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A

The Politicization of Nature: The Critical Reception of Barbizon Painting During the July Monarchy

By

Véronique Chagnon-Burke

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2000

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The Politicization of Nature: The Critical Reception of Barbizon Painting During the July Monarchy

By

Véronique Chagnon-Burke

Adviser: Professor Patricia Mainardi

This dissertation examines the critical reception of French landscape painting during the July Monarchy. I concentrated on the painters who, for a lack of better term will later on, in the 1860s and 1870s, be referred to as the School of Barbizon. The annual Salon and the multitude of reviews written on this occasion provided the framework of my study. As landscape paintings gained more and more visibility on the Salon walls every year, critics constructed a new discourse around this phenomenon. I documented the transformation of the significance of landscape painting in French art by identifying, gathering and analyzing a wide variety of Salon reviews.

By organizing this study around the political affiliation of the journals in which the Salon reviews appeared, I was able to demonstrate the importance that landscape painting had for each of the political factions. The analysis of these reviews enabled me to demonstrate how

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that new discourse about landscape painting was for some critics, especially those opposed to Louis-Philippe's government, highly charged with political implications.

One of the main issues at stake in these reviews was the debate between the supporters of paintings which represented specific views of the French landscape and the supporters of the classical mode who favored historical landscape painting. This debate alone should be of course seen in political term. As the Academy supported the classical tradition, how could artists oppose the Academy and not be seen as opposing the government?

Because some painters in the 1830s proposed a new and specifically French vision of the countryside, their supporters wove into their criticism issues of patriotism and national identity. The proliferation of landscape imagery, from travel prints to Salon landscapes participated in the ideological construction of a nation centered on the land and the diversity of its regions.

This dissertation was by nature archeological. It entailed a major attempt at resurrecting texts and their authors, who have many of them been long forgotten. I see my work as the first step in establishing a new history of texts in order to further our understanding of this period beyond a history of style.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As a graduate student, I remember being deeply moved by Griselda Pollock's acknowledgments in her 1988 book: Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art. She noted that usually scholars have a tendency to thank their family last as if the domestic realm were less important than the academic one. She went on to rectify this by putting her husband and two sons at the top of her list. Reminiscing about the complex dynamics involved in writing a dissertation, I feel the same.

I could not have completed this task without the continuous support of my family in the United States and my family in France. My husband, Michael, my parents, Jean-Claude and Hélène Chagnon, my parents-in-law, Doctor Casper Helbock Burke and Sheila O'Byrne Burke are the people truly responsible for the completion of that work. They provided me with the unconditional emotional and practical support necessary to accomplish such a task. I am forever grateful to them.

Professor Patricia Mainardi has been the best of advisers. Her generosity and her dedication were truly remarkable, and the moments we spent together at the old

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Bibliothèque Nationale are some of my most cherished memories. She was an extremely attentive and patient reader. The sharpness and focus of her criticism helped shape this dissertation.

I also would like to thank the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York for awarding me a travel fellowship to do research in France. In France, I want to thank the staff of the periodical department of the Bibliothèque Nationale. They put up with my endless requests, month after month, for thousands of roles of microfilm. At the archives of the Louvre Museum, I was able to ponder at will the Registres des Salons, and I thank their curator for her patience.

Finally I dedicate this dissertation to my children Abigaël and Jeremy, who have no idea of what it is to live with a mother who is not glued on to her computer. I hope that through this work I can pass on to them the love and deep respect my father gave me for nature.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations. ix

Introduction. 1

Part 1. A Historiography of Barbizon Painting: Overview of the Existing Literature

Chapter 1: The Changing Fortune of Barbizon Painting. . 18

Chapter 2: Ecole de Barbizon or Ecole de 1830. 68

Chapter 3: The Painter as Peasant. 89

Part 2. Topography of the French Press and Critical Reception of Landscape Painting in Salon Reviews

Chapter 4: The Place of Art Criticism in the French Press. 155

Chapter 5: The Legitimist Press. 201

Chapter 6: The Juste-Milieu Press. 228

Chapter 7: The Republican and Utopian Socialist Press. .291

Chapter 8: Short-Lived Republican Publications, the Case of Théophile Thoré and Charles Baudelaire 370

Conclusion. 405

Illustrations. 410

Bibliography. 430

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LIST OF ILUSTRATIONS

1. Camille Corot, Fontainebleau. Le Rageur, ca. 1830, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm, private collection.

2. Camille Corot, Tivoli. Les Jardins de la villa d'Este, 1843, oil on canvas, 43.5 x 60.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

3. Honoré Daumier, Le Combat des écoles: Idéalisme contre Réalisme, 1855, lithograph published in Le Charivari.

4. Thomas Couture, Le Réaliste, 1865, oil on pannel, 55 x 45 cm, Crawford Municipal School of Art, Cork, Ireland.

5. Anonymous, Un Délit champêtre, 1846, lithograph, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

6. Camille Corot, Vue prise dans la forêt de Fontainebleau, 1846, 90.2 x 128.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Samuel Dennis Warren.

7. Théodore Rousseau, Groupe de chênes, Apremont, 1852, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 99.9 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

8. Camille Corot, Avignon. Une Vue prise de Villeneuve-les-Avignon, 1836, oil on canvas, 33.7 x 73 cm, The Trustees of the Nationale Gallery, London.

9. Camille Corot, Soissons vu de la fabrique de M. Henry, 1833, oil on canvas, 80 x 99 cm, Rijkmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo.

10. Camille Corot, Vue du port de la Rochelle, 1851, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 71.8 cm, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903.

11. Camille Corot, Saint-Lô. Vue générale de la ville, 1831, oil on canvas, 46 x 65 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

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12. Camille Corot, Pierrefonds (Oise). Vue Générale, ca. 1834, oil on canvas, 51,5 x 78 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper.

13. Léopold Robert, Arrivée des moissonneurs dans les marais Pontins, 1830, oil on canvas, 141.5 x 212 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

14. Camille Corot, Lormes. Lormes. Une Chevrière assise au bord d'un torrent sous bois, 1842, oil on canvas, 52 x 69,3 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund.

15. William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Nut Gatherers, 1880, oil on canvas, 88 x 134 cm, The Detroit Institute of Fine Arts, Gift of Mrs. William E. Scripps.

16. Camille Corot, Genazo. Chevrier en vue du village, 1843, oil on canvas, 35.8 x 57.1 cm, The Philips Collection, Washington, D.C.

17. Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, Un Mécène, 1840, Lithograph, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.

18. Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, Le Paysagiste, 1820, lithograph, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

19. Théodore Rousseau, Le Curé, 1842-3, oil on panel, 42.3 x 64.4 cm, Toledo Museum of Art.

20. Camille Corot, Homère et les bergers, paysage, 1845, oil on canvas, 80 x 130 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Saint Lô.

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Introduction

". . . dans quelques siècles d'ici, si la peinture du dix-neuvième siècle est citée, elle le sera surtout pour le paysage."[1]

This dissertation proposes to examine the critical reception of French landscape painting during the July Monarchy. I will concentrate on the painters who for a lack a better term would, in the 1860s and 1870, be designated as the School of Barbizon. I hope to contribute to the ongoing reassessment of the art of the reign of Louis-Philippe, by displacing some of the established arguments, in order to bring forward another vision of this extremely diverse period. Léon Rosenthal's book Du romantisme au réalisme: La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848established the standard approach to the art of the period.[2] For him, the art of the

[1]Louis Clément de Ris, "Le Salon," L'Artiste, 5th ser., no. 2 (16 February 1851): 17.

[2]Léon Rosenthal, Du romantisme au réalisme: La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848 (Paris: 1914).

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July Monarchy was an art of transition between two major movements, with a multitude of competing styles, and without a single artistic personality to dominate the scene. Rosenthal attributed this lack of artistic direction to the mediocre guidance of King Louis-Philippe, claiming that this eclecticism of styles was only the reflection of the eclecticism of his politics.[3] This study will document how landscape painting, despite its lower status in the hierarchy of the genres, became a major category of contemporary artistic production, and more importantly, how landscape painting could no longer be considered neutral, safe or purely decorative.

When I decided to devote my research to the study of landscape, I quickly realized that much of the work would involve dismantling its apparent neutrality, in particular, its very "naturalness," on which most of the arguments seem to concentrate, as if the authors wanted to preclude any readings of landscape as other as an unmediated transcription

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[3]For recent studies on landscape, see Carla Maria Puppin, "The Critical Response to Landscape Painting in France, 1830-1850," (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1986), and Claudia Einecke, "Beyond Seeing: The Somatic Experience of Landscape Painting in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri at Columbia, 1994). Despite radically different methodologies, these two scholars focused mainly on the issues of the changing concept of what is a finished tableau, on the notion of vérité and naturalism.

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of nature's own green attributes. My reflection on landscape painting proceeds from the assumption that our conception of nature is itself already shaped by a complex aggregation of cultural expectations grounded in social experience. I chose to concern myself neither with the question of which styles of landscape painting are more or less "naturalistic," nor with the assumption that landscape painting's ultimate goal is simply the straightforward imitation of nature.

In the early nineteenth century, landscape paintings gained more and more visibility on the Salon's walls, until during the July Monarchy, they composed 25 to 30 percent of the paintings, drawings, engravings, and lithographs exhibited. In a recent exhibition catalogue, Petra ten-Doesschate Chu has organized the landscape paintings in four different categories: topographic landscapes, seascape and marine paintings, composite landscapes, and historiated landscapes. The category of topographic landscape is of particular interest to my research. These paintings represented identifiable sites throughout France and in foreign countries, they constituted the majority of the landscapes at the Salon, and as the years went by, the French views outnumbered the foreign ones. At the Salon of 1830, 44 percent of the accepted landscapes depicted French scenes

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while thirty-two percent depicted foreign scenes. In 1844, 49 percent of all landscapes represented France, while only 23 percent depicted foreign countries.[4]

Critics constructed a new discourse around this phenomenon, a discourse that in many cases became highly charged with political implications. Often, criticism that dealt with landscape painting and liberal politics began to be part of the same discourse of rebellion. However, because of the existence of censorship in France, writers and journalists who wanted to criticize the government had to devise different strategies to disguise their views.[5] They had to conceal their oppositional political viewpoints in acceptable forms of writing, from satire to literary reviews and art criticism. Despite the fact that censorship partially relaxed during the early constitutional monarchy, journalists still made use of these diverse approaches to political debate, especially after 1835, when direct attacks on the king or the constitution, or any whiff of republicanism,

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[4]See Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "At Home and Abroad," The Art of the July Monarchy, exh. cat. Museum of Art and Archeology, University of Missouri-Columbia (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 116-117.

[5]See for instance Susan Siegfried's essay "The Politicisation of Art Criticism in the Post-Revolutionary Press," in Michael Orwicz, Art Criticism and its Institution in Nineteenth-Century France (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994) 9-28.

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could land the writer in prison. I have chosen to focus on a very specific set of political issues, although I do not claim that these issues constitute the only valid argument among critics or that the artist's political opinion necessarily matched the one assigned by the critics to their work.

By organizing this study around the political affiliation of the journals in which Salon reviews appeared, I will be able to demonstrate the significance that landscape painting had for each of the political factions. One of the main issues at stake is the debate between the supporters of paintings which represented the French landscape and the supporters of the classical mode who favored historical landscape painting derived from the Italian and the Poussinesque tradition. The supporters of the representations of France wove into their criticism issues of patriotism and national identity. Much recent discussion about landscape painting has focused on the social construction of nature, and on how images of landscape and the cultural discourse surrounding them have been central to a developing sense of national history. The works of Stephen Daniels and scholars of English landscape such as Andrew Hemingway and Ann Bermingham, have been particularly influential in shaping my ideas about French landscape painting; to my knowledge no

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scholar has attempted the same kind of analysis about French painting.

Depictions of the French landscape could communicate ideas that the French people had about their country and its various regions. Since the defeat of 1815, France had been trying to reconstruct itself as a nation, although it still had little sense of social or even geographical unity. The proliferation of landscape imagery, from travel prints to Salon landscapes, participated in this ideological reconstruction of the nation centered on the land and its regions.[6] Since the 1820s, it had become essential to show how diverse and rich French landscape was. Landscape painting could also be used to incarnate the beliefs that the French had about the relationship of mankind to nature as nature was indeed often infused with a kind of moral significance, a

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[6]In a similar context, the German critic, Ernst Förster, identified a painting he saw at the Kunstverein as "a political landscape," describing it as a celebration of "German unity, anticipated by art and soon, let us hope, to be matched with reality." In Kunstblatt, March 26, 1849, quoted by Martin Warnke in Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995) 7. I agree with Martin Warnke, when he writes: "Art experts, slow to rediscover a religious and a moral landscape, have totally eliminated the political element from landscape painting, being understandably drawn to the less encumbered 'feeling for nature'." (7-8). The political dimension was always present in the criticism. I also want to argue that discussing the political aspect of landscape painting need not impair our appreciation and perception of the works, but actually will sharpen them.

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quasi-religious meaning. I will investigate these phenomena at length, which find their sources in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Romanticism, and in the republicanism of some landscape artists and their patrons.

Some painters of the 1830s proposed a new and specifically French vision of the countryside. This type of landscape painting, that I propose to call the paysage rustique after the proto-romantic theorist Deperthes, offered an alternative to the paysage de style which followed the Italianate tradition. The paysage rustique had more affiliation with the northern and English tradition. However, for some conservative critics, looking at Dutch art as a source of inspiration was not considered as an innocent act.

Throughout my study, I will focus on the specific language used by the critics, and I will propose close reading of some of the writings. One needs to be constantly aware that art criticism is always a conventionalized discourse, in which various figures of speech or tropes are used to articulate the critic's response to the works on display. I will attempt to identify these tropes, to analyze the scandal that certain landscape paintings caused at the Salon in order to decode the critic's writings. By doing that I want to determine the kind of values French culture used to articulated the aesthetic sphere. Amongst the many ideas that

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became attached to the discourse surrounding landscape painting, I have chosen to pay a special attention to the concept of the ugly and the vulgar and the expression peinture socialiste, often used by conservative critics to discuss a type of landscape painting they did not support. The glorification of the ugly is a phenomenon which belongs to the romantic period; but the words laid, bête, vulgaire are also very often used by the critics during the July Monarchy, which saw the institutionalization of Romanticism as a powerful and cultural force.[7]

When studying the critical reception of landscape painting, one becomes quickly aware of the complexity of the situation. We have traditionally understood this conflict between the Académie des Beaux-Arts and the independent artists as a formal one, based on the familiar opposition between the Classicists and the Romantics, between the two giants of the period, Ingres and Delacroix. A closer look at the art criticism of the period will enable us to discern other important issues, which go beyond these two different formal traditions.

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[7]For a discussion of the origin of the glorification of the vernacular laid versus the classical beau; see Patricia Mainardi, "The Political Origins of Modernism," Art Journal, vol. 44 (Spring 1985), 11-17.

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Art reviews could indeed be commentaries on art, but they could also be coded attacks on official political and artistic institutions. The character of the Academy, instituted in the seventeenth century as a royal agency in charge of aesthetics, created a unique situation whereby opposition to its principles could also be interpreted as opposition to the government. Romanticism in the early 1800s presented the first challenge to the hegemony of Academic principles. By the 1820s, art and art criticism were heavily politicized.[8]

Before dealing with these critical issues, it is essential to map out the territory that is to be explored. This is done in Part One entitled "A Historiography of Barbizon Painting: Overview of the Existing Literature." This first part is divided into three chapters. In Chapter 1; "The Changing Fortune of Barbizon Painting," I explore how our understanding of the Barbizon School has been impaired and simplified by the modernist reading of it as a purely transitional moment on the road to abstraction. According to that interpretation, Barbizon painters have been made into heroes by modernist and formalist art historians who

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[8]See Francis Haskell, "Art and the Language of Politics," Journal of European Studies, 4 (1974): 215-232; Mainardi, "The Political Origins of Modernism", and Pontus Grate, "Art, idéologie et politique dans la critique d'art,"

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understood them as major links in an evolutionary chain that culminated in Impressionism.

In Chapter 2, "Ecole de Barbizon or école de 1830," I discuss the development of the concept of a Barbizon School. This informal grouping of painters who came of age during the 1830's has come to embody the reaction against academic and historical landscape. The Barbizon School also has been singled out as the only original style to have developed during the July Monarchy.[9] Chapter 3 entitled "The Painter as Peasant" deals with the critical construction of the Barbizon painters as rough individuals whose temperament resulted in a kind of innate and uncorrupted vision of nature.

By focusing in Part One on historiography, I attempt to reestablish the balance, to show that the landscapes of the July Monarchy presented an unusual diversity of form and theme. While art historians have for generations recognized this extraordinary diversity and productivity as the main feature of the period, they have interpreted it as signifying a lack of identity.[10]

Romantisme, no. 71 (1991): 30-38.

[9]See Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu and Gabriel Weisberg eds., The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture under the July Monarchy (Princeton: University Press, 1994), 263.

[10]See Léon Rosenthal, Du romantisme au réalisme: La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848 (Paris: 1914), 107. With

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When considering the critical response to landscape painting during the July Monarchy, one should first ask how did most people gain access to contemporary art? Where did they see, read or learn about art, at the annual Salon, at private exhibitions or in dealers' shop windows, in books, in daily newspapers, in magazines?

The answers to these questions will shape Part Two of my study: "Topography of the French Press and the Critical Reception of Landscape Painting in Salon Reviews." The annual Salon held at the Louvre provided the opportunity for the public to confront contemporary art. The catalogues of the Salons were merely listings of the exhibited works, with no critical commentary. In order to make sense of this confusing situation, daily newspapers published series of review articles, which formed the core of July Monarchy art criticism. To be as comprehensive as possible, one also needs to add to the newspaper articles the pamphlets written on the occasion of the exhibition.

Part Two is divided into five chapters. Chapter 4 discusses "The Place of Art Criticism in the French Press." Chapter 5, "The Legitimist Press," deals with the reaction of conservative critics to the increased visibility of landscape

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disdain Rosenthal links the artistic indecisiveness of the time to a general lack of direction in all areas of life and

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painting, which they interpreted as a definite sign of the decadence of French art. Chapter 6, "The Juste-Milieu Press," is concerned with the journals which supported Louis-Philippe's regime and saw the vitality of artistic production and especially the development of landscape painting as a sign of the dynamism of France. Chapter 7, "The Republican and Utopian Socialist Press" investigates the support of many leftist critics for le paysage rustique and the political implication of such positions. Finally, Chapter 8 deals with the short-lived republican publications and the cases of Théophile Thoré and Charles Baudelaire. In each chapter, I will identify the major critics of the period, and discuss the newspapers or magazines they wrote for.

The work of two scholars, Nicos Hadjinicolaou and Jean-Paul Bouillon, has been essential to this research. Hadjinicolaou's doctoral thesis on the Salon of 1831, in which he systematically studied the Salon reviews published in most of the French newspapers, showed me how essential it is to work as methodically as possible to gather conclusive historical evidence in order to determine patterns in the art criticism of the time.[11] Hadjinicolaou focused on the

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culture.

[11]Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "La Lutte des classes en France dans la production des images de 1829 à 1831-Première partie:

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conjunction between visual representation and the social and political relations of a specific historical moment. His studies stress the complex relationship between culture on the one hand and a range of social and ideological formations on the other. He demonstrated that art criticism was never simply about art. The critics were part of a much broader network of social and political discourses. From Hadjnicolaou I learned that the language of art criticism could itself be studied as a manifestation of the intricate layering of the multiplicity of discourses which constructed the historical reality of the July Monarchy.

Secondly, because my study is concerned with art critics' perception of their own time as well as being also a study of the use they made of a specific vocabulary; I could not be satisfied with only looking at the usual stars: Gustave Planche, Théophile Thoré, Charles Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier and Etienne-Jean Delécluze. To arrive at a more balanced and complete picture, I needed to do further research in order to gather writings by obscure and less-known critics, published sometimes in small or more specialized newspapers. In researching this subject, I have many times been tempted to first establish a "history of

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la critique d'art," 9 vols (Thèse d'état, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1980).

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texts," as suggested by Jean-Paul Bouillon in his capital article of 1980.[12] In this article, Bouillon pointed out the problems involved in the preliminary selection of critical texts when implicit assumptions are made privileging the "great names." He cited as examples the numerous studies that focus on Baudelaire, Zola, and Mallarmé. These studies far outnumber the studies on lesser-known authors, but are not theoretically justified in any way as to the reasons for this selective choice.[13]

Most of the art criticism was published on the occasion of the annual Salon. The Salon reviews, which are the essential primary sources and the backbone of my argument, were published in all the major daily newspapers, as well as in periodicals and magazines covering a wide range of topics from travels to history, from fashion to children's literature. The first half of the nineteenth century is still largely uncharted territory; much of the criticism remains scattered in innumerable newspaper articles, which have not yet been anthologized or reprinted. We still considerably

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[12]Jean-Claude Bouillon, "Littérature et peinture en France, 1830-1900, mise au point théorique et méthodologique," Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France (November-Décember 1980): 880-899.

[13]Bouillon, 889, Carla Maria Puppin also makes the same point, see "The Critical Reception," 4-6.

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less know this period in relation to the interplay of the critical discourse and the works of art than the second half of the nineteenth century.

Neil McWilliam's extraordinary work, A Bibliography of Salon Criticism in Paris from the July Monarchy to the Second Republic, 1831-1851, made it possible for me to gather all the evidence, replacing the outdated and far from complete work by Tourneux.[14] McWilliam's bibliography was an indispensable working tool, enabling me to be orderly and systematic.

In order to follow Hadjinicolaou's method, I should have analysed landscape painting year by year during the seventeen Salons which took place annually throughout the July Monarchy, from 1831 to 1848, in all the newspapers and periodicals published in France. This would be humanly impossible.[15] In accordance with my intention of deciphering patterns of historical importance, I decided to concentrate on newspapers which published Salon reviews during the entire

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[14] McWilliam's work published by Cambridge University Press in 1991, superceded Maurice Tourneux, Salons et expositions d'art à Paris 1801-1870. Essai bibliographique (Paris, 1919).

[15] To be exact the last Salon of the July Monarchy took place in 1847, but I chose to also include the Salons of 1848 and 1849, which took place under the auspices of the Second Republic, because its composition still reflected the defunct monarchy.

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course of the July Monarchy, and to organize this study around key years such as 1831, the first Salon of the July Monarchy; 1833 and 1834 when Théodore Rousseau was mentioned for the first time and he and Corot received positive reviews; 1836, when Rousseau was rejected and the legend of the grand refusé began to be articulated by the critics; 1840, which marked the beginning of a new decade and of the growing discontent on both the political left and the right; 1843, when more than half the paintings presented to the jury for admission to Salon were rejected, and critics wrote about a "true massacre", especially for landscape painting, and finally 1848 and 1849 as the last of the juried exhibitions and the first Salons organized by the republican government without the jury system.[16]

[16]About the "true massacre" of 1843 the anonymous critic of L'Artiste commented: "Nous osons à peine espérer d'être cru, quand nous dirons que les trois quarts des paysages, la moitié des portraits et des tableaux de genre, ont été impitoyablement repoussés." In "Actualités-souvenirs," L'Artiste, 3 ser., 3, no. 11 (12 March 1843): 172.

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Part I: A Historiography of Barbizon Painting: Overview of the Existing Literature

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Chapter 1: The Changing Fortune of Barbizon Painting

In Part One, my purpose is to review the existing literature about a group of landscape and figure painters who are commonly referred to as either the Barbizon School, or as the Ecole de 1830. This endeavor will take us far beyond the initial chronological framework of my proposed study (1830-1848), but I believe that such a historiography is needed. By confronting a wide number of texts written about the Barbizon School, this chapter attempts to gain a better understanding of a movement usually defined and understood simply as the precursor of Impressionism.

My primary purpose is to present the different ways the Barbizon School has been constructed over the years. My intention is not to tell once more the story of this group of artists, but to highlight how the formalist and modernist writers have chosen certain events and certain critics to tell their evolutionist account of how abstract art came into being. By juxtaposing other voices to theirs, I propose to

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explain how the story of landscape painting can be read in the context of the intense politicization characteristic of French cultural life, where paintings routinely transcended their formal qualities to become political symbols.[1]

The notion of Ecole de 1830 is wider than the School of Barbizon[2]. Even its name, a clear reference to the 1830 Revolution as a starting date for a new artistic school, pointed to the politicization of French cultural life. The Ecole de 1830 is usually understood as comprising Louis Cabat (1812-1893), Camille Corot (1796-1875), Narcisse Diaz (1807-1876), Jules Dupré (1811-1889), Camille Flers (1802-1869), Paul Huet (1803-1869), Eugène Isabey (1803-1886), Théodore Rousseau (1812-1867). The Ecole de 1830 was the term chosen by Etienne-Jean Delécluze to describe the new landscape school "qui s'est formée depuis huit ou dix ans."[3] In Anglo-Saxon countries, these artists are most often referred to as the Barbizon School. All these artists came

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[1]Scholars have documented this phenomenon at length. I have already mentioned the work of Francis Haskell and Patricia Mainardi, and would like to add Linda Nochlin's essay "The Invention of the Avant-Garde: France 1830-1880," in The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 1-18, and Siegfried, 9-28.

[2]I will expand on this issue in Chapter 2.

[3]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1838", Journal des débats (27 avril 1838).

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to maturity at the beginning of the July Monarchy.[4]

The Salon of 1831 inaugurated a series of sixteen annual Salons held during the reign of Louis-Philippe. In 1831, a petition signed by Decamps, Scheffer, Gros, Abel de Pujol, Ingres, Heim, Isabey, Delacroix, Johannot, Deveria, Schnetz, Roman, David d'Angers, and Ramey demanded an annual Salon. Despite the opposition of the Institut, it was granted to the artists, by a royal decree on October 13, 1833.[5] The annual Salon established a welcome new rhythm for the art world of Paris after the relative infrequency of the Restoration Salon, and critical reviews multiplied in a press that was itself undergoing rapid expansion.[6] The Salon reviews provided the first forum for the critical reception of the landscape artists whom with I am concerned. Corot made his Salon debut in 1827, Rousseau, Dupré, and Flers in 1831, Troyon in 1833, Diaz in 1834, finally Daubigny in 1838 and Millet in 1840.

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[4]See Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, "At Home and Abroad: Landscape Representation," 125.

[5]On the significance of the annual Salon for the artists; see Maria Ivens, "La Liberté guidant l'artiste," Révoltes logiques 10 (Summer 1979): 58-59.

[6]See Centre de documentation en sciences humaines, Documents pour l'histoire de la presse nationale aux XIXe et XXe siècles (Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S., 1971), I will deal with the development of the press at length in the following chapter.

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By the 1850s, when the first comprehensive histories of the art of the nineteenth century were being written, the year 1830 had already acquired somewhat of a mythical status. In 1871, Théophile Gautier wrote a series of articles about contemporary landscape painters. In an article devoted to Théodore Rousseau, he wrote:

> Il [Théodore Rousseau] appartenait à cette grande génération de 1830, qui marquera dans l'avenir et dont on parlera comme d'une époque climatériques de l'esprit humain. On eut dit qu'une flamme était descendue du ciel, le même jour, sur les fronts privilégiés. Quelle ardeur, quel enthousiasme, quel amour de l'art, quelle horreur de la vulgarité et des succés achetés par de bourgeoises concessions! Chacun se donnait tout entier avec son effort suprème et sa plus intense originalité.[7]

1830 also served as a reference point for the renewal of landscape painting, as if the promises made by the constitutional monarchy carried within themselves immediate consequences for artistic production.[8] The Salon of 1850-51, the first major Salon after the Revolution of 1848, was the setting for a new focus on landscape painting. The reputations of two landscapists, Corot and Rousseau, were

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[7]Théophile Gautier, "Paysagistes contemporains: Théodore Rousseau," L'Artiste 85 (1871): 10.

[8]"Le paysage est traité en France avec une superiorité vers 1830 cette jeune école du paysage aujourd'hui si nombreuses incontestable . . . Sans être bien vieux, nous avons vu naître et si brillante." Théophile Gautier, Les Beaux-Arts en Europe, 2 vols. (Paris: M. Levu frères, 1855), 2: 125.

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confirmed at this Salon and the critical response to their paintings was articulated within a series of conventions which had been developing during the two previous decades in which Corot was equated with idealism, Rousseau with truth and Troyon with realism. In an article titled "Paysage. Théorie générale du paysage. MM. Rousseau, Corot, Troyon," François Sabatier-Ungher; a Fourierist landowner and art critic from Hérault, and a friend of Courbet; wrote:

> Ceux qui, sourds et aveugles pour la poésies des champs, nient l'art du paysage ressemblent à ces pédants qui dédaignent l'entretien des femmes, plus instructif la plupart du temps que ne serait celui de toute une docte académie. . . . C'était à l'époque moderne qu'il appartenait, je le crois, de pénétrer et de rendre la beauté physique et spirituelle de la nature, à notre époque où vit George Sand. . . . Sommes toute, je crois que le *paysagisme* français sera non seulement l'expression la plus haute du paysage (jusqu'à nos jours), mais encore le plus beau coté de la peinture, dans cette première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle. . . . M. Corot est l'*idéalisme*, M. Rousseau la *vérité*, et c'est M. Troyon qui représente avec le plus de supériorité le *réalisme* dans le paysage français.[9]

The landscape painters of the School of 1830 greatly benefited from the jury-free Salons of 1848 and 1849, and from the aesthetic openness of the Second Republic. While they had problems with the Academy throughout the July Monarchy, and had to rely on alternative ways to exhibit and sell their works, they were now finally again in the

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[9]François Sabatier-Ungher, "Salon de 1851. Paysage," La Démocratie pacifique (12 January 1851).

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public eye, exhibiting at the Salon. For the first time in 1848, they also enjoyed strong support from the official artistic institutions. The not-yet conservative critic Charles Blanc was nominated Director of Fine Arts, the liberal Philippe-Auguste Jeanron was appointed head of the national museums, and state commissions had been awarded to Dupré, Millet, Daubigny, and Rousseau. Furthermore artists like Corot, Rousseau and Dupré, who had had up until now no voice in the French system of art institutions, now became members of the managing committee of the jury-free Salon. Rousseau and Dupré were also active, as was Diaz, in the artists' section of the Constituent Assembly.[10]

By the mid-1850s to early 1860s, even though their work had still not found complete support within the Academy, critics accepted their work and discussed it at length within an established conceptual framework.[11] By

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[10]Daubigny, Diaz, Troyon, Millet, Rousseau, Dupré and Jacque were long-standing republicans. Millet, Dupré, and Jacque went even further, they fought on the barricades in June 1848. See Robert Herbert, Barbizon Revisited, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1962), 39. Rousseau was more reluctant than the other Barbizon artists and rather disillusioned with politics as a whole. Sensier said about him that he was a kind of pacifist revolutionary unable to hurt the tiniest creature. See Alfred Sensier, Souvenirs sur Th. Rousseau (Paris: Léon Techener, 1872), 44-5.

[11]Bidault and Français were in fact the Academician-representatives of the French landscape school. Bidault was elected in 1823. Français received his first medal at the

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then, all the Barbizon artists were well enough appreciated by private patrons to have found financial success.

Some of the early collectors were prominent members of Orleanist society, such as the duc d'Orléans (the son of Louis-Philippe) and the son of Casimir Perrier, a banker and government official. This suggests that the Academy's control over French artistic production was never as undisputed as it claimed to be. The Academy could no longer affirm that it was the only voice shaping the national artistic taste. Even though its members were respected official personalities, many middle-class patrons and connoisseurs did not share their taste. The following examples are just a few of the many that illustrate how artists and the private dealers found it necessary to create their own circuit of production and distribution. In 1841, Rousseau exhibited in his studio L'Allée des chataigners, which had been rejected by the Salon, despite the fact that it had been bought by the State in 1840 for 2,000 francs.[12] In May 1861, Théodore Rousseau organized an exhibition and auction sale of his work at the Hôtel Drouot. In 1863, Louis Martinet, who had founded in 1861

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salon of 1839 and was elected at the Academy in 1890.

[12]On this complicated affair see Pierre Angrand, "Théodore Rousseau et Eugène Delacroix," Gazette des beaux-

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the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts to escape state control of the arts, exhibited modern works including Corot, Courbet, Diaz and Rousseau, as well as fourteen paintings by Manet.[13]

Official recognition, however, came at a much slower pace. At the 1855 Exposition Universelle, Théodore Rousseau had been part of the jury of the fine arts section, but support within the government was still tepid. While Rousseau, Corot, Français, Huet and Troyon received First-Class Medals, no Medal of Honor was awarded to a landscapist.[14] During the Second Empire, the position of the landscape painter was still rather ambiguous. The Academy did indeed feel threatened by the success and the popularity of one of the minor genres, while the imperial administration reacted with its usual opportunism. In an effort to assert its authority and increase its popularity, the government of the Second Empire was ready to do anything to increase its control over art production, even if it meant going against

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arts 68 (July-December 1966): 215-226.

[13]See Herbert, 40. This is also confirmed by Anne Reverdy, L'Ecole de Barbizon, évolution du prix des tableaux de 1850 à 1960 (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1973).

[14]See Patricia Mainardi, Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 111.

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the Academy's doctrine and becoming more receptive to landscape painting.

In 1863, the Prix de Rome competition for the paysage historique was abolished.[15] The position of the Prix de Rome in historical landscape had always been a tricky one. On one level the artists competing for the prize were encouraged to copy nature faithfully by executing a tree "portrait," while the requirement also demanded extreme control over the presentation and the narrative, thus creating a antagonism between the push toward realism and the artificiality of the historical composition.[16] By the 1860, it had become obvious that critics from all opinion agreed on the fact that historical landscape painting was a dying genre. As landscape painting and especially naturalist landscape painting was

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[15]A study of the Prix de Rome in paysage historique and the reasons for its desmise in 1864 would be beyond the scope of this study. The standard references for the topic are Philippe Grunchec, Le Grand Prix de peinture: Les Concours de Rome de 1797 à 1863, exh. cat. (Paris: Ecole Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1984); Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1981), 134-47; Peter Galassi, "The Nineteenth Century: Valenciennes to Corot," in A. Wintermute, ed., Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France, exh. cat. (New York: Colnaghi Gallery, 1990), 237-8.

[16]I found Jane Roos' summary of the argument around the Prix de Rome very useful, see "Herbivores versus Herbiphobes: Landscape Painting and the State," in Impressions of France: Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, and their Rivals, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1995-96), 44.

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becoming always more popular, the Academy was finding it more and more difficult to combat the encroachment of naturalism into the historical landscape painting. Unable to resolve this conflict, it was then probably safer to abolish the price in order to dismiss the relevance of landscape painting all together.

The Academy had not been eager to establish a Prix de Rome for historical landscape, and so we should not see in its creation a new esteem for the genre. The establishment of the Prix de Rome in 1816 testified to the desire of the Academy to control such production within the framework of its ideological powers, the paysage historique was now part of the Academy's official program. It acquired connotations directly connected to the Academy's ideological position, and the possibilities of the genre were then neatly circumscribed into the strictures of the Academy's own ideology. The reluctance of the Academy to create a Prix de Rome for the paysage historique is clearly understood in the following passage:

> L'Académie juge nécessaire d'éloigner le retour périodique du concours de paysage historique, de manière qu'il ne revienne que de quatre ans en quatre ans. Elle pense qu'il faut établir une certaine proportion entre les encouragements et les objets auxquels on les applique. Jusqu'ici l'on avait cru qu'en portant exclusivement sur la peinture d'histoire, c'est à dire sur la peinture qui renferme tout les genres, les encouragements attribués étaient dans la mesure qui

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> convenait; qu'accorder des faveurs spéciales à chacun des genres secondaires, ce serait courrir le risque de multiplier au delà des besoins de la société le nombre de ceux qui cultivent les arts, qu'enfin, l'experience ayant démontré que les plus grands maîtres dans l'ordre du paysage ont été aussi les plus grands dans la peinture d'histoire, la peinture de paysage n'aurait besoin, pour être excercée avec plus de succès, que d'un supplément d'occasion: celle d'un prix tout les quatres ans serait pour elle un avantage suffisant.[17]

In 1864, in the reform of the Salon jury, some landscapists were elected. A few years later, Rousseau was finally awarded the Medal of Honor at the occasion of the 1867 Exposition Universelle. The fact that Rousseau was the only landscapist to receive such a medal exemplifies the paradox that would stigmatize French modern art. Jane Roos has argued persuasively how practices such as the small numbers of landscapists in the Salon jury, or the fact that landscapists hardly ever received the Medal of Honor, kept them, as it kept also women artists, outside the French artistic hierarchy. Their situation was still by the end of the Second Empire ambiguous and precarious.[18]

Official state recognition took much longer to arrive than critical and financial success. It is also interesting to remember that at the 1867 Universal Exposition, Rousseau,

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[17]Henri Delaborde, L'Académie des Beaux-Arts depuis la foundation de l'Institut de France (Paris, 1891), 186.

[18]See Roos, "Herbivores versus Herbiphobes," 45.

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despite his position as a jury member and his Medal of Honor, had still not been promoted to the rank of Officier de la Légion d'Honneur. It took some active campaigning on the part of his friends and his poor health for Napoléon III to sign the special decree promoting him.[19] Lacking the private support that Manet and Courbet had, Rousseau was never able to mount his own private exhibition, but Brame and Durand-Ruel put together, at the Galerie du Cercle de la rue de Choiseul, the retrospective the government had never organized for him. They exhibited 80 painted etudes that they had bought in 1866, and 29 finished paintings. IN the catalogue, Philippe Burty raised an interesting point about the timing chosen by Rousseau to exhibit mainly studies:

> Exposées plus tôt, elles eussent risquées de n'être point comprises, et d'ailleurs le maitre n'eut point consenti, comme aujourd'hui, à s'en dessaisir. Il fallait commencer la lutte, car de nos temps, toute manifestation d'art personelle et sincère ouvre une lutte, il fallait commencer la lutte par le "tableau" qui est la synthèse et qui, par cela même, est plus accessible à la foule.[20]

A new generation of landscapists would soon have to endure similar difficulties.

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[19]For more information about Rousseau's last problem with the French state see Mainardi, 1987, 183-85.

[20]Philippe Burty, Notice des Etudes Peintes Exposées au Cercle des Arts (Paris, June 1867), 4.

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During the 1850s and 1860s, one of the most interesting aspects of the historiography of the Barbizon School is the discrepancy between the favorable attitudes of most of the major critics, who recognized that landscape painting, and especially realist or naturalist landscape, was the glory of the French School, and the discourse of the academicians, who downplayed the importance of landscape. The following quotation by Louis Peisse writing for the juste-milieu newspaper Le Constitutionnel represented the former opinion:

> Nous n'avons pas dit un mot jusqu'ici du paysage et des paysagistes. C'est là pourtant qu'est depuis longtemps l'honneur de nos expositions, et, s'il y a quelques progrès à signaler dans une des branches de l'art, c'est certainement dans celle-là. . . . Nous sommes d'ailleurs en France assez paysagistes d'instinct et de sentiment. . . . Pour nous, enfin, le paysage est une sorte de patrimoine national. Les deux grands maîtres du genre, le Poussin, et Claude Gellée, sont français. Voyons comment s'entendent leurs successeurs. Trois paysagistes, MM. Corot, Rousseau et Troyon, fixent particulièrement les regards et partagent les goûts. Tous trois font école. Il y en aurait peut-être un quatrième, M. Cabat, mais on le conteste.[21]

On the side of the Academy, Delécluze was the perfect example of a conservative critic who could no longer ignore the recent developments in landscape painting, but still refused to grant it equal status with la grande peinture:

> Les deux modes de l'art les plus actuels, les plus vivans [sic] depuis bientôt vingt ans, sont la

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[21]Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1850," Le Constitutionnel, no. 29 (29 January 1851): 2.

