became involved by the request of the Genoese Republic. Later, the island became a politically sensitive place during the War of Spanish Succession in 1740s. In the 1760s the Corsican resistance was more clearly dubbed "revolutions" and its leaders became champions of liberty. Corsican revolts offered an attractive metaphor, or a contemporary example for those Enlightenment *philosophes* and liberal such as Jean Jacques Rousseau who were preoccupied with the idea of liberty. The theme of liberty was the overarching theme for James Boswell, a Scottish traveler and biographer, in writing about Corsica in 1769. See James Bowell, *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765-1766*, eds. Frank Brady, Frederick Albert Pottle, and Alfred Engstrom (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), xx.

completely sealed off from the deleterious effects of the outside world.[52] At the same time, the fierce patriotism and loyalty of these revolutionary islanders to their nation had its other side. The British writers described the Corsicans as brute, barbaric people with violent temperament, living in an isolated space and holding onto their superstitious beliefs. The theme of murder, *vendetta* and superstition was appeared as late as the 1850s.[53]

Napoleon's origins on the island of Corsica came with an established layer of memory and history that shaped the portrayal of the emperor. The long established stereotypes of Corsicans as possessing violent tendencies readily offered a convenient symbolism for those who sought to criticize the uncivilized despotism and foreignness of Napoleon. Especially since Corsicans were culturally closer to Italians than French in terms of language and customs, emphasizing his connection to Corsica could also evoke the demeaning national temperament of the Italians that had come to be perceived as degenerate and in lower than that of others in Western Europe.[54]

When, in 1838, the English illustrator William Cowen visited Corsica in the hope of being the first English artist to record views of the island,[55] he saw reminiscences and

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[52] Rousseau was asked to draw up a constitution for the republic of Corsica, established as the result of the revolution and subsequent liberation from the Genoese government in the 1720s. The draft never reached final stage, and Corsica experienced several interim governments with foreign interventions before its unification to France 1770. See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Plan for a Constitution for Corsica," in *The Plan for Perpetual Peace, on the Government of Poland, and Other Writings on History and Politics,* trans. Christopher Kelly, Vol. 11 (Hanover, New Hampshire.: Dartmouth College Press, 2005), 123-166.

[53] It was conventional to portray Corsicans as indefatigable people who had not quite developed the techniques of agriculture, and would also not permit adultery go unnoticed without severe vengeance: See "Brief Account of the Corsicans," *Belle Assemblée,* 21 (January 1820), 10. Also, in one of the early plays written by Alexandre Dumas titled *Les Frères corses* in 1845, the superstitious and supernatural beliefs of the Corsicans are the driving force connecting two conjoined brothers. This was further supplemented by the British fascination with a supposedly Corsican custom of *vendetta*, a long, drawn-out feud between families that often resulted in murder. See Alexandre Dumas, *The Corsican Brothers,* trans. Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus, 2007).

[54] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British,* 36-7.

[55] This probably would not have been the case in reality, but the intervals between productions of any images of Corsica were so wide that Cowen may have wanted to highlight the novelty of his endeavor. Two notable works

reminders of Napoleon everywhere he went on the island. Of the fourteen engravings he produced in 1843 and 1848 as a result of his journey, six plates depict places where Napoleon was known to have frequented. Cowen visits the house and the rooms Napoleon lived in as a youth, the port where he began his military career, as well as the grotto he often visited as a youth.[56] Cowen also privileges the image of the three-point hat Napoleon wore at the Battle of Austerlitz. In the text subsequently published in 1848 to accompany the images, titled *Six Weeks in Corsica*, it becomes clearer that the artist navigates the island as if he is on a tour following the traces of the emperor. Napoleon's memory unfolds over the space of Corsica, weaving itself into the existing fabric of Corsican history. Thus by approaching the images from *Six Weeks in Corsica*, the viewers gained an opportunity to experience visually some of the most intimate sites for Napoleon, such as the room in which he was born.

This search for the vestige of Napoleon's presence is, however, ironically articulated through the absence of Napoleon. Even though Cowen travels through the island with a strong curiosity for locating the places embodying memories of Napoleon, he decides to include no actual portrait of him. This absence of any figurative image of the emperor contrasts the inclusion in the illustrations of the portrait of General Pascal Paoli (Fig. 10), a

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were produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain, and neither was illustrated. The earliest eighteenth-century work on Corsica in English language was by James Boswell's *An Account of Corsica* in 1768. It was not until Robert Benson in 1823 that a book on Corsica was published in the nineteenth century. See Robert Benson, *Sketches of Corsica: Or, a Journal Written during a Visit to that Island* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1825).

[56] William Cowen, *Six Weeks in Corsica* (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1848). The original twelve plates were published in 1843 under the title *Twelve Views in Corsica*. The list of the original set includes: The room in which Bonaparte was born, with its furniture as it existed in his juvenile days; Exterior view of Bonaparte's house; Napoleon's grotto where he retired to study in his youth; The Gulf and city of Ajaccio, and Torre Di Capitello, where Napoleon commenced (in1793) his military career; Saint Lucia, Campo Di Loro, near Ajaccio; An ancient fort and distant view of Bastia; A ruined convent, at one period the House of Parliament, Corte; The entrance into Bastia; The Port of Bastia, Lion Rock, &c; Prospect from the room of Napoleon's birth place; The Port of Ajaccio, the fountain of Napoleon, Hotel de Ville, &c.; The Castle of Corte. Later in 184, two additional plates were made to accompany the original set in the book *Six Weeks in Corsica*: "The Hat Napoleon Wore at the Battle of Austerlitz," and the portrait of Pascal Paoli.

patriot who led the independence movement in Corsica. He was a national hero for the Corsicans, and was also made well-known by a travel account by James Boswell in 1768. His later exile to England fleeing from internal conflicts made him all the more available for British admiration.[57]

Napoleon was frequently compared in illustrated books on Corsica to Paoli, who gained his own reputation as a hero fighting for his native country's independence. But the constant juxtaposition of Napoleon to this Corsican hero did not necessarily transfer to the emperor the homage paid to Paoli. Rather, it cast him in the unfavorable light where he was shown as not quite achieving the same degree of honor as his predecessor, by turning into a despotic ruler. Napoleon was never quite integrated into the British imagination of the Corsicans, who were fiercely loyal to their native land. The lack of attention paid to the island by Napoleon was often a point of contrast to Paoli's fervent patriotism.[58] It is as if Napoleon gained a place in the transcendental realm of Romantic hero with his exile and death in St. Helena, while his birth and upbringing in Corsica pulled him back to earth, where he grew up to be an emperor with all his faults and mistakes, and left a dubious legacy.

Thus, the perspective offered in *Six Weeks in Corsica* is not always admiring of Napoleon. Rather, any excitement an admirer might face at the direct experience with the past mixes with the detached fascination a distant tourist has for a historic place. Indeed, Cowen insists on describing Napoleon as a despotic ruler but nevertheless becomes

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[57] Boswell, xix-xx.

[58] See for example, Benson, 121: "On Buonaparte's elevation, the island of Corsica looked for marks of especial favour, but such hopes were disappointed; for Corsica seems to have been almost forgotten by Napoleon. The Corsicans are still highly patriotic … and in their estimation, contempt for the country of one's birth, is never to be redeemed by any other qualities."

fascinated by visiting and experiencing the sites of Napoleonic memories.[59] There is a slippage in the double-role of Cowen as a sympathetic pilgrim engaged in the reactivation of absent memory, and as an antiquarian fascinated with the sites of memory precisely for the way they remind him of the distance between him and the memories of the historical events. Cowen's images visually articulate a space where this relationship between absence and presence plays out by positioning the viewer in particular ways in relation to the image.

Napoleon's Grotto

On one of his sketch excursions on Corsica, Cowen came across a grotto, and created a visual record of its view (Fig. 11). The trees surround a massive rock cave, with a small triangular opening, which Cowen describes as a place where Napoleon was thought to have come to read.[60] Although the artist describes the scene as a pretty "wild garden of fig-trees and vines,"[61] the view of the grotto he presents lacks any sense of fruitful abundance, and thus appears devoid of its original temporality of season and time. The view does not explicitly employ either the language of ruins conventional to Grand Tour illustrations, or the picturesque play of the artificial and the natural, or any hints of time passing at all. And yet, what this lack of temporal specificity prompts is the imaginative access to the past. The artist recounts the story of Napoleon sitting in the grotto:

> … [I]t is that famous Grotto, to which the youthful Napoleon used to retire to read, in a cave formed in a gigantic granite-rock … on his visits to which, an old servant informed me, they covered the stone, on which he sat with velvet cushions. The granite seat is still perfect, and only wants the cushions.[62]

[59] Cowen, 45. "Although a great man, he was, also, a great despot … like most men who gain power."

[60] Cowen, 46

[61] Cowen, 45.

[62] Cowen, 45.

The grotto now seems to exist in the same condition it enjoyed during the time of Napoleon, thus linking the past and the present for Cowen. The artist goes on to ask, "There, in imagination, might we not picture to our view this extraordinary youth, reclining in deep reflection, or walking in silent reverie along his native shore?"[63] Though he laments that the irrevocable passing of the emperor would never bring him back to life, viewing and experiencing of this particular space initiates the memorialization of past. The desire to blur the rigid distinction separating two moments in time opens up the image in a way that allows the viewer a direct experience. The viewer could not only imaginatively unfold the scene from the past using the space as a stage, but could also overlap the past onto the present. The space is a "still perfect" capsulation of the time when Napoleon was reading his books, and the viewer only needs the cushions to recall Napoleon's time there. The unchanging grotto space pulls and threads together the past and present. The image of the grotto acts as a catalyst that conflates these two temporalities in the mind of the viewer. This temporal overlap is essential to what Nora spoke of as the temporality of "actual, living memory," where a person could literally experience the past through contact with a space.[64] The space of the grotto, then, could be thought of as a medium of memory, a relic space.

This relic-making from a given space offered an attractive solution for the British and their desire for a direct contact with and subsequent appropriation of the past, as it promised a crystallizing transference of the memory through space. The fascination with the grotto as the gate that links the lost time to the present continues in Cowen's journey, as he travels through the island of Corsica and imagines a similar retrieval of Napoleon in memory

[63] Cowen, 45.

[64] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 8.

when visiting his house or the port at which the emperor commenced his military career, and when encountering objects like the hat the emperor wore at a battle. In other words, the pilgrimage to the sites of memory, and the veneration of objects as the capsulation of memory, operate on the assumption that the spaces and objects could mediate the transference of memory by diffusing the linearity of time.

This notion of transference shapes the ways in which the nineteenth-century British obsession with Napoleon took shape. The desire to retrieve the past through a tangible interlocutor produced a phenomenon of making and collecting relics. It resembled the culture of religious relics, whereby it was thought that space and objects linked to a memory could freeze the time and memory in a material form. That is, the memory of Napoleon was frozen into objects and spaces, and these relics, in turn, could transfer the memory to those who came in contact with them.

The physical contact through which memory transfer occurred in relic objects and spaces appealed widely to those who sought a direct experience with the past. Motivated to find such occasions of direct experience, the materiality of the relic manifests in the avid collecting practice in nineteenth-century Britain. Frequent auction sales of Napoleon's artifacts were successful, selling anything from his writings to a gravy spoon he used at St. Helena.[65] Some collectors even amassed so significant a number of relics that they opened a public viewing room and charged an admission fee to view their Napoleonic collections.[66]

[65] For instance, in 1836, there was a sale of Napoleonic relics at the house of recently deceased Barry O'Meara, a former physician to Napoleon on the island of St. Helena. Some of the items sold at the auction included; a Turkish saber worn by Napoleon in Egypt; a "handsome silver gravy spoon" used by the emperor at St. Helena; and a "few lines of Napoleon's handwriting." See "Relics of Napoleon," *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 July, 1836.

[66] John Sainsbury, for example, amassed such dazzling amount of Napoleonic relics that he opened an exhibition in order to alleviate his financial difficulty. The catalogue of the exhibition was 700-pages long, and was widely successful with its guest list including such prominent figures as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. See Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 226-7.

Even to this day, the evidence of the ardor in the collecting surprises contemporary viewers when encountering such artifacts as the taxidermy of Napoleon's dog from Elba.[67]

Perhaps it is possible to think about the interment of Napoleon in Paris in 1840 as one of the most elaborate expressions of relic-making in Napoleonic visualization. In an attempt to stage the spectacle of all the glories of France, Louis-Philippe requested that the British government to retrieve the body of Napoleon and bury it the Church of Les Invalides in Paris. The event was well-publicized in Britain, as well, and songs and newspapers heralded the reburial of a tragic hero. In one of these texts, Thomas Powell shows how the body of Napoleon itself became a focal point of the memorial. He expresses anxiety regarding the possible decay of the corpse, and it is only when he finds that the body is "[un]chang'd in colour, feature, form and face" that he feels at ease.[68] The remains of Napoleon came literally to sustain his memory.

This culture of relics that privileged direct and physical experience of memory sometimes prompted an intensely personal and emotional response. The emotive quality overrides the cool empiricist viewpoint of an observer, as the viewer willingly participates in the immersion in memory. For instance, when one woman visited the Briar,[69] the first house where Napoleon lived in St. Helena, she had an extremely emotional reaction to the

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[67] The taxidermy of the dog Napoleon kept on the island Elba is currently housed at Musée de l'Armée in Paris.

[68] Thomas Powell, "Napoleon at Rest," *Monthly Chronicle*, 7 (February, 1841), 154. Similar obsession with the preservation of his body can be seen in a description of the disinterment process where the writer carefully details the condition in which the body of Napoleon was found. See "Disinterment of the Remains of Napoleon," *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (12 December 1840), 371.

[69] This episode appears in memoirs written by Lucia Elizabeth Abell, who was the youngest daughter of the Balcombe family, the owners of the Briar. When Napoleon first arrived in the island of St. Helena, the speed with which he was sent from Britain to the island took the residents of St. Helena by surprise, for one resident distinctively remembers not even knowing about his escape from Elba. Thus, the emperor stayed with the Balcombes, at the Briar until a permanent residence could be established for Napoleon. See Lucia Elizabeth Abell, *Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon, During the First Three Years of His Captivity on the Island of St. Helena: Including the Time of His Residence at Her Father's House, "The Briars"* (London: John Murray, 1845).

overwhelming memory. When Elizabeth Abell, a daughter of the family who was now living in the house, showed the woman to the pavilion in which Napoleon resided, she "surveyed [the room] with intense interest … Bursting into a fit of passionate weeping, she sank on her knees upon the ground, sobbing hysterically."[70] At the time, Napoleon was still alive, just few miles from the Briar in his house of Longwood. Thus it was not necessarily the sympathetic response to his death, but an expression of the overwhelming influx of memories experienced at the site that affected the visitor. After some time, she gathered herself and asked Abell many questions, inquiring about any and all stories related to Napoleon.[71] Yet, she hardly verbalized her experience and instead, internalized her proximity to Napoleon. Her highly subjective engagement with the space shows how the experience of the *lieux de mémoire* operated through the memorial consciousness of the site that opens up access to the past, conflating the present with the past.

This perception of certain spaces as embodying special memories was also framed by a rich history of the physical experience of memory in varying contexts. Apart from religious pilgrimage, which had lasted for centuries, the convention of the Grand Tour that began in the seventeenth century also shaped the pursuit of memory sites. Young aristocrats and gentlemen traveled through European cities thought to be of historical importance, particularly Rome and few select sites with classical ruins. This sojourn was founded upon the assumption that history could be found and experienced through the physical contact and visual absorption of the sites of memory. Literary tourism was a popular variant of the Grand Tour where the travelers visited not only the historic cities and places of real figures, but also

[70] Abell, 239.