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> caricature, puis le paysage. . . . Le paysage est, relativement, à la peinture de grand style, un accident, ou plutôt une transformation analogue à celle du genre descriptif à l'égard de la poésie héroïque et dramatique. . . . Il ne faut donc pas se faire trop d'illusion sur la puissance de la poésie descriptive ou du paysage; car l'une comme l'autre est une dégénérescence de l'art dont ils dérivent, et tous deux inclinent à peindre l'habit au lieu de l'homme, le lieu de la scène en place de l'action, en un mot, à mettre l'accessoire au-dessus du principal, tendance trop générale aujourd'hui parmi les écrivains et les artistes.[22]

It would be interesting to chart the usage by nineteenth-century critics of the words realist, realism and naturalism, but that is beyond the scope of this study. Hadjinicolaou has demonstrated that the words réaliste, naturaliste, coloriste and even romantique were very often used interchangeably as a way to qualify any painting which strayed away from the academic ideal. It would be fascinating to replace the word romantique in the 1830s critical texts by the word réaliste. We would realize that the arguments surrounding Romanticism in the 1830s could be easily transposed into the arguments surrounding realism in the 1850s and 1860s, and vice-versa.[23] For a conservative critic

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[22]Delécluze, "Exposition des artistes vivans [sic]," Le Journal des débats (17 July 1849).

[23]"Le romantisme, réduit à ses rêves vaporeux ou à l'imitation d'une nature triviale, est incapable de ressuciter l'art." A.,"Salon de 1831," Le Correspondant 4, no 43 (29 July 1831): 344. See also Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "L'Exigence de "réalisme" au Salon de 1831," Histoire et

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like Delécluze, naturalism was certainly not a very positive term:

> Il ne me reste plus maintenant qu'à chercher quels peuvent être au fond, le système des peintres *naturalistes* et la théorie qui les guident. Depuis trente ans que je traite les matières d'art, j'ai eu pour habitude constante d'éloigner toutes les allusions politiques que l'on plait si souvent à y attacher. Mais cette année j'ai si souvent entendu parler d'un art, d'une peinture *socialiste* que ce sujet a éveillé mon attention, et après mûr examen, j'ai reconnu que les compositions ainsi désignées, sont les plus fortement empreintes de ce que nous avons appelé *naturalisme;* c'est-à-dire celles où les personnages sont sans nom, sans célébrité: dont les sujets insignifiants sont tirés de la vie privée la plus humble et la plus commune même, et qui n'ont enfin aucun n'éclat qui puisse provoquer l'admiration, le respect ou le plaisir; genre de peinture souverainement ennuyeuse quand elle n'est pas révoltante. . . .[24]

If the Academy paid any attention to landscape painting at all, it was only in order to support the moribund genre of historical landscape.[25] Even if on the occasion of the 1867

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critique des arts 4-5 (May 1978): 21-33. For a recent discussion of the subject and a summary of the historical argument see Patrick Le Nouëne, "Introduction," in Exigences de réalisme dans la peinture française entre 1830 et 1870, exh. cat. (Châtres: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1983-84), 9-12.

[24]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, Salon de 1850. Exposition des artistes vivants (Paris: Comon Editeur, 1851), 244-245.

[25]The painting jury of the 1855 Exposition Universelle was composed of eleven of the usual fifteen members of the Academy (Schnetz was director of the French Academy in Rome, Delaroche had withdrawn from public life, Ingres and Vernet had resigned), eleven independent artists such as Messionier, Français, and Lehmann, and only two Barbizon painters Troyon and Rousseau. See Mainardi, 1987, 62.

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Universal Exhibition, Rousseau finally received the recognition that had been long overdue, it was to a certain extent too late.[26] Having suffered a cerebral hemorrhage followed by a massive stroke in August 1867, Rousseau's health deteriorated quickly and he died on December 22, 1867. The delayed recognition of the Barbizon School by France's artistic institutions had created an awkward situation. While they were still considered too radical by the conservative critics, to the critics who supported the younger generation of naturalist painters, such as Emile Zola, Jules Castagnary, and Théophile Silvestre, they seemed old-fashioned and not radical enough.

I believe that one of the main reasons for official reluctance to acknowledge landscape painting was political fear and the influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition. Such negative reaction to naturalist landscape is best appreciated in the writings of conservative critics such as Charles Blanc. Blanc had little positive to say about landscape painting as a genre. As a member of a society, whose ethics were based in Christianity, Blanc would naturally support the

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[26]In 1865, Rousseau had been invited to spend one week at Compiègne, with the Imperial family. In 1867 he was a member of all the Juries, and performed extensive official duty at the Universal Exhibition, and he was finally, after much delay, when he was already too sick to accept the honor publicly, promoted to the rank of Officier de la Légion

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idea that man lived in a world where he dominated his environment. According to this worldview, it was therefore perfectly logical for Blanc to support painting in which the human figure would be given a preeminent position.

This of course was not the case in the paintings of the Barbizon School, which favored empty woodlands, moors, marshes and clearings with little human presence. And if men, women and children populated their paintings, they were often far from being the idealized heroes of some mythological fable.[27] They were the disenfranchised, landless peasants surviving on the edges of the forest, with little control of the nature they inhabited. Charles Blanc blamed the rise of landscape painting and the contemporaneous decadence of history painting on the artists who expressed the essential qualities of life by painting nature instead of what was for him the most complex and developed form of all creation, the human figure. With a strange mixture of Darwinism and the Christian ethic, Blanc criticized artists and critics who sought and encouraged equality in art between man and nature,

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d'Honneur.

[27]Corot is the only member of the group who painted naturalist landscapes as well as historical landscapes.

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clearly associating landscape painting and democratic ideas.[28]

Paintings that portrayed land that was neither always fertile nor always inhabited or controlled by humans seemed to the art establishment the most threatening of all. Rousseau and the other painters of the School of 1830 usually did not depict nature as a manicured garden, or as a fertile land managed and controlled by humans. They painted marshes, forests, barren moors, mountains, places where people's actions and power over nature were limited. The people in the paintings obtained their livelihood not from cultivating crops. Instead they gathered fallen deadwood, herded their goats on the fringes of the forest, or gleaned the leftover grain in the fields.

Contrary to the characters in Léopold Robert's or Rosa Bonheur's paintings, these peasants have hardly any access to or control over the bounty of the earth. Rousseau painted many times the barren marshlands of the Sologne, a sandy region in the center of France, near George Sand's home region. The Sologne had a reputation of being one of the most backward regions of France; it was poor, and its people

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[28]See Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1866-2ème article," Gazette des beaux-art (1 July 1866): 503-4.

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believed in witches and sorcery. One writer, A. Jouy described La Sologne as "un îlot d'arriération."[29]

The ubiquity of naturalist and local landscape painting on the Salon walls was considered as a challenge to the academic hierarchy of the genres. This artistic challenge could in turn have political implications, as it could be interpreted as criticism of the established social order. Most of the landscape paintings criticized by Charles Blanc represented a specific and unwelcome vision of the French countryside, a democratic France, without any historical monument that could remind the viewer of France's feudal past. This was a kind of nature that belonged to every French person. Not only did the naturalist landscapes of the School of 1830 make the poorest of the French people visible without sentimentality, but also they provided a way for the French people to feel connected to the land. Through landscape painting and to a certain extent also through travel and tourism, an increasing number of French citizens could appropriate for their own consumption France's territory even if they were neither peasant nor landowner.

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[29]In L'Ermite en Province, vol. 10 (Paris, 1818-1825), 184. It would be very interesting to study in parallel the development of the travel and geographical literature and the increasing visibility and popularity of site-specific landscape paintings.

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A growing number of critics supported naturalist landscape for personal rather than political reasons. Writers such as Jules Castagnary, Maxime Du Camp and Ernest Chesneau saw in the representation of nature with little or no human activities, a way to find peace in a increasingly complicated world, a way to recapture some of the lost equilibrium between man and his environment:

> Froissés par le tumulte du monde, les poètes, les rêveurs, se réfugient dans la paix des champs, dans la contemplation de la nature calme et sereine. La résurrection du paysage en France, dans ces dernières années, tient en grande partie à cette cause. Les querelles littéraires et politiques de ce siècle ont rejeté les esprits vers la pacifique nature, et engendré, par voie de réaction, le courant d'idées auxquelles nous devons, La Mare au Diable, Jeanne, Les Paysans; dans l'art les oeuvres de Rousseau, de Troyon, de Daubigny, de Rosa Bonheur. . . . Il semble que, saturée d'émotions violentes, dégoutée de sa propre corruption, la société ait fait un immense retour vers le vrai. Elle s'est sentie soudain soif d'émotion calmes et douces. Une vague odeur d'étable, apportée par la brise des champs, lui est montée aux narines. Elle a entrevu, loin des villes infectes, groupés comme dans un tableau de Léopold Robert, la vie rurale, ses travaux, ses plaisirs, sa simple et pénétrante poésie.[30]

Among many other examples of writings in which critics celebrated landscape painting as a way to escape urban civilization, I have chosen the following passage by Chesneau, which illustrates clearly that the value attached to landscape painting was never exclusively formal:

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[30]Jules Castagnary, "Philosophie du Salon de 1857," Salon (1857-1879), (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), 17.

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> Ce qui fait la grandeur de ce genre [landscape painting], c'est que l'artiste, qu'il le voulut ou non, a associé la nature à ses douleurs et à ses joies, qu'il s'y est réfugié comme en un lieu d'asile, à l'écart de la dévorante activité, de la fièvre permanente des cités; c'est qu'il l'a prise définitevement comme un intime confident de ses regrets, de ses désirs et de ses aspirations. Ce mode d'interprétation devenu général, devenu familiers à tout nos paysagistes, s'est affirmé pour la première fois avec éclat dans les oeuvres de l'école de 1830.[31]

From the beginning of the July Monarchy, naturalist landscape was associated with radical politics, and the government had reason to feel threatened by some of the landscapists. The first words of the short-lived periodical La Liberté, started by Rousseau and his republican friends Jeanron, Didron, Barthélémy Haureau, were: "Mort à l'Institut! Mort au professorat!" For a while, Rousseau lived with Thoré at 9 rue Taitbout, in Paris, in the same building used by the Saint-Simonians to give their weekly lectures.[32]

By the late 1850s the supporters of naturalist landscape, Burty, Champfleury, Castagnary, Planche were all opposed to the Second Empire; Thoré was even living in exile. Some of its most famous representatives were either suspected to be or were openly republican, and finally the artists' humble and straightforward subject matter, marshes, forests,

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[31]Ernest Chesneau, Nations rivales dans l'art (Paris: Didier, 1868), 261-2

[32]La Liberté (September 11, 1832): 4.

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peasants toiling the soil for a miserable existence, were frightening to a government eager to suppress possible sources of rebellion. The apocryphal and rather caricatural comment made by Superintendent of Fine Arts during the Second Empire, Alfred-Emile de Nieuwerkerke, about the Barbizon painters encapsulates the fear mixed with scorn, typical of official institutions: "It is the paintings of democrats, of men who never change their linen, and who want to force themselves on the fashionable world. This art displeases and disgusts me." This quotation keeps being used over and over again by scholars. Some writers like by Jean Bouret, in his The Barbizon School and Nineteenth Century Landscape uses it at face value, without questioning it authenticity.[33] Others such as Jane Roos are careful to point out that despite the absence of a secure source, such comments can be useful as trope, making us understand that even something like a landscape painting could be regarded as political.[34] It actually makes more sense when it is put in context and used alongside with other similar quotations. I have always been interested in this quotation, and I have searched for its origins. So far, I have not been able to trace it back

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[33]Jean Bouret, The Barbizon School and Nineteenth Century Landscape (London, 1973), 19-20,

[34]Roos, "Herbivores versus Herbiphobes," 44.

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directly to Nieuwerkerke, but I went back to 1929 when Marthe de Fles, in La Vie de Monet, quoted the statement, without a footnote, Nieuwerkerke was supposed to have made the remark when he saw Millet's Glaneuses at the 1859 Salon.[35] This was then picked up by Rewald in The History of Impressionism.[36]

The status of landscape painting improved slowly with the proclamation of the Third Republic in September 1870. During the 1870s, the state bought more landscape paintings at the Salon than it had ever done before; it acquired twenty-nine in 1874, and twenty-one in 1878.[37] At the Exposition Universelle of 1878, which was intended to celebrate the reconstruction of France after the Franco-Prussian War and the ordeal of the siege and the Commune, François-Louis Français was still the only landscapist to receive the Medal of Honor. Nevertheless, this condition would quite suddenly change one year later, when in 1879, at the prize giving ceremony of the Salon, Jules Ferry announced major changes in State art policy.

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[35]Marthe de Fles, La Vie de Monet (Paris: Gallimard, 1929), 59.

[36]John Rewald The History of Impressionism, 4th rev. ed. (Greenwich, CT, 1973), 76.

[37]See chronology in House, Impressions of France, 60-64.

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From now on, the French government would officially support modern-life subjects and open-air painting. At the next Exposition Universelle, in 1889, eight landscapists were among the thirty artists awarded Medals of Honor.[38] By then however, the Barbizon artists appeared to the younger generation rather old-fashioned, retaining only their aura of mythical precursors. By the late 1870s and the early 1880s, the French State had finally recognized landscape painting as a major genre. During the troubled times of France's reconstruction, the government of the Third Republic promoted open-air landscape painting for its healing potential. It was also seen as a safer genre, less politically charged than history painting. To point out this radical transformation in the perception of landscape painting from a dangerous socialist genre during the July Monarchy and the Second Empire to a safe and neutral artistic expression during the Third Republic is one of the major purposes of my construction of its history.

But by the 1870s and 1880s, the Barbizon artists had died.[39] From then on, under the reign of modernism, the

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[38]For more information see Jane Roos, Early Impressionism and the French State (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1996.

[39]Troyon died in 1865, Rousseau in 1867, Millet, Corot and Barye in 1875, Daubigny in 1878, Dupré in 1889, and

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Barbizon School was considered only an early phase in the evolution leading to triumph of abstraction in the mid twentieth century. We would have to wait until Robert Herbert's groundbreaking exhibition in 1962 to understand this group of artists in their own right.

For the early part of this study, I have had to rely mainly on reviews found in the major newspapers, which were reaching an ever-wider public.[40] There were not many periodicals devoted exclusively to the fine arts; Le Journal des arts et des artistes, founded in 1824, and L'Artiste founded in 1830, were two of the main art periodicals that remained in print during the whole July Monarchy.[41] The bulk of Salon criticism, which represents the majority of writing on contemporary art, is to be found in daily newspapers and

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finally Jacque in 1894. On the question of the "bad timing" of the Barbizon School, for which official recognition came too late, and the fact that the painters never really recovered from this unfortunate chronology, see Mainardi, 1987, 181-182.

[40]See Claude Béllanger, Histoire générale de la presse française, 2 vols. (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1969), and vicomte Hector de Robertval, "Les Journaux d'art à Paris et les feuilletons artistiques des feuilles politiques," in La Renaissance, chronique des beaux-arts et de la litérature, et revue archéologique (Brussels), 8, no. 1 (1848): 1-4.

[41]See Gustave Lebel, "Bibliographie des revues et périodiques d'art paru en France de 1746 à 1914," Gazette des beaux-arts, 6th ser., 38 (January-March 1951): 5-64.

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in periodicals of general interest, journals covering politics, literature, travel, theater or history.

The diversity of the sources points to different problems. For most writers, art criticism was only one of the many facets in their often prolific and varied literary or political career. It is difficult then to establish pattern of continuity. This weakness is what gives art criticism of the period its particular character, principally its lack of specificity and of critical analysis, as well as its lack of historical perceptive. Even if reviews of the Salon constitute the essential artistic discourse in France, it does not mean that these writings can be arranged into a coherent corpus of texts. These texts are a complex and fragmented form of journalism, directed to a diverse audience, and responding to a variety of needs.

Later in this study, in Chapter Four of Part Two, entitled "The Place of Art Criticism in the French Press," I will discuss at length the role of the art critic and provide information on the way most of these review came to be. But for now, I would like to mention briefly the major factors underlying the development of art criticism during the nineteenth century. France's artistic life, like most of its other institutions, was very centralized, bringing together artists and writers in Paris, making the Salon the most

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prestigious artistic event of the year, at least until the last decades of the nineteenth century. One should also not forget Diderot's Salons, which were republished little by little throughout the century, creating a distinguished model every writer was eager to emulate.[42] Everyone in France with some kind of literary pretension felt obliged to write his or her own version of the Salons.[43]

During this early period, the interplay between the critical discourse and works of art is considerably less known to us than that of the later decades. Much of the criticism remains scattered in innumerable newspaper articles, which have not yet been anthologized or reprinted. There has been a continuous interest in Salon reviews written by literary personalities such as Charles Baudelaire, or by critics who went on become recognized as pivotal art historians, such as Gustave Planche and Théophile Thoré. But very little is known about most of the other men and women who wrote art criticism often on a part-time basis.[44]

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[42]Diderot reviewed nine Salons for the Correspondance littéraire, from 1759 to 1781, as the Salon took place only every two years.

[43]For general considerations on the status of the art critics see Pierre Vaisse, "Avant-propos," Romantisme, no. 71 (1991): 3-7.

[44]We need more anthologies of texts for the first part of the century. Volumes, such as Jean-Paul Bouillon, ed., La

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In the 1830s and 1840s, political preoccupations were rarely absent from aesthetic concerns:

> Le *romantisme*, en peinture comme en littérature n'est que le libéralisme, le principe de la souveraineté populaire, c'est-à-dire de la souverainté de chacun appliquée au beaux-arts. Chacun agit à sa guise, se laissant aller au hasard, rejetant toutes les règles du passé, sans y substituer aucune. Il y a anarchie parmi les peintres et les littérateurs comme dans le monde politique, et cette anarchie est légitime en ce sens qu'elle est la négation d'un *ordre* vieilli.[45]

The anonymous reviewer for Le Globe had no problem recognizing the connections between the world of politics and the art world. Both reacted similarly, rejecting an old-fashioned order, ill suited to the new conditions experienced after the July Revolution. The critic took for granted the need for a period of instability, if a more democratic rule was to prevail. By the end of the 1830s, three main art theories opposed each other:

> La critique d'art a eu, sous le gouvernement de Juillet, trois maîtres éminents: Gustave Planche qui dogmatisait et mordait, dans la Revue des deux mondes,

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Critique d'art en France, 1850-1900 (Université de Saint-Etienne: C.I.E.R.E.C., 1989); Jean-Paul Bouillon, ed., La Promenade du critique influent. Anthologie de la critique d'art en France 1850-1900 (Paris: Hazan, 1990), and Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, ed., Art in Theory, 1815-1900 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998) are desperately needed in order to familiarize a larger number of students and scholars with the art criticism of the first half of the century.

[45]Anonymous, "France. Le Salon. 1er. article," Le Globe, no. 132 (12 May 1831).

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> Théophile Gautier, qui poétisait et caressait dans La Presse, Théophile Thoré, qui dans Le Constitutionnel, pactisait avec les révolutionnaires de la peinture et réclamait avec eux l'avénement d'un art original, sincère, vivant, humain.[46]

Chaumelin gave a clear picture of the main issues at stake in the field of art criticism. From this quotation we can see a pattern emerging, if you set aside the case of Gustave Planche for a moment. Gautier's approach to art was to create in his writings a poetic equivalent of the painting, delighting in the quality of the work, while Thoré's approach valued an art that broke the rules and promoted interest in the individual vision. Théophile Gautier's l'art pour l'art was a response to Théophile Thoré's art social.[47] Thoré was not the only critic to support l'art social, I will have ample opportunity to come back to critics such as Victor

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[46]Marius Chaumelin, L'Art contemporain (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1873), 363.

[47]See: "L'art pour l'art veut dire non pas la forme pour la forme, mais bien la forme pour le beau, abstraction faite de tout idée étrangère,et de tout détournement au profit d'une doctrine quelconque, de toute utilité directe." Théophile Gautier, L'Art moderne (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1856), 153. See also:"Ainsi les uns considèrent l'art comme un puissant moyen d'amélioration morale et d'éducation sociale: les autres au contraire, le cultivent comme caprice, un amusement ou un métier, ou l'aiment comme un plaisir et un délassement. Quel sont ceux qui font la plus noble part aux artistes? Cependant les artistes se sont presque toujours affilié la deuxième école. Il est vrai qu'ils ne s'y sont pas jetés d'eux-mêmes et par une inspiration qui leur fût propre, ils y ont été conduits." Théophile Thoré, "Le Salon," Revue républicaine 1,

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Schoelcher, Bathelémy Haureau, Alexandre Decamps, Hippolyte Fortoul. The theory of art for art's sake was profoundly influenced by literary theory, and many of its supporters were romantic writers and poets, friends of Gautier. Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin can be considered the manifesto of the theory of art for art's sake, despite the fact that in its famous preface, Gautier did not use this specific expression.[48]

The term art social indicated art that reflected the society in which it was created, taking its inspiration from contemporary reality, and addressing the issues of the time. It was a plea in favor of modern art: "Je le répète, faire de l'actualité, descendre au coeur de l'époque, rendre aux beaux-arts leur caractère social. Voilà l'évolution à consommer."[49] In contrast Gautier's l'art pour l'art exalted a timeless form of beauty, based on an absolute control of form by drawing. Gautier had little esteem for nature:

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no. 1 (10 April 1834): 123.

[48] For more information on the subject see: Albert Cassagne, La Théories de l'art pour l'art en France chez les derniers romantiques et les premiers réalistes (Paris, 1906; repr. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1979), 362.

[49]Thoré, "L'art social et progressif," L'Artiste 7 (1834): 41.

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> C'est que l'art est plus beau, plus vrai, plus puissant que la nature; la nature est stupide, sans conscience d'elle même, sans pensée, sans passion; c'est quelque chose d'insensible et de morne qui a besoin pour l'animer, que nous lui prétions l'âme et le souffle.[50]

The following is the investigation of the consequences of the success of the theory of art for art's sake and how it became the main force behind the development of modernism. While some critics of the School of 1830 have clouded our appreciation of the paintings by excessive sentimentality, in the history of modernist art, the only relevance these paintings have is as precursor of Impressionism. In an age of revisionism, it is still difficult to find a catalogue on Impressionist painting, which does not start with praise for the generation of 1830. Kermit Champa sketched the history of French landscape as follows: Corot and Rousseau were the main protagonists in the renewal of landscape painting, Eugène Boudin and Charles-François Daubigny were the bridge between Barbizon and the Impressionists:

> From the moment in the mid-1860s when Monet, Pissarro, Renoir and Sisley began to make landscape seriously until the late landscapes of Cézanne and Monet, each of whom defined a central path in twentieth-century art, the history of French landscape has become canonical.[51]

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[50]Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1837. Paysages," La Presse, 24 March 1837.

[51]Kermit Champa, The Rise of Landscape Painting in France, exh. cat. Manchester, N.H.: The Currier Gallery of Art (1991), 17; Gary Tinterow referred to the Barbizon School as "the elders", see The Origins of Impressionism, 1859-1869,

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By the 1870s, the Barbizon painters were revered masters, and critics praised innovation in their works, especially in their sketches, ébauches and other unfinished paintings.

> . . . aucun maître de la nature n'a su plus éloquement que Corot, que Jules Dupré, que Paul Huet, que Théodore Rousseau, que Diaz, rehausser la familiarité rustique par la mélancolie divine, glisser dans le portrait intime d'un recoin de Fontainebleau l'impression généralisatrice des feuillées religieuses, des étés chanteurs ou des poignants crépuscules, . . . 1830 a marqué l'apogée de la nature vue et vécue par des artistes.[52]

The problem of the sketch versus the finished painting has been the object of much scholarly attention. I do not plan to review this well-known argument.[53]

Léon Rosenthal's book Du romantisme au réalisme, la peinture en France de 1830 à 1848, published in 1914 provides the perfect tool to study the impact of modernism and formalism on the critical reception of naturalist landscape

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exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1995), 235.

[52]Raymond Bouyer, "Le Paysage dans l'art, IV," L'Artiste (July 1893): 32.

[53]See Puppin, 41-61; and for instance: "Corot, Rousseau seraient rentrés dans leur ateliers y composer de grands tableaux s'ils avaient trouvé des acheteurs. Le manque de commandes les obligea à s'en tenir à ces notations qui, dans leur pensées, au début au moins, n'étaient que des travaux préparatoires. L'art s'enrichit ainsi de joyaux inestimables et, inconsciement, la cause du réalisme progressa." Rosenthal, 293.

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painting. Modernism and its preferred analytical method, formalism, understood the history of art as a series of period styles, or sets of formal conventions. Formalist art history describes these styles, their stylistic characteristics, and their geneses, flowerings and demises. It also links variations that are observed over decades and centuries, in a logical chain of evolution by demonstrating how styles develop organically one out of the other, either through the transformation or the rejection of existing convention. The following example is a perfect illustration of the evolution scheme:

> . . . les *fonds* de Jan Van Eyck, la *Chasse aux canards* de Paul Bril, le *Diogène* de Poussin, le *Buisson* de Ruysdael, la *Cythère* de Watteau, le *Combat des Centaures et des Lapithes* de Michallon, l'*Allée des Châtaigners* de Théodore Rousseau, la *Remise des Chevreuils* de Courbet, la *Marine* de Whistler et les *Meules* de Claude Monet manifestent, avec la marche des siècles, le dévelopment régulier de l'art paysagiste, . . .[54]

Rosenthal's book was published on the eve of World War I, at a time when the hagiography of Impressionism and its precursors had been already well established. The proliferation of articles on the School of Barbizon took place from the 1880s to the time of WWI, as if under the influence of modernism and after the trauma of the war, sentimental feeling about nature seemed no longer

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acceptable.[55] Some of the most important institutional landmarks of this naturalization were the donations to the Musée du Louvre of private collections composed principally of paintings by the School of 1830. In 1902, the collection of Thomy Thiérry brought to the museum one hundred and twenty-one paintings, among them twelve Duprés, ten Rousseaus and eleven Troyons.[56] In 1906, Etienne Moreau-Nélaton wrote a will in favor of the Louvre and donated his extraordinary collection while he was still alive. It was composed of one-hunded paintings; among Realist and Impressionist works, there were thirty-seven by Corot.[57] In the same year, Hippolyte-Alfred Chauchard, one of the founders of the Grands Magasins du Louvre, modeled after the Bon Marché, donated over one hundred and fifty-eight paintings, primarily by

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[54]Bouyer, 29-30.

[55]Herbert mentioned the "outpouring of books on Barbizon from 1880 to 1910," but added that ". . . there are few which retain for us today anything beyond anecdotal interest." Herbert, Barbizon, 71. The last attempt to reclaim the importance of landscape for French painting was the patriotic book by Prosper Dorbec, L'Art du paysage en France, essai sur son évolution de la fin du XVIIIe. siècle à la fin du Second Empire (Paris: Laurens, 1925).

[56]There was no Dupré in the national collections before the Thomy Thiérry bequest.

[57]Among his bequest was Manet's Luncheon on the Grass, which Moreau-Nélaton had bought from Durand-Ruel in 1900 for 55,000 francs, nine Monets, and landscapes by Morisot, Sisley and Pissarro.

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artists of the Barbizon School. The bequests made by these men, successors of Alfred Sensier, served a much-needed purpose, filling major gaps in France's national collections. Private collectors had finally had to come to the rescue of the French government.[58]

In his overview of the period, Rosenthal deplored the diversity of artistic production in the 1830s and 1840s. As modernism and its emphasis on originality reigned over the construction of the history of art, the July Monarchy became a less desirable topic of study. It is not a coincidence that we had to wait until the advent of revisionism to see a renewed interest in the 1830s and 1840s.[59] Rosenthal concluded disdainfully that the artistic indecisiveness of the time was linked to the general lack of direction in all areas of life and culture; his conclusion was that it was only natural under these circumstances that: ". . . elle

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[58]For more information about the collectors see Michel Laclotte, ed. Petit Larousse de la peinture francaise, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1979), 1: 323; 2: 1233, 1825; and Françoise Cachin and Pierre Rosenberg, De Corot aux Impréssionistes, donation Moreau-Nélaton, exh. cat. Paris, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (Paris: Réunions des Musées Nationaux, 1991).

[59]See Michael Marrinan, Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988; University of Missouri-Columbia, The Art of the July Monarchy, 1989; Chu and Weisberg eds., The Popularization of Images, 1994.

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(painting) est ce qu'elle doit être: troublée dans une époque troublée."[60] For Rosenthal, the lack of one predominant style during the July Monarchy is an indication of the relative mediocrity of the period.[61]

Stylistic categorization has been the privileged way to deal with the variety of landscape production during the July Monarchy, and the recent essay by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu illustrates how difficult it is to deal with such a complex situation:

> The July Monarchy was an exceptionally rich period as far landscape is concerned. This period not only witnessed the culmination of the rising popularity of landscape representation that had started after the French Revolution but also, in its brief eighteen years, saw the confluence of three different streams in landscape art, classical, romantic-picturesque, and romantic-realist. Before the advent of the July Monarchy, the so-called School of 1830 had not yet been formulated; by 1848, the classical landscape had practically died out. Thus, only in the 1830s and 1840s was it possible to appreciate firsthand the full variety of French landscape painting from the first half of the nineteenth century.[62]

The proliferation of hyphenated terms, which combined two stylistic characteristics which stand in opposition,

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[60]Rosenthal, 107. Pluralism forms the book's structural underpinning and determines its division into chapters, which deal separately with contrasting but concurrent types of representation.

[61]This judgment remained unchanged and virtually unchallenged until Chu and Weisberg, eds., The Popularization of Images, 1994.

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points to the difficulty of relying mainly on style to analyze the landscape production of the July Monarchy. While dualistic terms such as "romantic-realist" help to describe to formal diversity of the period, they remain inadequate to explain why it existed. To investigate all the answers given to the question of why landscape painting was so diverse would be beyond the scope of this study. I was however able isolate three different causes for this phenomenon.

One of the most common arguments used by various authors is the myth of the avant-garde artist struggling against the established convention and creating a new pictorial language.[63] Albert Boime proposes another approach to diversity: The irresolution of the political life, dictated by the politics of the juste-mileu, spilled over into the cultural and social spheres. Diversity was then a compromise between the two extremes, Romanticism and classicism.[64] Finally the variety and popularity of landscape was blamed on lack of sophistication of the new class of patrons, the middle-class. The bourgeois consumption of nature, from

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[62]Chu, "At Home and Abroad," 116.

[63]See for instance Rosenthal, 263, 265-67; and Pierre Miquel, Le Paysage français au XIXe. siècle. 1824-1874: L'Ecole de la nature, 3 vols. (Maurs-la-Jolie: Editions de la Martinelle, 1973), 1:23.

[64]Boime, The Academy and French Painting, 10-14.

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travels, and country cottages to topographical views and landscape paintings explained the boom of the genre.[65]

The formalist approach to art history operates on the premise of linear progression, of progress to a paradigm of perfection.[66] In this case the linear direction goes from Romanticism to Realism, from aristocratic to bourgeois culture, from a pre-industrial to industrial economy. To distance oneself from this prevalent vision of history, one could use Michel Foucault's definition of "archeology". Foucault identified four instances in which the kind of history concerned with one-directional explanations differs from what he called an archeology: how it recognizes novelty; how it analyzes contradictions; how it compares examples, and how it describes transformations:

1. L'archéologie cherche à définir non point les

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[65]See Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846. Aux bourgeois," Ecrits sur l'art, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1971) 1:138; and Nicholas Green, "Rustic Retreats: Visions of the Countryside in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France," in Simon Pugh, ed., Reading Landscape: Country-City-Capital (Manchester: University Press, 1990): 161-176.

[66]For provocative discussions of how formalism has prevented a better understanding of the Art of the July Monarchy, see Michael Marrinan, "The Modernity of Middleness: Rethinking the *Juste-milieu*," Porticus (Journal of the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester) 12/13 (1989-1990): 42-63. Michael Marrinan's review of the exhibition The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830-1848, at the Museum of Art and Archeology, University of Columbia-Missouri, Art Journal 49, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 301-305; Einecke, "Beyond Seeing", 1-24.

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> pensées, les représentations, les images, les thèmes, les hantises qui se cachent ou se manifestent dans les discours; mais ces discours eux-mêmes, mais ces discours en tant que pratiques obéissant à des règles. . . .
> 2. L'archéologie ne cherche pas à retrouver la transition continue et insensible qui relie, en pente douce, les discours à ce qui précède, les entoure ou les suit. Elle ne guette pas le moment où, à partir de ce qu'il n'était pas encore, ils sont devenus se qu'il sont; ni non plus le moment où, dénouant la solidité de leur figure, ils vont perdre peu à peu leur identité. . . .
> 3. L'archéologie n'est point ordonnée à la figure souveraine de l'oeuvre; elle ne cherche point à saisir le moment où celle-ci s'est arrachée à l'horizon anonyme. . . .
> 4. Enfin, l'archéologie ne cherche pas à restituer ce qui a pu être pensé, voulu, visé, éprouvé, désiré par les hommes dans l'instant même où ils proféraient le discours; . . .[67]

For most formalist art historians, landscape painting from the 1830s and 1840s is judged against Impressionism, defined as the paradigm of modern landscape painting. Art historians look for signs of modernity in the Barbizon landscapes.[68] These signs can be naturalism, the unmediated representation of observation, plein-airism, the rejection of narrative, an interest in purely aesthetic concerns such as color, or the frank and expressive manipulation of the paint:

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[67]Michel Foucault, L'Archéologie du savoir (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 181-183.

[68]"Le Romantisme lui-même marque la fièvre d'une époque; il fut transitoire sous ses formes littérales; en réalité il contient les germes de l'art moderne tout entier, y compris le réalisme." André Michel and François Benoit, eds., Histoire du paysage en France (Paris: Laurens, 1908), 242.

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> It quickly emerged that the unique and proper area of competence of each art coincided with all that was unique in the nature of its medium . . . . Realistic, naturalistic art had dissembled the medium, using art to conceal art; Modernism used art to call attention to art. The limitations that constitute the medium of painting--the flat surface, the shape of the support, the properties of the pigment--were treated by the Old Masters as negative factors . . . . Under Modernism these same limitations came to be regarded as positive factors and were acknowledged openly . . . . Art is-among other things-continuity, and unthinkable without it. Lacking the art of the past, and the need and compulsion to maintain its standards of excellence, Modernist art would lack both in substance and justification.[69]

These attributes emphasized an original, individual vision where the style is the expression of the artist's capacity to choose.[70] It was difficult for Rosenthal to totally appreciate the landscapists of Barbizon. For him Impressionism embodies the culmination of art, and Paul Huet,

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[69]Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting," in Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts, ed. Francis Frascina and Jonathan Harris (New York: Harpers Collins, 1992), 309.

[70]"Tout autre est le charactère imprimé au paysage par la génération du second Empire. L'artiste ne se cherchera plus dans la nature; il s'attachera au contraire à la considérer en dehors de lui, à l'observer dans sa vitalité indépendante, prédominante. Nous avons vu Théodore Rousseau lui-même engagé dans cette évolution quand, reconnaissant dans le moindre coin, dans le plus humble details du paysage, une manifestation de la vie universelle, il veut tout exprimer de son modèle, n'en rien altérer, et fint par donner l'impression d'une totale absorption de son être en lui. Cet *objectivisme* aura pour résultat de dégager enfin de ce mystère du crépuscule ou de cette mélancolie de l'automne qui étaient favorable aux épanchements lyriques." Dorbec, 171-172.

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Narcisse Diaz, Jules Dupré or Théodore Rousseau were precursors who did not quite realize their full potential because they subordinated nature to their moods:

> Les notes surchargées, les touches menues et pressées de Rousseau, les accord graves et imprécis de Dupré, les diaprures déliquescentes de Paul Huet, les accord violents de Diaz, les fulgurences de Ravier, sont des témoignages des efforts faits pour renouveler le langage de la peinture. Si la notation est parfois trop appuyée, parfois lourde, parfois indécise, c'est qu'il y a innovation et tâtonement.
> Ce qu'ils ne trouvent pas eux-mêmes, sera révélé à leurs successeurs. Leurs pages pénibles ont épargné des labeurs à de plus heureux. Ils ont frayé la route aux Impressionistes. Si haute que soit la valeur des artistes que nous examinons, il convient donc, au point de vue technique, de les regarder comme précurseurs. Poètes admirables, d'une incomparable envergure, que n'auraient-ils pas réalisé, s'ils avaient été en possession des méthodes dont nous disposons, méthodes qu'ils ont préparées et pressenties![71]

Even if they did pave the way for Realism, the Barbizon artists still had problems harnessing their feelings. The emotions they expressed in their paintings stood in the way of Modernism's preoccupation with the purely visual, instantaneity and directness. In a Modernist framework, the subject matter of landscape disappeared to become only a surface covered with paint, an exercice de style.[72]

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[71]Rosenthal, 275-276.

[72]The purpose of this chapter is not to cover in a comprehensive manner the modernist evaluation of the Barbizon School, but rather to point to a few recurring themes, such as the myth of the avant-garde artist or the importance of

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In the following paragraphs I will quickly sketch how critics and art historians emphasized in their analysis of naturalist landscape the qualities that exemplify the attributes of Modernism. I will concentrate on two paradigms that have become the staple of any formalist analysis. First is the concept of naïveté, which stands for the artist's unmediated and individual response to nature. Second is the idea of the anti-academic artist as a hero breaking away from tradition.

The concept of naïveté evoked artistic innocence and spontaneity:

> Il [Théodore Rousseau] rendait ce qu'il voyait avec son attitude, son dessin, sa couleur, ses rapports de tons, naïvement, sincèrement, amoureusement, ne se doutant pas que c'était là une audace presque insensée, et qui allait passer pour barbare chimérique et fou.[73]

Gautier valued Rousseau's attitude toward nature and his willingness to confront a familiar nature by praising his choice of motifs; Sèvres, Meudon, Fontainebleau. The choice of nature as model and as teacher went hand in hand with the

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the naïveté. The texts will then confront others in the following chapters, in an effort to bring back a more complete understanding of the role of nature in mid-nineteenth-century France. It is not necessary to reiterate the importance of Maurice Denis's definition of painting: "Se rappeler qu'un tableau, avant d'être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue ou quelconque anecdote, est essentiellement une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre assemblées," in "Définition du Néo-Traditionalisme," Art et critique, August 1890, 13.

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concept of naïveté. Naïveté was the perfect way to respond to the artificiality of Academicism:

> Si nous peignons les forêts, disait-on, qu'elles soit dignent d'un consul, sint consule dignae. De cette préoccupation exclusive était née une peinture un peu factice qui arrangeait froidement le paysage, et dont l'excution était fausse sans vérité. Les romantique eurent la gloire de reataurer l'étude naïve de la nature rustique, de la bonne et simple nature.[74]

These connotations were a regular feature of the critical discourse of the times.[75] Naïveté was then for many critics a way to praise an original vision. Landscape painting, because it demanded the study of nature not the study of older art, was the perfect vehicle for conveying the individuality of the artist:

> Une révolution s'est opéré dans la peinture de paysage comme dans les autres branches de l'art. Ces paysages de nature de conventions, ces respectables paysages bien balayés, bien époustés, sans ronces et sans épines, à ligne bien compassées, bien guindées, bien cadencées, ont disparu à peu près du Salon. C'est la nature, la nature telles qu'elle, que le paysagiste s'essaie à rendre aujourd'hui, et chaque oeuvre, au lieu d'être jétée dans un moule toujours analogue, marqué de la contre-façon du cachet de Poussin, porte

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[73]Gautier, "Paysagistes contemporains," 11.

[74]Charles Blanc, Les Artistes de mon temps (Paris: 1876), 436.

[75]On the concept of naïveté, Charles Baudelaire is probably the most often quoted. While writing about Corot's work, *naïveté* and originality were the two qualities Baudelaire valued the most. See Baudelaire, 104. However, it is important to demonstrate that among the critics, who praised naturalist landscape, Baudelaire was only one among many who regarded *naïveté* as a praiseworthy quality.

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l'empreinte individuelle du talent du peintre.[76]

Naïveté was the corollary of the quality considered necessary in order to make a good painting, originality. Originality was indeed the ultimate goal which most of the critics agreed an artist was to strive for.[77]

Rejecting the academic concept of historical landscape made the naturalist landscape painter an outsider, and helped to define one of the essential characteristics of the modernist artist.[78]

The struggle of the innovative artist against the art establishment is probably still today the most important

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[76]Anonymous, "Salon de 1831," L'Artiste 2, no. 1 (7 August 1831): 1.

[77]See Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "Art in a Period of Social Upheaval: French Art Criticism and Problems of Change in 1831," The Oxford Art Journal 6, no. 2 (1983): 34-35.

[78]". . . ils retraçaient la vie constatée dans la nature. C'est là ce que constitue leur supériorité, là ce qui donne la mesure de leur génie. Voilà précisément ce qui manqait à l'ancienne école académique; elle ajustait convenablement les lignes d'un paysage, elle "exécutait" les détails avec soin, sinon avec exactitude: mais ses "exécutions" restaient froides, ses compositions inanimées, ses feuillages étaient immobiles, ses eaux cristallisées, sa lumières terne, et il n'y avait pas d'humidité dans l'air. Il était impossible de croire à l'existence d'êtres vivants dans se monde de convention. Malgré tout leur succés dans un certain monde, aucun d'eux n'a pu conquérir une certaine popularité. Le paysage n'est plus rien quand il ne manifeste pas les frémissantes émotions de la nature: là où il n'y a plus de vie palpitante sous la forme, il n'y a plus d'art." Arsène Houssaye, "L'Ecole du paysage," L'Artiste 17 (1877): 296-7.

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component of the modernist myth.[79] By the time Léon Rosenthal wrote Du romantisme au réalisme, the dialectical model of a group of original artists struggling against and eventually overcoming the art establishment and the current pattern of artistic representation was well in place:

> Après de si dures épreuves, après tant de traversées et de rigueurs, la fortune tardive lui souriait et glissait un gros sac d'argent sous son chevet d'agonie. Cette jeunesse obscure, laborieuse, persécutée, méconnue, abreuvée de toutes les amertumes que peut faire avaler la médiocrité jalouse au talent original, méritait bien, au bout de l'âge mûr, quelques années de vieillesse sereine et lumineuse, dans ce repos plein de dignité et cette aisance justement gagnée, compensation des anciennes misères noblemens [sic] souffertes pour l'amour du beau.[80]

Rosenthal added another dimension to the myth of the rejected outsider. As if Impressionists and Post-Impressionists needed legitimate predecessors, naturalist landscapists became entrusted with the regeneration of French art:

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[79]One could study the image of the artist throughout history, and see that artists have always had a role in Western society from courtier to diplomats. With the legacy of Romanticism, the artist took on a somewhat paradoxical role. During the nineteenth century, the artist held an essential place in European bourgeois society. On one side, he was hailed as a privileged being gifted with special expressive talent, on the other side he was seen as a model of rebellion, alien, unfit to function within society. It is important to remember that one of the first histories of art to be written was Giorgio Vasari's The Lives of the Artists (1568). Since then, the number of publications and films devoted to artists' lives testifies to our fascination with the artistic persona.

[80]Gautier, "Paysagistes contemporains," 9.

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> Cet art conventionnel, rationnel et mort ne présentait aucun germe de rénovation. Pour revivifier le paysage, il fallut qu'une génération nouvelle, apportât à l'étude de la nature, une sensiblité fraîche, un esprit sans préjugé, que conception et forme, elle vint tout renouveler. . . . Désormais, d'année en année, des oeuvres nouvelles affirmèrent et précisèrent la régéneration du paysage. Les persécutions, qui ne manquèrent pas aux novateurs, les écartèrent trop souvent du Salon, rendirent plus difficile la vente de leur tableaux, pesèrent même sur leur imagination, mais ne parvinrent pas à les décourager; quelques amis fidèles les defendirent constament. La masse du public ignora la plupart des oeuvres et presque jusqu'au nom de quelques uns d'en eux; les amateurs purent suivre leur évolution.[81]

What is interesting in the assessment of the status of the artist is the role given to the middle-class male collector: L'amateur, l'ami fidèle. Modernism affirmed its elitist character, in that neither the government nor the average French person could understand it. While avant-garde painters may have been seen as a force of rebellion, they depended essentially on the bourgeoisie for emotional and financial support.[82] In the 1840s and 1850s, when the concept of radical art was used by the utopian socialists or by the republican Théophile Thoré, it was associated with radical politics. Saint-Simon wrote:

> It is we artists, who will serve as avant-garde: the power of the arts is in fact most immediate and most

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[81]Rosenthal, 266-7.

[82]On the notion of the avant-garde, see Nochlin, "The Invention of the Avant-Garde: France, 1830-1880," 1-18.

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> rapid: when we wish to spread new ideas among men, we inscribe them on marble or on canvas; . . . and in that way above all we exert an electric and victorious influence. We address ourselves to the imagination and to the sentiments of mankind, we should therefore always exercice the liveliest and most decisive action; and if today our role appears nil or at least very secondary, what is lacking in the arts is that which is essential to their energy and to their success, namely, a common drive and a general idea.[83]

But, by the 1860s, Théophile Gautier's art for art's sake had triumphed over a democratic art for the people. Art for art's sake and later Modernism embraced the leading role Saint-Simon had assigned to the artist. But it rejected the belief that art should be devoted to achieving social goals and should therefore necessarily be functional, utilitarian, didactic and easily understandable.[84]

By the time Rosenthal used the same concept of the avant-garde, it had been emptied of all its political implications. With the industrial revolution, the decline of the Academy's influence, the development of the gallery system, and the rise of the museum, the role of artists became less clearly defined. The objects artists made increasingly became part of a general flow of commodities in

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[83]See Henri de Saint-Simon, Opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles (Paris, 1825), 331, quoted in Donald Egbert, "The Idea of Avant-garde in Art and Politics," The American Historical Review 73, no.2 (December 1967), 343.

[84]For a critic of the theory of art for art's sake, see Hippolyte Fortoul, "Beaux-Art--Exposition de 1833," Revue

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a market economy. Artists rejecting the materialistic values of bourgeois society indulged in the myth that they could exist entirely outside the dominant culture in bohemian enclaves. Avant-garde artists generally refused to recognize or accept their role as producers of a cultural commodity.

While is it easy to understand why a formalist vision of the art of the July Monarchy has impaired our understanding of it, it is difficult to find a methodology to do justice to the complexity of the period. Michel Foucault reminds us of the necessity of being always aware that there is no such thing as an objective and transparent history, and that every history is indeed a constructed discourse.[85] I see yet another major problem with using formalism to study the changes in landscape representation in the 1830s and 1840s. Formalist history of art fails to provide historical explanations for the phenomena it describes. It is a hermetic, self-referential system, which explains art only within artistic parameters: One form develops out of, or against, another. But it does not answer the question why a particular paradigm of representation, or style prevailed over all possible alternatives as the most appropriate.

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encyclopédique 49 (July-September 1833): 109.

[85]Foucault, 166-168.

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Why have we been conditioned to think that Corot's, Xavier Bidault's or Jean-Victor Bertin's historical landscapes are less worthy of our attention than Rousseau's or Corot's naturalist landscapes?[86] Here again modernism seems to be the sole culprit. Since the birth of abstract art we have been trained to value painting, which is self-referential within the history of art. Consequently, past artistic expressions that aspired to this same ideal are considered to be prefigurative and thus necessarily important or good. The question that I propose to try to answer in the second part of my study is not the traditional one of how landscape painting evolved from Classicism to Realism. Instead I will re-formulate the question as why and how in the 1830s and 1840s did a naturalistic paradigm of representation come to be considered the correct one?

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[86]The story of the critical reception of Corot's oeuvre could be the perfect case to study how formalism has affected our understanding of art. Since the 1930s, Corot's had been mainly remembered as the perfect optical painter, author of studies painted in the open-air, untroubled by anecdote, the true precursor of Impressionism. The recent retrospective at the Metropolitan Museum of Art has attempted to correct this essentially modernist vision of Corot, by giving at last the proper place to the large historical landscapes, which actually brought him fame and recognition in the 1840s (see Baudelaire, "Salon de 1845", 104), as well as to his figure paintings. See Gary Tinterow, Michael Pantazzi, and Vincent Pomarède, Corot, exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), XIV.

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As landscape painting is only one aspect of a wider discourse on nature, through a close reading of contemporary art criticism I plan to investigate how landscape paintings were shaped by, and at the same time shaped, the consensus on what constituted "true" or "natural" images. What kind of code ruled the definition of naturalism in the 1830s and 40s? I will then argue that the formal diversity of landscape paintings during the July Monarchy was due to changes in the concept of what natural meant, as well as to a shift in the paradigm that dictated the representation of nature:

> And finally, new avenues of inquiry might be opened by an archeology that explored the point of contact between the strategies of withdrawal and participation. Such an inquiry would be especially fruitful with regard to those artists who withdrew from the games of visual culture into nature, yet named exactly what they saw by developing the practice of painting outdoors; perhaps we could at last develop a way of "seeing" the importance of Barbizon painters without isolating them from their historical moment.[87]

[87]Marrinan, "The Modernity of Middleness," 61.

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Chapter 2: Ecole de Barbizon or Ecole de 1830

At this stage of my study, it is important to attempt to define what the different authors meant when they used the term l'école de Barbizon.[1] By the 1850s, critics were readily admitting that the Forest of Fontainebleau and the small villages around it had been steadily witnessing more and more artistic activity since the early part of the nineteenth century.[2] In 1824 M. and Mme Ganne had opened an inn on the main street of Barbizon, providing room and board to artists

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[1]For a recent discussion of the limitation implied in using the term Ecole de Barbizon, see Kermit S. Champa, The Rise of Landscape Painting in France: Corot to Monet, exh. cat. Manchester, New Hampshire: The Currier Gallery of Art (New York: Harry Abrams, 1991), 25.

[2]The story of the development of the artistic colony in Barbizon since the early 1830s and the attraction that the Fontainebleau forest had for painters since the previous century has been told before. For more information see Marie-Thérese Lemoynes de Forges, Barbizon et l'école de Barbizon (Paris: Editions du temps, 1971). This book traces the origin of the painters' love for the ancient forest since the eighteenth century.

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and tourists alike throughout the year. As Emile de la Chavignerie described it in 1850:

> Madame Ganne, la directrice de la colonie artistique de Barbison (sic), est elle-même oubliée. Plus d'un Lantara a laissé sur les murs des souvenirs qui l'inspireront jusqu'au prochain printemps. Allez la consulter, vous qui désirez écrire l'histoire de nos peintres contemporains, elle possède des cartons, des historiettes authentiques et inédites sur le compte de chacun d'eux; elle se fera un véritable plaisir de vous les communiquer.[3]

Rousseau had been spending extensive time in Barbizon since 1836, and by 1849 the village was easily accessible by Paris-Melun train. Numerous articles in the press gave details about the artistic colony, which by the late 1840s was active all year long.[4] As early as 1837, E. Jamin had encouraged the Parisian to discover the beauty of the forest,

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[3]Emile B. de la Chavignerie, "La Forêt de Fontainebleau--La Grotte Benoist--La Promenade de la Gorge aux Loups," La Voix des artistes, no. 15 (5 December 1850): 116.

[4]Rousseau, Jacque and Millet lived all year long in Barbizon by 1849. Diaz rented a cottage in the summer, Corot, Daubigny, Dupré, Troyon, Isabey and Chintreuil were regular visitors, either staying with their friends or at the Ganne inn. In 1853 F. Bernard published his train guide, Fontainebleau et ses environs, in which the artistic colony was treated as any other site on the tour of Barbizon, giving his readers detailed description of the daily routine of the artists. In 1854, F. Pigeory published "Barbizon- Notes et souvenirs," in La Revue des beaux-arts (1854): 229-234. This article was about his memories of the village, a tiny rural hamlet, which by then, mainly because artists had settled there a little more than a decade ago, had been transformed into a refuge for city dwellers trying to escape the pressures of modern life.

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pointing out to prospective excursionists the appeal the forest had to its most faithful visitors, the painters. He used the artists' presence to validate the picturesqueness of the scenery.[5]

However, although the artistic community was well established and well known by the early 1850s, writers were not yet speaking of the term "Barbizon" as denoting an artistic school. For artists and critics, Barbizon, the forest and the surrounding villages were no more than an extension of Parisian studios, a place to experiment and to gather studies to be incorporated into Salon paintings back in the studio during the next winter.

The earliest mention of L'Ecole de Barbizon that I have been able to find dates from in 1866.[6] For the author, Hector de Callias, L'Ecole de Barbizon stood for a group of artists (he does not specify names) willing to distance themselves from the teaching of the Academy. He opposed L'Ecole de Barbizon to L'Ecole de Rome, which was composed of painters who, after having received the official Prix de Rome had gone to work at the Académie de France in Rome. They represented

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[5]See E. Jamin, Quatre promenades dans la forêt de Fontainebleau (Fontainebleau, 1837).

[6]Hector de Callias, "L'Ecole de Barbizon," L'Artiste (15 December 1866): 57-58.

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the last bastion of influence of the Academy.[7] In contrast, the artists identified by Callias as members of L'Ecole de Barbizon rejected the teaching of the Academy as well as the Italian tradition. As early as 1832, the critic Adolphe-Napoléon Didron, friend of Théodore Rousseau and Théophile Thoré, had stated quite clearly that L'Ecole de Rome incarnated an obsolete tradition, ill-equipped to allow painters to create a pictorial language which could express the reality of their modern lives. In a virulent article "Nous sommes français," Didron castigated the Academy's incapacity to come up with an artistic model which, instead of relying on foreign, Greek, Roman or Italian models, would be based on the French national character:[8]

> Pourquoi donc, gens de l'Académie, quand aujourd'hui la poésie parle couramment le language français, quand la peinture commence à bégayer nos moeurs et nos habitudes, n'avez-vous trouvé rien de mieux pour abriter les victoires et les grenadiers de Napoléon, que de lourdes arcades romaines, et que de petits bustes grecs pour en sculpter ses grands généraux? . . . Pourquoi donc vous

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[7]About the Ecole de Rome and its role, see Rosenthal, 1914, 238 and ff.

[8]I shall discuss at length in the following chapters the nature of the French character and how its culturally determined construction played a major role in the establishment of landscape painting as the privileged language of modernity. Notions such as the Douce France will be examined against the art criticism of writers on the left of the political spectrum. These critics were indeed the most concerned with establishing a truly French art, and in their writings they championed patriotism and supported naturalist landscape.

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> obstinez-vous si ridiculement à nous faire Grecs et Romains, quand c'est du sang français qui rougit nos veines? . . . Ainsi donc à l'oeuvre, jeunes gens, brisez la truelle aux mains des maçons de l'Académie; jetez le ciseau au nez de tous ces tailleurs de marbre; barbouillez la figure à tous ces badigeonneurs de mythologie; venez tous à notre aide, tous à notre secours, pour renverser ces corporations qui raptissent l'art quand elles ne l'assassinent pas; entonnez, criez avec nous: *A bas l'Institut et le professorat!*[9]

What is especially interesting in Didron's argument is the way he justified his demand for a nationally inspired art. His main concern was neither to advance the careers of his friends, the naturalist painters of the 1830s and 1840s, nor to discredit the status of history painting, but to prevent the gap between the public and art from widening even more. For Didron art could only be relevant if it reflected the conditions of the period when it was produced.[10]

Hector de Callias echoed Didron's nationalistic preoccupations by claiming purely French origins for Barbizon School. The painters of the Barbizon School were determined

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[9]Didron, "Nous sommes français," La Liberté (1832): 20-26.

[10]"... et nous parviendrons sans doute à démontrer qu'il faut être de son pays, sous peine de nullité et même de mort, comme vous le prouvez du reste assez par vous même. Il y a trop longtemps, en effet, que vous faites de notre France une autre Alexandrie toute d'électisme, toute blafarde de calques et de copies; c'est à nous, maintenant, d'en faire une grande Egypte, une Grèce plus belle et plus originale que l'autre encore; et pour cela, nous ne demandons que la liberté dans l'art, mais nous la voulons entière, entendez-vous, pour l'avoir féconde et souveraine." Didron, 25.

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to find in the specificity of the French countryside all the inspiration they needed.[11] He reminded his readers that the School of Fontainebleau had been the cradle of French Renaissance art, at a time when artists under the direction of royal patronage were trying to impose a definite French character to the Italian model.

It is this particular association between nature, nationalism, and anti-academism, as well as the emergence of a need for a different artistic vocabulary in order to properly express modernity, which make a re-examination of the landscape production of 1830s and 1840s such an interesting endeavor. The emergence of a nationalist rhetoric, especially among art critics of the left, their demands for a distinctly French art, and its reflections on the nature of the French character, as exemplified in the works of Amédée Thierry, Jules Michelet, and Abel Hugo, all found pictorial echoes in the works of the painters who had gathered in Barbizon since the late 1830s.[12] Amédée Thierry,

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[11]"Barbizon est une école comme l'école de Rome. Avec son voisin Marlotte, il a constituté au XIXe siècle une nouvelle école de Fontainebleau. Il n'y a pas là, il est vrai, ni M. Schnetz--Car M. Robert-Fleury sera longtemps avant de passer à l'état de légendaire directeur--ni Primatice: et encore en cherchant bien les trouverait-on peut-être." Callias, 57.

[12]See Amédée Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois (Paris, 1828); Jules Michelet, Histoire de France, 17 vols. (Paris,

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his brother Augustin, Jules Michelet, as well as Adolphe Thiers developed a new brand of national history, which prompted the French people to reassess their relationship to their national past.

By the end of the July Monarchy, French history was no longer a literary genre, and had came into its own as a social science. In this new vision of history, French identity became grounded in the French soil, and historians were now writing the history of the French people and its land, rather than concentrating on the actions and lives of its kings. The steady rise of landscape painting depicting France was a factor in the development of a new kind of national consciousness; both books and paintings became geography lessons with a nationalistic subtext, where good citizens could learn with pride about their fatherland. In addition to the academic work of Michelet and the Thierry brothers, the development of local sociétés savantes, of historical societies and other preservation groups, was yet another aspect of France's preoccupation with reclaiming its past.[13] The historians found in landscape paintings a visual

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1833-1877); Abel Hugo, La France pittoresque ou description pittoresque, topographique et statistique des départements et colonies de la France (Paris, 1835).

[13]See Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois; Michelet, Histoire de France; Hugo, La France pittoresque.

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equivalent for their intellectual theories, and the painters found in the critics influenced by the new historical writings, supporters willing to champion their cause.

Callias stressed the connection between Corot and his friends and an original France, comparing them to the druids worshipping the oak tree. He argued that as the Gauls opposed the Romans, these painters truly rejected the Greek and Roman traditions to find their exclusive inspiration in French nature.[14] When we compare Corot's Fontainebleau. Le Rageur, ca. 1830 (fig. 1) to his Tivoli. Le Jardin de la villa d'Este, 1843 (fig. 2), the rugged barrenness of the primeval nature of the forest can be opposed to the human manipulation of nature in the landscaped garden of the Villa d'Este. In the Italian view, the little boy is the measure of the landscape, the stone balcony frames and directs our vision, and the typical vertical shapes of the cypresses balance the composition. In Fontainebleau. Le Rageur, Corot confronts the audience with a piece of nature, as if seized by a traveler on the move; the oak dominates, while the human presence lets us measure the real size of the tree. Callias's article is an example of the prevalence of this new national consciousness. He subscribed to the idea of a Gaelic France. In his view, influenced bt the 1789 Revolution, the Gauls had taken the

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place of the Francs as the founding fathers of France. As precursors of the Third-Estate, the Gauls were the chosen opponents of the Francs. This theory contradicted the belief of the royalists who traditionally traced the origins of France to the Francs, to Clovis, the first Christian king, and to his companions, the founders of French aristocracy. The acceptance by the bourgeoisie of its Gaelic origins came to symbolize democratic freedom.[15] By transforming the painters of Barbizon into druids, Callias claimed for these artists an ancestry outside the Greco-Roman tradition valued by the Academy:

> Les élèves de Barbizon sont des druides, comme les anciens Gaulois. Pour eux n'a existé ni Athènes ni Rome, ni le moyen âge, ni la renaissance. . . . Ce sont les druides de la forêt. Ils adorent le chêne, coupent le gui avec une faucille d'or, selon le rite sacré. Ils laissent croitre leur barbe, chaussent leurs jambes de longues bottes et vivent à l'auberge du père Luniot, gendre et successeur de Ganne l'illustre.[16]

Not only did Callias claim a quasi-religious status for these artists by refering to them as druids, but he also promoted them as rugged and "primitive" individuals, close to

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[14]Callias, 57.

[15]The Francs were finally totally dispossessed from their historical role after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; they were definitely too German. See Danièle and Yves Roman, Histoire de la Gaulle, sixième siècle avant Jésus-Christ-1 premier siècle après Jesus-Christ. (Paris: Fayard, 1996).

[16]Callias, 57.

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the nature they painted. Just like the peasant-painter, the trope of the original savage-painter, uncorrupted by the urban civilization and academic teaching, was firmly in place by the middle of the century. One needs only to remember how in the 1850s, Courbet actively cultivated his controversial persona; the artist as ruffian, individualistic and unmannered.[17] He made sure he retained his regional accent and customs, as a sign of independence from the official artistic institutions.[18]

The idea of the Realist or naturalist as a rugged individual is reflected in the popular press. Realist artists and naturalist landscapists became easy targets for the art of caricature, which was flourishing. To the well-known examples by Honoré Daumier, Le Combat des écoles (fig. 3)

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[17]See T. L. Clark, Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973): 2135.

[18]While in Ornans, during the winter and spring of 1849-50, Courbet wrote to his friend Francis Wey in Paris: "Décidément les qualités du savoir vivre, du bon ton, de la politesse me manquent toujours." Later in the spring, he wrote again to Wey: "Oui, cher ami, dans notre société si bien civilisé il faut que je mène une vie de sauvage. Il faut que je m'affranchise même des gouvernements, le peuple jouit de mes sympathies, il faut que je m'addresse à lui directement." In "Documents sur Gustave Courbet réunis par Etienne Moreau-Nélaton et Georges Riat (venus de Castagnary) et La Famille Courbet." Paris, Bibliothèque de France: Cabinet des Estampes, boite 2, lettres de Courbet à Francis Wey.

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published in the Charivari in 1855, and by Thomas Couture The Realist, 1865 (fig. 4), which both stressed the crude and unkept aspect of the realist painter, in his peasant smocks or clogs, I would like to add Un Délit champêtre (fig. 5), a caricature in which the author added an interesting twist to the trope of the peasant-painter.[19] In this lithograph, the landscapist is not only an unshaven, longhaired bohemian but he has also become a dangerous and suspicious presence in the wheat field, and is summoned by the armed garde champêtre to move on. While Daumier and Couture's works belong to a later period, this specific caricature demonstrated that by the 1840s, from transgressor of the academic tradition to rustic and dangerous individualist to political dissident, the construction of the character of the artists gathered around the Forêt de Fontainebleau was definitely established. Delécluze could not be clearer when he said:

> Mais cette année j'ai si souvent entendu parler d'un art, d'une peinture *socialiste*, que ce sujet a reveillé mon attention, et après mûr examen, j'ai reconnu que les compositions ainsi désignées, sont au font les plus fortement empreintes de que [sic] nous avons appelé *naturalisme;* c'est-à-dire celles où les personnages sont sans noms, sans célébrité: dont les sujets insignifiants sont tirés de la vie privée la plus humble et la plus commune même, et qui n'ont enfin aucun éclat qui puisse provoquer l'admiration,

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[19]Un Délit champêtre, 1846, Imp. Petit & Bertauts, 13 rue du Jour. Found without place of publication, Bibliothèque de France, Cabinet des Estampes, folder Kc 164 (folio), tome 6: Les Arts, #R 10841.

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> le respect, ou le plaisir; genre de peinture souverainement ennuyeuse quand elle n'est pas révoltante, . . . [20]

With its emphasis on individual vision and freedon from the constraints of the rules imposed by the Academy, l'Ecole de Barbizon was not a school in the traditional sense, with a master and his students, a definite doctrine and rigorous teaching.[21] Nature became the alternative teacher, the only choice for artists who challenged the traditional teaching methods of the Academy.[22] But more importantly Barbizon was a place where the metropolitan painter could produce a national art in touch with the demands of modern society: [23]

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[20]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, Exposition des artistes vivants, 1850 (Paris: Comon Editeur, 1851), 244-5. I will have ample opportunity to come back to the assimilation of naturalism and realism with socialism.

[21]Millet and Rousseau never formally taught the younger landscapists coming to Barbizon in search of guidance; it would have been against their principles. Nature was to be the only teacher. However they opened their studios and sometimes allowed recommended painters to come with them to paint en plein-air. See Marie-Thérèse Caille, L'Auberge Ganne, exh. cat. (Barbizon: Musée Municipal, 1994) 30.

[22]"Le seul genre où les peintres français semblent réunis en école est le paysage. Elle diffère des autres en ce qu'elle ne reconnait pour maître que la nature, la campagne, et qu'elle n'adopte qu'un seul atelier, la nature." See Edmont About, Voyages à travers l'exposition des beaux-arts (Paris, 1855), 215.

[23]I use the expression metropolitan to stress that the concept of nature and the search for more authentic forms of expression in nature itself could not exist without the existence of an urban culture. For an extensive treatment of

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> Nous sommes tous des poitrinaires, nous nous réfugions dans des étables à vaches. Il nous faut des rustiques senteurs des basses-cours--nous avons tant respirée le patchouli! L'homme--l'artiste surtout--est un Antée qui a besoin de toucher la terre pour retrouver ses forces perdues dans la lutte éternelle avec l'Hercule monstrueux de la civilisation. C'est pourquoi le paysage est un article de première nécessité: il nous faut des champs, des arbres et des bergers: non pas ces élégantes mascarades de Lancret ou de VanLoo qui transportaient partout le carnaval de Versailles, mais les moutons suinteux, le paysan couvert du bougeron battu par les pluies d'automne. . . . L'adoration panthéiste de la nature est la religion des sociétés très neuves ou très fatiguée. On se met au vert.[24]

From this passage, it is clear that, as early as the 1860s, the idea that art, especially naturalistic landscapes, could soothe and cure the over-excited spirit of the urban dweller was definitely firmly in place.[25]

Despite Callias' article, the term Ecole de Barbizon did not catch on among French writers and critics.[26] Despite some

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the subject see Nicholas Green, The Spectacle of Nature (Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1990). For a definition of metropolitan culture, see especially pp. 10-14.

[24]See Callias, 57-58.

[25]This idea survived well in our century, and is still the main reason why landscape has remained the favorite genre of upper-middle-class collectors; see the persistence of such ideas in exhibition catalogues such as John Ittman, French Landscape 1800 to 1870: The Forest of Fontainebleau. Refuge from Reality (New York: Shepherd Gallery, 1972).

[26]In 1855, Théophile Gautier still preferred the name School of 1830: "Sans être bien vieux, nous avons vu naître vers 1830 cette jeune école du paysage, aujourd'hui si nombreuse et si brillante. Cabat est l'aïeul de cette famille prospère." Les Beaux-Arts en Europe (Paris, 1855),

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critics' eagerness to recognize that landscape painting was the true glory of the French school, they hesitated, never wanting to be too precise or to propose definitive groups. They dealt with artists individually, concentrating primarily on their biographies and personal achievements. Camille Leymarie's series of articles on modern French landscape painting, published in L'Artiste in 1884, is a clear example of this common approach.[27] He started by stating that: "La France est donc la véritable patrie du paysage moderne."[28] He went on to stress that a variety of landscape styles was indeed necessary in France, as it only reflected the geographical diversity of the nation:

> L'étude de la géographie artistique ne nous montre nulle part un pays aussi favorisé que la France, au point de vue de la beauté et surtout de la varité des paysages, il n'y a pas une "nature" française, il y en a cent. Depuis les frais herbages de Normandie jusqu'aux garrigues brulées de la Provence, nos artistes trouvent chez nous tous les genres de "motifs" qui peuvent convenir à leurs tempéraments particuliers, selon l'expression usitée, ils n'ont que l'embarras du choix. Aussi, quelle variété dans les ouvrages de nos paysagistes![29]

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[27]Camille Leymarie, "Etudes sur le paysage moderne," L'Artiste, (March 1884): 161-175; (October 1884): 291-304, (January 1885): 58-65.

[28]Leymarie, 173.

[29]Ibid., 174.

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Leymarie insisted also on the fact that landscape painting was a genre that fitted especially well the French artistic character. He associated French artistic temperament with realism:

> La France est donc la véritable patrie du paysage moderne; à cela, il y a plusieurs causes: d'abord, notre tempérament artistique qui a toujours poussé vers le réalisme ceux de nos peintres qui n'ont demandé qu'à eux-mêmes leur règle de conduite artistique. Le génie français n'est pas plus lyrique en peinture qu'en littérature; les quelques exceptions que l'on pourrait citer dans une ligne, que peuvent-elles en face de l'immense quantité de peintres qui, depuis le moyen âge ont appartenu par quelque coté à l'école réaliste? Or, le paysage moderne est tout à fait réaliste: "copier fidèlement et naïvement la nature", c'est à ce précepte que se réduit toute la théorie de nos paysagistes.[30]

Such comments point to the necessity of investigating further the problem of the ideological construction of the French national character.

Moreover, like Callias, Leymarie wanted to reclaim the exclusively French origins of France's landscape school. This time it was not by recalling the first Ecole de Fontainebleau, but by dismissing the possibility of any English influence:[31]

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[30]Leymarie, 173.

[31]Ever since the exhibition of some thirty English paintings by John Constable and others at the 1824 Salon, English landscape painting had been credited as a major force in the regeneration of French naturalist landscape. See Théophile Thoré, Histoire des peintres, école anglaise

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> L'école française avait-elle besoin du grand Constable pour lui réveler "la texture" et "la vivacité des teintes"? Je ne pense pas quant à moi et je rappelerai à ce sujet que Georges Michel qui, on le sait, possédait à un si haut degré les qualités que l'on soutient avoir été importées chez nous par un naturaliste anglais, était né treize ans avant lui et n'attendit pas 1824 pour chercher le ton juste et peindre en pleine pâte. D'autre part, bien avant Constable, bien avant Georges Michel même, Bruandet, qui avait déjà, sous Louis XVI, découvert la forêt de Fontainebleau, peignait tout bonnement les sites qu'il choisissait, tels qu'ils se présentaient à lui et sans chercher à les "arranger"; . . . je tiens surtout à contester à Constable ce rôle d'initiateur qui lui a été trop généreusement attribué.[32]

One possible reason why the term Ecole de Barbizon was slow to establish itself in France was that it restricted the development of naturalist landscape to the few artists who worked in that locale; what, for instance, were the critics to do with Camille Flers, Louis Cabat, Camille Corot, or Charles Daubigny? The lack of unity among French landscapists made it impossible for the critic to create a precise hierarchy among the different representatives of the genre. Landscape paintings depended so much on the individual vision of each artist, that it became very difficult for critics to classify them.[33] Often, because of the individualistic

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(Paris, 1863).

[32]Leymarie, 163.

[33]"Chaque peintre voyant la nature avec son oeil, à lui, l'interprète d'une façon particulière, delà une infinie variété." Leymarie, 174.

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character of his work, Théodore Rousseau was categorized as a Romantic, creating even more confusion. If no one could agree on who the leader was, it was then impossible to delineate the parameters of a new school because there was no personality who clearly stood out to act as the main source of inspiration for the others. In 1845, in his first Salon criticism, Charles Baudelaire himself hesitated while deciding who should be the leader of the landscapists:

> A la tête de l'école moderne du paysage se place M. Corot. Si M. Théodore Rousseau voulait bien exposer, la suprématie serait douteuse, M. Théodore Rousseau unissant à une naïveté, à une originalité au moins égales, un plus grand charme et une plus grande sureté d'exécution.[34]

Patricia Mainardi notes also that as late as 1867, on the occasion of the Universal Exhibition, the same problem occurred once more. None of the critics could agree on who was the leader of the French landscape painters: Was it Huet, Rousseau, Courbet or Millet?[35] Another crucial problem

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[34]Baudelaire, Ecrits sur l'art, 1:104. Later on, at the 1850-51 Salon, Louis Peisse after recognizing that the French landscapists were the pride of the French school still could not decide on who the leader was: "Pour nous, enfin, le paysage est une sorte de patrimoine national. Les deux grands maitres du genre, Poussin et Claude Gelée, sont français. Voyons comment s'entendent leurs successeurs. Trois paysagistes, MM. Corot, Rousseau et Troyon fixent principalement les regards et partagent les goûts. Tous trois font école, il y en aurait peut-être un quatrième, M. Cabat. Mais on le conteste." In "Salon de 1850," Le Constitutionnel, 29 January 1851, 2.

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troubling the critics was the definition of landscape painting as a category. When did a landscape stop being a landscape to become a genre painting? For Castagnary, it was perfectly clear:

> Je range parmi les paysages *Les Glaneuses* de Millet. A la vérité, la nature n'y est qu'un prétexte, qu'une occassion. Toute la pensée se concentre sur ces personnages qui peuplent cette scène. Mais ces personnages sont des paysannes, elles accomplissent un acte de la vie des champs. Or j'admets difficillement qu'on puisse séparer le paysan de la nature. Il en fait en quelque sorte partie intégrante comme l'arbre, comme le boeuf. L'individualité est assurément plus accusée chez lui que chez l'animal ou la plante, puisqu'il soumet l'un et utilise l'autre. Mais au point de vue de l'art, il se trouve être simplement le terme le plus élevé d'une série, qui commence au végétal pour s'arrêter à lui, paysan; en quelque sorte qu'il est attaché à la nature par des chaînes plus solide que celles du servage, je veux dire par les lois de l'harmonie. Aussi bien avec le chêne dont il a la force, aussi bien que le boeuf dont il a la lenteur, il s'harmonise avec la nature qu'il l'entoure, à la fois par son costume, par sa démarche, par ses attitudes.[36]

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[35]". . . it was impossible to reach a consensus as to who was chef d'école. Chesneau chose Huet; Thoré, Rousseau; Castagnary, Courbet, and Silvestre, Millet." Mainardi, 1987, 177.

[36]Jules Castagnary, "Philosophie du Salon de 1857," in Salons, (1857-1879) (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), 23. There has been considerable work done on peasant painting, a category that is obviously intertwined with my own study. The most recent sources on the subject are Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, ed., Paysages, paysans: l'art et la terre en Europe du Moyen Age au XXe siècle, exh. cat.(Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France/Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994); and Robert L. Herbert, Peasants and "Primitivism": French Prints from Millet to Gauguin, exh. cat. Mount Holyoke College Art Museum (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); as well as Religion and the Rustic Image in Late Academic Art, an exhibition at

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On the same account, Ernest Chesneau, in his book published on the occasion of the Universal Exposition of 1867, titled his essay on French landscapists: "Paysages et paysans."[37] This assimilation of the inhabitants with their habitat, and this inability to perceive the culturally constructed aspect of what nature and the natural are, seem difficult to accept in our post-Foucaultian world. It was perfectly understandable in an era molded by historians like Jules Michelet, who thought that the qualities of the land shaped the character of its people.

Such definitions point to some of the difficulties these new developments in landscape painting created for the government's artistic institutions and for the critics. The new paintings shifted the old paradigms of representation, by mixing established categories and introducing within the painting figures that were neither historically removed, nor picturesque enough to be non-threatening. For the Academy, landscape painting had always been a minor genre, but now it had become a problematic category.

By the end of the century, the label "Barbizon School" was gaining popularity essentially among English writers. In

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the Dahesh Museum in New York City (March-June 1997).

[37]Ernest Chesneau, Nations rivales dans l'art (Paris:

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1890 John W. Mollett published The Painters of Barbizon,[38] and in 1902 the London art dealer David Croal Thomson, in the catalogue of the retrospective exhibition, The Barbizon School of Painters, finally consecrated the term.[39] Thomson had started publishing articles about Millet, Rousseau, Daubigny and Corot in the English Art Journal in the 1880s. Since 1885, he had been the representative of the Boussod and Valadon Gallery in London. In 1918 he opened his own gallery, the Barbizon House. It is interesting that Thomson chose to associate his gallery with the village of Barbizon, identifying with the name of a place, instead of with the artists themselves. This suggests that, by then, the village of Barbizon had acquired a mythic stature. It had in fact

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Didier, 1868), 262.

[38]John W. Mollett, The Painters of Barbizon (London and New York, 1890).

[39]See David Croal Thomson, The Barbizon School of Painters (London: Chapman and Hall, 1902). In 1907, J. G. Gassies validated Thomson's choice when he wrote:"Il y a quatre ans, un excellent critique anglais, M. David Croal Thomsom avait déjà réuni les biographies de Corot, Rousseau, Diaz, Millet, Daubigny, ect., sous le titre The Barbizon School of Painters, et cette appélation n'avait pas semblé inopportune. A Barbizon, en effet, s'est condensé le plus viril effort de l'école rustique, et c'est par Barbizon qu'ont passé, plus ou moins presque tout ses adeptes. Peut-être dira-t-on, dans l'avenir, chez les critiques, historiens et amateurs, pour les peintres paysagistes au XIXe siècle, 'Ecole de Barbizon', comme on disait au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles, pour les peintres de figures 'l'Ecole de Fontainebleau'". In Le Vieux Barbizon: souvenirs de jeunesse d'un paysagiste (Paris, 1907), 10-11.