[71] Abell, 239.

the sites where the authors staged their fictional characters.[72] During the continental blockade established by Napoleon against Britain between 1806 and 1814, the British channeled their pursuit of *lieux de mémoire* inward and started the phenomenal increase in domestic tourism and the reverence of "national landscape."[73] By the time the continent was reopened after Napoleon's defeat, this appropriation of landscape into the discourse of national history became more thoroughly popularized in the foreign soil, too. One of the most visited foreign destinations was the field of the Battle of Waterloo, where popularity was largely excited by the perceived historic importance of the site as embodying British history, particularly a British victory. The tourists were moved by the contact with the battlefield as the physical remnants of the past. On their way home, they kept the vestiges of the battle (broken armor, soil, and sometimes even the bones of the fallen soldiers) as souvenirs.[74]

There was certainly a similar expectation of being able to come in direct encounter with the past that shaped Cowen's visit to the island of Corsica. His goal was to provide his readers not just with a view of the site as it was in 1843 when he came there, but to evoke the time of young Napoleon in the 1770s through the experience of the site. It was this longing to recall the past as directly as possible through the medium of relic that shaped the three islands of Napoleon. Therefore, the making of relic objects and space could be considered as the expression of the British desire to compensate for the vicariousness of their Napoleonic memories, for these relics promised the direct contact and transference of memory even after the passing of the emperor. Moreover, the materiality of these objects and spaces offered a

[72] Herald Hendrix, "From Early Modern to Romantic Literary Tourism," in *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-century Culture*, ed. Nicola J. Watson (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 22.

[73] Colley, 175.

[74] Semmel, "Reading the Tangible Past," 24-26.

way for the British to literally collect and own this memory.

The relic spaces on the Napoleonic islands were particularly attractive in the embodiment of memory, as the site could visually actualize the spatial nature of *lieux de mémoire*. The *lieux de mémoire* relate the past and the present not in a consequential temporality, but cast them onto the surface, where multiple points of time could be related to one another simultaneously. Therefore, in a relic space, such as Napoleon's grotto, time is experienced spatially, not only as the experience is triggered by being in the space, but also because the linearity of time is dispersed onto a spatial plane. In this way, the island is at once a catalyst that activates memory as well as the visualization of the ways in which time is conflated and mapped spatially.

The representational strategies of Cowen that project the relic space onto the pictorial surface further privilege the recollection of the past through direct contact. In the view of "Napoleon's Grotto," the image carefully renders the details to set up the image as a direct impression of the space, while suppressing any elements that may imply a sense of temporal or spatial distance between the space and the viewer. The details of each leaf and branch of the trees strive to capture the experience of being in the actual space. Unimpeded by other figures or narrative, the viewer's perspective is conflated with that of Cowen. The artist does not visualize elements that could sever the memory of Napoleon's youth and his own time (the nineteenth century) from the viewer. Unlike the picturesque scenes of the Grand Tour with ruins, this image resists such signifiers of temporal distance, and instead merges the viewer's eyes with those of the artist and, ultimately, those of Napoleon. The strategic displacement of temporal signifiers amplifies the identification of the space as a relic *lieux de memoir*e.

The *Six Weeks in Corsica* is therefore a record of Cowen's encounter with these relic spaces. In his representations, however, a double sense of distance between the British audience on the one hand and Napoleon and his sacred sites on the other clearly emerges. For most British, the physical experience of the relic space was quite rare due to the geographic distance and the difficulty of the journey. Thus, for most viewers these representations of the relic sites fell short of being relics themselves, as the only "experience" the images could offer was a vicarious, illusory reference to the site and the memory embodied in it. Whereas the actual relic sites of Napoleon, such as the grotto, functioned as an indexical space privileging the direct and contiguous connection to the emperor, the representations of the relic space make symbolic links to the memories embedded in the space. The representations of the island space crystallize the memories of the island and Napoleon, but they also mask the temporal, geographic and conceptual distance between the British and Napoleon.

The representational *lieux de mémoire* in a British context particularly complicate Nora's original conception, bringing forth the issue of Napoleon's absence. The crystallization of memory for many people results only in distant signifiers of Napoleonic memories that they do not personally have. Representations, however, freeze memories in a way that creates an illusory screen over the vicariousness of the British memory of Napoleon. At its most basic, images mediate between the relic space and the viewers who would likely never travel to the actual site. Although Corsica was much closer to European travelers in comparison to St. Helena, it was still a small island with no historical merit beyond its association to the Emperor, and visiting it required a significant detour from the typical Grand Tour route. The image of "Napoleon's Grotto" therefore provides tangible evidence of Cowen's experience of the space, as well as a representation that allows the viewer to share

imaginatively experience and memory.

The Room where Napoleon was Born

In another view from Cowen's pictorial journey through Corsica, viewers encounter the room in which Napoleon was born (Fig. 12). The "Map of Elba" exemplified how a Napoleonic *lieu de mémoire* was formed by an assembly of memory fragments crystallized as a collective memory-history particular to the British liberal ideals. A similar language of collection appears in the "Room in which Bonaparte was Born," a space where the objects of memory are collectively gathered.

Cowen first presents the room as if it is still part of Napoleon's own time, suggesting that visitors could by experience have a direct access to it. The room is meticulously furnished and well kept as if still in use. Through this image the viewer could infer the sophistication of the lifestyle through the details of the room, like wallpaper and floor designs. The chairs and couch line the walls as if the room still awaits guests, perhaps inviting in the viewer. The artist even extends the floor of the room into the space of the viewer. The conspicuous lack of people in the room allows the viewer to project multiple scenes in the same space, and opens up a very subjective and meditative engagement with it. The viewer delves into the room, and through this imaginative memory effect moves from one moment to another.

As the artist tells the readers that a local parish priest regularly visits and blesses the place every year at Easter,[75] he suggests in the minds of the viewer the relic quality and pseudo-sacrality of the space. The open door on the far right corner of the room further exposes the interior of the house, promising the viewer an even greater immersion into the

[75] Cowen, 41.

past. Therefore, the image of the room at once transposes the viewer into the moment when Cowen stepped into the space, *and* the time when the Bonaparte family stood in the room. The relic space and the memory effect make present what is absent.

Once the viewer imaginatively enters into the room through the vividness of these details, various objects displayed in the space may activate the memory of Napoleon encapsulated in each. Cowen relates in the text that all furniture and objects in the room were from the time of Napoleon's birth.[76] The couch where the Bonaparte's mother gave birth to Napoleon still sits prominently in the center of the view of the room. The iconography embedded in the view also repeatedly reinforces the space as the place of origin and the memory of Napoleon specifically as an emperor. That is, the artist strategically makes this narrative prominent by classical reference through the displayed objects. On the right side of the room is a fireplace with decorative statuettes of Venus and Mars placed on the mantle (Fig. 13). These figures were the two ancestral deities of the Roman emperors, whom Napoleon looked to in this image-making as an emperor. Thus the statuettes shape Napoleon as the emperor, and even add a layer of mythical dimension to the birth place of the illustrious figure. Further, as the posture of the Venus statuette alludes both to the *Venus anadyomene*, the Venus at Birth, and *Venus genetrix*, the mother ancestor of the Romans, it enhances the narrative of the room as the birthing place of Napoleon. The specificity of the iconography of the room - the statuettes, as well as the laurel crowns on the ceiling – directs the viewer's memory into a specific narrative in history. The space symbolizes the place of literal "cause" of Napoleon, and also the beginning of the succession of events in the nineteenth-century history.

As these objects in the room recall the memory of Napoleon, the viewer begins to

[76] Cowen, 41.

also sense a play of memory. The memory of Napoleon as an emperor is crystallized in the room and the objects within it. Yet the particular composition of the view alludes to the illusory nature of this relic experience. When Cowen was first introduced to the room, he was carefully advised by the servant not to touch anything, for all things were preserved exactly as they were in the Bonaparte household.[77] Denied physical contact with the relic objects in the space, the view begins to evoke the aesthetics of untouchable and remote museum collection. This slippage from relic to museum space occurs more precisely with the collectivity and multiplicity of the memories crystallized into a single surface. As the objects and space of memory are frozen and assembled, they lose their dispersive and organic quality of memory and become parts of a collective memory-history. Again, this figures specifically in the distance created between the relic objects/space and the artist/viewer. There is a lack of the kind of contact that initiates the transference of memory in relics. Even as the viewer imagines himself to be in the space, he is positioned where he could best observe, not where he may actively participate in the space and the time. That is, the perspective of the viewer is optimized for the role of a detached surveyor with a totalizing view of the room. The viewer stands apart from the main part of the room as if an audience looking to a stage, inspecting every part of the space. Like a tempting spectacle, the room pulls and attracts the viewer into the space of memory, while pushing them away as the room conceals the memory underneath the untouchable museum objects.

The alienation of Cowen from participating in the room excludes and strips him of the privileged experience of a pilgrim. Instead, the relics and relic space no longer conflate time in the pattern of memorial work, but are fixed into historical display. In other words, as the viewer maps out the room like a museum where all objects are neatly presented for

[77] Cowen, 45.

optical consumption, but without physical contact, the empty space accentuates the absence by highlighting the temporal distance between the past and the present, and the viewers and the objects. There is no room left for personal, emotional engagement. The relics that encapsulated memory are now historical artifacts that are appreciated as the markers of the time passed.

FIGURES IN THE IMAGES

The fluidity between memory and history in the ambiguous space of the *lieux de mémoire* derives in part from the position of the viewer who is suspended in between the absence and presence of the memory, and in part from the different attitudes of the viewer toward the frozen objects and spaces of memory present in the illustration. The view of "Napoleon's Grotto" and "The Room in which Bonaparte was Born" show the slippery boundary between types of seeing as a sympathetic pilgrim and one as an antiquarian.

This precariousness of the viewing position was sometimes alleviated by the introduction of elements that secure, albeit only briefly, the plurality of time and space of the *lieux de mémoire*. For example, in the case of Cowen's *Six Weeks in Corsica*, the viewers were provided with a descriptive text in the voice of the author as their imaginary guide. The viewer-reader can seek to encounter Napoleonic memory frozen in the island sites, travelling and stepping into the space as Cowen does in the text. In some of the Napoleonic imagery, this human voice, which sought to give a sense of order to the slippage between memory and history, was visually translated into interlocative figures in the images. These figures provided the viewer, either by their identity or specificity in their dress, an anchor point around which the viewers could orient themselves in relation to the image and the memory

embedded in it.

As the previous analyses of the images of "Napoleon's Grotto" and the "View of the Room in which Bonaparte was Born" show, however, Cowen's textual descriptions barely close the distance created by the memory hiding itself in the images. The memorial consciousness of the images continually pushes the memory and history away from one another. Similarly, the insertion of interlocative figures in the representations of *lieux de mémoire* only provides an illusory moment of stabilizing memory and history in the pictorial space, becoming precisely the crevice where the withdrawal of memory from the crystallized history begins.

The Longwood

As the last house where Napoleon lived and died, the Longwood residence became one of the most popular motifs in the visualization of the emperor in the nineteenth century. The house was built in a bungalow style, set up shortly after his arrival.[78] The intimacy and privacy of this place as the domicile of Napoleon at the last moment of his life particularly appealed to those who sought to freeze the memories of the emperor.

"The Longwood, St. Helena" (Fig. 14) is a typical example of the scene. This hand-colored engraving from the mid-century carefully depicts the building in soft light. Three small figures stand in front of the mansion that stretches into the distance. From the green uniform and the black triangular hat, features for which the emperor was well-known, it is possible to infer that one of the figures is Napoleon. He seems to be showing his house to his two guests. Just as the figure of Napoleon anchors the temporal moment of the scene to the time when he was still alive, there are other devices that also secure the view of the house in

[78] Abell, 14.

a fixed time. The vegetation in the scene retains its vitality, with vines growing in between the small pile of rubble, and trees and grass growing but still trimmed and neatly kept as it would have been when Napoleon was alive. Moreover, there is a shadow cast by the three figures and the tree in the far left of the middle ground. This shadow, consistent throughout the picture, unifies the space and the figures and points to the specific time of day depicted.

The scene thus creates the sense of a specific moment that is still ongoing, a moment that invites the viewer to begin orienting himself. The insertion of the figures conflates the perspective of the viewer with that of the guests. Just as Napoleon shows the guests the view of the house in the image, the viewer of the image are also shown that same house, in the condition it was in at the time. The sense of presentness occurs as the space of the viewer with that of the figures in the image conflates over one another. The three figures in front of Longwood helps to crystallize a memory of Longwood fixed in time, but they also act as entry points, through which viewers can imagine the possibility of actually sharing the view of the house from the past. The image overlaps the past and the present, and the space of the memory and that of the viewers through the interlocative figures that create a sense of immediacy and veracity and lead to a direct engagement with the landscape.

In spite of this relationship, through which the viewer is offered a full and complete access to the memory space, there are still ways in which the scene simultaneously closes onto itself. The viewer is kept out of Napoleon’s private space by the large tree in the foreground and the rock fence, which blocks the entrance point of the pathway leading up to the house. At most, the viewer has the perspective of a passerby who peeps into Napoleon’s space without ever being invited.

In another representation of Longwood, the artist shows a much greater awareness of

his temporal distance from the Napoleonic memory that dwells there, and uses the tourist figures to remind the viewers of their own separation from the memory of Napoleon in exile. Longwood in this representation is shown as it was probably seen some years after Napoleon's death (Fig. 15). The building itself is a very humble one made of bricks and wood plaques. Now in a ruinous state, the roof is partially destroyed, and the windows are broken and missing panes. Some cattle and chickens roam about the low walls, but without anyone tending them, and the narrow path leading up to the main entrance is lined with hefty wooden fences mostly engulfed by wild vegetation. The figures in the middle ground are no longer Napoleon's guests, but instead are passing tourists who have stopped to comment on the building.

The first image of Longwood crystallized the memory of Napoleon, and the British viewer is led to sympathize, even if briefly, with the gaze of Napoleon and his guests. In the second image, however, the composition of the view does not seek access or engagement with the space with the hope of a direct, "true" memory; instead, the tourist admires the age-value of the site, in which the very traces of time passing becomes part of its history. The inscription underneath the image reinforces the sense of the past, as it names the building the "Old House at St. Helena." The time that has passed since the death of the emperor is evident in the deterioration of the building and the vegetation growing around the house with no apparent sign of care.

This deterioration in particular adopts the aesthetics of a picturesque ruin, which has two effects on the Napoleonic memory. On the one hand, the ruinous view makes a final remark on Napoleon's life as the viewer stores "Napoleon" in the course of history instead of attempting to bring him back to life. The physical status of the house calls attention to the

irrevocability of the past. On the other hand, the view domesticates Napoleon through the poetic rendering of his space, as the viewer's memory takes on an aesthetic turn. The old house as a ruin visualizes the tourist's fetishization of that absence, but it is curious how much the view also evokes scenes of the English countryside, such as the ones seen in the watercolors of Paul Sandby, Thomas Girtin or Constable. (Fig. 16) These rural landscapes differ from the highly charged, Romantic scenes in which the spectator is overwhelmed by sublime nature. Instead, the view of the "Old House" is a highly aestheticized, poetic rendering of the landscape as passive and domestic. In comparison, the rustic architecture of the house in this image differs greatly from the more exotic details of the other Longwood representation (Fig. 12) as it emphasizes the details that would have been familiar in British homes. The house is made of brick and wood, and the animals resemble those appearing in the picturesque rural scenes of the eighteenth century that played on the private, homey feeling of the view. In this, the memory of Napoleon and its site are transferred to the domestic space of Britain, thus rendering the space and the figures as specifically (and imaginatively) British.

Therefore, by placing figures into the scene, the different views of Longwood briefly stabilize the relationship between the viewer and the image of a memory. The figures offer themselves as the signifier of specific temporality around which the viewers could position themselves. Yet, the images fall short of giving a satisfactorily secure representational space, for the *lieux de mémoire* contain within themselves the constant play of memory, time, and space.

Napoleon Standing on the Periphery of Islands

The insertion of figures into the island as a space of memory, however, was not always presented as a means of stabilizing spectatorship. Whereas in the images of Longwood the figures are inserted as a way to give the viewers a point of reference and axis around which to orient themselves in time and space, the scenes of Napoleon on the shore plays on the ambiguity of memory and the seepage of history. This particular motif first appeared in the satirical prints after Napoleon was exiled to Elba, and it was appropriated again by painters and engravers who held greater sympathy for the emperor during and after the years Napoleon spent on St. Helena. In these scenes, the landscape of the island itself usually lacks any specific geographic details, and the emperor is shown dressed in military uniforms and sitting on the rocks or standing by the shore, looking out to the open sea. Whereas images of the Napoleonic islands often exploited the space itself as a relic site of memory, here the emperor takes a central role in conveying the narrative of the image. Physically and symbolically, Napoleon dominates the island space.