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become an important stop for American and English tourists visiting France and eager to learn more about French modern painting. The village, its inhabitants, its artists were as much a part of the tourists' consumption of nature as its woods and the pictures the artists painted. The name of the gallery, the Barbizon House, also shows the extent to which the definition and characteristics of this style of painting were grounded in the French soil and geography. More recently, scholars such as John Sillevis and Nicholas Green have confirmed the essential role played by Thomson in regrouping eight artists under the label "the Barbizon School."[40] French art historians and art critics however have remained faithful to Ecole de 1830 when they refer to these landscape painters, returning the explicit political connotation of this group of artists.[41]

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[40]The eight painters were Corot, Rousseau, Millet, Jacque, Dupré, Diaz, Daubigny and Troyon. They were the same ones chosen by Robert Herbert for his 1962 show Barbizon Revisited. See John Sillevis and Hans Kraan, L'Ecole de Barbizon, exh. cat. (Paris: Centre Néerlandais, 1985), 47; and Nicholas Green, Théodore Rousseau, exh. cat. (Norwich: Sainsbury Center for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia, 1982), 16.

[41]Proper Dorbec, the author of the classic book on French landscape preferred to use Ecole de 1830, see chapters 3 and 4 in L'Art du paysage en France, essai sur son évolution de la fin du XVIIIe siècle à la fin du Second Empire (Paris: Laurens, 1925).

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Chapter 3: The Painter as Peasant

As we have seen in Chapter one, it is still a rather common assumption that the landscapes produced by the painters of the Barbizon School amounted to nothing more than a transitional phase leading to the development of Impressionism.[1] When landscape painting became the modernist genre favored by critics and collectors, scholars then documented its rise as the continuous search by artists for a

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[1]"We know a great deal more about the second half of the nineteenth century than about the first half. The two decades of *transition*, the 1820s and 1860s, are critical to our understanding of the unified history of landscape painting in France during the nineteenth century. . . . The thesis of the exhibition--that Impressionist landscape *developed* logically from a well-established tradition--might therefore seem more radical than it is simply because it never has been clearly demonstrated in exhibition form." [italics mine] Richard Brettell, "Introduction," in Champa, The Rise of Landscape Painting in France, 17. See also: "Le paysage réaliste (ou naturaliste, les deux termes étant quasiment interchangeables) a commencé à évoluer sous les pinceaux de la jeune génération, héritière de l'école de Barbizon." Gary Tinterow, "Le paysage impressioniste," in

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more personal expression of one's reaction to the natural world, which eventually led to twentieth-century abstraction.

Modernists have paid little attention to the inferior position of landscape in the traditional hierarchy of categories, or to the refusal of the Academy to support landscape and to acknowledge its increasing popularity among the growing middle-class public. The main question that needs to be addressed in this part of the study is then: Why did a group of artists in the 1830s and 1840s choose landscape and not history painting, to express modernity?

By choosing a thematic approach to historiography of the Barbizon School rather than following a simple chronogical and linear development, I hope to do justice to the complexity of the problem. Since the 1840s, one theme seemed to prevail in the writings of certain critics. Critics like Théophile Thoré, Gustave Planche or Alexandre Dumas successfully constructed the Barbizon artists as peasant-painters. In the 1870s, men such as Alfred Sensier and Philippe Burty kept using the same trope in their writings. Alfred Sensier pushed the rustic metaphor even further:

> Les plus grands artistes sont, comme les végétaux, les fruits d'un sol, les produits d'un endroit, la sève sauvageonne d'un coin de bois ou d'une vigne cultivée. Les uns ont labourer le grand champs, poussant la charrue jusqu'au confins de l'immateriel et du sublime;

Impressionisme, les origines, 233.

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> les autres ont défriché la lande arride, ou sarclé le petit côteau de leurs ancêtres fidèles à la tradition et à la routine de leur devanciers.
>
> Ils ne sont devenus maîtres de leur art que parce qu'ils étaient maître de leur sensations.[2]

For these writers the Barbizon painters were unsophisticated beings, close in spirit and life-style to the peasant subjects they depicted, true to their temperament and their art, willingly distancing themselves from what the Barbizon artists perceived as the corrupt Parisian art world.

During the 1840s there was a growing preoccupation with nature among the critics on the left. This has already been noted by scholars but requires some clarification.[3] The 1840s seemed indeed to mark a coming into clarity of the politicization of nature. Charles Blanc recognized in

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[2]Alfred Sensier, "Les Peintres de la nature, Salon de 1870," Revue internationale de la curiosité 3, no. 5 (15 May 1870) : 373.

[3]The most recent source on the subject is Neil McWilliam, Dream of Happiness: Social Art and the French Left, 1830-1850 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also: "Little by little the direction of the best left-wing criticism turns from a mere demand for didactic, moralizing or allegorical painting, to a praise for simple, unpretentious art, endowed with deep attachment to nature and the natural man and faithful to external reality." In Linda Nochlin, "The Development and Nature of Realism in the Work of Gustave Courbet: A Study of the Style and its Social and Artistic Background" Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1963, 88. This observation was first made by Pontus Grate in Deux critiques à l'époque romantique: Gustave Planche et Théophile Thoré. (Stockholm, 1959), 182-84. The idea is also explored by David Kelley in Baudelaire, Salon of 1846 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

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Rousseau, Dupré and Troyon the capacity to transmit nature's inherent morality through their mastery over the medium of paint. Defining this morality as the understanding of nature as an emanation of the divine, Blanc used pantheism as a point of reconciliation between aesthetics and politics. Because pantheism was democratic in ideological terms, through its perception of a God whose authority was suffused equally throughout creation, from an aesthetic point of view it rehabilitated form as the material manifestation of divine presence:

> Du reste, il est des heures du jour et surtout du soir, où il semble, après certains moments de contemplation, que la réalité s'anime, que l'essence morale de la nature se dégage mystérieusement sous les teintes qui la colorent, et que son idéal vous arrive pour ainsi dire dans le souffle de l'air et le language des vents. Alors, si vous êtes peintre, vous saisirez cette vague intention, vous nous la tranmetterez par la combinaison des lignes, par les phénomènes de la lumière et les miracles de la couleur. Que si, au contraire, dans la perception des beautés du paysage, vous n'avez eu affecté que les yeux du corps, votre oeuvre ne sera qu'une reproduction froide et sans but; comment, en effet, chercherait-on à traduire pour les autres une impression que soi-même on n'a pas reçue?[4]

This identification of landscape painters with their subject matter has indeed lived on into our century in writings about Barbizon such as in Jean Bouret's work and in

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[4]Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1846," La Réforme (10 April 1846).

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exhibition catalogues.[5] The myth of the rebellious artist-martyr, constructed as synonymous with his work, rough, simple, rejecting the modern world, is still one of the major reasons why this type of painting appeals to our over-urbanized society.[6] This trend was actually to culminate in 1927 with the creation of the Musée municipal de l'école de Barbizon, housed in the former Auberge Ganne.[7]

The work started by Robert Herbert and his landmark exhibition of 1962, Barbizon Revisited, and the more recent studies by Nicholas Green, The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France and by Norma Broude Impressionism: A Feminist Reading, the Gendering of Art, Science, and Nature in the Nineteenth Century, provide models of scholarship that avoid the sentimentalized image of the recluse peasant-painter which has plagued our

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[5]See Jean Bouret, L'Ecole de Barbizon et le paysage francais au XIXe siècle (Neuchatel: Idées et Calendes, 1972); John Ittman, The Forest of Fontainebleau; and Barbizon au temps de Jean Francois Millet, 1849-1875, exh. cat. (Barbizon: Salles des Fêtes, 1975).

[6]Rousseau's example is the most pertinent. After his rejection of the Salon of 1836, he became le grand refusé. His marginality was cemented by his move all year long to Barbizon. See Greg Thomas, Art and Ecology in 19th-Century France: The Landscapes of Théodore Rousseau (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000): 131-157.

[7]See Marie-Thérèse Caille, L'Auberge Ganne. Musé municipal de l'école de Barbizon (Moisenay: Edition Gaud, 1994).

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understanding of this crucial moment in the representation of nature.[8] Their works are indebted to social theories ranging from Marxism and feminism to Michel Foucault, and concentrate on the social and historical context in which Barbizon painting unfolded.

While Robert Herbert focused his attention on the social and economic context in which Barbizon paintings were actually produced, the more recent works of Nicholas Green and Norma Broude show how these painters were indeed very consciously constructing their artistic persona as well as a new vision of nature, in order to satisfy a growing nostalgia for the natural and the "primitive." Their ideas enable me to demonstrate how Barbizon painters participated in a larger movement, the transforming urban imagination that demanded always more escape from the realities of city life.

During the development of the metropolitan culture that accompanied the transformation of French society into a modern capitalist nation, the French people devised ways to protect themselves from the shock of too many radical

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[8]See Nicholas Green, The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), and Norma Broude, Impressionism: A Feminist Reading, the Gendering of Art, Science, and Nature in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Rizzoli, 1991).

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changes.[9] While France was finally seeing its geographical unity becoming a social reality, the 1840s witnessed the emergence of a distinct bourgeois myth surrounding rural society.[10] The countryside came to be seen as the antithesis of the city. As corruption and unhealthy living-conditions reigned over the city, living in the country meant a sense of community and solidarity, and to follow a rhythm imposed by nature rather than by man. To analyze the different components of this myth would take us beyond the limits of this study. But it is necessary that I lay out the major implications that this idyllic vision of the rural world held for landscape painters. With the publication of works such as Le Peuple by Jules Michelet and the research of Amédée Thierry on the origin of the French nation, the identity of France became definitively grounded in its soil, in its countryside and its rural inhabitants, the peasants.[11]

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[9]Following the example of Nicholas Green, I elected to use metropolitan instead of urban when describing the culture of Paris during the July Monarchy, see Green, The Spectacle of Nature, 10-14.

[10]The development of the railway system and the improvement of the roads during the 1840s made geographical unity possible. See H. A. C. Collingham, The July Monarchy: A Political History of France 1830-1848 (New York: Longman, 1988), 345-364.

[11]Jules Michelet, Le Peuple (Paris, 1846). For a recent interpretation of this phenomena in literature, see Philippe Martel, "Les Historiens du début du XIXe siècle et le Moyen

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Thierry's standard work, L'Histoire des Gaulois, was first published in Paris in 1828. It traced the origin of France back to Gallo-Roman times and to the Gauls who came to symbolize democratic freedom against the Franks, who were perceived, through Clovis and his companions, as the creators of French aristocracy and of the feudal system. Thierry's history was the story of the Third Estate, not of the official institutions and the governing aristocracy.

In a recent book, Simon Schama connected, in a rather similar fashion, the countryside, the rugged, the primitive, the authentic with the national, and positioned these concepts in opposition to the urban, the civilized, the enlightened and the universal. He documented the renewed interest in folk art, the preservation and conservation of the primeval forest in Poland and Germany during the mid-nineteenth century, as two folds of the same nationalistic endeavor. Just as in France, where Rousseau and his friends where compared to ancient druids venerating the oak tree, Germans saw the origin of their people in the ancient forests.[12]

Age occitant: Midi éclairé, Midi martyre, Midi pittoresque," and Nicole Mozet, "Yvetot vaut bien Constantinople: Littérature et géographie en France au XIXe siècle," both in Romantisme, no. 35 (1982): 49-71; 91-114.

[12]"In 1772, for example, a group of students at

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After the break up of Napoleon I's Empire, which had failed partly because it had been a coherent entity only conceptually, as a politico-cultural construct, and after the trauma of the 1815 defeat at Waterloo, the French were eager to retreat within their natural borders. They sought a new strength and unity within the land itself. The terroir became the primal force from which the French people had grown, a quasi-organic entity defined by its attachment to the homeland. In a kind of geographical determinism, French peasants became, as much as the crops they were growing, the product of the French soil. It is important to keep in mind that geographical determinism reinforced the French belief in the superiority of the white European male. Cultural determinacy and its twin geographical determinism lead too smoothly to eugenics, sociobiology, and a pseudo-scientific racism.[13]

Göttingen Unversity, under the spell of Klopstock's tribal Druids, spent a night beneath the moon and stars in what was said to be an ancient oak grove. With their hands linked by garlands made of oak leaves, they swore eternal friendship and fraternity and constituted themselves a Hain-Bund, literary a "Grove-League," from which their druidical odes would seek to regenerate their Fatherland. Enormous oak trees began to figure again in elaborately allegorical paintings, as the emblem of Germania itself." See Simon Schama, Landscape and Memory (New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1995), 103.

[13]On this problem see Schama, 117 and ff.; and Lucy Lippard, The Lure of the Local (New York: The New Press,

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The idea of the determining relationship between soil and people has a rich history in Western and French thought. From Montesquieu and Hegel to Auguste Comte and Hippolyte Taine, philosophers accepted the idea that humankind had evolved from a common origin into the different species, races and people of the present under the pressure of diverse environmental and climatic conditions.[14] By the 1830s, such ideas had acquired a permanent place in French collective thinking, far beyond the scientific community. Geographical determinism was then one of the forces, which shaped the new paradigm of naturalist landscape.[15]

1997), 11.

[14]On the question of geographical determinism see Miroslav Marsik, Natural Environment and Society in the Theory of Geographical Determinism (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1970); and Clarence J. Glacken, "Culture and the Environment in Western Civilization During the Nineteenth Century," in Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective, Kendall E. Bailes, ed. (New York: Lanham, 1985).

[15]One could use the example of Honoré de Balzac's Comédie humaine to reinforce that geographical determinism was an integral part of people's thought processes. Balzac explained his characters' temperaments as the natural consequences of climate and milieu. See Joan Yvonne Dangelzer, La Description du milieu dans le roman français de Balzac à Zola (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1981). She discusses Balzac's interest in the work of natural scientist like Cuvier and Saint-Hilaire. Balzac championed the latter's teaching that all matter is the same, but that it has adapted to disparate environments and consequently evolved into distinctive forms.

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Corot's response to this search for the primeval and the "original" France, the France of the Gauls and the druids, is manifested at its best when he painted the ancient oaks of the Fontainebleau forest. Fontainebleau, Le Rageur (fig. 1) and Vue prise dans la forêt de Fontainebleau, 1846 (fig. 6) exemplify the symbolic value attached to such trees. The oak tree had always been considered as the archetypal French tree: from the druids to King Louis IX who chose to administer justice under its branches, the oak tree has been recognized as France's national tree. This was reinforced by the fact that during the French Revolution, the oak was the tree of choice when liberty trees were planted. By the 1850s, Corot was not the only one painting the ancient oaks of France; Rousseau's paintings such as Groupe de chênes, Apremont, 1850-52(fig. 7) seem to have inspired the frères Goncourt's description of the forest of Fontainebleau:

> Une émotion, une émotion presque religieuse le prenait chaque fois, quand, au bout d'un quart d'heure, il [Coriolis, the artist-hero of the novel] arrivait à l'avenue de Bas-Bréau: il se sentait devant une des grandes majesté de la nature. Et il demeurait toujours quelques minutes dans une sorte de ravissement respectueux et de silence ému de l'âme, en face de cette allée, de cette porte triomphale où les arbres portaient sur l'arc de leurs colonnes superbes l'immense verdure pleine de la joie du jour. Du bout de l'allée tournante, il regardait ces chênes magnifiques et sevères, ayant un age de dieux et une solennité de monuments, beaux de la beauté sacrée des siècles, sortant, comme une herbe naine, des forêts de fougères écrasées de leur hauteur; le matin jouait sur leur rude écorce, leur peau

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> centenaire, et passait sur leur veines de bois les blancheurs polies de la pierre.[16]

In an article published in 1857 in L'Artiste,[17] the writer Cambray reviewed all the different type of trees and their value to the painter. The oak is quickly elevated to anthropomorphic form, the equivalent of the human figure in history painting, imbued with nobility and virility, as well as being compared to a hero from antiquity, withstanding the elements with courage and majesty, even in its old age. Because of its longevity the oak tree became for the writer a privileged witness to the passing of time. In Fontainebleau. Le Rageur, (fig. 1) Corot leaves us with a similar impression. His old oak tree stands alone in a rugged plain, dominating the canvas as the only survivor of the ancient forest:

> Le chêne a moins de physionomie que de style. Son corps ferme et sain porte avec aisance sa virilité composée, non d'années, mais de siècles. Son feuillage nettement découpé forme des masses solides. . . . C'est l'arbre de des peuples de l'Occident. Sa feuille fut la couronne des citoyens et des héros primitifs, et son gland rappelle un âge d'or barbare, dans nos forêts des Gaules.[18]

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[16]Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Manette Salomon (Paris: Librairie internationale, 1867), 39.

[17]S. Cambray, "Paysages du nord et du midi," L'Artiste, nou. sér., 1 (April-August 1857): 239.

[18]Cambray, 240.

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By the 1850s, the majestic oaks of Fontainebleau were being destroyed by the commercial exploitation of the forest.[19] The forest was also suffering under the pressure of the tourist industry that the artists had paradoxically helped to create. The numerous guidebooks of forest had long used the artists as a way to validate the picturesqueness of the scenery (if artists paint in the forest, it must be worth visiting), but by the mid-1830s, they were also using the artists themselves as sights on the tour of the forest and of the village of Barbizon. E. Jamin mentioned in his guidebook all the different locations where one was likely to encounter a working landscapist.[20] Throughout the July Monarchy, there was less and less untamed forest to be painted. In fact, even if France still remained a rural country, there was very little left of genuinely wild nature, and it was increasingly difficult to paint a landscape untouched by man.[21] It is

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[19]In 1830, the percentage of tree species in the forest of Fontainebleau was as follow: forty-four percent oaks, ten percent beeches, forty-one percent pine trees which had been systematically since the eighteen century used for re-forestation, and some silver birches which grew in the most barren areas.

[20]See Jamin, 248-9.

[21]"Les espaces sauvages, tout ce qui échappe à l'entreprise des paysans, ne constituent qu'une part très limité du territoire national: les étangs, les dunes, les falaises et leurs bordures immédiates le long du littoral; les forêts un peu partout, mais plus particulièrement dans

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interesting to note that similarly in Brittany the area of moorland was reduced by fifty per cent to 500,000 hectares between 1840 and 1880, and during the same period the 300,000 hectares of marshes in the Landes were drained by 2,500 kilometers of ditches in preparation for pine forests.[22]

Throughout the July Monarchy and the Second Empire, many art critics had joined artists in denouncing the commercial exploitation of the forest. In the press and in special letter campaigns to the authorities, critics, artists and especially Théodore Rousseau set out to defend their livelihood against the encroachment of developing capitalism. L'Artiste published in 1839 an article denouncing the plan to plant even more pine trees on the barren sandy wastes of the Fontainebleau forest.[23] It is

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l'Est; la haute montagne au-dessus de trois mille mètres laissé aux roches et aux glaciers des Alpes et les Pyrénées; les landes et les marais de l'Ouest; les maquis et les garrigues du Midi méditerranéen." Armand Frémont, "La Terre," in Les France, vol. 3 of Les Lieux de mêmoire, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 3047.

[22]See P. McPhee, A Social History of France 1780-1880 (London, 1992), 223

[23]See for instance the draft of a letter written by Rousseau to Naploleon III denouncing the commercial exploitation of the forest. In this letter, Rousseau demands the protection of the forest in the name of art, and attacks the forestry administration and the tourist industry for putting profit before the interest of the forest. See unpublished correspondence of Rousseau, Cabinet des dessins, Musée du Louvre, paquet 2; and A.S., "La Forêt

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difficult to measure how influential the writings of the critics and the artists were, but on April 13, 1863, Napoleon III signed a decree which set aside 1,097 hectares of the Fontainebleau forest as a reserve artistique which could not be submitted to commercial exploitation. To conserve plots of "untouched" ancient forest, essentially for artists and tourists, meant that wilderness survived only to be transformed into the ultimate artifice, a painting.[24]

The commercial exploitation of the Fontainebleau forest was not an isolated phenomenon.[25] Throughout Europe, foresters were eager to manage more efficiently the state forests.[26] Paradoxically these last remaining forests had

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de Barbizon--Dévastations," L'Artiste, 2nd. ser., 3 (1839): 290-2.

[24]"Denecourt avec les peintres de Barbizon apparaissent comme les défenseurs de la forêt en tant qu'objet culturel et monument artistique, contre les empiétements (carrières et coupe abusive du bois) pour en réserver l'usage uniquement aux hommes de goût." Bernard Kalôra and Valentin Pelosse, "La Forêt loisir, un équipement de pouvoir: l'exemple de la Forêt de Fontainebleau, Hérodote (July-September 1977): 99.

[25]On Rousseau's action to preserve the forest see Greg Thomas "Théodore Rousseau and the Ecological Landscape," Ph.D. Diss. Harvard University, 1995, 335-403; and my own "Preserving the Oak Tree: The Fontainebleau Forest and the School of Barbizon," paper presented at the annual conference of the College Art Association, New York, February 23-26 2000.

[26]In Germany, the same thing was happening; see Schama,

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been preserved until now because they were in most cases former royal hunting grounds, ill prepared to face the challenge of commercial profits. The foresters began to actively replace the hardwood by fast-maturing conifers, which increased profitability greatly and brought forest management into the age of capitalism.[27] When, in 1847, Thoré conducted an interview with Rousseau as they were walking in the Fontainebleau forest it became evident that praising the wild, unexploded side of the forest was in fact a political criticism of Louis-Philippe's regime and of his economic choices.[28]

As the July Monarchy progressed, the number of topographic and panoramic views of French landscape steadily increased, until by 1844, forty-nine percent of all

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102. In 1852, in Germany, the sociologist Wilhem Heinrich Riehl applauded the government of Anhalt-Dessau's decision to decree that all oaks, whether on public or private land, were the property of the sovereign and fell within the domain of the "forest". Thus even solitary and ancient trees could be declared legal "forest" and protected accordingly. The German government was then, unlike its French counterpart, able to recognize the importance of the forest as an essential part of the forging of German national identity. See Wilhem Heinrich Riehl, Land und Leute (Stuttgart, 1861), 59.

[27]One of the interesting paradoxes of this situation is that, by the 1840s, pine had become a more valuable wood partly because of the increased demand for wood pulp in order to produce more paper to serve the growing publishing industry.

[28]Théophile Thoré, "Par monts et par bois," Le

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landscapes exhibited at the Salon depicted local French sites, outnumbering the twenty-seven percent of foreign scenes.[29] It is important to note the paradox of the situation: during the 1830s and 1840s, landscape painting was indeed a very popular genre among the artists, mostly because it was a genre in which individuality, a prime quality of painting since Romanticism, could be best expressed. It was also popular with the collectors: landscape paintings composed a large part of the stock of curio-shops.[30] On the other hand only the Academy was adamantly against re-assessing the status and importance of the genre. The government itself, at least as far as its private collecting habits were concerned, was actually quite supportive of the genre. Members of the royal family and of the Orleanist elite, such as Paul-Casimir Périer patronized landscape painting.

In works like Camille Corot's Avignon. Une vue prise de Villeneuve-les-Avignons, 1836 (fig. 8) nature unfolds in all its vastness in front of the viewer who stands on the

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Constitutionnel, 27 and 28 November 1847.

[29]For a more complete breakdown of the different types of landscapes exhibited at the Salon, see Petra Chu, "At Home and Abroad: Landscape Representation" 116-18.

[30]See Nicholas Green, "Circuits of Production, Circuit of Consumption: The Case of Mid-Century French Art Dealing,"

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hill overlooking the panorama just like the painter-traveler himself. Parallels could be drawn between such paintings and Jules Michelet's work. In Tableau de la France,[31] Michelet presented a sweeping view of France, describing in much detail all the contrasts and specificity of the different French regions. By anchoring history in geography, Michelet, for the first time gave the French people the opportunity to visualize the diversity of their country's landscape. The key to understanding France's character was now rooted as much in geography as in history. Geography was the tool needed to grasp the primary trait of its national character, its diversity--diversity of landscape, customs, languages, dress, systems of measurements.[32]

Art Journal 48 (Spring 1989): 29-34.

[31]Jules Michelet, Tableau de la France, vol. 2, Histoire de France (Paris: 1876): 1-83. Tableau de la France was published in December 1833, as an introduction to the second volume of his Histoire de France. Its purpose was to establish a transition between volume 1, which dealt with France from the origins to the tenth century, and focused on the ethnic composition of France and the other volumes which moved beyond racial theories to ground the history of the French people into geography.

[32]Since Michelet, most French historians have agreed that diversity is the key element of France's character. See for instance, Fernand Braudel's seminal publication, L'Identité de la France, whose first chapter title is "Que la France se nomme diversité," referring actually to an earlier publication by Lucien Febvre; see Fernand Braudel, L'Identité

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The large number of landscape paintings exhibited at the Paris Salon was used by art critics to promote an image of the fatherland rooted in the French countryside, its inhabitants, its natural landmarks and its historical monuments. Corot was one of the artists who best represented his native France, with his panoramic views with Gothic churches affirming the Frenchness of the landscape, his busy city ports, and his portraits of the rugged oaks of the Fontainebleau forest. Landscapes like Soissons vu de la fabrique de M. Henry, 1833 (fig. 9) or Vue du port de la Rochelle, 1851 (fig. 10), possess what we have come to expect of French landscape. They are inhabited, modest, mixing an instantaneity of vision with a feeling for the atemporal, evoking the familiar and the eternal.[33] The sublime and the majesty of nature interested neither Corot nor the other painters of the school of Barbizon. Compared to the landscape paintings of the Hudson River School or of Gaspar David Friedrich, Corot's paintings promoted a radically different vision of the land, never including spectacular elements such as mountains, waterfalls and other natural wonders.

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de la France, 3 vols. (Paris: Champs Flammarion, 1990), 31.

[33]In his 1845 Salon, Baudelaire called Corot modest. See Baudelaire, 1: 104.

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In Saint Lô. Vue générale de la ville, 1833 (fig. 11) and in Pierrefonds (Oise). Vue générale, 1834 (fig. 12), two medieval monuments, a Gothic church and the imposing ruins of a fourteenth-century castle, are clearly identifiable. These monuments, however, do not dominate the landscape. By their color scheme they organically belong to nature and are nestled into it, being an integral part of the landscape, and stressing the structuring importance of the human presence. The inclusion of historical monuments in landscape painting was a simple way to connect nature to the passage of time, and to give the audience a sense of unbroken cultural identity. France's gothic heritage was an essential component in its definition of nationhood. When the steeples of cathedrals were not visible in the landscapes, often the critics referred to the Gothic quality of the landscape itself; while describing Rousseau's Allée des Chataigniers (1837-40, Alfred Sensier compared the curving shapes of the trees with Gothic vaults.[34] France considered itself the birthplace of Gothic art, and could thus stand proud in contesting the architectural achievements of its rival Italy. The gothic monuments became, partly because of Romanticism, identified with the French spirit, illusionary emblems of

[34]Sensier, Souvenirs.

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what was considered an age of order and political stability and religion.

In 1830, France was still a predominantly rural society, where most people lived either in the country or in small towns; even if they lived in Paris, the countryside was part of a familiar past.[35] Many still had ties to their regions of origin, or were recent immigrants. There was little doubt in most minds that France was best represented by its countryside and its villages.

It is important to always keep in mind that despite all their claims of rusticity, the painters of naturalist French landscapes addressed themselves primarily to the Parisian public. They did so by relying on a very sophisticated network of art dealers, luxury goods distributors, and the expanding artistic press.[36] Between

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[35]In 1846, among a population of 35,402,000 inhabitants only 6,068,945 lived in 589 urban communes (an urban commune is defined as 3,000 people living in an agglomerated settlement). If the urban population grew under the influence of industrialization, during the July Monarchy, most French people who lived in cities, lived in market towns with strong links to the surrounding countryside rather than in great centers of modern industry. In 1866, still only eleven per cent of the population lived in cities of more than 50,000 inhabitants. See John Merriman, ed. French Cities in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1982), 19.

[36]The standard references for studies on art market during the July Monarchy are John Whiteley, "Exhibitions of Contemporary Painting in London and Paris," in Francis Haskell, ed., Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza sullo

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1842 and 1847, Théophile Thoré was one of the editors of the Bulletin de l'alliance des arts, with Paul Lacroix. This publication was devoted to the collector and the art market, quoting prices and advising prospective buyers on a wide range of works of art, from contemporary paintings to Roman coins. In the same publication Thoré published his 1845 Salon, which had originally appeared as a series of articles in Le Constitutionnel from February 25 to May 26 1845. This suggests that, despite his contempt for the capitalist system, Thoré could not function outside it. He knew perfectly well how to use the rule of the marketplace to advance his own career and promote the artists in whom he believed.[37]

The critics who, since the 1830s had supported naturalistic landscape, expressed in their Salon reviews the concerns and anxieties of this first generation of country people who had moved to a big city in order to size the opportunity for a better life. Many of the critics I will be writing about left their hometowns to study in Paris.

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sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIXe XXe (Bologna: Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, VII, 1981): 69-87; Linda Whiteley, "Art et commerce en France avant l'époque impressioniste," Romantisme, no. 40 (1983): 65-75; and Nicholas Green, "Circuit of Production, Circuits of Consumption", 29-34.

[37]Théophile Thoré, "Salon de 1845," Bulletin de

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Their yearning for the stability and the peace of the countryside, which goes hand in hand with their support of landscape painting, were early signs of an attitude that would become more prevalent as the years went by and the industrial revolution progressed.[38] In 1837, Théophile Thoré wrote to his mother back in La Flèche to remark about the artificiality of his life in Paris, complaining that he and his friends spent too much energy cultivating their intellectual life, losing touch with what he called la vie naturelle. He asked for her support in securing a place in the country where he could work with the peasants and lead a simpler life for a while.[39]

Many philosophers and historians of the period believed that the physical and climatic character of the land shaped the personalities of its inhabitants. While my

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l'alliance des arts, no. 22 (10 May 1845): 337-39.

[38]For instance, Thoré grew up in the small quiet town of La Flèche in Sarthe and Eugène Pelletan came to Paris to study law in 1833. This issue is explored further by Fausta Gaverni in "Province et rusticité: Esquisse d'un malentendu," Romantisme, no. 35 (1982): 73-89. She argues that widespread interest in France's regions and their specific folklore, despite its ultimely populist and paternalist agenda, was dictated not by a genuine concern for the regions and their inhabitants, but was in fact an ideological subterfuge, which co-opted the aesthetic of the regions for the consumption by the Parisians, who were for the most part recent immigrants to the city.

[39]Letter quoted by P. Cottin, Thoré-Bürger peint par

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principal interest lies in the study of naturalist landscape, it is impossible to disassociate totally the problem of the representation of nature from the problem of the representation of the peasants who populated the French countryside. They have been constructed as part of an organic whole, and are often described as a "race", whose lineage resided in the immutable rhythms of the land, as an intrinsic part of the natural world. Such ideas found an echo in critics' demands for site-specific French landscapes. By incorporating peasants in their paintings, the artists could be expressing Michelet's high opinion of the French peasant class:

> Le paysan n'est pas seulement la partie la plus nombreuse de la nation, c'est la plus forte, la plus saine, et en balançant bien le physique et le moral, au total la meilleure.[40]

While Léopold Robert, Jules Breton and Rosa Bonheur were painting large pictures of fertile plains, scenes of harvests or plowing, where man dominates nature, Corot, like the painters of the Barbizon school, favored wooded areas, marshes, small villages streets, and tree-lines roads, with shepherds and goatherds tending a few animals, peasants gathering firewood, women and children gleaning, all

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lui-même. Lettres et note intimes (Paris: 1900), 36.

[40]Jules Michelet, Le Peuple (Paris: 1846; repr., Paris:

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depending more on nature than farming the land for their subsistence. The forest was the home of a vigorous working society from woodcutters, to pig-grazers, and charcoal burners. Since the Middle Ages, the forest had been strongly connected with the rest of the countryside; bark was stripped for tanning, wood used as fuel for glasswork and breweries, tall timber cut for beams and supports of town houses and shipbuilding.[41] It is this small human presence, so well integrated in its landscape, which actually made these paintings threatening to the establishment. They were more intimidating than the colorfully dressed peasants of the exotic Italian paintings of Léopold Robert whose Arrivée des moissonneurs dans les marais Pontins (fig. 13) was the biggest success of the 1830 Salon.

By contrast, Corot's peasants are always part of the landscape, quiet and permanent representatives of a disenfranchised part of the French population. It is easier, then, to understand why, during the July Monarchy, naturalist landscape, representing specific French scenes was traditionally associated and supported by critics who were

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Flammarion, 1974), 89.

[41]See Roland Bechmann, Trees and Man: The Forest in the Middle Ages, trans. Katharyn Dunham (New York, 1990).

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republican, such as Auguste Jal, Théophile Thoré, Alexandre Decamps and Gustave Planche.

While most of the conservative critics saw in landscape painting a minor genre whose development was a sign of France's artistic decadence, the republican critics supported French rustic or naturalist landscape painting because they demanded the creation of a purely national art, capable of expressing France's character. Beyond the sense of loss typical of the post-Napoleonic era, Jal expressed a longing for an art grounded in the French character and not in foreign tradition: "J'ai trop longtemps été citoyen d'Athènes, de Carthage et du Latium, c'est la France qu'il me faut aujourd'hui, la France riche de gloire acquise et riche encore d'espérance."[42] Alfred Sensier offered a similar argument:

> Je suis convaincu que si depuis près de 400 ans l'art français se traîne et souffre si péniblement, il le doit à l'introduction de l'art italien dans nos latitudes, il le doit à cette naturalisation qu'on nous impose. Notre tempérament, essentiellement réfractaire à tout ce qui ne sort pas de notre sol, se débat contre cette importation exotique.[43]

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[42]See Auguste Jal, L'Artiste et le philosophe, entretiens critiques sur le Salon de 1824 (Paris: Ponthieu, 1824), 14.

[43]Alfred Sensier, "Conférence sur le paysage," given at the Gallery Durand-Ruel, Paris, 27 June 1870, published in Souvenirs, VII.

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Naturalist landscape could then become the repository of national history, the history of places and its people, rather than of god and king.

It became clear that for conservative voices, naturalist landscape and liberal politics were part of the same discourse of rebellion. In such a polarized system, where the state had so much control over artistic production, opposition or the lack of respect for the teaching of the academy was bound to be interpreted as an expression of direct opposition to the government.

In their effort to capture France's national character in all its diversity, Corot and Théodore Rousseau were especially attracted to some of the more rugged regions of France.[44] In the recent catalogue of the exhibition, Impressions of France: Monet Renoir, Pissarro, and their Rivals, Anne Dumas tells us that at the Salon, the regions of France most often represented were Normandy, Brittany and Provence.[45] Corot too visited these regions, but he also

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[44]The search for France's primeval landscape was definitely part of the Barbizon School's approach to painting, their forests, marshes, moors represented nature as memory of ancient France. About Rousseau's 1830 trip to Auvergne, Sensier wrote: ". . . un pays réputé sauvage, authentique des Arvernes . . . où la nature bouleversée est encore ce qu'elle fut aux premiers jours du monde." Sensier, Souvenirs, 18.

[45]Anne Dumas, "The Public Face of Landscape," in John

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painted in Morvan and in Auvergne, a region whose strong regional identity had been celebrated by Amédée Thierry in his extremely successful book, Histoire des Gaulois (1828). Auvergne held a special place in the French imagination as the place where Vercingétorix, a young chieftain from Arverne, led the victorious battle of Gergovie against the Roman army. Morvan and Auvergne were mountainous regions with rigorous climates and few fertile plains.

In Lormes. Une Chevrière assise au bord d'un torrent sous bois, (1842) his painting of a shepherdess grazing her goat in the woods (Fig. 14) Corot avoided the picturesque by concentrating on the complicated configuration of the terrain.[46] The shepherdess herself would blend totally into the landscape if it were not for her red kerchief; it even takes some attention to locate the goat. Everything seems one: the water, the forest and the young girl who depends on nature for her survival. Compared to the Nut Gatherers, 1880, by William-Adolphe Bourgereau (fig. 15), the lack of anecdote

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House, Impressions of France, 37.

[46]The search for France primeval landscape was definitely a part of the Barbizon School's approach to painting, their forests, marshes, moors represented nature as memory of ancient France. About Rousseau's 1830 trip to Auvergne, Sensier wrote: ". . . un pays réputé sauvage, authentique des Arvernes . . . où la nature bouleversée est encore ce qu'elle fut aux premiers jours du monde." Sensier, Souvenirs, 18.

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makes Corot's painting seems more genuine, closer to an immediate and specific confrontation with nature. By comparing this painting to an Italian version of a similar subject, Genazo. Chevrier en vue du village, 1843 (fig. 16), one can easily see that despite the same interest in the complicated rock formation and the rough terrain, Corot has not been able to completely escape the picturesque. The confrontation of the young boy and his goat enables us to build some kind of narrative as our eyes continue by following the road up to the girl and the medieval village in the background.

It is interesting to remark that while the peasant holds a privileged place among the mythical heroes of France as its "natural" inhabitant, there was no such place for the industrial worker. There were indeed during the 1830s and 1840s very few representations of factory workers either in literature or in painting.

Since the First Empire there had been, in France, a growing interest in popular culture and regional customs. L'Académie celtique created in 1807, superceded by the Société des Antiquaires de France in 1814, was a model for antiquarian research into popular habits and tradition. It was involved in recording regional customs and local folklore through aspiring to discover traces of an ancient Celtic

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civilization in surviving usage.[47] Their work was centered on the life in the countryside, there was much less enthusiasm in recording the life and traditions of the growing number of factory workers. Sainte-Beuve received the peasant-poet Pierre Dupont, friend of George Sand and Gustave Courbet, at his exclusive causeries du lundi. And while his main employer, La Revue des deux-mondes, was investigating French folklore through series of articles, the same magazine refused to print worker poetry after the 1848 revolution.[48] While the urban worker was seen as lacking either roots or history, and thus having no investment in the social order, peasants stood for stability and continuity with the past. George Sand could not express more clearly this belief in the moral integrity of the peasant when she wrote: "La chasteté des moeurs est une tradition sacrée de certaines campagnes éloignées du movement corromptu des villes."[49]

The French landscapes of Cabat, Flers, Rousseau, Corot, Troyon, Huet, Diaz, and many others contributed to the elaboration of this myth, as did George Sand's novels and

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[47]On the development of folklore studies see N. Belmont, "L'Académie celtique and George Sand: les débuts de la recherche folklorique en France," Romantisme, no. 9 (1975): 29-39.

[48]See Garavini, 76.

[49]See George Sand, La Mare au diable (Paris, 1964), 60.

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Pierre Dupont's poems. For practical reasons, this study of historiography will focus essentially on Théodore Rousseau, who fits best the myth of the recluse peasant-painter. It is important to note however that if Rousseau obtained a succés de scandale by the late 1830s, the naturalist landscape painters most recognized and discussed were Cabat and Flers, who always managed to exhibit at least one painting each at the Salon. Dupré received some critical attention, but many were suspicious because he was Rousseau's closest friend, while Huet was often described as one of the last romantics. In general the most popular landscapists were Gudin (especially among the legitimist critics), Aligny, Isabey, and Marilhat. Corot was always present but never seemed to arouse passionate debates from the major critics.[50] George Sand's novels were often compared to Rousseau's painting:

> Les querelles littéraires et politiques de ce siècle ont rejeté les esprits vers la pacifique nature, et engendré, par voie de réaction, le courant d'idée auxquelles nous devons, *La Mare au Diable, Jeanne, Les Paysans;* dans l'art les oeuvres de Rousseau, Troyon, de Daubigny, de Rosa Bonheur.[51]

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[50]On Corot's reputation see Patricia Mainardi "Corot entre deux chaises," in Chiari Stefani et al., Corot, un artiste et son temps (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1998): 155-171.

[51]Jules Castagnary, "Salon de 1857, la nature, le paysage," Salons 1857-1870, 2 vols. (Paris: Charpentier, 1892), 19.

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In Sand's novels the peasantry became an exemplary class.[52] Through her writings, Sand helped to change how French peasants were perceived. But it had not always been so and until the Second Empire the peasantry had actually been regarded as the dangerous class.

Until the publication of Sand's novels, the stereotype of the peasant had been embodied by Balzac's novel, Les Paysans (1846), where the characters symbolized corruption and ill morals.[53] The mistrust and contempt shown for the peasantry by Balzac was typical of the polarization of the perception of the countryside during the nineteenth century. The Revolution of 1789 and the subsequent insurrections in Vendée were still part of a collective memory. This wariness

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[52]One could argue that Millet's Sower (1949-50) could be read as a threatening figure, devoid of picturesque, as he occupying the entire picture plane. But in view of Millet's interest in classical and Biblical references, the Sower can be seen also as a heroic figure. At the 1851 Salon, once again the press was divided along political lines. The left and the center were more sympathetic to the image, the right rather hostile. See T.J. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982; repr., London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 94.

[53]For a contemporary negative and pessimistic view of the peasantry see, Eugène Bonnemère, Histoire des paysans, 2 vols (Paris, 1856); for a discussion of the pejorative stereotype of the peasants in the mid-19th century see chapter one of Eugene Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernisation of Rural France, 1870-1914 (Stanford, CA: University of California Press, 1975).

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was stimulated by fears that rural deprivation could spark political unrest, and the propertied classes actually feared the peasants. In Balzac's novel, the peasants are portrayed as a dispossessed and disaffected class, plagued by a combination of poverty, ignorance and brutality. The peasantry was seen as capable of overturning the established order in a fit of blind, instinctive rage. Such apprehensions were actually reinforced by the agrarian crisis of the mid-1840s. It is symptomatic that in Balzac's novel Les Paysans, the description of the countryside where the action takes place was left to Blondet, a Parisian journalist, on vacation in the country.[54] Balzac was well aware that peasants had little leisure or taste to enjoy or even to look at the countryside in which they lived and worked.

George Sand on the other hand made her characters virtuous and hard working. Her novels and the paintings of the Barbizon School helped the Parisian public come to terms with their rapidly changing society. The discovery of provincial France through rustic novels and naturalist landscape painting was one facet of a developing sense of nationalism. But one could wonder if it could not also function as a kind of exoticism. Just as in the views of the Orient, the goal of the artists was to accentuate the

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[54]Honoré de Balzac, Les Paysans (Paris, 1846).

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specificity of the region; the Bourguignon, the Breton or the Normand became the "other." The consumption of nature, in all its varied forms, from novels, to paintings to travel, was essentially an urban phenomenon. It provided city-dwellers images of a rural countryside imbued with nostalgia and satisfying their longing for simpler times.

For George Sand, and for many contemporaries, folk culture provided evidence of the moral innocence of the peasant classes. Many writers privileged the innate creative spontaneity and instinctive wisdom of the peasantry. These faculties were developed through regular contact with nature and avoidance of the corrupting rationalism identified with urban culture.[55] The evidence of this purer kind of perception, which had been lost in the more alienating atmosphere of civilized society, was to be found principally in the oral tradition:

> Les chansons, les légendes, les contes rustiques peignent en peu de mots ce que notre littérature ne sait qu'amplifier et déguiser. . . . Cet art-là est le plus pur et le meilleur parce qu'il s'inspire davantage de la nature. . . . L'appréciation du vrai et du beau a été plus spontanée et plus compléte dans les âmes simples que dans celle des plus illustres poètes.[56]

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[55]The same claims are made by artists who look to nature as model and teacher to escape the artificiality of the teaching of the Ecole des beaux-arts.

[56]George Sand, François le Champi, préface (Paris, 1856), 14. See also Michelet, Le Peuple and Jules Champfleury, Histoire de l'imagerie populaire (Paris, 1869).

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During the Second Empire the gradual amelioration of rural living conditions turned the peasantry into a conservative force supporting the regime. With the growth of an urban proletariat, Sand's characters represented morality, innocence and virtue. The peasant, with his rusticity, his traditions and conservatism, his attachment to the past became for many writers the antidote to the urban proletariat and the threat of socialist revolution.[57]

More important politically, the purity of George Sand's characters could be interpreted as a veiled criticism of the French government. This renewed interest in the regional was another strategy of opposition. It opposed the two hundred year-old tradition of the centralization of all power, cultural and political in Paris which had been mainly responsible for the antagonism between the capital and the provinces.

It is also symptomatic that a literary genre called le roman rustique blossomed at the same time, as landscape painting was becoming such an important part of France's artistic

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Both Michelet and Champfleury evoked the naïveté of child-like perception when they defined the notion of le simple or le sauvage. Their innocence preserved intact a creative spontaneity characteristic of the true homme de génie, see Michelet, 165-170; Champfleury, X-XII.

[57]See Marie Romieux, Des Paysans et de l'agriculture en

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production.[58] Both were manifestations of the same need for nature, the same yearning for simpler times. The urban construction of nature as a place of refuge and authenticity and the development of landscape painting both participated in the elaboration of a national consciousness.

For many critics, looking at landscape paintings on the Salon walls was not only the occasion for confrontation with ancestral France, it was also an occasion to escape the topsy-turvy urban world and to get in touch with one's feelings. The effects produced by a landscape painting became similar to the effects one felt if immersed in nature itself. For Parisians at the Salon and middle-class collectors in their urban dwellings, a landscape painting was a way to contemplate nature:

> Ne regrettons pas trop la promenade annuelle de Longchamps (le printemps était pourri), la galerie du Louvre est assez prolongée pour que l'on puisse s'y permettre une agréable promenade, et faute de quelques marroniers bien fleuris, ses cotés sont bien garnis de charmantes et belles peintures. Je dirais même plus on y trouve un panorama plus varié qu'aux environs de Paris. Là un coup d'oeil embrasse et l'hiver et l'été, les vues

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France au XIXe. siècle (Paris, 1865), 305.

[58]See the seminal article by Robert Herbert, "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," Artforum 8 (February 1970): 45-55. For more information on the roman rustique; see Rémy Ponton, "Les Images de la paysannerie dans le roman rural à la fin du 19e siècle," Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, no. 17-18 (November 1977): 62-72.

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> vous transporte du sol de France à celui de l'Afrique."[59]

The critic Linna Jaunès went even further. For Jaunès, landscape painting provided women with a way to escape the limitation imposed on their gender by society; praising the large number of landscape at the Salon, she argued:

> Il en est resulté un grand avantage pour les femmes: comme leurs obligations et leur devoirs les privent le plus souvent du plaisir de voyager, elles ont pour s'en dédommager, le Salon, où tous les sites, tous les climats se dévoilent magiquement à leur regard. Elles seraient bien ingrates ou bien préoccupées celles qui négligeraient de faire ce voyage non dispendieux, peu fatigant, et qui n'entraine pas à sa suite les adieux si triste et si désenchanteurs.[60]

It was then no coincidence that landscape paintings became the favorite genre of a new class of bourgeois collectors. The large majority of such collectors were usually recent immigrants to the city, having come from the provinces to study. They were civil servants, physicians, judges and commerçants, sometimes even republicans, neither grand bourgeois nor aristocrats.

Some critics despised this new breed of collectors. It has often been pointed out that bourgeois collectors patronized landscape painting because they lacked the taste

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[59]Madeleine Séguret, "Salon de 1845," Gazette des femmes 22 (March 1845).

[60]Linna Jaunès, "Salon de 1834," Le Journal des femmes 8 (19 April 1834): 208.

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and the classical education necessary to understand traditional history painting subjects. Alexandre Barbier made this clear in his "Salon de 1836":

> Dans nos démocraties modernes, où les richesses sont éparpillées, où la toute puissance réside de fait dans les classes moyennes, il faut bon gré mal gré, que l'art s'accommode au goût des nouveaux maîtres, qu'il se rapetisse au niveau de leur fortune, qu'il se proportionne à l'exiguïté de leur demandes sous peine de mourir à l'hôpital.[61]

The critique of the bourgeois taste is a regular trope of art criticism during the July Monarchy. From Baudelaire to Alexandre Decamps, critics from the left and the right were quick to blame le bourgeois for everything, from the decadence of history painting to the increase of portraits exhibited at the Salon. In a caricature by Charlet, Un Mécène (fig. 17), dated 1840, a rather resigned artist is confronted with his very self-confident bourgeois patron. The prospective buyer is demanding a painting to decorate his house, giving the artist the exact measurement, treating the painting just any another industrial product, asking for a discount on the price because he is paying cash. Republican critic Alexandre Decamps echoed this scorn for the middle class in 1838:

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[61]Alexandre Barbier, Salon de 1836 (Paris, 1836), 38. For a thorough presentation of the argument, see Rosenthal, 20-25.

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> Les oeuvres d'art d'une originalité trop indépendante, d'une excécution trop hardie, effarouchent les yeux de notre société bourgeoise, dont l'esprit étroit ne peut embrasser ni les vastes conceptions du génie, ni les généreux élans de l'amour de l'humanité.[62]

However it is important to notice that some progressive writers understood the situation and encouraged the critics to educate the new leaders of French society:

> C'est pour nous autres bourgeois qu'on fait de la peinture; en vain les artistes s'en défendent, ce sont les bourgeois qui les jugent et achètent leurs ouvrages: c'est donc aux bourgeois qu'il faut en rendre compte. Car si on ne les avait pas toujours dédaignés, si les hommes qui ont l'honneur d'écrire dans les journaux s'étaient un peu plus occupé de cultiver leur éducation et de former leur jugement dans les arts, on ne serait pas en droit aujourd'hui de mépriser leur ignorance.[63]

Rather than simply subscribing to this trope, I would argue that the urban middle-class dweller by collecting landscape paintings was actually seeking to emulate a different value system, in which ideas about the relationship between man and nature, man and his country were based on post-revolutionary interpretation of Jean-Jacques Rousseau instead of on classical antiquity and Greco-Roman mythology. Their system valued individuality, originality and democratic ideals. As Thoré wrote in his review of the Salon of 1844:

> Pour ma part, j'aimerai mieux vivre dans une belle

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[62]Alexandre Decamps, "Salon de 1838," Le National (18 March 1838).

[63]Victor Schoelcher, "MM. Delacroix, Léon Cogniet, Decamps," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 1, no. 18 (5 June 1831): 224.

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> maison de campagne, moitié penseur, moitié paysan, avec une blouse et des sabots, du pain de ménage, des pommes de terres de mon jardin et du petit vin naturel, que de m'agiter dans une vie factice et turbulente, au milieu du luxe et des jouissances matérielles. . . . Je ne vois pas que le problème social soit si difficile à résoudre, posé dans les conditions naturelles, et Jean-Jacques avait quelques raisons dans son début mélancolique de l'*Emile:* "Tout est bien sortant des mains de l'auteur des choses; tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme." La *cité de Dieu* est au sein de la nature et de l'égalité. C'est la République de l'avenir.[64]

References to Jean-Jacques Rousseau became omnipresent in writings devoted to landscape painting.[65] Although the Dutch landscapists were recognized as the formal inspiration of this new type of landscape painting, Jean-Jacques Rousseau was its spiritual father:[66]

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[64]Théophile Thoré, Salon de 1844, précédé d'une lettre à Théodore Rousseau (Paris, 1844), 9-10.

[65]I have chosen to use the pronoun "he" to indicate that not only most of the writers were male, but as they published mainly in the daily press, they expected and took for granted that their readers would be male. I am not claiming that women were not consumers of art, nor than they did not count as a potential audience. See Jann Matlock, "Seeing Women in the July Monarchy: Rhetorics of Visibility and the Women's Press," Art Journal (Summer 1996): 73-83; and my own "Saint-Simoniennes, Poets, Salonières and Mothers: The Woman Art Critic in France During the July Monarchy, 1830-1848," Paper presented at the Feminist Art and Art History Conference, Barnard College, New York City, 12 October 1996.

[66]The standard reference on this subject is Eugène Fromentin, Les Influences de la Hollande sur le paysage français (Paris, 1876; repr., Paris: Rumeurs des Ages, 1995), this text was originally published as chap. IX of the second part; "Hollande" of Les Maitres d'autrefois. To document the numerous instances where a critic made a reference to Dutch

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> Le premier qui regarda la nature et la traduisit en petit-fils de Jean-Jacques Rousseau et de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, est M. Paul Huet. Le premier aussi, il a comprit et exprimé les tumultueuses émotions de la nature complice des émotions de l'homme, et a révélé cette complicité à chacun de nous par les moyens de l'art.[67]

Because of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's antipathy for the artifice of civilization, his self-imposed exile from society and his investment in the natural world as the unique source of value, he became for Thoré, for the Saint-Simonians and for utopian socialists such as François-Marie-Charles Fourier the principal source of philosophical reference.[68] While Thoré embraced Rousseau's contempt for the corruption inherent in city life, he felt that seeking in nature a total refuge from the world was a false stance. He advised Théodore

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landscape while discussing naturalist landscape will be beyond the scope of this study. What concerns me, beyond the formal influence, is the pattern that emerged amongst republican critics who by praising Dutch landscape were actually praising Dutch democratic government. See for instance Alexandre Decamps, "Les Arts et l'industrie au XIXe siècle," Revue républicaine 3 (October 1834): 165. I will come back to this issue when I deal with republican critics.

[67]Ernest Chesneau, 262.

[68]I will have ample opportunity to discuss the Saint-Simonian's views about landscape painting in the following chapters. I have previously mentioned in an earlier note that Thoré and Rousseau lived in the same building, 9 rue Taitbout that housed the hall in which the Saint-Simonians lectured every week. See for instance an advertisement for "Une Séance de prédication Saint-Simonienne à midi," in Le Globe, no. 158 (5 June 1831): 628; the announcement also mentioned that someone was present in the committee room every day from

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Rousseau to explore nature as a dialogue with the outside world, to treat nature as a vehicle for communicating inner emotions.

Thoré was too involved with advancing the cause of democracy and of radical social changes to support the idea of a selfish retreat into nature as a means to escape the pressure of society. In 1845, he wrote a novel in which Georges Derval the young Parisian hero, modeled after Théodore Rousseau, finally commits suicide after one year spent in a forest near Pierrefond, where he had taken refuge and settled with a "simple" peasant girl. He leaves a note confessing to his error:

> La vie n'est pas le repos, mais la lutte. Le bonheur n'est pas une contemplation stérile mais l'accomplissement du devoir. La liberté, c'est l'exercice de la force et des facultés que nous tenons de Dieu.
>
> Voilà donc ce que j'ai appris dans une année de retraite, de méditation et de douleur. Il est impossible de se sauver hors du monde. Notre destiné nous attache invinciblement à la destiné de nos semblables.[69]

Under the influence of Romanticism, which, by the 1830s, had become institutionalized, representations of nature functioned as the repository of one's own feelings, as well as one's patriotic feelings for one's native land. For this

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11:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

[69]Théophile Thoré, La Recherche de la liberté (Paris, 1845), 64.

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audience landscape paintings became more meaningful than the deeds and the love affairs of the Greek gods.

While many critics lamented the decline of history painting, some like Gustave Planche understood that French art was undergoing radical changes; if history painting was losing its relevance, landscape painting was replacing it as the genre most able to convey the spirit of the times. Planche argued that the Davidian school had its raison d'être during the Consulat and Empire, but that its style and its subject matter had become meaningless in a different political and social system. He identified the displacement of history painting by landscape as the most powerful artistic force:

> De tout cela, que conclurons-nous? C'est que le drame vient d'envahir la peinture qu'on appelle *historique*. Désormais, l'énergie, l'expression dramatique, sera la première condition de toute peinture. Le paysage prétend à une poésie haute, vague, mais réelle et pleine de nature: sa volonté, sa puissance, les moyens qu'il emploie, rappellent l'école des lacs, Wordsworth, Coleridge et Wilson.[70]

A few years later, Eugène Pelletan could assert with conviction that:

> Le paysage est véritablement la peinture de notre époque. . . . [il] se comprend de lui-même et n'exige que le sentiment poétique de la nature. Ce sentiment est

[70]Gustave Planche, "Salon de 1831," Etudes sur l'école française, 2 vols (Paris, 1855), 1: 170.

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> en outre particulier aux modernes: les anciens [sic] ne l'ont pas connu."[71]

The development of landscape painting embodied a transformation of the conceptual and ideological underpinnings of history painting. It signaled that the exemplum virtutis, the deeds of heroic individuals, no longer represented a valid model for the 1830s. In the process of national self-definition, the exploration of the French countryside and its inhabitants was more meaningful than the psychological exploitation of ancient history. After the defeats of 1814-15, the existence of France as a unified nation had been questionable. In the 1830s and 1840s, it became possible to find in the land and in nature what defined the French as a people. It was also the only definition with which all diverse factions could agree.[72]

Auguste Jal (1795-1878), a writer who started publishing Salon reviews during the Restoration, encouraged landscapists to abandon historical landscape painting in favor of landscape inspired by nature itself. In a Salon review written in a form of a dialogue between a critic and

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[71]Eugène Pelletan, "Salon de 1841, quatrième article. Paysages," La Presse, 5 May 1841.

[72]Joseph Leo Koerner wrote: "Landscape can replace history painting because the impulse to paint landscape is itself the mark of our place in time." Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape (London: Reaktion Books Ltd.,

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an English lord, he made this clear: "Je préfère ceux [the landscapists] qui cherchent à rendre le paysage naïvement avec ses détails, ses accidens [sic]. Je préfère ceux qui cherchent à rendre la nature toute simple."[73] For critics who opposed historical landscape, and supported landscape painting grounded in the direct study of a specific site, the mission of the landscapists was two-fold; the painter had to communicate his own feeling through his choice of subject matter, and to emulate the national character, the original "Frenchness" of the chosen motive. The landscapists became the mediators between nature and the public.

For these critics, greatly influenced by the romantic myth of the visionary artist, landscapists were exceptional beings who stood out for their extreme sensitivity. The discourse of men such as Thoré, Sensier, and Burty who supported Rousseau, Dupré and the others, may have been as much to blame for the alienation of these painters from the art establishment than the artists' own visual innovations.

The landscapists were usually represented as semi-nomad,

1990), 226.

[73]Auguste Jal, Salon de 1833, causeries du Louvre (Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1833) 355. Jal is only one of the numerous critics who considered that historical landscape was fast becoming an obsolete genre, I will discuss this growing lack of interest in historical landscape in a later chapter. On the same issue, see Chu, "At Home and Abroad: Landscape

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anti-bourgeois, anti-establishment solitary men, answering to no one but to nature itself, exclusively following its rules. It is interesting to look at a lithograph depicting landscapists either at work or going to work.[74] In a lithograph from ca. 1820, by Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Le Paysagiste, (fig. 18), the landscapist is heavily burdened with his working equipment, walking in search of a motive, calling to mind the broadsheet images of Epinal which represent the wandering Jew or the travelling peddler with his merchandise. The same trope of the artist as a wanderer, a traveler, a disturbing character was to be exploited a few years later with great success by Courbet in his famous painting, Bonjour Monsieur Courbet, 1854, (Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France.) The painting shows Courbet wearing the same kind of backpack as the artist in the Decamps' lithograph. Linda Nochlin has demonstrated that Courbet took his inspiration from an Epinal print of the Wandering Jew, a suspicious character par excellence, as well as from his own lithograph of an another threatening and radical political

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Representation" 116.

[74]I could have also chosen to discuss Daumier's Landscapists at Work (1862) which shows two bearded individuals laying on the ground, one smoking at pipe, on day dreaming as their easels are set up in the background of the image. As with my choice of texts, I have chosen to emphasize lesser-known images.

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activist, the Fourierist Jean Journet.[75] Courbet himself was quite explicit when he connected the concept of the vagabond with the artist in search of his own voice:

> Dans notre société si bien civilisée, il faut que je mène une vie de sauvage; il faut que je m'affranchisse même des gouvernements. Le peuple jouit de toute mes sympathies; il faut que je m'adresse à lui directement, que j'en tire ma science, et qu'il me fasse vivre. Pour cela, je viens donc de débuter dans la grande vie vagabonde et indépendante du bohémien.[76]

In another lithograph discussed earlier, Un Délit champêtre, 1846 (Fig. 5), the landscapist is also regarded as a suspicious character. There a garde champêtre, guardian of the peace of the countryside emerges from the field where the artist was working, to order him to move along. The artist looks pretty ragged with long and unkempt beard and hair. The theme of the unkempt beard seemed to be some kind of a leitmotif, which signified the landscapist's a-sociability, primitiveness and his revolutionary tendencies.[77] In an

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[75]See: L'Apôtre Jean Journet partant pour la conquête de l'harmonie universelle, 1850, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes. Linda Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's Meeting: A Portrait of the Artist as a Wandering Jew," Art Bulletin 49 (1967): 209-22.

[76]Gustave Courbet, letter to his friend Francis Wey, written in 1850, quoted in Pierre Courthion, ed. Courbet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis, 2 vols (Geneva: Skira, 1948-1850), 2: 78.

[77]One is also reminded of the sect of the Barbus, students of David. See George Levitine, The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Brbus Rebellion and Primitivism in

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article in the Journal des artistes, artists travelling to Troyes are described as six men with long beards and pointed hats.[78] The literature is full of these characterizations. The following is a telling example of how, already by the 1850s, landscape painters were constructed as outsiders to the artistic French life:

> Dans la matinée on m'a amené Millet. Il parle de Michel-Ange et de la Bible, qui est, dit-il, le seul livre qu'il lise ou à peu près. Cela explique la tournure un peu ambitieuse de ses paysans. Au reste, il est paysan lui-même et s'en vante. Il est bien de la pléïade ou de l'escouade des artistes à barbe qui ont fait la Révolution de 1848, ou qui y ont applaudi, croyant apparement qu'il y aurait égalité des talents, comme celle des fortunes.[79]

This was indeed a dangerous position. If an artist claimed that nature was his only guide and teacher, he clearly declared that the teaching of the Academy did not mean much to him; he was becoming for the official institution a rather suspicious character.[80]

Neoclassical France (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978).

[78] C. V., "Artistes en voyage en Champagne," Journal des artistes 20 (20 November 1836): 213.

[79]Eugène Delacroix, Journal 1822-1863, eds. André Joubin and Régis Labourette (Paris: Plon 1981), 328, entry for Saturday April 16, 1853.

[80]David Kelley pointed out that during the nineteenth century, one of the major aesthetic debates surrounded the notion of the Ideal. Nature was always called into battle as an aesthetic criterion, which would either balance the notion

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As I was editing this section and correcting the same mistake I make over and over again, always writing about nature as "she" instead of "it," I was reminded of the strong assimilation between nature and the feminine. This situation exists for reasons that are beyond the scope of this study. However, I suspect that grammar is partly responsible for this. In the French language, nature, like other concepts such as liberté, patrie and republique are feminine words, culturally associated with the gender characteristics traditionally identified with women.[81] It was thus easy for the critics to write about the relationship between nature and the painter (who conveniently was always male) as if it was a relationship between a lover and his mistress. The following quotation is typical of this convention: "Pour ces peintres ordinaires de la nature, la nature n'a plus de secrets. Elle se montre à eux sans appareil et sans voile, dans sa verdoyante virginité. Mais cependant, pour bien rendre son modèle, il faut l'aimer, il faut le comprendre . . ."[82] I

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of ideal, or oppose it pejoratively. See David Kelley, Baudelaire and le Salon de 1846 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 18.

[81]See Maurice Agulhon, Marianne au combat: l'imagerie et la symbolique républicaine de 1789 à 1880 (Flammarion: 1979).

[82]Jules Janin, "Salon de 1839; cinquième article,"

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will have the opportunity to explore this convention further when dealing with the critics who wrote for the socialist and utopian press.

By late 1830s, Théodore Rousseau had become the archetype of this primitive poet-peasant-painter, largely because of the efforts of his protectors Théophile Thoré and Gustave Planche:

> Toi, cher poète, tu as passé ta vie à regarder le grand air, la pluie et le beau temps, et mille choses insaisissables pour l'oeil vulgaire. La nature a pour toi des beautés mystiques qui nous échappent, et des faveurs secrètes que tu exploites avec amour. Devant la nature quand on la sent et quand on l'aime, on est bien heureux d'être peintre comme toi.[83]

Rousseau's public persona as a bohemian primitive, a role the public and the critics expected a landscapist to play, took on a different dimension after the Salon of 1836. He then joined the ranks of artists such as Delacroix and Préault who were heroicized by radical critics as victims of an authoritarian and undemocratic Academy and Salon jury. To complain about the injustices of the Salon Jury was by the mid-1830s more than commonplace. Most of the critics started their series of articles on the Salon with one article especially devoted to the jury, which was always too lenient for conservative such as Delécluze, and too close-minded for

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L'Artiste, 2d ser., 2, no. 20 (1839): 269;

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radicals such as Alexandre Decamps and Gustave Planche. The following remark by Decamps is a typical example of the radicals' complaints:

> Depuis dix ans, ce jury de peinture et de sculpture a couvert les lambris du Louvre d'oeuvres inqualifiables, et telles qu'il est difficile de supposer que l'art puisse descendre plus bas; mais il a refusé dans le même temps des tableaux de MM Delacroix, Louis Boulanger, Paul Huet, Rousseau, Dupré, Riezener, et les sculptures de M. Préault; nous ne feront pas à ces jeunes artistes l'injure de placer ici en regard de leurs noms les misérables productions auxquelles une visite, une apostille de quelques valets conciliaient les suffrages de l'Académie française; nous nous en rapportons au souvenir de tous ceux qui ont vu les dernières expositions.[84]

Critical scandals had contradictory effects. While often fueling official intransigence, they ensured that readers would not forget the names of the rejected artists. Rousseau's reputation as a martyr was instigated by the Salon jury's refusal in 1836 of his large and ambitious entry, La Descente des vaches dans le Jura, (1834-36) now at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Amiens. This provoked a storm of critical protest, which was orchestrated by Gustave Planche:

> Mais nous devons regretter que M. Bidault [the only landscapist on the Salon Jury] ait fermé les portes du Louvre à une toile de M. Rousseau exposée maintenant dans l'atelier de M. A. Scheffer; car cet ouvrage serait compté parmi les meilleurs et les plus importants du Salon. C'est une vue prise dans les Alpes. La toile est

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[83]Thoré, Le Salon de 1844, 6.

[84]Alexandre Decamps, "Salon," Revue républicaine 4 (March 1835): 265.

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> en hauteur; un troupeau de génisses descend le long d'une gorge escarpée; l'heure choisie est le soir; la végétation est gigantesque et profuse; les plantes s'entrelacent comme une forêt vierge de l'Amérique méridionale. . . . Nous engageons tous ceux qui aiment sérieusement le paysage à visiter l'atelier de M. Scheffer et à contempler longtemps l'ouvrage de M. Rousseau; car M. Bidauld sera l'année prochaine, comme aujourd'hui obstiné, ignorant; il pourrait bannir encore du Louvre les toiles de M. Rousseau; il pourrait traiter comme un dévergondage effronté le paysage alpestre qu'il ne comprend pas. La seule manière de venger l'auteur du bel ouvrage dont nous parlons, c'est d'aller le voir comme si il était au Louvre.[85]

That Ary Scheffer exhibited the rejected canvas in his studio on rue Chaptal, brought more fame to Rousseau than if his painting had been lost on the Salon walls, competing for attention with thousands of others.[86]

It has usually been accepted that Rousseau was rejected every year between 1836 and 1848.[87] A careful look at the Salon registers in the Louvre Archives shows with more precision that although Rousseau was rejected in the Salons during the next five years, he did not even bother sending anything to the Salons of 1843, 1846, and 1848. He returned to the jury-free Salon of the Second Republic in 1849, where he exhibited three landscapes. During the

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[85]Planche, "Salon de 1836," Etudes sur l'école francaise, 2: 38-9. At the 1836 Salon 3781 works of art were presented, 2123 were accepted and 1658 rejected.

[86]See Martin Kolb, Ary Scheffer et son temps. 1795-1858 (Paris: Bonvin ed., 1937), 156.

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1840s, Rousseau had to rely on other networks to distribute his works. He managed to exhibit outside the Salon at the galleries of Durand-Ruel, Deforges, Susse and Léopold. He also participated in a variety of other exhibitions: one organized by Baron Taylor at the Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle in 1846, one in the Foyer of the Odéon theater, one in his Parisian studio, and one in the studio of his friend Jules Dupré.[88]

Actually Rousseau's reputation seemed to have benefited from this harassment by the Salon jury, and critics such as Planche, Thoré and Decamps kept mentioning his name, feeding his reputation as outsider and martyr. In 1837, Alexandre Decamps devoted, as was customary, his first article on the Salon to the iniquities and corruption of the jury, mentioning Rousseau:

> Comme on ne peut obtenir justice de l'Académie, on la fuit comme un fléau. M. Decamps n'expose plus; M. Rousseau le paysagsiste n'envoie plus rien au Salon; MM. Eugène Isabey et Paul Huet n'ont pas exposé, et si cela dure on verra dans peu d'années le retour de ce beau temps où les académiciens et leurs élèves avaient seuls droit d'exposer leurs ouvrages aux yeux du public.[89]

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[87]See Herbert, Barbizon Revisited, 27

[88]At the Salon of 1849, Rousseau had three entries accepted: No. 3351; *Avenue,l'Isle-Adam Forest* 1.5 x 1.3 m; no. 3352; *Lisière de forêt,* 70 x90 cm; no. 3353; *Terrain d'automne,* 55 x 77 cm.

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In 1838, Decamps again made sure that Rousseau's name was synonymous with the jury's harassment: "D'autres moins heureux, ont été l'objet d'une persécution plus entêtée, comme M. Rousseau, qui a vu repousser du Salon, pour la troisième fois, un paysage au moins très remarquable."[90]

In his review of the Salon of 1838, Gustave Planche was eager to remind viewers that Rousseau had been rejected by the jury of the Salon of 1836 and that he had once more been rejected once again:

> Il y a deux ans, le jury du Louvre a refusé un paysage de M. Rousseau, qui se recommandait par des qualités éminentes, et que les amis de la peinture ont pu voir dans l'atelier de M. Scheffer. Pourquoi le jury n'a-t-il pas révoqué l'arrêt prononcé contre M. Rousseau? Aucun membre de la quatrième classe n'a-t-il eu occasion de visiter les Alpes, et de juger par lui-même de la fidélité du tableau refusé? S'il fallait attribuer à la seule ignorance l'obstination de messieurs les membres du jury, nous aurions à leur offrir un moyen bien simple de s'éclairer: ne peuvent-ils pas interroger, au retour, les lauréats qu'ils envoyent chaque année à Rome?[91]

In 1844, Thoré embellished the theme of the artist as a modest recluse, who despite obstacles triumphs over the mediocrity of the artistic establishment:

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[89]Alexandre Decamps, "Salon de 1837. L'Académie—Le jury--Introduction," Le National (5 March 1837).

[90]Alexandre Decamps, "Salon de 1838. Premier article," Le National (5 March 1838).

[91]Planche, Etudes sur l'école française, 2: 139.

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> C'est la certitude de tes impressions fortes et originales, autant que la sympaties des vrais artistes, qui t'a soutenu dans cette lutte obscure; et, peu à peu, malgré ta solitude et ta modestie, malgré la persévérance du jury qui t'a toujours refusé la publicité, ton nom se répandait, si tes oeuvres étaient inconnues. . . . On écrivait à chaque Salon sur les paysages de Rousseau, comme si ils eussent été exposés au Louvre. Eugène Delacroix, George Sand, Ary Scheffer et quelques autres racontaient ce qu'ils avaient vu, si bien que l'atelier a été forcé par les connaisseurs intelligents.[92]

Rousseau was not the only artist who was able to maintain a reputation and a circle of supporters outside official artistic institutions. This phenomenon indicates that France's entry into the industrial age not only affected the economic and social fabric of the country but also had a profound effect on the cultural world. As the century unfolded, the Salon slowly lost the traditional monopoly it had enjoyed over the art world, now having to share the distribution of works of art with private dealers, auction houses and department stores. With the importance of the Salon decreasing, the Academy lost its exclusive control over artistic production. It was no longer the only or even the most important trendsetter.[93]

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[92]Thoré, "Le Salon de 1844," 16-17.

[93]For considerations of the growing importance of alternative venues and the waning influence of the Salon and the Academy, see Pierre Vaisse, "Salons, expositions et sociétés d'artistes en France 1871-1914" in Francis Haskell, ed., Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza

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Rousseau carefully cultivated his reputation of being a mysterious and oppressed outsider by moving with his mistress, Elisa Gros, to a small cottage in Barbizon, living there all year long, while most of his colleagues resided in Barbizon only during the summer. As Gautier wrote in a article devoted to Rousseau for L'Artiste in 1871:

> Après de si rudes épreuves, après tant de traversées et de rigueurs, la fortune tardive lui [Théodore Rousseau] souriait et lui glissait un gros sac d'argent sous son chevet d'agonie. Cette jeunesse obscure, laborieuse, persécutée, méconnue, abreuvée de toutes les amertumes que peux faire avaler la médiocrité jalouse au talent original, méritait bien, au bout de l'age mûr, quelques années de vieillesse sereine et lumineuse, dans ce repos plein de dignité et cette aisance justement gagnée,

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sullo sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIXe XX (Bologna: Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, VII, 1981): 141-155; William Hauptman, "Jury, Protests, and Counter-Exhibition Before 1850," Art Bulletin 68, no. 1 (1985): 95-109; Charles Moffett, The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886 (San Francisco: Fine Art Museum of San Francisco, 1986); Tamar Garb, "Revising the Revisionists: The Formation of the Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs," Art Journal 48, no.1 (Spring 1989): 63-70; Martha Ward, "Impressionist Installations and Private Exhibitions," Art Bulletin 73, no. 4 (1991): 599-622, Harrison White and Cynthia White, Canvas and Careers: Institutional Changes in the French Painting World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). See also: "Sans authorité auprès du gouvernement, l'Institut fut également sans actions sur les artistes et sur le public. Les discours académiques tombaient dans l'indifférence générale. Les proscriptions renouvelées à chaque exposition et sur lesquelles nous avons suffisamment insisté, rendaient l'Académie impopulaire et odieuse."Rosenthal, 241. For a recent analysis of the decline of the role of the Academy in France's artistic life during the July Monarchy, see also Jeanne Laurent, Art et pouvoir en France: histoire d'une démission artistique (Université de Saint-Etienne: CIEREC, 1982), 39-53.

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> compensation des anciennes misères noblement souffertes pour l'amour du beau.[94]

While most critics and art historians still subscribe to the concept of Rousseau as the persecuted artist, alone and struggling for recognition, a more careful look at the facts shows that he was very consciously constructing his artistic persona. Rousseau made a point of painting barren and lonely locations in the Berry (see Le Curé, (1842-43) fig. 19) or in Fontainebleau during the off-season, as if these desolate locations echoed his personal moods.[95] In our Western society, the myth of the rejected artist lives on from Rousseau to van Gogh and Modigliani, as a legacy of Romanticism and the need for a bourgeois society to separate the artist from society, a place formally reserved for god or the devil. In Jean Bouret's work on the Barbizon School, the chapter devoted to Rousseau is entitled: Le Grand Refusé.[96] The author called the artists who settled in Barbizon

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[94]Théophile Gautier, "Paysagiste contemporains. Théodore Rousseau," L'Artiste 85 (1871): 9.

[95]In his 1852 petition to Napoleon III, Rousseau insisted that the wildest part of the forest be preserved from commercial exploitation, places such as Bas Bréau, the Gorges d'Apremont and the Mont-Girards, the sites that he actually painted the most often.

[96]Jean Bouret's book is actually more a deluxe coffee table book than a scholarly publication. But because of the rarity of reliable works on the topic, it can still be useful.

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"outlaws of genius" or "rebels against the low-brow bourgeoisie".[97] Rousseau remained in every ways urban, maintaining a studio or an apartment in Paris, always conveniently located in newly developed quarters such as the Chaussée d'Antin or Notre-Dame de Lorette.[98] There he could easily keep in touch with his dealers, middlemen and friends like Alfred Sensier.

Alfred Sensier's is forever link to Rousseau's reputation. He embodied a new breed of cultural entrepreneur who benefited from the changes taking place in the art world.[99] As collecting became one of the favorite pastimes of the European bourgeoisie, some artists and collectors became involved in organizing exhibitions in their studios, serving as brokers and sometimes advisers for prospective buyers. They helped transform contemporary painting into a commodity. One could speculate buying cheaply the work of officially rejected artists, wait, and eventually sell with a large profit when the artist had become recognized. A successful

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[97]See Bouret, The Barbizon School.

[98]See Green, "Circuit of Production, Circuits of Consumption," 29.

[99]The term "cultural entrepreneur" seems to me appropriate in this situation to distinguish them from professional art dealers. I have developed this concept in "Barbizon Comes to The Hague: Hendrick Willem Mesdag, Cultural Entrepreneur," Paper presented at the annual meeting

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civil servant, Sensier was the epitome of the Parisian middle-class man. His career was uneventful, and he managed to work for every regime from the July Monarchy through the Empire and to finally retire with the Legion of Honor in 1873 during the Third Republic.[100]

By the end of the 1840s, Sensier had emerged as amateur dealer and go-between. With his contacts in the French administration and his friendship with the Barbizon artists, especially Rousseau and Millet, he was able to actively promote naturalist landscape painting. Sensier had met Millet through Troyon in 1847. In the early years of Millet's career, Sensier actually bought a substantial portion of his production, mainly small oil paintings and drawings, at advantageous prices. In 1850, he concluded an agreement with Millet to provide the artist with an allowance for canvas and materials in return for finished pictures.[101]

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of the College Art Association, Boston, Mass., February 1996.

[100]For detailed information on Sensier's life, see the exhaustive article by Christopher Parsons and Neil McWilliam, *"Le Paysan de Paris:* Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France," Oxford Art Journal 6, no.3 (1983): 38-58.

[101]The extensive correspondence between Millet and Sensier is now kept in the Cabinet des dessins in the Musée du Louvre. Excerpts of these letters have been published in Sensier's biography of Millet, La Vie et l'oeuvre de Jean-François Millet, published posthumously in 1881 and in E. Moreau-Nélaton, Millet raconté par lui-même, 3 vols. (Paris, 1921).

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Sensier had taken advantage of his contact with the young artists to buy part of their output for little money. By the mid-1860s, through an inventive campaign of public relations, he was a ubiquitous presence on the Parisian art scene and one of the most important promoters of the Barbizon School. His public relations campaign in favor of the naturalist landscape painters included the distribution of photographs and lithographs as well as the organization of sales and auctions. Sensier also lobbied his fellow civil servants, journalists, and later wealthier publishers and industrialists for commissions for his protégés.