Almost immediately after Napoleon's exile to Elba in 1814, the figure of the emperor began to appear as a lachrymose prisoner of the island. "The Sorrow of Boney, or the Meditations in the Island of Elba," (Fig.17) captures the derisive language that visualized the emperor on the island. Napoleon is shown crying pitifully at his fallen luck. The island is so small that it tightly surrounds him and thus insistently separates him from the mainland hinted in the far distance. The proximity of Elba to the continent probably contributed to this insistence on confining Napoleon's position on the island.[79] The artists put mushrooms by his feet to imply the island as a rustic, un-picturesque rocky land, but also as a clever remark on the career of Napoleon: like the mushrooms that could grow and spread out rapidly

[79] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 221.

overnight, Napoleon rose to his power and expanded his influence surprisingly fast. It is as though the only viable way to contain the spread of Napoleon was to confine him in an isolated space. The continent of Europe that he once ruled is now just out of reach, beleaguering his state of exile. The weeping figure Napoleon conveys the emperor's frustration at the confines of the island that literally acts like a prison.

The centrality of the figure of Napoleon in representations continued while he was on the island of St. Helena and afterwards, especially among those who sympathized with him. Semmel argues that the years exile in St. Helena were crucial in making him a "Romantic hero," an image that went beyond the political usage.[80] Napoleon was rather successful in re-creating himself during the Hundred Days as a liberal leader, and his subsequent exile to St. Helena appeared as an event in the tragic drama of a hero. Comparing the "Sorrow of Boney" to a portrait of Napoleon painted by Benjamin Robert Haydon (Fig. 18) demonstrates the changes taking place. The view that Haydon presented was quickly reproduced and appropriated in various media, but also exemplifies how representing Napoleon began to involve a "moral and aesthetic problem."[81] Whereas the figure of Napoleon in the earlier satires made him a pitiful prisoner contained by the island, Haydon depicts him as enduring the sufferings of the imprisonment and the fall from greatness. This narrative of the fallen greatness was typical of many Romantic treatments of the emperor, in which Napoleon adopts a Prometheus-like quality of a tragic hero. Haydon therefore departs from the crying, childish Napoleon and portrays him as rising above the confinement as he silently but determinedly dominates the space.

Therefore, in Haydon's *Napoleon at St. Helena*, the island differs from the images of

[80] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 221-2.

[81] Semmel, *Napoleon and the British*, 226.

island relic spaces or the views of island as a prison. Instead, the landscape is indefinite in the sense that it lacks the specific markers of geography or time. Napoleon looks out across the dark, open sea from the edge of a cliff, but the vast sea reveals nothing but a few dots of white seagulls in the distance. The sun blazes in the far right corner, leaving most of the sky in purplish, empty darkness. This is not to say that the island space was irrelevant. Instead, it is represented a sublime, isolated vastness. And it is the abstract quality of the view that the artist shapes Napoleon. By minimizing the iconographic use of the island, Haydon renders the figure of Napoleon as the central carrier of the narrative.

Haydon gives a similar narrative in the portrait of *Arthur Wellesley, the First Duke of Wellington* (Fig. 19). As one of the British officers who met and defeated Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo, the Duke is pictured in almost an identical composition. The landscape that was once the battlefield of Waterloo stretches far into the horizon, and the Duke occupies the central position in the image. The suppression of the landscape differs, however, from that of the vastness of the pacific sea that stages Napoleon. The field of Waterloo where Duke is portrayed in is dotted with remnants of the past. The poppy flower blooms to the right of the Duke, while the military gear he wore sits to his left. His helmet is scattered on the ground by a fallen column. The trees and grasses have grown over the hills of the battlefield, and the roofs of the pastoral houses hints at how much time has passed since the actual battle. The column in the corner (Fig. 20) displays the inscription reading “Waterloo,” along with the names of other famous battles in history, such as the Battle of Salamanca, which reinforces the scene as the view of a historically significant site. The image therefore is about reminiscences of the past as past in which the memory is guided by the vestiges of the battle. Somewhat like the “Room in which Bonaparte was Born” by Cowen, the image collects and

displays relic objects and casts them onto the site of memory. The helmet, inscription, and poppy flowers refer to the memory of the battle, while the roofs of the rustic houses and overgrown vegetations secure this memory as belonging to the past.

What the figure of the Duke represents then is an interlocutor that shares with the viewer the process of recollection of the past. The Duke himself is, of course, also a figure of memory for the viewers, as he could embody the history of Waterloo almost single-handedly for the British audience.[82] Set against the view of the field that certainly does not belong to the time of the actual battle, however, the figure of the Duke reminds the viewer of the pastness of the memory. He, too, is dressed in contemporary civilian clothes, as he stands to survey the site as one who approaches it like a tourist visiting a site of historic importance. The memory of Waterloo is crystallized as the site of a great British victory, and the viewers are made to stand alongside the Duke as they remember the memory of the past.

The sartorial difference between the Duke and Napoleon shows how these two paintings operate as pendants separated in time. Whereas the Duke at the battlefield of Waterloo stages himself as a visitor to the scene as a site of memory, the portrait of Napoleon deflects such anchoring, instead, suspends the emperor between multiple times and spaces. The figure of Napoleon in fact plays on the exclusion and inclusion of the viewers into the space of memory. The viewer can immediately identify the figure as Napoleon dressed in his military uniform and the tri-cornered hat. With this vision of the emperor, the image is fixed to the time when he was still alive, presenting the scene as if a snapshot of history. But this "snapshot" excludes the viewer from actually becoming immersed in the memory. Napoleon is turned away from the viewer, physically gesturing his resistance to being seen. Like the

[82] John Barrell, "Benjamin Robert Haydon: The Curtius of the Khyber Pass," in *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art 1700-1850*, ed. John Barrell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 256.

view of the ports in other Napoleonic imagery, his figure crystallizes the memory of Napoleon but without actually opening itself up to the viewer. Further, because of the lack of a specific narrative of the island, the figure of the Napoleon becomes the primary point at which memory crystallizes by allowing the viewer to imagine him in the process of recollection, embodying his own memory. This image renders him not an interlocative figure, but a relic, and one that viewers can consume visually. Therefore, this image presents an image as if it is a direct impression of the past, only to deny the viewer actual access to what has gone before.

At the same time, the exclusion brings forth the inclusion of the viewer in another way. While Haydon presents what first appears to be a snapshot of the past, he has omitted certain elements. These missing details destabilize the illusion of the snapshot, and free the viewer to fill in the missing parts. First, the figure of the emperor is conspicuously missing a face, which makes the identity of the figure ambiguous. Is he really *the* Napoleon pictorially recreated? The only identifying elements are his clothing, but the precariousness of his identity persists. It is this moment of doubt that begins to expose the necessity of the viewer's willingness to project his own recreation of Napoleonic memory, and to be convinced of the reality of this view. Here, as in the theater, the viewer must suspend their disbelief and be convinced of the illusion that the actors dressed in a certain manner could signify the "real" image of the characters. Similarly, the viewer must also insert his own imagination as he identifies with the figure of Napoleon. There is a little indication in the image as to what Napoleon may be thinking about, for the lack of specificity in the landscape does not readily offer a mirror image of his reflection, nor is his facial expression available for viewing to discern any insightful hints into the recollection of Napoleon. The viewer then must exercise

his own imagination to be able to sympathize with the emperor in this painting. Haydon, by turning Napoleon's face away from the viewer, therefore exposes the illusory nature of this pictorial stage, reminding the viewers of their own participation.

Through the figure of Napoleon, the viewer continuously has to work his own subjective engagement with the landscape. The sun hangs over the horizon just enough to confuse the viewer whether it is rising or setting, a distinction that results in different interpretations of the memory of Napoleon. The choice of whether to make the figure of Napoleon appear as a fallen, tragic hero who sets in history like the sun, or to give him the hope of ascending in history like the rising sun, is left up to the viewer. In this sense, the scene of Napoleon on the shore becomes a *lieu de mémoire* that is aware of the concealment of memory in the crystallization. And the image attempts to reverse by inviting the viewers to construct and manipulate the process of *lieux de mémoire* through the figure of Napoleon

The insertion of figures in the images of Longwood introduces temporary relief that stabilizes the spectatorship of the fluid space of islands, where the crystallization and withdrawal of memory allows multiple places and times to converge in a single space of the island. As the image of Napoleon standing on the shore has shown, however, these figures could also act as crevice between these plural spaces, and soon to expose the illusory nature the stabilization.

CONCLUSION

Among the visualizations of Napoleon that appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, in Britain offers a vast repository of images for examining issues germane to the idea of the "past" and its materialization. In this thesis, I have framed Napoleonic imagery within the

formative moments of British identity, when the articulation of the national past became a particularly urgent task in establishing a sense of collective, shared identity. Throughout this study, I have described the reciprocal play among memory, history and nation in Britain through Pierre Nora's idea of *lieux de mémoire* where memory "crystallizes and secretes itself."[83]

From this study Napoleon emerges as a figure around which these intersecting discourses coalesced. Without disregarding the significant phenomenon of collecting relics of Napoleon in Britain at the time, the present analysis concentrated more specifically on the representations of Napoleonic memory. As a country that was so closely intertwined the life of Napoleon, Britain did not have any actual encounters with the emperor on their own soil, hence lacking domestic versions of his relics or relic spaces. I approached the issue of representation as a way of investigating why the figure of Napoleon thrived despite his temporal and spatial distance to the British audience, and how such absences were overcome in the pictorial space. I argued that the illusory effect of representation masked these gaps by careful deployment of pictorial strategies, as well as by providing the British with a tangible form through which they could construct and consume the memory of the elusive Napoleon.

Selecting the images of Napoleonic islands – Corsica, Elba and St. Helena – was a way of demonstrating first, the breadth of the visual culture that has been neglected in the scholarship. More importantly, the inherently dualistic symbolism of the island and its spatial properties made these places an especially attractive motif in visualizing the fluid and ambiguous nature of the *lieux de mémoire*. Using images of all three islands, rendered in a variety of media and styles from, I offered close visual analyses that would parse out the pictorial strategies through which the images crystallized and concealed memories in a play

[83] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7.

of temporalities.

The analyses I have made here also raised questions and formulated ideas about issues of time and space in nineteenth-century representation. The materials discussed in this thesis represent a fraction of the immense volume of available imagery, and should indicate various directions for further studies. Although Semmel has examined the relic-collecting of the Waterloo battlefield, other avenues of investigation lie in the illustrated books. They became a prominent genre in the mid-nineteenth century, and the play of crystallizing memory and its withdrawal could be fruitfully discussed in the intersecting discourses of narrative and descriptive spread through text and image.

Napoleonic imagery in nineteenth-century Britain is the field in which the memories of Napoleon were crystallized in tangible forms as a way of articulating the national past for the British, who were undergoing major shifts in their social structure. It was the last moment when memory would hold such high regard before it was banished to the private realms of the personal giving way to scholarly history. If the island of St. Helena could not contain the imaginative power of Napoleon in 1815, then his return and reinterrment in Paris in 1840 marked the beginning of Napoleon’s descent from the symbolic realm of liberal hero to the archive of history.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1 George Cruikshank (engraver). “Boney’s Meditations on the Island of St. Helena – The Devil Addressing the Sun,” England, 1815, engraving (Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection of the John Hay Library, Brown University)

Fig. 2 Anonymous. “Map of Elba,” England, c.1815 (The Hoyt Collection of the Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

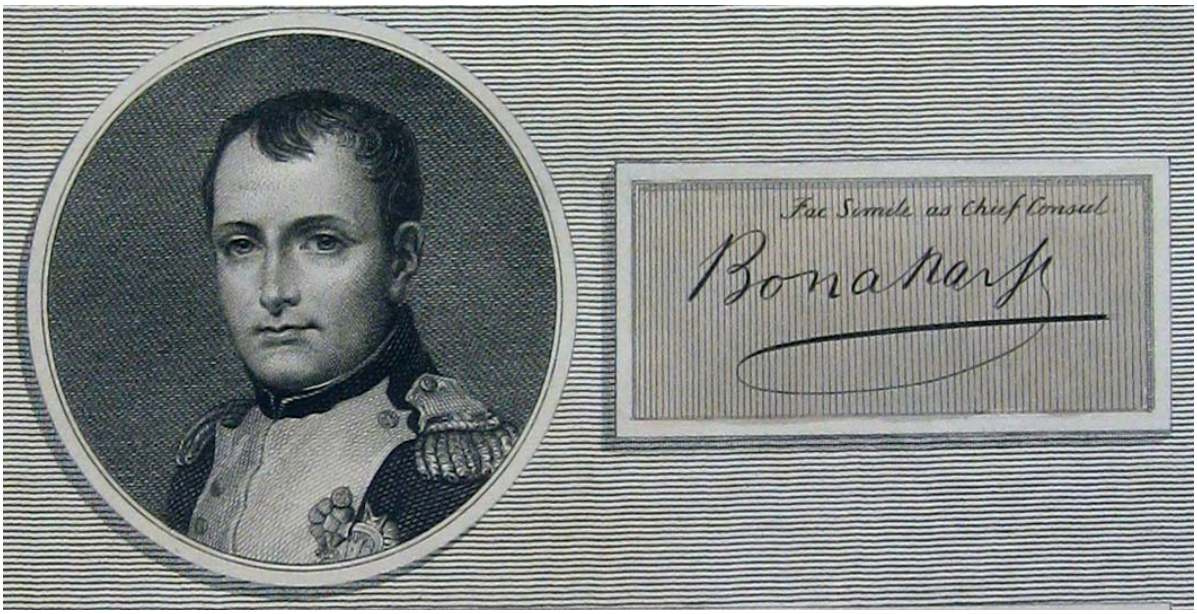

Fig. 3 Portrait of Napoleon and a facsimile of his signature as Chief Consul (detail), “Map of Elba”

Fig. 4 The View of the Port (detail), “Map of Elba”

Fig. 5 Cut and mounted by Richard Bull. “Erasmus of Rotterdam,” England, 18th century, engravings, a page from a grangerized copy of *Biographical History of England* (Huntington Library, California; Reproduced in Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-century England*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