In the beginning, Sensier organized sales under his own auspices. Later he worked for dealers, relaying their requests and preferences to the artists. In 1865, Sensier began his collaboration with Durand-Ruel; he was a frequent contributor to Durand-Ruel's Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité, for which he wrote Salon reviews until 1870. In his reviews, the artists in whom he had a personal stake were given the most extensive and favorable coverage. In 1873 Sensier finally reaped the reward of his successful alliance with Durand-Ruel and sold him a large number of paintings from his own collection by Rousseau, Dupré, and Corot for

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260,000 francs.[102] He was actually so successful in increasing the worth of these painters that within a few decades the paintings he had so actively promoted were financially well beyond his personal reach.[103]

Sensier's critical writings provided a public testimony of the critic's privileged involvement with artists who fascinated French audiences by their inaccessibility.[104] His writings served the art market well during the 1860s and 1870s, but they also provided a vehicle for the articulation of certain ideas. These ideas were principally about the evolution of contemporary French society and about the place of the peasantry in a nation whose economy and social fabric was fast changing. Sensier's support of landscape and rural

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[102]On Sensier's activities see Etienne Charavay, "Alfred Sensier," L'Amateur d'autographe, no. 280 (January 1877): 12-15; and Philippe de Chennevières, Souvenirs d'un directeur des beaux-arts (Paris, 1883-89), 58-9; 79.

[103]In 1892, at public auctions Corot's *Orphée* reached 115,000 francs and *Entrée en forêt* 101.000 francs, while *Monet's La Seine à Rouen* reached only 9,200 francs. See Bouyer, "Le Paysage dans l'art," 104.

[104]Beyond his Salon reviews, Sensier published articles and books devoted to landscape artists; see "Conférence sur le paysage," given at the Gallery Durand-Ruel, Paris, 27 June 1870; Souvenirs; Georges Michel (Paris, 1873). This monograph was centered around the large colletion of paintings Georges Michel's widow had sold to Durand-Ruel, and seemed to have been part of a campaign to promote this early naturalist landscape painter and increase the value of his work. Finally La Vie et l'oeuvre de Jean-François Millet, was published posthumously in 1881 by Paul Mantz.

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imagery was part of the wider phenomenon I have been describing.

In images of working peasants, in landscapes, and travel prints and rustic novels, as Sunday outings, and houses in the country, the French countryside and its natural inhabitants had become a necessary component of the lives of a growing number of city-dwellers. In the 1840s, men like Michelet and Thoré had seen rural France as the expression of democratic and republican thought promoting patriotic ideals which could be understood a radical force of change. For these writers, peasant society was equated with a primordial "natural" order based on communal spirit. However the endurance of such an order appeared somewhat compromised with the encroachments of industrialization and capitalism. Its stability, rooted in the past, was becoming increasingly fragile under the pressure of individualism. For Michelet and Thoré, the peasantry could prosper only if it was protected from the capitalist ethos.

By the 1870s, for Sensier, rural France was part of a conservative discourse anchored in an essentially reactionary vision of a mythical rural ideal. In his review of the 1870 Salon, published after the fall of Paris, Sensier made a clear indictment of modern society. He praised the ancient feudal order as a social paradigm to be set against the

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degeneration, the atomization, and the moral alienation of the modern world:

> Un paysan était l'homme de la terre, et le seigneur l'homme des donjons et des villes. Aujourd'hui tout s'arrondit et se volatilise en mièvreries convenues, et les races s'abâtardissent et se perdent dans la sentimentalité et le rafinement des civilisations; l'égalité nous abaisse, et l'ambition nous tue.[105]

Rousseau occupied a privileged position in Sensier's canon because he rejected convention and academic art and struggled against the prejudices of a conformist public. Sensier also praised Rousseau's humble background. In highlighting the humble social origins of the new landscape school, Sensier implicitly associated its members with the peasants, claiming that the artists shared with them a direct, unmediated response to nature. Rather than obeying the dictates of the fine-arts tradition, such artists were said to follow personal instincts in their search for an emotionally authentic rendition of nature. Rousseau's constructed status as an outsider allowed Sensier to emphasize his individuality and the authenticity of his vision. For Sensier, landscape painting had the power to regenerate the artistic field because it relied essentially

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[105]Alfred Sensier, "Les Peintres de la nature," Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité 3, no. 5 (15 May 1870): 385.

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on an individualistic response to nature.[106] This unobstructed sentiment, released through a spontaneous response to nature, was the only necessity guiding the creative process away from the stale academic tradition.[107]

These critics who supported naturalist landscape in the 1830s and 1840s constructed the artists and their work as antidotes to the encroaching alienation of the modern world. The art criticism of these writers provided the vehicle for the articulation of certain ideas about the evolution of contemporary French society and the place of the peasantry in a nation increasingly dominated by the cities and their industrial economy. For these critics, naturalist landscape was also a way to anchor French identity in its soil, while privileging the illusion that one shared the artist's unmediated response to his native land.

However when one is willing to look beyond the myth, one finds that men like Sensier, with their clever manipulation of the art market, despite their eulogy of the simple peasant

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[106]"Tel est, messieurs, l'avenir du paysage moderne. Il doit être à la fois un miroir de la nature et celui de notre âme, pour qui la nature a été faite. Et, en résumé, nous devons bénir cette rénovation du paysage et saluer les grands artistes qui nous ont ramené aux sources du grand art créateur." Sensier, "Conférence sur le paysage," 16.

[107]". . . mais à mesure que le peintre a été attiré vers l'analyse des ses sensations, il est devenu de plus en plus paysagiste." Ibid., 3.

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virtues, were much more Parisian than they would care to admit. The countryside and its values provided an attractive fantasy, a symbolic vantagepoint from which to bemoan the moral decline of a society from which they had themselves benefited.[108] The rise of naturalist landscape painting as a cultural phenomenon and the cultural entrepreneur were made possible by urban capitalism.

To our post-modern sensibility accustomed to dissect any kind of myth, suspicious of heroes, the landscapists of the School of 1830 appear as relics of times when artists were considered eccentric outsiders, ready to sacrifice anything to their overwrought sensibility.[109]

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[108]During the course of the Second Empire, Sensier rivalled the painter Charles Jacque to become the largest property owner in the village of Barbizon, eventually buying the home of Millet and his family, see Parsons and McWilliam, 54.

[109]The mythicizing of the Barbizon School did not disappear overnight with the advent of modernism: "Les peintres de 1830 s'ils n'étaient pas tous lettrés, sentaient et pensaient en accord avec leur époque. Ils n'étaient pas des grands liseurs mais des sensitifs. Ils s'évadèrent, ils cherchèrent un refuge contre les laideurs du présent, dans l'immuable et la sereine beauté de la nature, où l'humanité a gardé des formes frustes et primitives: le Berry, les plâteaux du Jura et de l'Auvergne. Ils avaient besoin de s'isoler." Maurice Hamel, "Les Origines de l'art moderne," Les Arts, no. 12 (January 1903): 25-28.

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Part 2: Topography of the French Press and Critical Reception of Landscape Painting in Salon Reviews

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Chapter 4: The Place of Art Criticism in the French Press

The 1830s and 1840s saw the beginnings of the transformation of art criticism from a seasonal activity practiced by a wide variety of writers with established careers in other fields into the highly specialized field we are familiar with today. During the first five years of the July Monarchy, the press was allowed to develop under a rather liberal political climate.[1] Because so many of the men

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[1]I have taken most on my historical information from Hugh A. C. Collingham, The July Monarchy: A Political History of France 1830-1848 (New York: Longman, 1988); chapter 14 "The Press" provided me with clear and useful information. The other standard books for the study of the history of the press I have used are: Hippolyte Castille, Les Journaux et les journalistes sous le règne de Louis-Philippe (Paris: Ferdinand Sartorius, 1858); Eugène Hatin, Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française (Paris: 1866); Henri Avenel, Histoire de la presse française depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Flammarion, 1900); Herbert Hunt, Le Socialisme et le romantisme en France: étude de la presse socialiste, 1830-1848 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935); Irene Collins, The Government and the Newspaper Press in France: 1814-1881 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959); Claude Béllanger, Histoire générale de la presse française (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1969); Pierre Albert et al., Documents pour l'histoire de la presse

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who played a vital role in the establishment of the new regime had been contributors to journals which had struggled for press freedom during the Restoration, the government initially promised in Article Seven of the 1830 Charter that "Censorship can never be re-established."[2] Despite the fact that within the next five years almost all this liberalization was reversed, following the adoption of the September Laws in 1835, there was an unprecedented increase of journalistic activities. Between 1828 and 1841, the number of daily newspapers published in Paris doubled, from fourteen to twenty-eight, while weekly and monthly magazines published in France went from six hundred and five to seven hundred and fifty.[3]

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nationale aux XIXe et Xxe siècles (Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S., 1977). For information on the artistic press the two main sources I used are: Vicomte Hector de Robertval, "Les Journaux d'art à Paris et les feuilletons artistiques des feuilles politiques," La Renaissance, chronique des beaux arts et de la littérature, et revue archéologique 8 (Bruxelles, 1848): 1-4; and Gustave Lebel, "Bibliographie des revues et des périodiques d'art parus en France de 1746 à 1914," Gazette des Beaux Arts 6th ser., 8 (January-March 1951): 5-64.

[2]See Collins, 62.

[3]Jean-Pierre Aguet, using sources from the Archives Nationales came to the conclusion that daily newspapers were a minority among all the other types of periodicals. During the July Monarchy, he recorded between 25 and 35 daily newspaper published in Paris. Jean-Pierre Aguet, "Le Tirage des quotidiens sous la Monarchie de Juillet," Revue suisse d'histoire (1960): 216-286. For 1828 see Daniel Rader, The

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In the nineteenth century, art criticism flourished as both a journalistic form and a literary genre. The July Monarchy and especially the decade of the 1840s saw the beginnings of the systematic modernization and industrialization of France. The publishing industry greatly profited from these technological developments, and printed, ever more cheaply, a growing number of books and periodicals. A good portion of them was either devoted entirely to the visual arts, or incorporated art columns amongst theater reviews, poetry and fictions.[4] The developing press took advantage of a new middle-class audience and its newly acquired leisure time, as well as working-class readers who had benefited from the compulsory schooling that had began in 1833. For these new audiences, reading was not only a way to

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Journalist and the July Revolution in France (The Hague, 1973), 67, for 1841 see Anonyme, Physiologie de la presse. Biographie des journalistes (Paris, 1841), 111. By using Hatin's lists, even if we know now that they are incomplete, one obtains the following numbers on the creation of periodicals between 1830 and 1849 (yearly average): 1830-1834: 41,2; 1835-1839: 29,8; 1840-1844: 40; 1845-1849: 153,2. The extreme increase of the last period is due to the unprecedented number of new publications: 453 in 1848 and 163 in 1849. Hatin comes to the conclusion that in 1830, among the 605 periodicals published in France; 347 were printed in Paris, Hatin, 62.

[4]Pontus Grate estimated that in 1845 there were 440 art critics writing for the Parisian newspapers. See Grate, Deux critiques, 57.

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gain access to information but it was also a new source of entertainment.

The art reviews of the annual Salon and of the growing numbers of art exhibitions that competed with or combated the official Salon provided an increasing number of writers with a lucrative outlet for their work. Art criticism then became a dependable source of income for many struggling authors.[5] Most of the art critics whom we will encounter in this study had other professional activities; art criticism was strictly a seasonal exercise, during the Salon venue. Art criticism was only one aspect of their critical work, many also wrote books-reviews and commentaries on the latest plays and operas. Gustave Planche, Etienne-Jean Delécluze and Charles Blanc were among the rare exceptions who wrote only about art issues. Everyone knows that Baudelaire, Saint-Beuve, Théophile Gautier, Henri Heine, and Alfred de Musset led successful literary careers, but it was also the case for many other less-known critics such as Auguste Jal, Alexandre Tardieu, Louis Viardot and

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[5]On what it meant to be a journalist during the July Monarchy, see Marc Martin, "Journalistes parisiens et notoriété: pour une histoire sociale du journalisme, vers 1830-1850," Revue historique 266, (July-September 1981): 31-74. Martin determined that for the period between 1858 and 1870, 3% or 4% of the journalists practicing in Paris devoted their entire career either to the writing of art criticism or to the production of illustrations; Martin, 42.

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Alphonse Royer. Some like Adolphe Thiers, Victor Schoelcher and Eugène Pelletan were political figures. Art criticism had also its share of librarians, curators, academics, civil servants, and theater administrators. At any rate, for most of them, journalism and art criticism were ways to make extra money, to consolidate a reputation, and to become true referees in the propagation of cultural values. Art criticism was by no means a coherent discourse, but a kind of fragmented specialized journalism, with a very varied public, serving a multitude of agendas.[6]

When studying nineteenth-century art, we must confront the question of the very nature of art criticism as a growing independent activity, now separated from aesthetics. Throughout the century, an unprecedented numbers of artist, painters, engravers, and musicians met in small informal groups, at literary salons and society gatherings, and also collaborated in the publication of innumerable journals. Art critics implicitly accepted that the health of cultural life reflected the health of the nation.

Writers and journalists created culturally coded discourses in which praising or damning art could be read as

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[6]For more insightful comments on the ambiguous status of the art critic see Neil McWilliam, "Opinions professionnelles: critique d'art et économie de la culture sous la Monarchie de Juillet," Romantisme, no. 71 (1991): 19-

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the equivalent of praising or damning the government. By the 1830s, the use of culturally coded discourse had become a real tradition, practiced by writers to avoid censorship.[7]

The nineteenth century bequeathed us two contradictory opinions: that criticism was necessary, but that it was also contemptible. The art critic was seen as an indispensable intermediary between the artists and a public disoriented by constantly changing artistic styles. Yet the romantics and their successors held that those who imagine and create were superior to those who examine and judge. Furthermore a belief existed that there was a radical difference between the criticism elaborated by the artists themselves and the criticism of the critics.[8] For Daniel Stern [Marie de Flavigny comtesse d'Agoult], better remembered for her free spirit, her Parisian Salon in the aristocratic Faubourg Saint

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[7]See Siegfried, 9-28. The use of coded criticism had been especially useful at the height of state censorship during the Restoration. It became again an essential component of art criticism after 1835, when following a period of social unrest; censorship was re-established, making it impossible for journalists to be openly critical of the government actions. I will have ample opportunity to come back at length on this issue. For more information on the consequences of censorship on journalism and the political commentary, see Aguet, 216-286.

[8]In his journal, Delacroix noted: "Criticism follows the production of the mind as a shadow follows substance." Entry for January 13, 1857, Delacroix, Journal, 520.

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Germain, her friendship with George Sand and her tumultuous liaison with Franz Listz, the essence of good criticism was an innate feeling for beauty, a good knowledge of antiquity which was the basis of contemporary western art, some awareness of the techniques involved in producing the different types of art, and independence from allegiance to any special school.[9]

The diversity of art criticism in France during this period resulted in contrasting sets of assumptions and practices. For some, criticism became a kind of rarefied aesthetic notation trying to preserve, usually to no avail, aesthetic judgment from ideological contamination; for others, it was a purely journalistic exercise, a pragmatic relation between art and the media.[10] But art criticism was

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[9]" . . . et nous diront quelles sont les qualités qui, avec l'amour de l'art, doivent concourir à former le plus excellent critique, du moins celui qui est appelé à juger les arts du dessin, le seul dont nous ayons à nous occuper ici.

Ces qualités sont:

1. Le goût naturel, nous dirions volontiers, l'*instinct* du beau.
2. L'étude de l'*antique*.
3. La connaissance au moins élémentaire de la partie technique de l'art, de ce que nous appellerions le *procédé*.
4. La plus complète indépendance des personnes et l'affranchissement de tout système autrement dit, de toute *école*." Daniel Stern, "Le Salon-1843," La Presse, 15 March 1843, 1-2.

[10]To deal with this complex situation Dario Gamboni has proposed a tripartite distinction between scientific,

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always a privileged place to articulate dissenting or conformist political engagement. This situation makes it impossible to use the term art critic with any degree of uniformity.

Before focusing on the critical reception of landscape painting, it is essential that I lay out the general conditions of the production of art criticism during the July Monarchy. The major artistic event of the year was the annual Salon in the Louvre. This gigantic exhibition of several thousand works usually lasted from March to May.[11] In 1836, the anonymous reviewer for the Legitimist weekly La Mode, in a rather sarcastic tone, compared the Salon to a religious ritual when he declared "Les portes du temple viennent de s'ouvrir et la fête des arts commence."[12] The following

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literary and journalistic criticism. See "Propositions pour l'étude de la critique d'art au XIXe siècle," Romantisme, 71 (1991): 1-17.

[11]Despite the prime importance of the Salons in the history of the nineteenth-century art, we still need a comprehensive study devoted only to this institution, which would discuss its structure and its organization. Patricia Mainardi's book; The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) provides us with very useful insight on this problem; for our period however only the 1st chapter is truly pertinent. Hauptman, 95-109 is also useful, especially for what pertained to the jury and to exhibitions held outside the official Salon.

[12]"Le Salon de 1836," La Mode 26, no. 10 (1836): 222. About the 1834 Salon, an anonymous reviewer wrote: "Le mois

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quotations, chosen among many others of similar content, illustrate the importance of the Salon as a major source of popular entertainment:

> Les portes du vieux Louvre se sont enfin ouvertes mardi matin, à l'impatiente curiosité du public, à l'avidité de cette population inoccupée, sans cesse en quête de spectacle et d'émotions, béante d'attention devant l'échafaud de Lacernaire ou de Fieschi [men who made an attempt to take Louis-Philippe's life], comme devant les débats des chambres, ceux de cour d'assises, ou les drames monstrueux de nos boulevards. Depuis neuf heures, une foule qui grossissait d'instans en instans [sic] assiégait la grande entrée du Musée.[13]

Jal also captured the impatience of the crowd:

> Il neigeait, le temps était noir et triste; mauvais temps pour voir la peinture. On a ouvert pourtant, afin que l'administration ne mentît point aux promesses de l'ordonnance. Et comme il neigeait, comme le peuple ne pouvait aller faire foule sur les boulevards et dans la rue Saint Honoré, pour aller voir défiler les voitures et rire aux plaisanteries des masques, il a pris le chemin du Louvre. A midi, on étouffait dans le grand salon; à trois heures, trois mille livrets avaient été vendus. Trois mille! Cela suppose environ trente mille spectateurs.[14]

Parallel to the official Salon, there were also an increasing number of private exhibitions in artist's studio

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qui ramène le printemps sur notre hémisphère, appelle à deux rendez-vous à la fois les Parisiens amis du beau. A l'Hôtel de Ville, l'horticulture expose ses nouveaux trésors; au Louvre, la peinture étale ses récentes merveilles." "Beaux-Arts," Le Constitutionnel, 15 March 1834, 1.

[13]H. H. H., "Salon de 1836," La Quotidienne, no. 63, 3 March 1836, 1.

[14]"Salon de 1835," L'Impartial, 3 March 1835, 1.

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and in commercial galleries.[15] There had been only five Salons during the Restoration, and an increasing number of artists needed more outlets for their works. According to Le Journal des artistes, in 1798, there were three hundred and fifty painters and sculptors practicing in France, but by 1830, their number had increased to 1,375, it reached 2,159 by 1838.[16] According to L'Illustration in 1843, 1,082 painters exhibited at the Salon of 1839, whereas only four hundred and six painters had exhibited at the 1810 Salon, and four hundred and sixty at the Salon of 1831.[17] The total number of painters and sculptors actually quadrupled between 1810 and 1840, while the number of artists who exhibited at the Salon only doubled. These numbers reveal the necessity for artists to find other ways to become known in order to sell their art. The situation encouraged the development of private galleries, which expanded their business from originally selling artist's materials and frames to dealing

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[15]For more information on the developing art market see Green, The Spectacle of Nature, 25-28. There were also a growing number of exhibitions that were organized in order to raise money for different relief efforts, such as the one that took place in 1832 to help the victims of the cholera epidemic.

[16]See Le Journal des artistes 23 (16 September 1838): 165.

[17]See Anon., "Ouverture du Salon," L'Illustration 1, no.3 (18 March 1843): 44.

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in contemporary paintings. In a fast-evolving consumer society, contemporary painting was becoming just another branch of the luxury goods market.[18] The conditions of production and distribution of art works were being radically affected by the development of capitalism, and the rise of the middle-class as the new patrons and prospective protectors.

Artists devised new ways to market their art, and to promote themselves as professionals. The 1830s witnessed a growing concern on the part of artists to escape the influence of the Academy and of the government. They wanted to be more in charge of their destiny, and they began to define themselves as a specific group of workers, separate from writers, poets or musicians. In an anonymous article titled "De la sécularisation de l'art," published in 1835 in L'Artiste, the author declared that art should be given back to the artists. He described the patronage of the state as a negative force which made choices solely on the basis of favoritism and not on the basis of talent:

> Il faut arracher l'art au patronage nuisible du gouvernement et à l'influence miasmatique des côteries académiques. . . . L'art doit être remis dans les mains de ceux qui en sont dignes, abandonné sans restrictions

[18]For more information on the commercialization of significant portions of French daily life and the origins of the consumer revolution, see Robert Bezucha, "An Introduction to History" in The Art of the July Monarchy, 32.

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à ceux qui vivent pour lui et par lui: les artistes.

Further down in the article the author protested against "le favoritisme toujours prédominant au mérite et au talent, qui ferme toute porte aux talents nombreux et les réduits au désespoir, à l'inactivité, quelques uns même à la faim."[19] Alfred de Menciaux in Le Siècle echoed this opinion. He clearly stated that with political connections acceptance at the Salon was guaranteed:

> Quel est en effet le principe qui inspire en général l'administration des beaux-arts? Ce principe, nous demandons pardon à la morale française d'appeler cela un principe, consiste à accorder aux influences politiques, aux recommandations parlementaires, toutes les faveurs, toutes les récompenses destinées aux progrès des arts. . . . Artistes, voulez-vous avoir une position élevée, honnêtement rétribuée: laissez dormir votre palette et vos pinceaux, et cultivez votre député du centre. Voilà le beau, l'idéal de la société moderne.[20]

Such overtly political comment about the connection between the government and the arts were of course made by oppositional newspapers, whose political line was more liberal than newspapers such as Le Moniteur universel or Le Journal des débats which supported the constitutional monarchy.

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[19]L'Artiste 9, no. 19 (1835): 221-223. About the artists' awareness of their different social position, see A. R. W. James, *"La Fraternité des Arts* et la revue L'Artiste," Gazette des beaux arts, (March 1965): 169-180.

[20]Alfred de Menciaux, "Beaux-Arts. Peinture religieuse," Le Siècle, 26 May 1844, 1.

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Artists formed associations not only to support each other in case of disability, sickness or old age, but also to be able to exhibit on regular basis.[21] Prosper Haussard mentioned in his review of the 1847, the creation of an association whose main goals would be to organize exhibitions free of usual inequities of the Salon jury:

> C'est aussi pour cela qu'un grand schisme se médite en ce moment dans notre école; c'est pour mettre fin à ces scandales qu'une société d'artistes éminens [sic] doit se former sous la direction de MM. E. Delacroix, Ary Scheffer, Decamps, Cabat, Meissonnier, ect., société libre qui aura des expositions particulières, et abandonnera les expositions du Louvre aux artistes assez oublieux de leur dignité et de leur valeur pour subir encore la dictature outrecuisante, les passions basses ou les lestes façon du jury académiques.[22]

Another component of the artist's developing strategy was to exhibit their own works as a commercial venture, charging an entrance fee, or to exhibit works of fellow artists in their studio. Géricault, for instance, took his Raft of the Medusa to England in 1820, to be exhibited with great financial success. The exhibition lasted for six and half months, the entrance fee was one shilling and it is reported that 40,000 people saw it, and that Géricault made

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[21]See Léon Lagrande, "Sociétés des Amis des Arts en France," Gazette des beaux-arts, 1861. This article describes the numerous creations of provincial art associations and the organization of their exhibitions.

[22]Prosper Haussard, "Salon de 1847," Le National, 16 March 1847, 1.

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about 20,000 francs.[23] In 1836, Ary Scheffer put up an exhibition of Théodore Rousseau's painting la Descente des vaches, which had been rejected by the Salon Jury.[24] When such events happened they were reported in the press, as were new operas, new plays, and social balls. The reporting of such events is important to our study because it provides an interesting alternative to the official Salon reviews.[25] Strangely enough, what we would now call the cultural pages, where one found the Salon reviews, greatly benefited from the 1835 censorship laws. Politics, until then the major component of the daily press, had become increasingly dangerous to discuss. Art criticism, theater reviews, serialized fiction took over, enabling the writers

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[23]See Régis Michel, et al., Géricault, exh. cat. (Paris: Galleries Nationales du Grand Palais, 1992): 288-293.

[24]See Planche, Etudes sur l'école française, 1: 294, 2:37-38.

[25]The story of the private exhibitions, and their relevance in a changing society, would be an interesting one to tell; but it would make us stray from our original purpose. For more information on the development of art market and on the decentralization and creation of numerous art societies, see Rosenthal, 60-74. On the solidarity between artists and their needs for association and on exhibition outside the official Salon, see Ivens, "La liberté guidant les artistes," 60-67. On the organization of private exhibitions, either for commercial purpose or for charitable causes, see Hauptman, 99-107, and Fondation Taylor, Le Baron Taylor, l'association des artistes et l'exposition du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle en 1846, exh. cat. (Paris: Fondation Taylor, 1995).

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to disguise their attacks on the July Monarchy.[26]

The Salon however remained the major opportunity for the critics to reveal their views on art and for the public to be confronted with contemporary artistic production. After the 1830 revolution, artists under the leadership of Jeanron and other republican leaders decided to claim a voice in the new government as part of their constant effort to gain control over their professional lives, outside the monopoly of the Academy. In 1831, responding to the artists' petition, Louis Philippe announced that a Salon would be held every year. Artists such as Decamps, Scheffer, Gros, Ingres, Isabey, Delaroche, Heim, Johannot, Derevia, Schnetz, and David d'Anger had signed the petition.[27] The reestablishment of the annual Salon was one of their more tangible successes; according to L'Artiste it was "le moment le plus solennel de l'histoire des Beaux-Arts en France, la plus glorieuse conquête de la révolution de juillet."[28]

The Salons took place in the Salon Carré (hence its name) and in the Grande Galerie of the Louvre. The paintings of the old masters had to disappear from view, sometimes for

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[26]See Aguet, 216-286.

[27]For more information on the importance of an annual Salon for the artists, see Ivens, 52-94.

[28]Anonymous, "Salon de 1837," L'Artiste 1 ser., 13, no.3

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six months, hidden behind wooden structures covered by green fabric on which the Salon paintings were hung. This situation caused resentment in the artistic community. Many critics, despite different artistic tastes, joined in complaining that it was not beneficial to deprive the French public, foreign visitors and art students of the Louvre masterpieces for half the year. The Legitimist journal La Mode was constantly using the Salon as an excuse to criticize the regime; it joined Louis Peisse in complaining, when its reviewer found the green draperies of the 1836 Salon dusty and ragged. This critic's agenda was, of course, different from Louis Peisse's. Louis Peisse was then writing for the leftwing newspaper, Le National. His comments were typical of many other critics who also complained about the frequency of the Salon. He said among other things that:

> Elles [the annual exhibitions] ont deux inconveniens [sic] très graves: Le premier, d'interdire la vue de la galerie pendant six mois; le second de dégrader les tableaux anciens autant à-peu-près que pourrait le faire un déménagement. Il est fâcheux que, dans tant de monumens (sic) en construction à Paris, il n'y ait pas un local approprié à cette destination.[29]

The critic for La Mode was not demanding, like many progressive critics, a proper place to exhibit contemporary

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(1837): 23.

[29]"Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1834," Le National 2 March 1834, 3.

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art, but rather he implied that the works of art created during the Ancient Régime and exhibited in the Louvre were the true unsurpassed masterpieces:

> Voyez quels tristes préliminaires pour cette fête qui ne va pas durer moins de soixante jours! Une ignoble cloison, de vieux lambeaux de toiles poudreuses seront appliqués sur ces trésors qui font les honneurs de musée, sur ces tableaux d'élite, rares produits de quatre siècles; et, pendant quatre ou cinq mois, y compris le temps nécessaire pour les travaux qui précédent et qui suivent l'exposition, les jeunes gens qui se forment par l'étude de ces grands modèles en demeureront privés et les étrangers qui viennent en France tout exprès pour admirer, les chercheront en vain sous la misérable toile qui les recouvre.[30]

However, throughout the July Monarchy, numerous critics, like Louis Peisse made a point in their reviews of requesting a special building where the Salon could be held. In 1849, the new government of the Second Republic finally compromised by having the Salon in the Palais des Tuileries, which had been vacant since the 1848 Revolution. No transformation was made in what had been the living quarters of Louis Philippe and his family, so the space proved to be rather ill suited for the exhibition so many paintings; in La Presse, Théophile Gautier wrote:

> Depossédée du Louvre, L'Exposition a été intronisée aux Tuileries. Paris donne à l'art son plus beau palais . . . L'aspect du salon et la façon dont le jour s'y distribue, montrent la nécessité d'avoir une église définitive pour ce grand jubilé annuel de l'art.[31]

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[30]Y. Z., "Salon de 1836," La Mode, no.10 (1836): 222.

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Gautier went on to suggest that the unfinished wing of the Louvre (now the Musée des Arts Décoratifs) would make the perfect exhibition space. He also added that for the new republic, it would be the occasion for the new republic to show that it could finish something that the king could not. Such arguments clearly demonstrate that Gautier was perfectly aware of the political role played by the Salon.

Entrance to the Salon was free, except on Saturday, when the entrance was reserved for those who could afford to pay the price of the ticket. Jal notes that before the July Revolution, Saturday was indeed the day reserved to the aristocracy:

> Le jour reservé, ce jour tout aristocratique, et où, nous autres gens de rien, avions grand'peine à être admis, ce jour est maintenant comme les autres. On allait il y a quinze ans, au Salon, le jour des billets bleus, pour se voir, causer, savoir la mode, montrer de jolis chapeaux et des robes nouvelles, pour *être entre soi*, comme disait les belles dames et leur nobles chevaliers; on recevait les artistes car on ne pouvait guère leur refuser leur bazar; mais on avait soin que la réunion fut épurée le plus possible de la roture mal pensante et de la petite bourgeoisie marchande, à qui on laissait le dimanche pour ses jouissances intellectuelles. Le Salon le matin, le soir un mélodrame à la Gaité ou un viel opéra-comique à Feydeau. Aujourd'hui, le samedi reservé est en réalité pour tout le monde, grâce à la sage diffussion des billets que l'administration a jété dans Paris, au grand profit de

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[31]"Salon de 1849. Premier article," La Presse, 26 July 1849, 1.

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> l'égalité et de la petite poste. La foule est si grande vers deux heures qu'on n'étouffe.[32]

Jal's opinion presents a typical paradox of this period; his republican beliefs allowed him to criticize the exclusivity of the Saturday but he could not avoid realizing that now the democratization of the Saturday made it impossible to look at the works of art because of the crowds.

The Salon provided the exhibiting artists with unparalleled public exposure. While, for a large majority of the public, the acceptance of a work by an established and reputable jury signified a tacit measure of quality, refusal by the jury, on the other hand, was often equated with crucial denunciation. This could in turn severely limit an artist's means of earning a livelihood. The Salon jury was composed exclusively of members of the Academy of Fine Arts, which incorporated all branches of the arts from music to architecture.

The political dimension of the jury was sarcastically measured by Alfred de Menciaux in his 1844 Salon review for one of the leading opposition newspapers, Le Siècle. He advised artists to seek the protection of a political figure, so they might use his influence in order to gain acceptance at the Salon, reducing the entrance to the exhibition to a

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[32]Auguste Jal, "Salon de 1835," L'Impartial, 24 March 24

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question of favors and connections rather than a question of talent:

> Quel est en effet le principe qui inspire en général l'administration des Beaux-Arts? Ce principe, nous demandons pardon à la morale française d'appeler cela un principe, consiste à accorder aux influences politiques, aux recommendations parlementaires, toutes les faveurs, toutes les récompenses destinées au progrès des arts. Voulez-vous obtenir une grande toile: ayez non pas du talent, mais ayez un député--Un député ministeriel, bien entendu--Le député, voilà ce que l'artiste doit étudier et rechercher avec un soin infini. Le paysagiste qui, dès les premiers beaux-jours, s'empresse de courir la campagne, n'atirera jamais sur lui l'attention du gouvernement. Il connait admirablement la nature; mais il ignore le député; il sait la couleur de chaque feuille, il a suivi les diverses dégradations de la lumière à toutes les heures du jours, mais il n'a pas pris garde aux variations bien plus importantes des influences parlementaires. Artistes, voulez-vous avoir une posïtion élevée, honnêtement rétribuée: Laissez dormir votre palette et vos pinceaux, et cultivez votre député du centre. Voilà le beau, le vrai, l'idéal de la société moderne.[33]

Alfred de Menciaux was really saying that favoritism and nepotism were the only ways to get ahead in this regime.

In his 1842 Salon review, Louis Peisse made this revealing comment about the importance of the Salon as an effective tool for self-promotion by artists. He wrote:

> Pour les artistes, le Salon c'est la publicité même. C'est la presse de l'art; cette presse doit, comme l'autre être libre et toujours ouverte. La supprimer ou trop la restreindre, c'est ôter aux oeuvres de l'art, si on les considère comme de simples produits échangeables,

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1835, 1.

[33]Alfred de Menciaux, "Beaux-Arts. Peinture religieuse," Le Siècle, 26 May 1844, 1.

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> leur marché, et si on les considère comme des créations de l'imagination et du goût, leur théatre.[34]

Alfred de Menciaux was also perfectly aware of the publicity that Salon reviews could bring to a artist: "La critique est aussi une décoration [he was referring to the different medals distributed at the end of the Salon], et la meilleure de toutes. Une colonne de feuilleton vaut souvent, pour le peintre, mieux qu'un bout de ruban." [35] It is difficult for us to measure the prestige and the popularity of an event such as the Salon. In 1836, newspapers reported that on opening day, 30,000 visitors came, and in 1846, more than one million visitors had walked through the Salon's doors, a number, which was more or less, equal to the entire Parisian population.[36]

The annual Salon established a new rhythm for the art world of Paris, and the number of reviews increased constantly in the press, which was itself undergoing rapid expansion.[37] The critics could express their views either in

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[34]Louis Peisse, La Revue des deux-mondes, 1 April 1842, 104-105.

[35]Alfred de Menciaux, "Beaux-Arts. Peinture religieuse," Le Siècle, 26 May 1844, 1.

[36]See Pontus Grate, "Art, idéologie et politique dans la critique d'art," Romantisme no. 71 (1991): 37.

[37]See Pierre Albert, et al., Documents pour l'histoire

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series of articles published in daily newspapers or in weekly or monthly magazines, often, these series of articles would be compiled as a small book, or collected later with several years' reviews published together.[38] Critics could also publish booklets and book-length articles independently. In an average year, 1834 for example, one hundred and fourteen Salon reviews were published; ten of these reviews were published in book form.[39] During the course of the July Monarchy the balance between articles and books about the Salon stayed the same, in favor of the newspaper articles. This was also confirmed by a careful search through the Bibliographie de la France, which listed according to topics all the books published in France every year.[40]

The extreme politicization of French art criticism can also be explained in part by the fact that most of the Salon reviews were published in daily newspapers, which had very specific political affiliations. The annual Salon provided the artists and their public with a unique forum to debate

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de la presse nationale.

[38]For instance: Jules Castagnary, Salons (1857-1879) (Paris: Charpentier, 1892); Théophile Thoré, Salons de T. Thoré, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848 (Paris, 1868), or by the same author, Salons de W. Bürger, 1861 à 1868 (Paris, 1868).

[39]See McWilliam, A Bibliography of Salon Criticism, 30-45.

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contemporary aesthetic issues, outside the exclusive enclave of the academy. Indirectly and incidentally the Salon became the opportunity to comment on politics as well. Year after year, the public was able to familiarize itself with the names, the polemics, and the art.

Finally, it will be useful to summarize the main arguments around which the critics articulated most of their discussions about the Salon. My purpose in doing so is not to attempt to explain them, for scholars Maria Ivens, Nicos Hadjinicolaou and Patricia Mainardi have already done so, but to provide the reader with some context into which a specified discourse about landscape painting can be inscribed. Scholars have noted that there was an omnipresent obsession equally distributed between the members of the aristocracy, those of the middle-class faithful to Louis-Philippe and those of the middle-class opposition. All seemed obsessed with the ides that the Salon was becoming a bazaar, that works of art were being transformed into commodities, and that artists were catering to a bourgeois taste for genre, portrait and landscape painting.[41]

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[40]La Bibliographie de la France (Paris, 1831-1848).

[41]See Ivens, 66; Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "The Debate at the Salon of 1831," Block 9(1983): 62-67; Patricia

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The criticism of the Salon followed more or less the same pattern every year. First, the critics complained about the iniquities of the Jury; for the conservative periodicals, the jury was never tough enough, while for the more liberal papers, the jury was incompetent and unfair. Newspapers from all political views, such as Le National or Le Journal des artistes, often devoted their entire opening article on the Salon to the injustices of the jury.[42] In 1845, Eugène Pelletan argued that the institution of the jury was contrary to the purpose of the Salon; it was against the artists and the public: "Ce sont eux [the artists] qui font les expositions; c'est par eux que les expositions ont l'interêt de la foule." He went on to propose to the creation of an association which would enable the artists to exhibit for a annual membership fee; the exhibition would be permanent and the works of art

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Mainardi, "The Eviction of the Salon from the Louvre," Gazette des beaux-arts (July-August 1988): 31-40, and Mainardi, The End of the Salon, chap. 1.

[42]"Dans deux mois le salon sera ouvert; dans trois semaines le jury va s'assembler et prononcer une fois encore ces arrêts souverains contre lesquels s'élèvent, depuis quelques temps, de si nombreuses et de si vives réclamations." Anonymous, "Salon annuel. Jury. Salon de 1836," Le National, 16 January 1836, 1. "... nous voulons, avant de parler des tableaux et des ouvrages de sculptures admis au Salon, dire quels mots de ceux qui en ont été exclus." Anonymous, "Exposition de 1836," Le Journal des artistes, no. 10 (6 March 1836): 145.

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changed every three months. This system would free the artists from the Salon, free them from the iniquities of the jury, and from competition for the public attention on the crowded Salon walls.[43]

After this annual lament, the critics usually complained about the mediocrity and the enormous number and diversity of style of the paintings exhibited, as well as about the lack of morally inspiring historical pictures. Nearly all the critics agreed. Left-and right-wing newspapers joined forces in exposing this phenomenon. The left-wing republican newspaper La Tribune politique and littéraire declared:

> L'art s'en va décidement. Qui donc tentera de le régénérer? Autrefois social et superbe quand il donnait aux peuples ses grands enseignemens [sic], raptissé depuis que l'égoisme de chacun à remplacer la grande loi sociale, il est enfin arrivé, ce nous semble, au dernier période de sa ruine, puisque les plus vantés sont désormais ceux qui excellent à figurer la nature dans ses plus insignifians [sic] aspects, sans l'effort de la pensée et de la création; puisque les plus habiles et les plus rétribués sont ceux qui procurent au bourgeois la satisfaction de voir, sans sortir de son alcove, tout une belle campagne verte et fleurie, dans un beau cadre jaune; ou sa mère, sa fille ou sa tante en portrait, ou bien encore toute la famille assise au coin du feu, l'hiver en causant.[44]

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[43]Eugène Pelletan, "Ouverture du Salon," La Démocratie pacifique 4, no.75 (16 March 1845): 1.

[44]Jean-Bathélémy Haureau, "Salon," La Tribune politique et littéraire, no. 63 (3 March 1833): 3.

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The Legitimist newspaper La Gazette de France reported also on the mediocrity of the Salon as if it were just another aspect of the government's incapacity to properly rule the country:

> Il faut donc bien le reconnaître, les résultats de la révolution se font sentir au Salon comme dans la politique, parce que tout se tient dans l'état social. La peinture, comme la puissance sociale, est livrée à l'infériorité. On rechercherait en vain sous les lambris du Museum, comme au timon de l'état, les oeuvres de ceux qui devrait en faire la force et la gloire. Les sommitées ont disparu de la scène et ont abandonné le terrain aux tableaux de deuxième et troisième classes.[45]

Théophile Gautier in Le Cabinet de lecture said:

> La civilisation n'a plus besoin d'artistes, mais d'ouvriers. Elle substitue le procédé au génie. . . . Les artistes d'aujourd'hui ont tous une industrie secondaire dont ils vivent: le poète écrit des romans, . . . le sculpteur fabrique des bronzes, le peintre d'histoire des aquarelles."[46]

The critics from the left and the right were eager to blame the bourgeoisie and the government for the decadence of French art. Despite the fact that these criticisms sounded rather similar, they should not be collapsed into one single category. But, just as in politics, where the juste-milieu position was criticized equally by the republicans and by the legitimists, the art critics also

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[45]Anonymous, "Promenade au Salon," La Gazette de France (7 mars 1836.)

[46]Théophile Gautier, "Exposition de 1836," Le Cabinet de lecture, 19 mars 1836.

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had radically different agendas, which I will outline later in this study.

Finally, some critics also regretted that the Salon was held so often, not giving enough time for the painters to produce great works. They thought that it transformed the Salon into some kind of commercial venture where selling and getting to be known had become the main goals of the artists. As a typical example I chose to cite the always-virulent Legitimist weekly La Mode:

> Il vient tout bonnement de s'y établir un vaste bazar de marchandises; entrons dans cette foire de la peinture; c'est le seul nom qui convienne à ces exposition que 1830 a rendue annuelles, et, qu'eu égars à l'esprit marchand du siècle, on peut s'étonner de ne pas voir dotées d'un brevet de perpétuité.[47]

As well as the left-wing Le Corsaire whose reviewer said: "Ceci n'est pas une exposition; c'est une exhibition, un étalage; le Musée n'est plus un Salon, c'est un magazin. Jamais l'art ne se montra aussi démesurement boutiquier."[48] Etienne-Jean Delécluze, the archetypal conservative critic, clearly stated his opposition to the yearly Salon in Le Journal des débats:

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[47]La Mode, no. 10 (1836): 222-223.

[48]Anonymous, "Musée. Première Promenade. Méditation," Le Corsaire, 6 March 1833, 2.It would be a full-blown project to concentrate on this argument. The terms; bazar, foire, come back so often, that it could be a interesting undertaking to document this phenomena.

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> Ce que nous avons toujours craint, et ce que nous redoutons encore pour l'Exposition des ouvrages d'art, c'est que cette espèce de cérémonie nationale, dégagée jusqu'ici de toute idée de gain et consacrée exclusivement à la publicité et à la récompense des talens [sic], ne devienne bientôt une foire, un bazar où la fantaisie qui paie a plus d'autorité que le gout qui apprécie et qui juge.[49]

In the first half of the century, before the publication of the first histories of contemporary art and the development of the writing of monographs of contemporary artists, the Salon reviews provided the only forum for the critical reception of the landscape who form the subject of my analysis.[50] The various currents of French art criticism were reacting to the transformations of French society, particularly to the changing conditions of artistic production and its new annual confrontation with the public.

By the 1870s, when biographies about the painters of the Ecole de 1830 began to appear collectors from all over Northern Europe and America as well as from France were actively buying their works. These paintings, which by now commanded rather high prices, had been bought cheaply much

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[49]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1836," Le Journal des débats, 1 March 1836, 3.

[50]"C'est alors que Fontainebleau, à l'abri de ses chênes et de ses hêtres, vit naître l'admirable colonies de ses paysagistes. Et ceci eut lieu en même temps que le triomphe du romantisme. La naissante école, à peine remarqué d'abord, devait grandir et le remplacer." Jules Breton, Nos peintres du siècle (Paris, 1899), 43-44.

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earlier, during the July Monarchy, as an investment. By the 1870s, dealers such as Paul Durand-Ruel were selling paintings by artists who were by then well-recognized, which enabled him to buy the more contemporary and more controversial paintings of the Impressionists, even if he knew that he could not expect to sell them right away.

This speculation was helped and supported in part by the development of an art press during the July Monarchy. The art press was part of the complex apparatus supporting contemporary art by making it an attractive and safe investment. It is interesting to note that among a wide diversity of short-lived magazines, a few publications specifically catered to collectors and that art galleries directly sponsored. Le Bulletin de l'alliance des arts, later le Bulletin des arts, was founded by Théophile Thoré and Paul Lacroix, with a purely commercial purpose. It gave an account of auction prices, and proposed to ease the transaction of works of art between collectors. Le Bulletin de l'ami des arts, edited by A. de la Fizelizère (who incidentally also wrote for Le Journal des artistes), was published by the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, boulevard Bonne-Nouvelle. It presented the works exhibited at the gallery, and kept an official record of the lithographs and prints available for sale to the public.

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As the wealth of the middle-classes increased and families became more established they could, as a way to affirm their newly acquired status, invest in an art collection. Contemporary landscape seemed to be a good choice, partly because the availability of quality seventeenth-century Dutch landscapes, the all-time favorite amongst collectors had declined and the number of fakes increased. Many other reasons, of course, made landscape painting a favorite among collectors. The lack of appreciation for the large history paintings, the lack of room to exhibit them, the moralistic and spiritual vision of nature, shared by many anticlerical middle-class republican collectors and linked to the tradition of the Enlightenment and Jean-Jacques Rousseau; and paradoxically the nostalgia for a simpler, more innocent pre-industrial world are all facets of the same phenomenon.

As mentioned previously, in the 1840s and 1850s, a few shrewd investors such as Alfred Sensier had bought landscape paintings directly from the artists. Sensier went on to write monographs on the painters he had patronized and knew, establishing their reputations and helping the value of their work to go up. Playing the market with the help of auction sales, he and dealers such as Paul Durand-Ruel were ultimately able to profit from their investments. Sensier

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embodies the perfect collector-dealer-writer of the period, who was using modern capitalist techniques (the press, the annual spectacle of the Salon, and market manipulation) as a new way to deal with art patronage.[51]

The prestige of the Salon as a main cultural event in Parisian life cannot justify by itself the new status of the professional art critic. The Salon was the major Spring society event. It followed the winter balls and the opera season, and preceded the horse races at Longchamps.[52] Art critics as well as writers were the beneficiaries of the changes that were taking place in the organization of the daily press. I will attempt to give some insight into the nature of these changes.

Running a newspaper during the July Monarchy could be a tricky and expensive business. Because of the expenses involved in publishing a newspaper, the French press, from the mid-1830s, had been dominated by a capitalist profit system. As a result, freedom of opinion became linked to the profit interests of entrepreneurs who invested their money in a newspaper.[53] Despite the government's claim that it

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[51]On Alfred Sensier, see Parson and McWilliam, 38-58.

[52]See Madeleine Séguret, "Salon de 1845," La Gazette des femmes (March 22 1845), 16.

[53]On June 30, 1840, Henrich Heine, then Paris

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supported the freedom of the press, it made many efforts to control or suppress the publications of both the extreme royalist right and the republican left. To avoid a conflict with the Constitution, the authorities used a strategy of imposing such prohibitive fines for alleged misuse of the freedom of the press that the economically weak newspapers of the republicans or the extreme monarchists were often driven out of business. When a newspaper was prosecuted and brought to trial for some kind of infringement of the press law, and found guilty, it could be ruined. Two or three fines of 1,000 francs could close a small newspaper. La Tribune politique et littéraire, home of the republican art critic Barthélémy Haureau, was the most persecuted of newspapers, with 111 prosecutions to its credit. It finally succumbed to its twentieth condemnation in May 1835.[54]

Only publishers with solid capital resources could afford to pay the fine levied. But these publishers, as a

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correspondent for the Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung, wrote an extensive report on the organization of the French press. He said: "The French daily press is to a certain extent an oligarchy rather than a democracy, for the founding of a French journal involves so many expenses and difficulties that only persons in a position to wager the largest sums are capable of establishing a journal." Henrich Heine, Sämtliche Schriften, ed. Klaus Briegled, 6 vols. (Munich, 1968-75), 5: 281, quoted in Peter Uwe Hodendalh, The Institution of Criticism (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 85-86.

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result of their economic interests, were generally friendlier toward the political system than toward the legitimists or the radical democrats. The government of Louis-Philippe devised other effective means to control the press. One of them was the institution of a security deposit: the editor had to register his newspaper with the authorities and at the same time, to guarantee his political loyalty, he had to deposit a considerable sum as security.[55] Freedom of opinion remained a privilege of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

During the first half of the century, newspapers were bought almost exclusively by quarterly or annual subscription.[56] To make a profit, at least 4,000 subscribers were needed; before 1836 fewer than half the fifty leading newspapers had sufficient readership. The difference came from outside help, either from groups of wealthy supporters (for an opposition newspaper) or from a special governmental fund, called the "fonds secrets", and voted annually to provide money for bribery or subsidies. Le comte Molé, who was Président du Conseil d'Etat between 1836 and 1839, subsidized La Revue des deux-mondes, and made its editor

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[54]See Collingham, 170.

[55]Ibid., 73ff.

[56]The sale of newspapers in the street only began to be more common only after the 1848 Revolution.

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Buloz director of the Comédie française, in order to oblige Buloz to vote against the election of the writer Charles Sainte-Beuve to the Académie française.[57]

However, it is also important to note that a paper usually reached a wider audience than merely the people who subscribed to it. One had access to the republican or opposition press in estaminets or taverns. The local political clubs had their own newspaper subscriptions for their members to read, and finally one could belong to a reading room, where by paying a fee, you could consult daily publications from all range of opinions.[58] Circulation is not then an effective way to measure the influence of a paper.[59] Working within this set of constraints, publishing could be a profitable and attractive new source of profit but also a rather precarious activity.

Some major social changes helped the French press to overcome these difficulties. First there was a stable increase in the potential pool of readers. Nicos Hadjinicolaou argues that among the visitors to the Salon of 1831, a maximum of forty-five per cent could actually read

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[57]Ibid., 172.

[58]Ibid., 178.

[59]See Françoise Parent, Les Cabinets de lecture: la lecture à Paris sous la Restoration (Paris, 1982).

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the livret.[60] The education laws of 1833, known as the Guizot Laws, provided that each French commune be obliged to maintain a school and to provide lodging and pay for its teacher. It was designed to put free primary education within the reach of all children. By 1848, although about a quarter of boys and even more girls still received no education, there were about 3.25 million children attending public school, and the literacy amongst conscripts had improved by over ten per cent.[61] Historians have estimated that in Paris, in 1848, eighty-five per cent of men, and sixty per cent of women could sign their name, which implied some reading abilities. Scholars have also noted that, during our period, the number of potential readers in Paris grew at a rate faster than the expansion of the city's burgeoning population. James Smith Allen has estimated that amongst a Parisian population of 1,053,897, in 1846, 606,477 people older than fourteen could read.[62]

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[60]See Nicos Hadjinicolaou, "L'Exigence de réalisme au Salon de 1831," Histoires et critiques des arts, May 1978, 26.

[61]The number of primary schools increased by a third between 1833 and 1848, reaching about 40,000 in 1848, but less than a fifth of these were for girls, whose education continued to lag behind. See Collingham, 310.

[62]See James Smith Allen, Popular French Romanticism: Authors, Readers, and Books in the 19th Century (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1981), 153-161. Jean-Claude Toutain estimated that in 1832, fifty-three per cent of the

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This new pool of readers had an interesting influence on the content of most of the popular periodicals. Political articles, which had dominated the golden age of journalism at the end of the Restoration up until the September Laws of 1835, became a lesser component of newspapers. The rigid censorship was only partly the culprit. Because a vast majority of this new audience could not vote and was thus denied access to the political system, it was surely less interested in complicated political issues over which it had no control. Society gossips, sordid news items, fiction and trial reports became the main staple of the popular press. The series of articles on the annual Salon were an integral part of this new kind of encyclopedic journalism.

This period also saw the development of cheaper and faster printing techniques with mechanical steam presses, imported from England from the mid-1820s. This enabled

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conscripts could not read, as well as sixty-two per cent of the newly-wed, in Jean-Claude Toutain, "La Population de la France de 1700 à 1959," Cahiers de l'ISEA 3 (1963): 223. In a statistical report of 1835, Abel Hugo estimated that in a pool of a hundred young men, between the ages of twenty and twenty-one, an average of thirty-eight could read and write. For more statistics about the percent of literacy in the different French departments, see Abel Hugo, France pittoresque, 4 vols. (Paris, 1835), 1:78. For my purpose, it is interesting to note that the département of the Seine, which includes Paris, the focus of my study, the average rate of literacy was much higher than in other regions, seventy-

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publishers to significantly lower their production costs and to increase the quantity of copies produced. The other determining factor in the development of the press, which permitted the emergence of the critic as an important entity on the French cultural scene, was the massive introduction of advertisement in the daily newspaper.

With the introduction of paid announcements in 1830, the price of the annual subscription dropped by half, allowing a new pool of readers to gain access to the daily press. La Presse cost forty-eight francs a year, instead of eighty francs, Le Siècle and Le Journal de Paris cost forty francs, Le National and La Gazette de France, sixty francs. Le Journal des débats refused to lower its price of eighty francs and lost over three thousand subscribers.[63] As a comparison it is interesting to note that eighty francs represented half of the annual wage of a factory worker. At that price, a subscription to a newspaper was then still reserved to the old aristocracy, the clergy, and the middle-classes.

With the creation of the new daily newspaper La Presse in 1836, Emile de Girardin was the true inaugurator of this

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one over a hundred, actually one of the highest in France.

[63]Pierre Orecchioni, "Presse, livre et littérature au 19e siècle," Revue française d'histoire du livre 4 (1974):

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new era of journalism.[64] With publications such as La Presse, or its rival Le Siècle, readers were increasingly regarded not as a political congregation, but as a potential market. In order for a publication to be a successful investment, it became necessary to attract as many readers as possible. To do so, the editors moved away from politics. Girardin understood that newspapers could attract readers by offering them a great variety of specialized articles written by famous authors, thus moving beyond the usual dry commentary on parliamentary sessions. Running a non-political paper was also less risky because less caution money was necessary to start. Newspapers, if they wanted to make money, had to be self-consciously popular; they were keen to forge connections between news, information and entertainment. They became less interested in pushing a political line than in promoting newspaper reading as leisure, both informative and pleasurable.

The art critics became part of this new apparatus. By reviewing the annual Salon, they provided their readers with the latest art gossip. Sometimes their criticism read more like the entertainment pages of a magazine than like art

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[64]For more information on Girardin's career, see Ledré, 213-6; and Green, The Spectacle of Nature, 61-64.

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criticism. The anonymous reviewer for the legitimist La Mode concentrated more on fashion than on painting when he reported on the 1836 Salon:

> C'est au salon que ces jours derniers l'observateur des modes a pu pendre quelques notes. J'ouvre mes tablettes, et j'y trouve: Deux très jolies soeurs avec deux très jolies capotes de taffetas rose, à plis très rapprochés, ornés de bouquets de jacinthes blanches. . . . Mme la vicomtesse de S. portait avec sa grace accoutumée une redingote de gros de Naples, couleur batiste écrue, avec des noeuds verts, et un chapeau fleuri de lilas. Les hommes avaient des redingotes plus courtes, et plus serrées que jamais, et dans la soie qui entoure leurs cols il y aurait presque de quoi faire des robes de chambre, tant les cravates sont amples et forment des plis vagues, bizarres et incertains. Tout ce beau monde avait des allures que j'aimais à observer, je devinait sa pensée politique au plus ou moins de temps qu'il passait devant tel ou tel tableau.[65]

As art's role changed and its function in society became linked with practices of leisure, the critic's work was an important mediator between the public and the art, reinforcing art as a form of leisure activity and a mode of consumption. With their reviews of the paintings exhibited at the Salon, they made sure that going to the Salon was less about the consumption of the objects themselves than about the consumption of meanings and values.

During our period, the four main Parisian newspapers were La Presse, Le Siècle, Le Constitutionnel, and Le Journal des débats. The circulation of daily newspapers in Paris

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[65]Anonymous, "Bulletin du monde élégant. Visite au

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quadrupled during the July Monarchy. Statistics kept at the Archives Nationales and interpreted by Pierre Albert, Gilles Feyel and Jean-François Picard indicate that in 1830 the daily circulation of Parisian newspapers was about 60,998. By March 1831, the same newspapers had increased their circulation to 81,493. According to Hatin, in 1830, among a population of 35 million, 70,000 people subscribed to a newspaper. In 1846, the number of people who received a Parisian newspaper had risen to 200,000.[66] Despite this still relatively low number, the increase was quite significant; the French people relied more and more on the press for information.

After the 1830 Revolution, the minimum amount of taxes one had to pay to be allowed to vote was lowered to 200 francs. In 1831 there was a total of 167,000 male voters. But with the new voting laws, the number of voters increased sharply, reaching 250,000 in 1840.[67] The men who had, after

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Salon," La Mode 27, no. 2 (1836): 46-47.

[66]See André Jardin and A. J. Tudesq, La France des notables (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1973), 225. See Arch. Nat. F. 18 262 B., and Albert, 12; Hatin, 7: 567.

[67]See Félix Ponteil, La Monarchie parlementaire 1815-1848 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1959), 138. Jardin and Tudesq note that, in 1840, amongst the 250,000 voters, 56,000 paid at least 500 Fr. in taxes and 18,000 paid more than 1,000 Fr., Jardin, 1: 157.

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the 1830 revolution, gained the right to vote, and needed to stay in touch with the government's actions.

In 1845, Le Siècle was the leading newspaper with twenty-three percent of the total readership, twenty-one percent went to La Presse, and twelve percent to Le Constitutionnel. They were followed by Le Journal des débats, which had been losing readers, with only seven percent of the total readership, and finally by La Quotidienne, and Le National with slightly less than five percent of the readers.[68]

Before concentrating on the newspapers themselves, their political tendencies and the space they allocated to art criticism, it is important to say a few words about the place Salon reviews occupied in the newspaper. The position of the Salon review should be a good indicator of the importance it had within the publication. The importance of Salon criticism, as an attractive topic for prospective readers, is clearly measured when one realizes that it appeared on the front page of most of the Parisian daily newspapers. The Salon review occupied the bottom part of the front page during the whole duration of the Salon, from March to May,

[68]For the exact numbers of issues published, see Albert, 18-19.

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running a series of ten or more articles appearing every other day.

During the Salon, the art reviews took the place of another landmark of the July Monarchy press, the serial. Alfred de Menciaux explained to his readers that he had chosen to delay his review of the 1844 Salon because he did not wish to interrupt Alexandre Dumas' Les Trois Mousquetaires, which had been so well received by the public.[69] The serial had been introduced as a gimmick to attract more readers. The idea, developed by Girardin, was to publish every day a few pages of a novel. It proved to be extremely successful, giving writers a truly new outlet for their production, in tune with the ongoing transformation of French society into a modern capitalist nation. In October 1836, Girardin introduced his reader to La Vieille Fille by Balzac. George Sand was also very much in demand; La Réforme and Le Journal des débats both published some of her novels. The publication of Eugène Sue's Le Juif errant brought 15,000 new subscriptions to Le Constitutionnel, demonstrating readers' desire for less politics and more entertainment.[70]

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[69]"Et d'ailleurs nous eussions craint de nuire, par des interruptions trop fréquentes, au roman si plein d'esprit et de verve de notre collaborateur Alexandre Dumas, alors que l'intéret commençait à naître." Alfred de Menciaux, "Beaux-Arts. La Peinture religieuse," Le Siècle, 26 May 1844, 1.

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The series of articles on the Salon followed an established pattern. After a couple of articles devoted to the complaints about the jury and the state of French art, the critics went down the academic hierarchy that governed the visual arts. They dealt first with historical and religious paintings, then with historical genre painting and portraits, and usually discussed landscape and animal paintings and still life in their last few articles. Sculpture, architecture and engraving were considered even less important and were always dealt with in one final article, which covered all three media. By that time most of the reviewers were running out space, and they were only able to list the names of the artists and the titles of the work.

Despite the development of the regional press, the French press was still the voice of an urban, industrial society; there was no newspaper as of yet which spoke for or to the members of the peasantry and the growing proletariat who could read. The legitimist press developed in the French provinces, outside the control of Paris. Forty newspapers were created, in thirty-one departments. The offices of many of these small newspapers served also as the local party headquarters where they made use of individuals who could not seek official careers in Paris,

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[70]See Ledré, 228-231.

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because they had refused to recognize the legitimacy of Louis-Philippe. There were also republican provincial papers in all the major cities, especially in the east. The legitimist strongholds were the rural west and south-west.

The French press was mainly directed toward the clergy, the aristocracy and the diverse factions of the bourgeoisie. I have divided the output of the French press into three main categories following the newspapers' political tendency. As an indication of the difficulty involved in such a project, Neil McWilliam gathered over 1,880 references to published Salon reviews between 1831 and 1850-51, making it quite humanly impossible to attempt to synthesize such a wealth of information. As a result I have decided to focus on the sixteen periodicals which consistently published Salon reviews during the entire July Monarchy, in order to be able to establish their long-term artistic philosophy. From this main core of sixteen periodicals, four belonged to the royalist press, seven were more or less in favor of the government, and five were on the left side of the political spectrum. I shall consider as well some short-lived newspapers, forced to ceased publication usually for political reasons, such as La Démocratie pacifique, La Tribune politique et littéraire, La Phalange, La Liberté, La Revue du progrès,

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La Revue encyclopédique and Le Globe. The reviews they published were more likely to be politically charged and of great interest to my argument. I chose to concentrate mainly on daily newspapers with obvious connections to the political life of France, so I could investigate the potential ties between French artistic life and national politics. Such a study could also be conducted exclusively on the artistic journals, the feminine press or the newspapers geared toward a working-class audience. However it would be a more difficult task, mainly because most of these publications were usually short-lived.[71]

The July Monarchy also saw the development of another kind of publication, the literary journal. La Revue des deux-mondes epitomized this new kind of periodical. It was intended for a middlebrow readership; with only 2,000 subscribers, it could not make a profit and had to rely on help from the government. However it attracted contributors among the foremost names of the day, such as Balzac, George Sand, Gustave Planche, Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, Afred de Vigny and Victor Hugo. Other literary journals included Le

[71]Another of my interests, which I hope to have the chance to pursue later, is women who wrote art criticism during the July Monarchy, I have so far identified twenty-three women who wrote art reviews on a regular basis, for the hundreds of women's magazines published during this period. See Chagnon-Burke, "Saint-Simoniennes. . .".

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Journal de Paris, founded in 1834. It was of slightly lower standards and relied more on current events and society gossip. A left-wing answer to La Revue des deux-mondes appeared in 1841, when George Sand and Pierre Leroux founded la Revue indépendante in order to publicize their mystical brand of socialism. Finally we need to mention satirical publications which catered to the Parisian public's craving for entertaining material. Publication such as La Caricature and Le Charivari both created by Charles Philipon provided readers with engaging graphic material and witty often coded texts.[72]

[72]On this question see; James Cuno, "Violence, Satire, and Social Types in the Graphic Art of the July Monarchy," in Chu and Weisberg eds., The Popularization of Images, 1-36.

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Chapter 5: The Legitimist Press

The main royalist newspapers were La Mode, La Quotidienne (up to 1845,) Le Correspondant and La Gazette de France. Their readers tended to belong to the old aristocracy and the clergy. Despite the fact that France was still a constitutional monarchy, a vast majority of the aristocrats stayed loyal to the elder Bourbon branch of the royal family, and to Charles X, who had gone into exile. Many refused to recognize Louis-Philippe as the legitimate king.

Those aristocrats, with some deputies in the Chamber, formed the right-wing opposition called the legitimists; their role was small and inconsequential. The aristocracy was no longer a united class, as the creation of titles granted to parvenu families since the Empire had obscured the exclusivity it had prior to Revolution of 1789. The

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imperial nobility and the aristocrats who had rallied to Louis-Philippe found themselves isolated and despised by their peers. More and more, they had to ally themselves (sometimes through marriage) with the growing bourgeoisie, in order to maintain some kind of social, political and financial position. Many of the aristocrats who did not support the new regime left Paris and retired to their estates in the country, where their social and political influence remained intact.

With the loss of national political power, their social position challenged by the haute bourgeoisie, their wealth rivaled or overtaken, the aristocracy had lost their means of controlling society. Until 1789 and during the Empire, fortunes had traditionally been based on land. At the beginning of the July Monarchy, fortunes based on trade, industry and judicial professions were still the exception to the rule; land still formed the most highly esteemed, most generally recognized, and most commonly acquired source of wealth. But by the 1848 Revolution, the percentage of wealth derived from land had radically declined due to poor management, the lack of modernization, and the pressure of the industrial revolution. Land was no longer the only important source of wealth.

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Bitterness and pessimism were the dominant tones of the Salon reviews published in the legitimist newspapers. The overall conclusion of the legitimist Salon critics was a rather negative verdict of decadence, which was the natural consequence of the 1830 Revolution and the overthrow of the Bourbon Monarchy.[1] The legitimist art critics made perfectly clear to their readers that the new socio-political system was responsible for the deterioration of the artistic field. The arguments of De Corcy, Salon reviewer for La Quotidienne, were typical of the legitimist discourse, a discourse which remained unchanged throughout the whole July Monarchy:

> Dans ce Salon, pas une toile qui se signale, pas une oeuvre qui attire plus particulièrement la foule et la retienne. Comme aux dernières Expositions, rien de tout-à-fait grand, rien de tout-à-fait beau. Une médiocrité honorable court des parois lumineux [sic] du grand salon aux plus sombres recoins de la galerie . . . . A quoi donc faut-il donc attribuer ce nivellement incessant, cet assoupissement progressif, cet abandon volontaire du haut sacerdoce de l'art?[2]

Apart from the denunciation of the commercialization of art and its decadence, the legitimist art critics did not have a very precise aesthetic doctrine. However, they agreed on the following points: the necessity of preserving the classical ideal of beauty, the didactic and moralistic goal of

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[1]On the concept of decadence see Koenraad W. Swart, The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France (1964).

[2]See B de Corcy, "Salon de 1844. Coup d'oeil général,"

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painting, hostility toward the school of David (David had voted for the death of the king during the French Revolution) and toward genre painting. They supported a new kind of classicism, embodied by Ingres, the Ecole de Rome, and eclectic painters such as Léopold Robert and Victor Schnetz.

Like the aristocracy itself, the legitimist press had a wide range of opinions. The most widely distributed royalist newspaper was La Gazette de France; with 12,400 copies distributed daily in March 1831, and 11,422 in 1836, a number divided between 6,666 readers in Paris and 4,756 in the provinces.[3] It attracted the most extreme legitimists. Under the direction of the abbé de Genoude, it followed a rather adventurous path, trying to reconcile a monarchic regime with democracy and universal manhood suffrage. Jean-Pierre Thénot was an occasional reviewer for La Gazette de France, covering the Salons from 1846 to 1849.[4] He also wrote for other publications, especially some devoted to the theater, such as La France théatrale or Le Journal des théatres. He supported the academic concept of le beau idéal as an abstract attempt

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La Quotidienne, 17 March 1844, 1.

[3]The number of issues printed and distributed for all the following periodicals were found in Albert, 12-22; as well as in Aguet, 216-284.

[4]Jean-Pierre Thénot was a painter as well as a writer and an art critic. He was born in 1803 and died in 1857.

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to achieve a timeless and eternal expression of beauty; the expression of the beau idéal had to be the artist's ultimate goal. He favored artists such as Horace Vernet and Paul Delaroche for the exactitude of their work, their attention to perfect imitation and detail, as well as for the simplicity and clarity of their composition:

> S'il est indispensable de faire rayonner la pensée dans un tableau, il faut que cette pensée saisisse, captive, qu'elle soit grande, salutaire, mais surtout simple et facile à comprendre; il faut en un mot qu'elle exprime elle-même de prime abord l'enseignement qu'elle renferme. Ce n'est qu'à cette condition qu'un tableau moral sera réelement un bon tableau, puisqu'on le lire à livre ouvert.[5]

La Quotidienne, with a readership of 6,000 in 1830, dropping after the 1830 Revolution to about 4,000, addressed itself to the landed proprietor; most of its readers did not live in Paris.[6] During the Restoration, it had been a very important newspaper. La Quotidienne was loyal to the court in exile. It recognized the son of the duchesse de Berry, the duc de Bordeaux, as the heir to the French throne under the title of Henri V. It was very outspoken against Romanticism,

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[5]See L'Echo de la littérature et des beaux-arts 7 (May 1846): 161.

[6]The circulation of La Quotidienne was 4,025 in 1836, see Aguet, 242. With the development of the provincial legitimist press, La Quotidienne was forced to merge with other smaller and more reactionary royalist newspapers, L'Echo français, and La France, to become L'Union monarchique. It finally ceased publication in 1890, with a

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and supported the idea that art could only develop under absolutism. When its reviewer complained about the quality of the 1831 Salon, he explained the large number of entries as follows:

> La peinture n'est point aujourd'hui plus populaire en France qu'elle ne le fut à aucune autre époque depuis deux siècles; mais ayant perdu le double patronage des institutions religieuses et aristocratique. Elle tend incessament à devenir commerciale, comme elle le sera toujours dans les états constitutionnels ou républicains, comme elle le fut à Venise et en Hollande, comme elle l'est en Angleterre et en Amérique. Elle réduit donc ses dimensions, pour entrer facilement dans la circulation; elle varie ses formes pour multiplier en quelques sortes ses usages; elle se fait sévère ou grotesque, larmoyante ou volupteuse pour se plier à tous les goûts. De là cet eclectisme de principes, cette oposition de genres, et cette diversité de manières qui font de l'école française un véritable Protée, insaisissable à travers ses innombrables transformations.[7]

Legitimist readers all agreed on the reasons of this decadence. They simply expected the art critics who wrote for the aristocratic newspapers to blame the rise of the bourgeoisie, its pervasive presence as a public and the lowered expectation of its patronage, for the decadence of French "high style" history painting. The legitimist critics equated the supremacy of the bourgeoisie with the appearance

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circulation of about 7,000.

[7]See "Salon de 1831," La Quotidienne, no. 128 (8 May 1831): 2; and Helen Maxwell King, "Les Doctrines littéraires de La Quotidienne," Smith College Studies in Modern Language 1, no.1-4, (Oct. 1919-July 1920).

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and the transformation of certain art forms. The new middle-class collectors, with their lack of artistic education, their suspicious interest in money and their self-confidence were to blame for the rise of uninspiring pleasing pictures:

> Or, dans le *paysage* comme dans le *genre*, dans le *genre* comme dans l'*histoire*, dans la statuaire comme dans la peinture, n'est-ce pas le principe sensible qui domine? La substitution de l'agréable au beau, du charnel à l'intellectuel, de la fantaisie à l'art.[8]

The bourgeoisie was also to blame for the explosion of the number of portraits:

> Ici que voyons nous? L'égoisme sous toutes ses formes, . . . L'égoisme-vanité, on fait faire son portrait: les grands peintres font beaucoup de portraits, chose bien commune en Italie dans les splendeurs de la renaissance. L'artiste ne prostituait pas sa palette à tant de faces bourgeoises. . . . Il y a donc un plaisir bien vif dans l'idée qu'on enverra sa caricature à la postérité! Pauvre postérité, si chaque famille lui conservait soigneusement toutes ces medailles que la médiocrité frappe en l'honneur de la décadence! Bons bourgeois! Honnêtes marchands! Femmes du monde! Respectables industriels! Croyez-moi, resistez au bonheur de contempler sur la toile vos traits chéris: de l'argent que vous perdez à cette vanité, achetez une robe à vos filles, deux pantalons à ce charmant enfant, aimable héritier qui reproduit vos traits avec bien plus de vérité que la brosse; que le surplus soit pour les pauvres, il y en a beaucoup et je vous les recommande. Ce sera un mauvais tableau de moins, et une bonne affaire et une bonne action de plus.[9]

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[8]Henry Trianon, "Salon de 1847," Le Correspondant 18 (April-June 1847): 233.

[9]V., "Beaux-Art. Exposition de 1831," Annales de la philosophie chrétienne, no. 13 (31 July 1831): 60.

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This overview of the legitimist press could not be complete without the mention of the weekly La Mode. It was a satirical and militant magazine, published every Sunday. It interspersed its elegant fashion plates with violent and sometimes witty legitimist polemics. La Mode was edited by the vicomte Edouard Walsh, under the auspices of the duchesse de Berry, who was the true embodiment of the resistance to Louis-Philippe. Despite a small circulation of about 335, it had a real influence on the younger, more dynamic segment of the aristocracy.[10] It openly criticized the court of Louis-Philippe and actively denounced the persecutions endured by the press. La Mode targeted its male readers with political commentary and its female readers with fashion plates. In his opening statement in 1836, Charles Deleutre complained about the difficulty of being a critic when the quality of art was so mediocre:

> C'est vraiment une rude tâche que celle-là, je vous jure! C'est une pénible chose qu'une critique qui vous laisse frois et ennuyé, qui n'allume en vous ni indignation, ni colère; et dites-moi, quelle indignations peuvent exciter les trois mille mauvais tableaux qui vont cacher encore, sous leur insolent étalage, les chefs-d'oeuvre d'un art qui se meurt? . . . C'est elle [la critique] qui devrait dormir et laisser en repos, dans sa vanité nulle, ce pauvre art sans dieux

[10]It is important to point out that the number of issues of the periodical is not the only indicator of its importance. The case of La Mode is rather typical: all its subscribers were wealthy and influential members of a real opposition to the constitutional regime.

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> et sans Mécènes, sans inspiration et sans gloire, cet art qui n'a de valeur que dans le commerce, cet art devenu métier! Mais enfin puisque notre tache est là, que devons la remplir, nous prendrons bravement notre parti, nous celui de rire de toutes les médiocrités prétentieuses et si bien encadrées, pour ne pas déplorer la pauvreté, la froideur, et la sécheresse de notre époque de progrès; nous dirons comme Byron: "And if I laugh, t'is that I may not weep".[11]

Each article about the Salon published in La Mode was in fact a wittily sarcastic social criticism of the new government. It was especially keen on mocking Louis-Philippe's taste. The following attack on the commemorative history paintings commissioned by Louis-Philippe for his new historical museum in Versailles shows that art criticism was never only about the quality of the work:

> Le tableau de M. Horace Vernet [Le Calme règne sur Paris] est d'une médiocrité désespérante; décidement la royauté de juillet porte malheur aux beaux-arts; le talent de ce peintre semble l'avoir abandonné avec la légitimité à laquelle il dut sa réputation; l'entrée de Charles X à Paris l'avait beaucoup mieux inspiré.[12]

Decadence, mediocrity, lack of inspiring ideas and ideal, commercialism were among the main ills which, according to the legitimist critics, plagued French painting as a whole. We need to turn now more specifically to the critics' reaction to landscape painting. From what we have

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[11]Charles Deleutre, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1836," La Mode 26 no.6 (1836): 153.

[12]E.S. "Salon de 1834. Revue politique et pittoresque," La Mode 18, no. 11 (15 march 1834): 249.

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seen in the few paragraphs above, landscape painting, as one of the minor genres with very little possibility of an enlightening narrative, was not of special interest to most of the legitimist art critics.

Landscape painting embodied all the evils that the critics had rallied against, and the increasing number of landscape paintings on the Salon walls was nothing more than another symptom of the general decadence that was affecting French society. Many reviewers ran out of space before they could even deal with landscape, or like in La Mode did not find it necessary to devote a specific article to landscape painting:

> Pressé par le temps qui nous manque, puisque le Salon a été fermé aujourd'hui même, nous allons hâter notre grande revue et faire passer rapidement devant nous les bataillons de tableaux que nous n'avons pas encore explorer, dont il y a cependant quelque chose de bon à dire.[13]

In his last article, the reviewer devoted two paragraphs to landscape painting just before his last paragraph, which was devoted to women artists.

With its interest in landscape painting, Le Correspondant was among the legitimist publications a kind of exception. At the 1831 Salon, Le Correspondant was actually

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[13]H.H.H., "Salon de 1833," La Quotidienne, no. 124, (2 May 1833): 1. In his last article, the reviewer devoted two paragraphs to landscape painting just before his last

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the only publication among the legitimist newspapers to consider landscape painting important enough to devote an entire article to it.[14] Le Correspondant was published twice a week, and was the most Catholic of the legitimist newspapers. The art criticism published in Le Correspondant was probably the most coherent of the right-wing views. During the July Monarchy, Le Correspondant supported the landscapists who worked in Rome. For Le Correspondant, landscape painting was acceptable as long as it provided an escape, an exotic view of a foreign land. The newly conquered Algeria, Egypt or Italy remained the favorite and the most praised topics: "On se laisserait aller à contempler ce tableau qui fait illusion. Ce calme vous gagne; cette fraîcheur, on croit la respirer. On regarde, on rêve, on est près de prier."[15] La Mode's anonymous reviewer for the 1831 Salon had made a similar connection between walking through the galleries at the Salon and exotic travels when he described a marine painting by Gudin:

> Ici le ciel d'Afrique âcre et brulant, une nature sêche et corrodée, une végétation crue, verte à reflets rouges, une vapeur de fournaise qui voile jusqu'au

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paragraph, which was devoted to women artists.

[14]A. "Salon de 1831," Le Correspondant 4, no 43 (29 July 1831): 342-45.

[15]E. Molay Bacon, "le salon de 1844," Le Correspondant 6 (April-June 1844): 323.

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> premiers plans, pas un souffle d'aire, un ciel glauque et torréfiant; plus loin, grâce à la puissance magique des contrastes, plus loin une nature fraîche, grise hunide, un ciel nuageux et sombre, des eaux bien jaunes, une atmosphère brumeuse et terne, des terrains détrempés par la pluie, du vent, des bourrasques qui soulèvent et déroules ces longues lames en fouettant leur écumes nacrées. . . . Passons et regrettons de ne pouvoir admirer plus longtemps ces sites admirable--passons, en y jetant un long et dernier regard comme le passager que le navire emporte, et qui laisse à regret derrière lui un vaste et ravissant panorama.[16]

Like most other legitimist papers, the critics of La Mode championed marine painting, a genre that was not popular among the more radical art critics. But Gudin's fame was not long lasting; by 1865, Charles Clément was refusing to talk about him in his book, saying that: "Sa peinture est une caricature du genre."[17] In their history of French landscape published in 1901, Georges Lanoë and Tristan Brice placed Gudin among the precursor of Romanticism. They also mentioned the commission he received for the galerie des batailles at Versailles of ninety-seven paintings representing French naval victories (forty-eight were actually executed). But they ended with this rather definite repudiation of his worth: ". . . la postérité possède une éponge imbibée de liquide corrosif qui ronge impitoyablement les gloires de

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[16]"Musée royal. 1831. Deuxième et dernier article," La Mode 3, no. 7 (1831): 149-50.