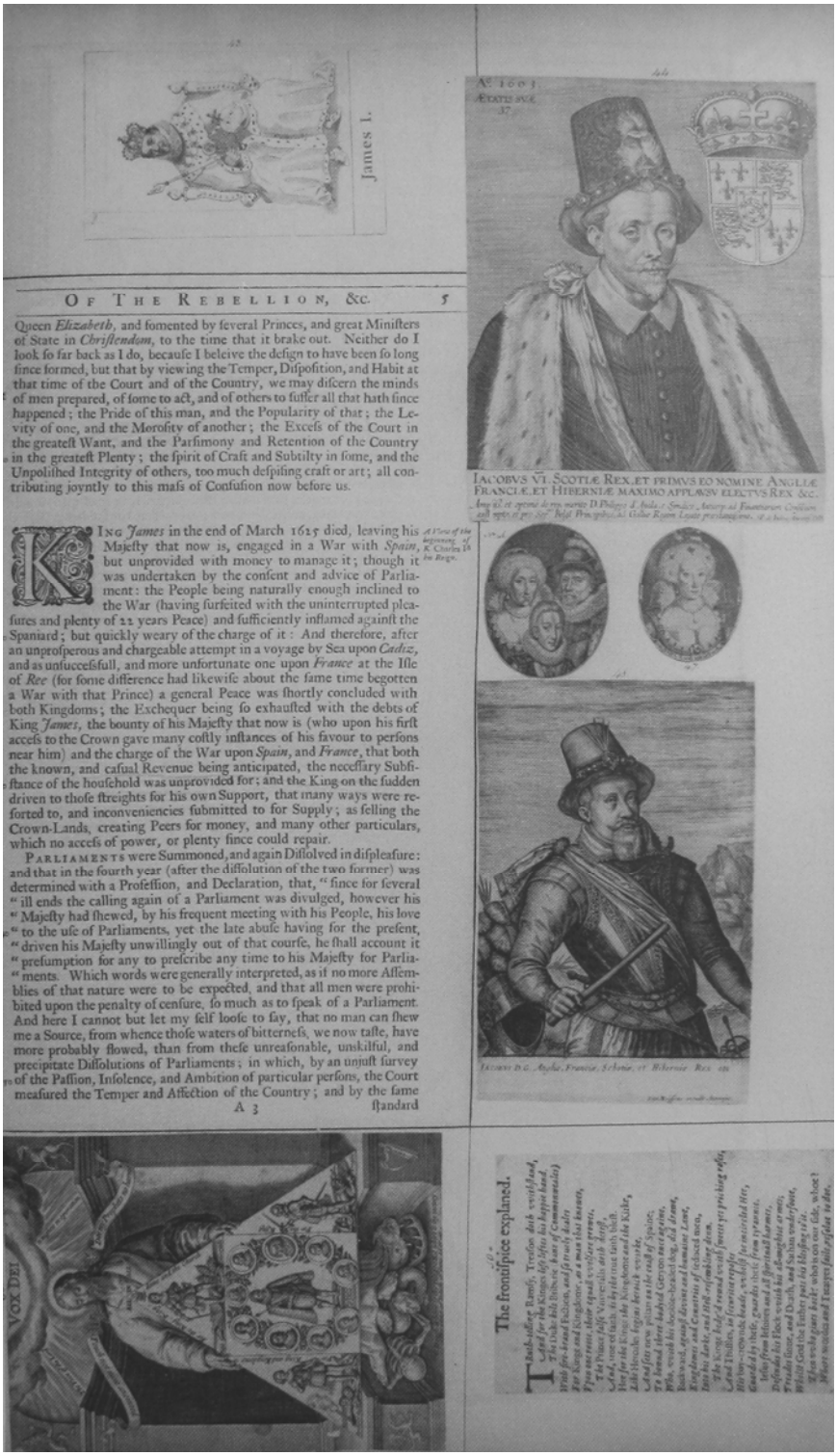

Fig. 6 Anonymous. "Queen Elizabeth I and James I," England, 18th century, page 5 from a grangerized copy of *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, 1702-4*, vol.1 (British Museum, London; Reproduced in Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, 1993)

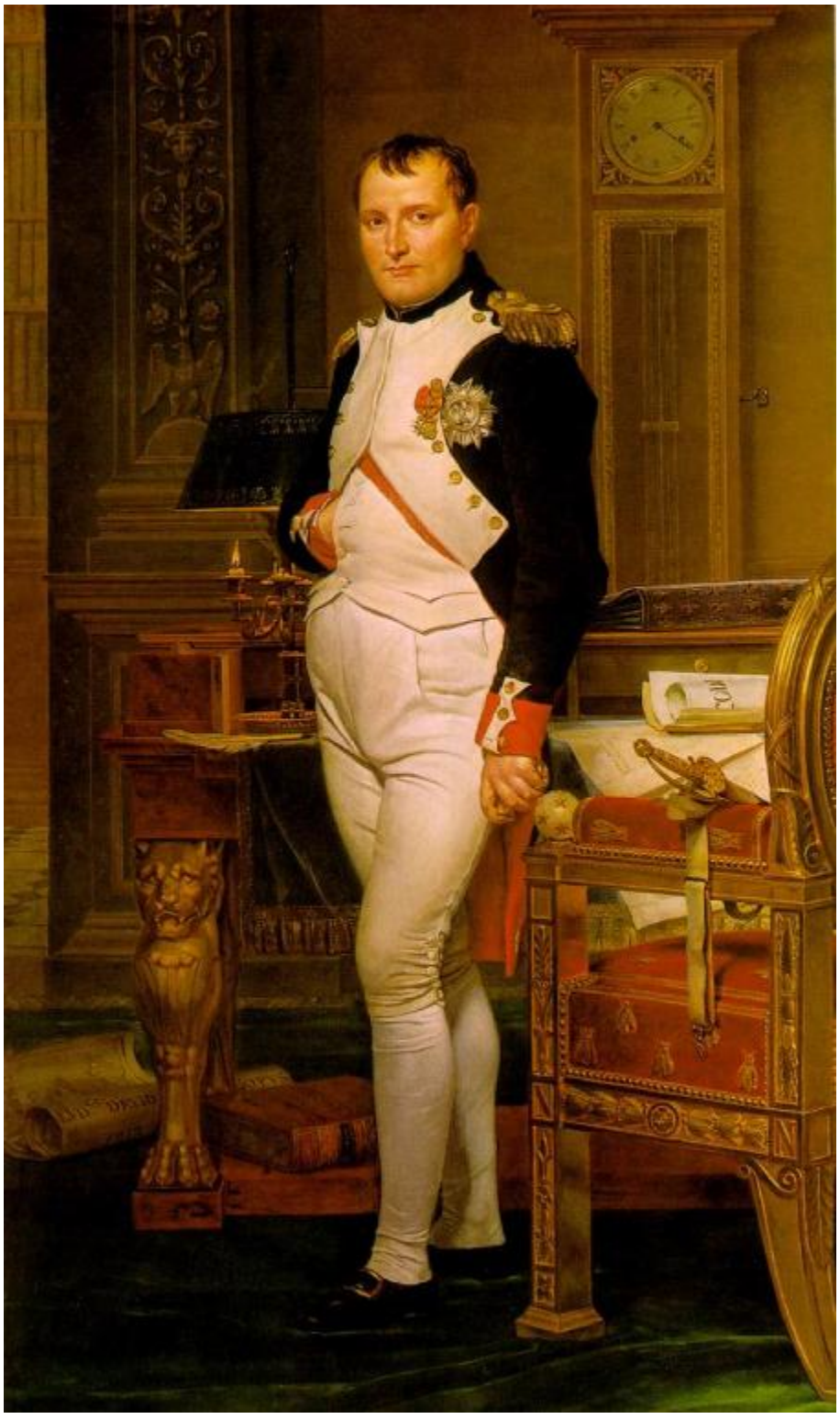

Fig. 7 Jacques-Louis David, *The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries*, France, 1812, oil on canvas (National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.)

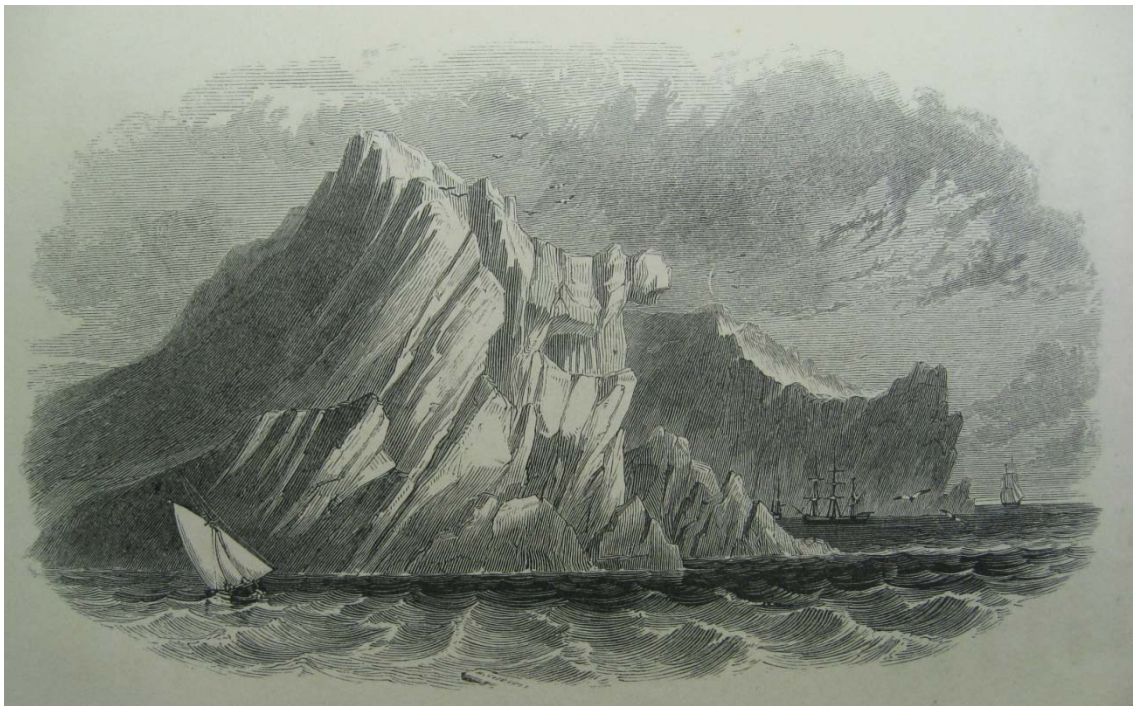

Fig. 8 Henry Vizetelly. “View of St. Helena,” England, 1844, engraving, in Lucia Elizabeth Abell, *The Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon* (London: John Murray, 1844; The Hoyt Collection of the Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Fig.9 Jacques-Louis-Constant Lecerf. “Le Robinson de l’île d’Elbe,” France, 19th century (Arenenberg Napoleonmuseum)

Fig. 10 William Cowen, “Portrait of General Paoli from a bust in Westminster Abbey,” England, 1848, from *Six Weeks in Corsica* (London: Thomas Cautley Newby Publisher, 1848; The Hoyt Collection of the Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

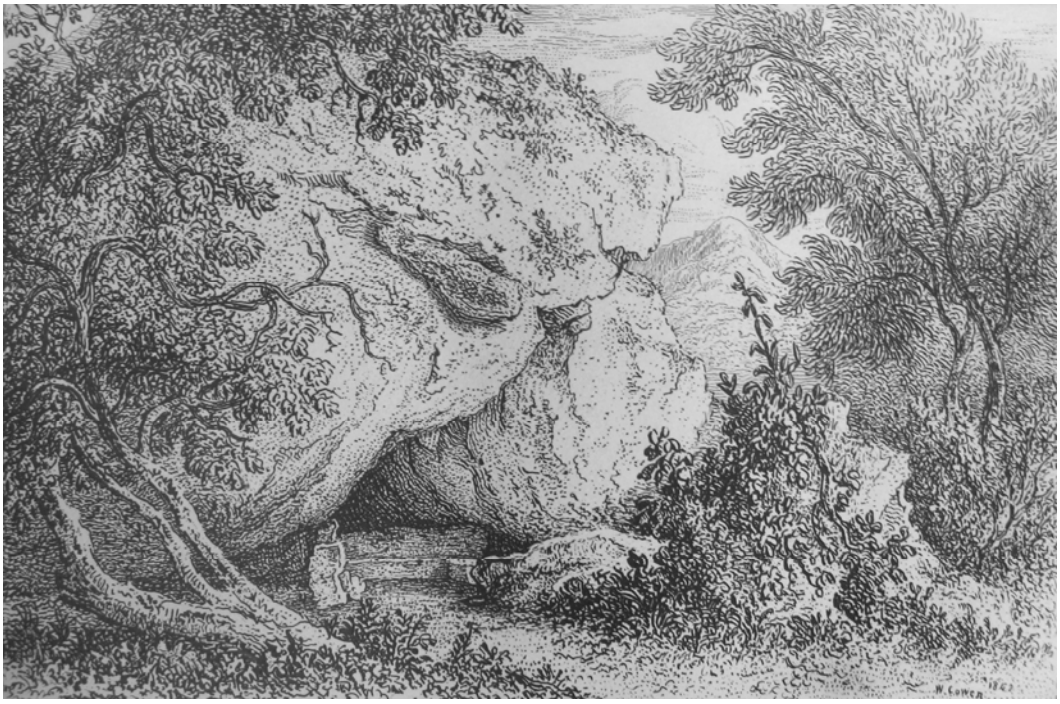

Fig. 11 William Cowen, “Napoleon’s Grotto,” England, 1848, from *Six Weeks in Corsica* (London: Thomas Cautley Newby Publisher, 1848; The Hoyt Collection of the Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

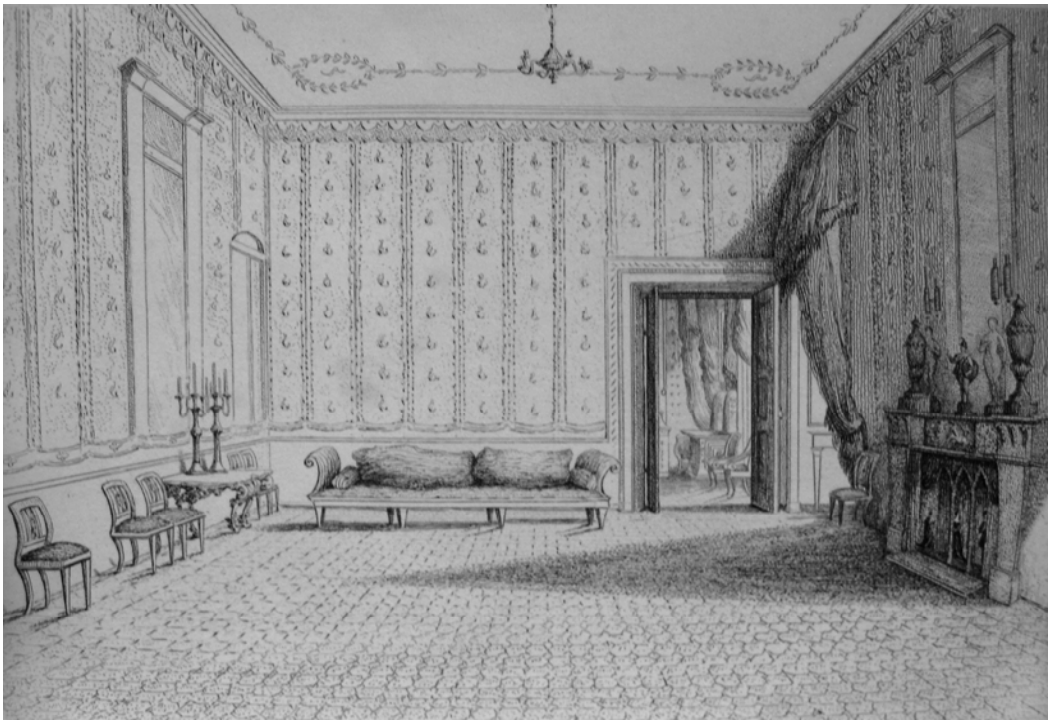

Fig. 12 William Cowen, “The Room in which Bonaparte was Born,” England, 1848, from *Six Weeks in Corsica* (London: Thomas Cautley Newby Publisher, 1848; The Hoyt Collection of the Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

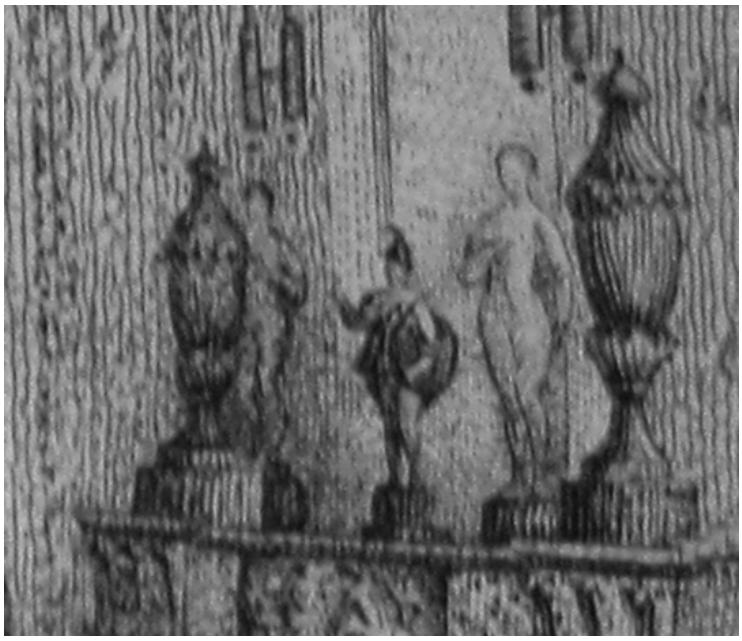

Fig. 13 Mars and Venus (detail), “The Room in which Bonaparte was Born”

Fig. 14 James Wathen. “A view of Longwood House, St. Helena,” England, 1821, in *A series of Views Illustrative of the Island of Saint* Helena (London: John Clay, Robert Jennings and John Major, 1821; The British Library)

Fig. 15 Anonymous (English School). “The Old House at St. Helena,” c. 1821 (Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, France)

Fig. 16 Paul Sandby. *A Public House,* England, c. 1770, Pen and brown ink and watercolor on paper, (Berger Collection, Denver, USA)

Fig. 17 Anonymous. “The Sorrow of Boney, or Meditation in the Island of Elba,” England, 1814 (Anne S. K. Brown Military collection of the John Hay Library, Brown University)

Fig. 18 Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Napoleon Bonaparte*, England, 1830, oil on canvas (National Portrait Gallery, London)

Fig. 19 Benjamin Robert Haydon, *Arthur Wellesley, the First Duke of Wellington*, England, 1839, oil on canvas, (National Portrait Gallery, London)

Fig. 20 Tablet with inscriptions (detail), *Arthur Wellesley, the First Duke of Wellington*.

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