[17]Charles Clément, Etudes sur les beaux-arts en France (Paris, Michel Levy: 1865), 357.

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carton. Celle de Gudin ne résiste pas même à un lavage sommaire."[18]

Much of the debate around landscape painting in the first half of the nineteenth century was predicated on a conceptual opposition between two basic landscape types, that of an ideal landscape and that of an imitative landscape.[19] This debate was in no way the exclusivity of the right-wing press, and the preferences of each faction were of course politically motivated. Instead of looking at this debate as the traditional opposition between the avant-garde and the academic, or between Classicism and Romanticism, I would like to propose a reading which exposes an aspect of this argument grounded in the political rather than in the formal. The following example encapsulated the nature of this argument:

> si nous arrivons aux peintres de paysages, nous observons plusieurs manières très distinctes dans leur perceptions ou entente de la nature: les uns de servent de la nature comme d'un thème sur lequel ils brodent, les autres la copient sans rien ajouter ni rien retrancher. Entre ces deux systèmes, lequel est le bon? Ceci est une question qui demanderait plus d'un de nos articles pour la débattre; mais nous

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[18]Georges Lanoë and Tristan Brice, Histoire de l'école française de paysage: depuis Poussin jusqu'à Millet (Paris, Librairie Charles: 1901), 114.

[19]Carla Maria Puppin has studied the opposition between the supporters of traditional historical landscape painting and the supporters of naturalist landscape painting. See Puppin, 8-40.

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> croyons cependant que la nature un peu arrangée est préférable, . . .[20]

The position of the legitimist press was rather ambiguous and difficult; as an opponent of the regime but a staunch supporter of most of the academic values, it found itself at a loss. To support the Academy was to become an ally of the government legitimists despised, while rejecting the Academy's principles and supporting naturalist landscape painting meant joining the bourgeois revolution and accepting the idea that art should be pleasing and entertaining before being moralistic and didactic. The following criticism of the disastrous influence that the triumph of the bourgeoisie had unto the cultural climate of France encapsulated bitterness of the legitimists' powerless position:

> L'amour du positif, la recherche exclusive des jouissances de la vie, le commode substitué au beau ont tout simplement raptissé; notre luxe, nos plaisirs sont mesquins et prosaïques; la diffusion de certaines connaissances que l'on appelle pompeusement des lumières et la division des fortunes qui détruit toutes les grandes existences ont créé une sorte de vie bourgeoise où tout ce confond dans la même médiocrité, où les esprits eux-mêmes se mettent de niveau. L'affaiblissement du sentiment religieux et les progrès du matérialisme théorique et pratique, ont

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[20]H. H. H., Salon de 1833," La Quotidienne, no 124 (2 May): 1; see also ". . . Un paysage est-il ou non une composition? Vous dites non; nous disons oui. Sans doute le motif en est pris dans la nature; mais il faut qu'il passe par l'âme du poète avant de se répéter sur la toile." Louis de Ronchaud, "Salon de 1845," La Quotidienne (20 May 1845).

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> chassé de cette vie toute poésie, toute grandeur, l'enthousiasme, l'amour de la gloire ont été glacé par une certaine raison vulgaire, un certain sentiment d'utilité, qui dans un temps donné assimileraient la société française à celle des Etats-Unis. Il pourra y avoir du bien être et même du bonheur dans une société de ce genre: mais elle tuera l'imagination, et le génie ne coîtra plus sur la terre de France.[21]

Landscape painting was in itself a troublesome genre for the legitimist art critics. As supporters of the academic ideal, their preference should have gone to historical landscape, the only kind of landscape recognized by the Academy and represented by the works of J.-X. Bidault and J.-V. Bertin and J.-C. Rémond, but most critics found it difficult to be truly enthusiastic about a genre which was less and less popular. The reviewer for La Quotidienne made this clear in his 1837 Salon review. While he was obligated to praise the paysage historique, he longed for what he called a fresher and simpler approach to nature:

> Or, les Poussin, Claude le Lorrain nous appartiennent; notre école leur doit les plus purs rayons de sa gloire. Ainsi, il ne faut voir dans leur goût exclusif de nos académies, pour le paysage historique, qu'un hommage rendu à ces grands peintres. Ce culte, nous l'approuvons, nous nous associons bien franchement à ces ovations méritées; mais en admirant leurs créations poétiques, nous ne pouvons cesser d'aimer la nature, simple, négligée dans sa virginale parure, et nous applaudissons bien sincérement aux efforts des peintres

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[21]A., "Salon de 1831," Le Correspondant 4, no 24 (24 May 1831): 189.

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qui s'appliquent à nous la rendre avec des traits champêtres.[22]

The entire article reflected this ambiguity. On one side, he knew he needed to respect the rules of historical landscape and the tradition of Poussin and Claude even if they resulted in dry and predictable paintings. On the other side, he wanted to encourage the artists to refresh their vision by looking at Dutch landscape painting in order to escape the artificiality of idealized landscape. And as nothing was ever purely about formal issues in French art criticism, the reviewer insisted on criticizing the taste of the Academy by praising the taste of the duc de Berry for Dutch landscape.

The duc de Berry was an emblematic figure of the legitimist cause. Assassinated in 1820, he was the father of pretender to the throne of France, the duc de Bordeaux. The aristocracy's taste for Dutch landscape painting from the seventeenth century was documented by Charles Blanc in his volumes, Trésors de la curiosité published by J. Renouard in 1857. Dutch landscape painting had always been appreciated for its lack of artificiality. It had been a favorite of the

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[22]He goes on praising works by Gudin and Cabat which offered: ". . . le style de l'école italienne, et la franchise de l'école hollandaise." S. D., "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1837. VII. Paysages. Intérieurs," La Quotidienne, no 120 (30 April 1837).

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aristocratic collectors since the eighteenth century, but it was still considered a minor genre, an object for the delectation of the eyes rather than the elevation of the soul:

> Cependant, Ruysdaël, Karel-Dusjardin, Berghem, Van-Ostade, Wynans, Bacchuysen Hobema, Wenix et dix autres encore dont l'autre matin nous allions admirer les ouvrages à la vente de la précieuse collection formée avec un goût si pur par le duc de Berry; cependant disons nous, tous ces maîtres en reproduisant la nature dans toute sa simplicité originelle, avaient porté bien loin la réputation de l'école hollandaise. on ne peut pas croire que nos artistes aient été insensible aux beautés des chefs-d'oeuvres des Flamands. Il faut chercher ailleurs la cause de l'opiniatreté avec laquelle ils s'obstinaient à ne faire que de l'histoire, disons-mieux, de la fable en paysage, et de la fable bien souvent vieille et sans physionomie.[23]

Similarly, the anonymous reviewer for Le Correspondant was representative of legitimist art critics when he praised the biggest success of the 1831 Salon, Léopold Robert's L'Arrivée des moissonneurs dans les marais pontins. While this painting should truly be categorized as a genre painting and not a landscape, the critic's comment can help us understand better how much of the art criticism was indeed very often politically motivated:

> Placez cette scène dans les plaines de la Beauce et de la Champagne, elle deviendra triviale et grotesque, et elle le sera d'autant plus qu'elle sera représentée le plus fidélement possible. . . . Ces scènes ne sont relevées que par le grand style des figures et le pittoresque des costumes.

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[23]Ibid.

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> L'Italie, je le répète, est donc l'école nécessaire de tout artiste qui veut s'élever jusqu'au beau.[24]

To be acceptable, a landscape painting had to be remote from the audience's reality. The goal of landscape painting then was not to document the topography of a specific place, but to provide an idealized fantasy of a far-away region. That enabled the audience not to feel too concern with the reality of the subject matter but only appreciate the formal qualities of the execution and the picturesque of the details. We could apply Linda Nochlin's reflection on Orientalist painting to the paintings of the Italian landscape, where Italy and its inhabitants functioned as the "other", and the "exotic."[25] What seduced the critic of Le Correspondant in Robert's work was his depiction of a harmonious and idyllic world, where the peasants were well-fed and well-dressed, where all ages lived together, and where there was a sense of community.[26] This world was far

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[24]A. "Salon de 1831," Le Correspondant 4, no 43 (29 July 1831): 343.

[25]See Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 33-59.

[26]He is not alone among the legitimist critics in appreciating Robert's work for its escapist quality: "Oh! Que de poésie et de force dans ses *Moissonneurs!* Que cet admirable tableau donne une juste et frappante idée des sociétés patriarchales qui existent encore dans les pays qui ne sont pas encore corrodés par une dévorante

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away from the threatening poverty of the French countryside and the industrial revolution. Le beau could only exist in the representation of a fictionalized nature removed from the passage of time and from history.

During the 1840s, Charles Lenormant and Henry Trianon, after having collaborated on other conservative journals, took charge of reviewing the Salons for Le Correspondant. [27] Lenormant (1802-1859) was an archeologist and art historian. He had been Champollion's assistant in Egypt, then became curator at the Bibliothèque Nationale, professor of Egyptology at the Collège de France, and taught history at the Sorbonne for ten years. Lenormant was part of the governmental commission whose role was to look into the artists' demands for reforms. This commission was composed of artists Abel de Pujol, Drolling, Picot, Sigalon, and amateurs such as Vitet and Lenormant. As expected, the sixteen members of the Institut refused to collaborate, claiming that only the Institut had the right to control French artistic life. The commission's recommendations were never to be published

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civilisation." Anonymous, "Musée royal. Exposition. 1831," La Mode 8, no 7 (13 August 1831): 148.

[27]Henri Trianon was born in 1811. He began his literary career with Examen du Salon de 1833. He was also a teacher and later on a librarian at the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève. He was also along with Nestor Roqueplan, an administrator of the Opéra-Comique and wrote the text of a

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nor implemented.[28]

Charles Lenormant's aesthetic position reveals the complexity of the artistic situation in France during this period, and how reductionist our vision shaped by modernism has been. Lenormant was antiromantic, as his position against individualism makes clear:

> Aujourd'hui tous sont artistes, comme tous sont écrivains; il n'est pas de fille de bonne maison qui ne manie la brosse avec une dextérité à faire rentrer sous terre les *Valenciennes* et les *Monsiau* d'autrefois. Après la nuée d'artistes originaux qui pullulent dans presque toutes les familles, la location de modèles est devenue une des branches les plus importante du commerce de la capitale et des provinces. Or, il n'est pas une des personnes auxquelles ces modèles sont destinés qui ne parle des arts et qui n'en juge souverainement; autant d'opinions que d'élèves, autant de réputations que de maîtres; telle est l'avant-scène du Louvre. L'on peut s'imaginer dans quelle disposition débouche cette foule, semblable à des abeilles effarouchées, lesquelles s'en vont cherchant chacune son panier pour y faire essaim. [29]

His contempt for Romanticism was also accompanied by a dislike for what we now term Neoclassicism. He blamed the School of David for having created an artificial art, which looked away from nature and from what he calls le vrai:

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few operas.

[28]On Lenormant see Grate, Deux critiques, 61-62.

[29]On individualism, see Koenraad W. Swart, "Individualism in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century (1826-1860)," Journal of the History of Ideas 23 (January-March 1962): 77-90. Charles Lenormant, "Un Mot sur l'ouverture du Salon," Le Correspondant 9 (January-March 1845): 905.

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> La vérité se recherche dans l'ensemble comme dans les détails, dans les couleurs comme dans le dessin, dans le sens noble comme dans le sens familier. On se persuade qu'avant d'être poétique, exalté, rêveur, atroce ou bouffon, avant de poursuivre Homère ou Shakespeare, de se plonger dans les brumes druidiques, ou d'encenser le soleil d'Indoustan, il faut être peintre et faire positivement de la peinture.[30]

He urged the artists to follow nature as a guide and to find in its imitation simplicity and purity. This led him to favor painters, whom we no longer associate with the idea of straightforward representation, such as Léopold Robert, Victor Schnetz and Horace Vernet, and to praise the abstract quality of their work. He was a great supporter of contemporary landscape, because he believed that nature had been less radically affected by industry than society. He believed that there was in the study of nature, a greater potential for renewal. However his taste for naturalistic landscape did not lead him, as we might have expected, toward the Barbizon painters but toward painters such as Caruelle d'Aligny, who is: "le vrai chef de la réforme du paysage."[31]

In summation, while La Mode reacted with wittiness and sarcasm to the loss of political power, for most of the legitimist press the dominant tone was bitterness and

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[30]Charles Lenormant, "De l'école française en 1835. Salon annuel," La Revue des deux-mondes, 4th. ser., 2 (15 April 1835): 179.

[31] Charles Lenormant, Les Artistes contemporains, vol.2,

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pessimism. In an attitude completely at odds with the rest of society, the legitimist press saw at the annual Salon only decadence.[32] Its overall assessment of the Salon was negative. This decadence was above all socio-political in character; it was the direct consequence of the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy:

> . . . l'exposition et les ministères créés depuis la révolution auront entre eux un air de famille, une ressemblance de médiocrité, qui attestera leur existence contemporaine aux yeux de la postérité. L'exposition manque totalement de ce qui prolonge la vie des arts, du génie: si on excepte des artistes estimables dont les ouvrages répondent à leur ancienne réputation, on ne rencontre pas un seul tableau qui promette un brillant avenir à la peinture."[33]

The legitimist press showed an extraordinary sensibility in observing the penetration of capitalism into all aspects of everyday life and particularly into the artistic field; it was quick to make the connection between loss of religious and aristocratic patronage and the need for painting to become commercial. While critics for the bourgeois press observed the same phenomenon, they showed no interest in explaining it. The legitimist critics, on the other hand, offered an explanation for this occurrence, describing how

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(Paris, 1833), 162.

[32]On the concept of decadence see Swart, The Sense of Decadence.

[33]Anonymous, Le Courrier le l'Europe, no. 98 (10 May

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the socio-political system was responsible for the changes in the artistic field.[34] Overall the legitimist press paid little attention to landscape painting, systematically seeing its development as a proof of the general enbourgeoisement of French society. The critics were torn between their allegiance to academic principles and the artificiality and dryness of historical landscape painting.[35] But they could still not totally embrace the simplicity of the more naturalist approach to landscape painting of artists like Camille Flers, because of its lack of idealism and poetic expression:

> naïf observateur de la nature, ce dernier [Flers] semble n'avoir jamais compris l'importance de la lumière et de la variété. Ses tableaux plaisent parcequ'ils sont harmonieux et vrais; mais ils n'émeuvent ni ne font penser, et en voir un, c'est les voir tous.[36]

Corot's painting like Flers's exemplified this dilemma; Corot's Homère et les bergers; paysage (fig. 20), and his

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1831): 1.

[34]See Anomymous, La Quotidienne, 8 May 1831, 2.

[35]". . . la sagesse des compositions de M. Bertin (no. 144 et 145) auxquelles on peut reprocher sans doute la froide symétrie de ses paysages mythologiques et la vapeur monotone de ses teintes grises, mais qui du moins, ne peut entrainer le paysagiste dans des écarts trop dangereux." A. Delaforest, "Expostion de peinture. Promenade au Salon," La Gazette de France (7 May 1836): 1.

[36]Henry Trianon, "Salon de 1847," Le Correspondant 18

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Paysage, exhibited at the 1845 Salon, were praised by the critic of La Quotidienne for their sincerity, straightforwardness and charm but criticized for their lack of finish:

> M. Corot est un des peintres de ce temps qui *sentent* la nature, s'ils ne la reproduisent pas toujours avec un égal bonheur. Dans *un paysage;* une figure couchée et lisant exprime bien la pensée du site, calme, frais et receuilli. Un peu plus achevé, ce tableau serait ravissant. Tel qu'il est, nous le préférons aux deux autres. Dans *Homer et les Bergers* [sic], le paysage est encore une ébauche; les figures sont bien posées, mais pas du tout peintes. M. Corot doit penser de ses personnages ce qu'en disait le Lorrain: Je vends mes paysages et je donne mes figures[37]

Throughout our investigation of the critical reception of landscape painting by the critics working for the legitimist press, we have not encountered many references to the artists, who form the core of our study. Rousseau was never mentioned, Corot has surfaced a few times, Diaz and Troyon were usually quickly mentioned at the end of articles along with the animal painters.[38] Within this context, the landscapists, who were the most often talked about in positive terms were Camille Flers, Prosper Marilhat and Louis

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(April-June): 232.

[37]Louis de Rochaud, "Salon de 1845," La Quotidienne (20 May 1845).

[38]Jacques-Raymond Brascassat, elected to the Academy in 1846, was the most praised of the animal painters and most often seen as equal to the best Dutch artist; ibid.

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Cabat:

> Parmi les hommes que nous aimons parce que le succés faciles ne les ont point corrompus, nous devons mettre M. Cabat en première ligne. Elève d'un homme qui avait trouvé un procédé, M. Flers, M. Cabat ne tarda pas à s'en servir mieux que son maître. Malgré la trace qui en reste sur ses premiers ouvrages, on les voit toujours avec plaisir; ils ont du charme, de la finesse et de la vérité.[39]

A. Delaforest writing for the most widely read legitimist newspaper in France during the July Monarchy, La Gazette de France, was the only critic who refused to recognize any quality in Cabat's work:

> Remarquez, en effet, que si les regards sont affligés par des productions comme celles de MM. Blandin et Huet, et surtout par celles de M. Cabat, qui semblent s'être attachés à dénaturer la nature et à répandre sur leurs compositions: *Forêt de Fontainebleau* (no 179); *Souvenir d'Auvergne* (no 1001); et *Hiver* (no 268), le vague des lignes, l'aspect de sites mal choisit, mal arrangés ou mal représentés, et enfin l'extravagance d'une couleur que, dans ce système de peinture, on appelle hardie, vraie, nature, et qui n'est véritablement qu'effronté, baroque, convenue et ridicule.[40]

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[39]Charles Lenormant, "Salon de 1846," Le Correspondant 14 (1846): 385; see also: "Au milieu de la foule des paysagsites rayonnent le nom de Flers, Troyon, Marilhat; puis à côté d'eux, dans un autre genre quelque peu de convention, vient se placer M. Paul Flandrin." E. du Molay Bacon, "Salon de 1844," Le Correspondant 6 (1844): 321. See also: "M. Cabat nous offre une *Vue prise auprès de Fontainebleau* et une autre empruntée aux Campagnes de l'Indre. C'est un effet de vent et de pluie qu'il a rendu, dans la première avec une saisissante vérité. . . . Tout ce tableau, d'une excécution large et simple atteste un talent du tout premier ordre." S. D. "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1837. VII--Paysages--Intérieurs," La Quotidienne, no 120 (30 April 1837): 1.

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Delaforest's hostility to this kind of landscape painting was in fact a total rejection of Romanticism and its taste for the local and the specific.

The landscapists most often criticized for their conventional style but respected for their choice of elevated subject-matter included Théodore Caruelle d'Aligny, Paul Flandrin and Edouard Bertin:

> Il ne faut pas chercher la nature avec ses traits réels dans les ouvrages de M. Aligny; il lui prête volontier une figure idéale, qui se colore de nuances conventionnelles; . . . et malgrès ce défaut qui nous choque, nous reconnaissons des idées élevées à ce peintre, un dessin pure, . . . M. Bertin a tracé dans la même manière, un paysage historique répresentant le Christ dans le mont des Oliviers. Il ne faut point demander à cette composition plus de nature qu'à l'autre. L'imagination de l'artiste a pu seule inventer tout ce que nous y voyons; . . . tout cela est peut-être hors du vrai, mais tout cela est magnifique.[41]

The legitimist art critics had to battle their dislike of Romanticism, which prevented them from truly accepting the naturalist landscapes of the Barbizon School. But they also rejected the stale and established conventions of historical landscape, finding themselves in an uncertain situation, refusing to let go of the tradition of man's domination over

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[40] A. Delaforest, "Exposition de peinture. Promenade au Salon. Paysagistes--Artistes femmes--Sculpture," La Gazette de France (7 May 1836).

[41] S. D., La Quotidienne, 1

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nature.[42] But above all, the critics saw the popularity of landscape painting as evidence of the social and political changes that were happening since the repudiation of the Bourbon monarchy.[43]

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[42]"Il est bon qu'un paysage ne rend pas seulement l'aspect matériel, mais qu'il exprime encore l'esprit d'un site." Louis de Ronchaud, "Salon de 1846. Paysages--Marines--Portrait--Genre--Les Fleurs de Saint Jean," La Quotidienne, no 138 (19 May 1846).

[43]In his review of the 1847 Salon, Henri Trianon cannot help ending on a patriotic note. He finds the French school superior to the German, Belgium and English schools, despite the fact that: ". . . elle étonne [notre école] et séduit par la variété, par l'abondance et par l'éclat de ses productions. Mais elle se laisse trop envahir par ce qu'il y a de matériel dans l'art; elle recherche trop ce qui se voit et surtout ce qui plait; elle néglige trop ce qui s'adresse à la pensée; en un mot, à son insus ou de son plein gré, elle tend à rien moins qu'à métamorphoser les arts du dessin en des arts de luxe et en simple causes de sensations." Henry Trianon, "Salon de 1847," Le Correspondant 18, (April-June 1847): 233.

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Chapter 6: The Juste-Milieu Press

Since 1815, the press in France had been traditionally an instrument of political opposition; and Louis-Phillipe and his government were well aware of that. They attempted to deal with this reality by relying on a number of newspapers to establish legitimacy for their newly established regime. Among the papers which supported the Orleanist monarchy, I have chosen to concentrate on the following: Le Journal des débats, Le Moniteur universel, Le Constitutionnel, L'Indépendant, Le Siècle, Le Temps, La Presse, La Revue des deux-mondes, and Le Journal des artistes et des amateurs. Among the newspapers that were in favor of the constitutional monarchy, not all agreed with the government all the time. These newspapers represent a wide range of opinions, from Le Siècle, which was the organ of the gauche dynastique, to Le

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Journal des débats, with an annual subscription of eighty francs a year targeted a wealthier readership.[1]

To define the population that read the moderate newspapers supporting the constitutional monarchy is not an easy task. One could assume that those readers belonged to the class responsible for the outbreak of the 1830 Revolution. However, it became rapidly clear that the July Monarchy was taking a much more conservative turn than the more liberal faction of the revolution had anticipated. Some quickly grew dissatisfied with the new regime; soon the lower bourgeoisie and the workers could no longer be counted among its supporters, and found themselves in the growing opposition.

The majority of readers of the press which promoted the July Monarchy were upper-bourgeois and Parisian. But the bourgeoisie was no more than the aristocracy a unified class; it comprised a wide spectrum of people with very varied life-styles and occupations.[2] André Jardin and André-Jean Tudesq have chosen to call this period "le régime des notables,"

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[1]The gauche dynastique was used to refer to the opposition deputies on the left, who were constitutional monarchists and not republicans.

[2]Collingham clearly demonstrate that even during the July Monarchy, thinkers, writers and politicians could not agree on a single definition of the bourgeoisie. See Collingham, 335.

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pointing to the complexity of changing French society. The notables could be aristocrats, pseudo-aristocrats, landowners from bourgeois families, who were neither merchants nor businessmen, or grands bourgeois, financiers, professionals, and high-ranking civil servants. They were the true rulers of the new French society and their power was no longer exclusively based on birthright; it was now also based on wealth.[3] Adeline Daumard in her groundbreaking study of the bourgeoisie came to the conclusion that the unity of this class went beyond wealth, occupation or political power:

> L'unité de la bourgeoisie française, de 1815 à 1914, m'est apparue comme ressortissant à la psychologie collective. Placée plus au moins haut dans la hiérarchie sociale, le bourgeois français au XIXe siècle était un homme qui, socialement, avait une supériorité reconnue, fût-ce à un niveau modeste, et qui se sentait un homme supérieur. Il était mû par une volonté créatrice, un besoin d'action qui l'incitait à édifier quelque chose de neuf, dans l'espoir d'améliorer son avenir personnel, celui de sa famille, celui de son entourage étendu parfois jusqu'à la nation toute entière, selon le degré d'influence que lui donnait sa position dans la société. A la difference des paysans, impuissant devant les intempéries et soumis au destin (ou à la volonté de Dieu), contrairement aux prolétaires qui devait diluer leur personalité dans la masse pour imposer leur force, par opposition à la noblesse traditionnelle qui mettait sa confiance dans le prince, ou à défaut, dans la tradition, les bourgeois comptaient d'abord sur eux-même dans la conduite de leur vie privée et de leur vie sociale.[4]

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[3]See Jardin and Tudesq, La France des notables, 157.

[4]Adeline Daumard, La Bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848 (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1963; rep., Paris: Albin Michel, 1996), XXIII.

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The history of France in the nineteenth century has been written as the rise to economic and political power of the bourgeoisie under the auspices of the industrial revolution and the development of capitalism. Paradoxically while the bourgeoisie has been recognized as the dominant class, it has also been criticized for its lack of education, taste and culture, as well as for its lack of understanding of social questionss and its willingness to concentrate on making money. It was held responsible for the transformation of art into commodity with purely speculative and decorative values. The critic Jal is a good example of this paradox; in his Salon review of 1835, as we have seen in chapter four, he started by welcoming the new Salon, much less exclusive than it had been before. Then a few lines later, he wrote rather negative sentences, full of contempt for the bourgeois audience of the Salon:

> On ne peut voir ni être vu; on est coudoyé par son bottier, son tailleur et son valet de chambre, on vient cependant, parce qu'enfin il faut bien aller au Salon, et qu'excepté les petites gens, qui peut se lever à huit heures pour se geler au Louvre, tous les jours hormis le lundi et le samedi? Comme on n'a que peu de chances pour admirer ou dénigrer des toilettes, pour continuer au Louvre les causeries médisantes du bal, pour observer la marche des intrigues amoureuses que la liberté du Salon favorise, on se décide à regarder les tableaux; on se promène, quand on peut marcher devant les rangées des petits cadres; on loue, on blâme, on fait de l'esprit ou du sentiment; et puis, quand on sort de là bien fatigué, quand on remonte dans sa voiture, on dit: "Il n'y a rien dans tout cela! C'est pitoyable! Pas un tableau capital!

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> Jamais le Salon ne fut plus nul!" En vérité la peinture s'en va! Si M. Kinson n'était pas là, maintenant que Gérard n'y est plus, ce serait à ne pas rencontrer un portrait passable! Quelle décadence![5]

Journalists, critics and writers were very aware of the radical transformation society was undergoing. Alexandre Barbier in his Salon de 1836, utters the traditional complaints about the lack of taste and aesthetic education of the bourgeoisie:

> Dans nos démocraties modernes où les richesses sont éparpillées, où la toute puissance réside de fait dans les classes moyennes, il faut, bon gré malgré, que l'art s'accomode au goût des nouveaux maitres, qu'il se raptisse au niveau de leur fortune, qu'il se proportionne à l'exiguité de leurs demandes sous peine de mourrir à l'hôpital.[6]

Again in 1839, Barbier goes on saying: ". . . dorénavant n'attendez rien de grand de vos artistes, . . . vous aurez du petit, du joli, du soigné et du bien conditionné; mais du grand jamais."[7]

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[5]Auguste Jal, "Salon de 1835," L'Impartial, 24 March 24 1835, 1.

[6]Alexandre Barbier, Salon de 1836 (Paris, 1836), 38.

[7]Alexandre Barbier, Salon de 1839 (Paris: Joubert, 1839), 15-16. I could have added many other examples to my argument, for instance Gustave Planche complained that: "Le goût des grands ouvrages, le goût du grand style s'afflaiblit de plus en plus." in La Revue des deux-mondes 23 (15 April 1847): 357. Alexandre Decamps added: "Les oeuvres d'art d'une originalité trop indépendante, d'une exécution trop hardie, effarouches les yeux de notre société bourgeoise, dont l'esprit étroit ne peut plus embrasser ni les vastes conceptions du génie, ni les généreux élans de l'amour de

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Despite the fact that bourgeois taste was under constant criticism, especially by republican and legitimist art critics, the artists quickly realised that this was now their principal patron. L. Lefebvre echoed Barbier's feeling about the negative influence of the bourgeoisie on the arts. He offered the following analysis of the reason for the decadence of modern French art:

> La véritable cause de la décadence des beaux-arts est dans nos moeurs, dans la condition présente de la société. Nos maisons trop étroites, nos fortunes trop restreintes et trop précaires, nos moeurs trop bourgeoises, nos croyances religieuses trop affaiblies, pour que la peinture d'histoire, la peinture religieuse et la statuaires puissent se developper parmi nous. ... mais une aristocracie financière, qui est essentiellement mobile, qui n'a ni croyances religieuses ni souvenirs historiques, achète des tableaux de genre et de paysage, quand elle achète des tableaux. Aussi sont-ce des tableaux de genre et de paysage qui composent le fond de nos expositions. On pourrait même dire qu'on n'y verrait pas autre chose si la liste civile et l'administration ne venait pas au secours de la peinture d'histoire et de la peinture religieuse.[8]

One of the most visible results of this new kind of patronage was the increase of portraits on the Salon walls; among the two thousand works exhibited at the Salon in 1841, there were five hundred portraits; in 1844, six hundred and

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l'humanité. L'opinion marche terre à terre; tout ce qui s'élève au-dessus d'elle lui échappe." in "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1838," Le National (18 March 1838): 1.

[8]"Salon de 1844," Le Cabinet de lecture, no. 17 (25 March 1844): 279.

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seventy-three portraits were accepted by the jury.[9] The anonymous critic for La Sylphide complained about the abundance of portraits at the Salon in a familiar tone, when he said:

> Les portraits abondent, longs, carrés, ovales, octogones, ils occupent tous les murs, toutes les galleries, tous les salons; on ne peut faire un pas sans en rencontrer une vingtaine qui se suivent, se regardent, se tournent le dos ou se font la grimace. Qu'ajouterons nous? Il n'est pas une profession sociale, depuis pair de France, jusqu'au garde champêtre qui ne se soit fait peindre avec les attributs qui la caractérisent; ... les honneurs du Musée sont une prime offerte à la grossière vanité du bourgeois. Le marchand d'amadou, dont la miniature a figuré au Louvre, se persuade qu'il est un homme célèbre. Supprimez les expositions, les portraits se supprimerons d'eux même.[10]

The bourgeoisie was essentially an urban population, in a country, which was still predominantly rural. Over sixty percent of the French were directly involved in farming, and only twenty-five percent of the French population lived in town and cities. Of this twenty-five percent, half lived in towns with fewer than ten thousand inhabitants. The

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[9]See Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1841," La Revue des deux-mondes 4th ser., 26 (1 April 1841): 5-49. See also Anonyme, "Salon de 1844," Les Beaux-arts 3, no. 60 (1844): 49.

[10]Anonymous, La Sylphide 5 (December 1841-May 1842): 250. During the uncertain times of the French Revolution, artists also painted portraits in increasing number because of the lack of aristocratic and state patronage. Diane Kelder, in her thesis on the Salons from 1789 to 1799, pointed out that the biggest category was portraiture. In uncertain times, portraiture is a meal ticket for artists. See Diane Kelder, Aspects of "Official" Painting and

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bourgeoisie was not united politically, and as I plan to demonstrate later, a significant number belonged to the Saint-Simonian and republican opposition. The bourgeois citizen, who supported the government of Louis-Philippe, saw in the new king the reflection of the perfect middle-class man. They related to his love of the simple family life, remembered that he had fought in the Revolutionary Wars, and respected his reputation of being somewhat of a liberal, free-thinker in the tradition of Voltaire.[11]

The middle-class formed a heterogeneous group, its members were a literate, politically-conscious public, even though many of its members, among them doctors, professors, magistrates, notaries, and members of learned societies, did not pay enough taxes to qualify to vote. The reform of the electoral system had been among the most vehement demands from the Left. During the Restoration, a man had to pay at least thousand francs in direct taxes to serve in Parliament and a minimum three hundred in order to vote. The new voting

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Philosophy in Art 1789-1799 (New York: Garland, 1976).

[11]Louis-Philippe's choice of head of the government, in 1830, symbolized this entire new social, political, and most importantly economic program. For the first time, bankers, Jacques Lafitte and in 1831 Casimir Périer, were Président du Conseil d'Etat. Aristocrats had traditionally held this position. Representatives of the upper bourgeoisie were steadily politically displacing the members of the landed aristocracy.

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law passed in 1831 reduced the tax as qualification for election to five hundred francs and lowered the age of eligibility for election from forty to thirty years old. To be able to vote a man had now to pay at least two hundred francs in taxes and the voting age was brought down to twenty-five. The reform of the electoral system and the abolishment of the hereditary peerage were the only concessions made by the government to the middle-class, which was unable to secure any other political advantage throughout the regime. Among the thirty-five million French people, by 1846, only about two hundred fifty thousand men could vote.[12] Obviously such a system prevented the vast majority of the French population from having their voices heard. Wealth was considered as a token of independence, ability, and also solidarity with the system. Nonetheless the bourgeoisie was prosperous and its members were not manually employed. In 1839, Alfred de Vigny, commenting on the importance of the press for the Parisian bourgeoisie, could say: "Le bourgeois de Paris est un roi qui a, chaque matin, à son lever, un

[12]In 1830 ninety thousand men could vote, in 1831, one hundred and sixty-six thousand. See Hubert Néant, La Politique en France XIXe-Xxe siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1991), 108.

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flatteur qui lui compte vingt histoires. Ce parasite peu dispendieux, c'est son journal."[13]

Despite the contempt in which the bourgeoisie was held by its own more radical members and by the aristocracy, the class found a voice through the juste-milieu newspapers.[14] While the art critics of the royalists newspapers saw only decadence on the Salon walls, the critics from the juste-milieu had to give a more positive vision of the arts in France. If the critisc had written too many harsh and negative comments in the reviews, it then could be interpreted by the government as disguised political criticism. Many critics insisted on the connection between art and society; they saw art as a reflection of the state of society. Art might be an illustration of the society in which it was produced, but it also had to be an inspiration to the nation. Critics appealed to the artists, asking them to forget their differences and to rally toward a balanced

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[13]Quoted in Ledré, 219.

[14]As Robert Bezucha properly commented, the juste-milieu is a "slippery term whose meaning shifted over time and among users." See "An Introduction to History," in The Art of the July Monarchy, 20, see also Albert Boime, "Going to Extreme over the Construction of the *Juste-milieu*," in Chu and Weisberg, The Popularization of Images, 213-235. But by 1848 the expression juste-milieu had become a buzzword of the king's opponents, denoting the corruption and intractability of Louis-Philippe's government. About Louis-Philippe's use of the term in 1831 and its subsequent critical history, see

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compromise between the extremes of Romanticism and the cold mannerism of Classicism.

At this point, it would be tempting to establish a direct correlation between Louis-Philippe's politics of the middle of the road, described generally as an attempt to avoid extremes, and the art critics' plea for eclecticism. However this can only be done after a careful study of the texts. Amboise Tardieu's account of the 1831 Salon is typical of the enthusiasm of the critique of the juste-milieu, eager to connect the renewal of the French school with a more democratic new political regime appealing to the remembrance of the heroic spirit of the first revolution:

> Les beaux-arts me semblent appelés à jouer maintenant un rôle important dans le grand oeuvre de la civilisation générale; l'impression forte qu'ils peuvent faire sur les imaginations, l'enthousiasme qu'ils peuvent inspirer par la représentation des traits d'héroïsme qui font les grands citoyens, doivent faire naître des imitateurs de ces belles actions, et contribuer à répandre ces idées généreuses et ce noble désintéressement dont les peuples libres peuvent seuls enfanter les modèles. Devant cette mission si noble que je crois réservé aux artistes, que devient cette guerre puérile d'école à école, de classique à romantique?" [15]

The art critics of the bourgeoisie, conscious of living at the beginning of a new historical era, saw French art as being in a period of transition, tending towards total

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Haskell, Journal of European Studies, 220.

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renewal. As society was itself in an intermediate stage, art was also changing, going through a crisis. But, contrary to the views of the legitimist critics, the bourgeois critics had no fear for the future, and could only see French art getting better. Fabien Pillet writing for Le Moniteur universel, summarized the position of many of the juste-milieu critics, by saying:

> Il est évident que les arts, comme les lettres, sont dans un moment de crise anarchique, où la majeur partie des peintres, lassés de la monotonie du beau, qui apparement leur parait froide cherchent à l'envie tous les moyens bons ou mauvais, de s'ouvrir des routes nouvelles ... Cette révolution, car s'en est une, ne peut manquer d'avoir un résultat, et la direction qu'elle doit prendre est pour la génération actuelle un puissant sujet de curiosité.[16]

Most of the juste-milieu critics aspired to unity, calm and stability, and above all to the end of the confrontation between the Classicists and the Romantics. Their discourses became articulated around issues of moderation and balance, echoing the preoccupations of the middle-classes, eager for life to return to normal, and business to go on as usual:

> En résumé, c'est la première fois en France que le prix demeure sans contest au talent vrai, simple, rude parfois dépouillé de tout charlatanisme, contre les séductions du pinceau, l'arrogance du convenu, les mignardises de la mode et les protections du beau monde,

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[15]Amboise Tardieu, "Salon de 1831," Les Annales de l'école moderne (Paris: Landon éditeur, 1831): 8-9.

[16]Fabien Pillet, "le Salon de 1831," Le Moniteur universel, no. 234, (22 August 1831): 1444.

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> belle fumée au moins, fumée odorante et de bon aloi, qui consolera nos artistes, jusqu'à ce qu'il plaise aux ministres, aux chambres, aux clubs, au choléra-morbus et à la Prusse de nous faire ou de nous laisser jouir en paix de la belle peinture, de la musique, des émotions douces, et de tout ce qui fait de notre existence autre chose qu'un enfer ou qu'une prison.[17]

Let us now turn to the newspapers themselves, and examine more closely what these publications stood for. Le Journal des débats epitomized Orleanism and the opinions of the haute bourgeoisie. It was read by the upper-middle-classes, property owners, lawyers, bankers, and academics. It was elitist, because of its high subcription rate, it was accessible only to people with a yearly income above ten thousand francs; it also refused, or rather did not see the need to lower its subscription rate to compete with La Presse and Le Siècle. Its circulation reached an average of over 10,500 per day.[18] Its politics were conservative, but it enjoyed a certain independence from the government.[19] It was able to maintain a steady readership despite its high price because of its adoption of the serial novel, and the quality of its political information. André Tudesq noted the

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[17]Anonymous, "Salon de 1831. 14e article. Conclusion," Le Temps (16 August 1831): col. 9880.

[18]See Albert, 14-15.

[19] Hatin noted: "Le Journal des débats est surtout l'interprète des faits: c'est un journal historique par excellence." Hatin, 131.

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important political influence of Le Journal des débats:

> L'exemple du Journal des débats nous montre d'abord que l'influence politique d'un journal n'est pas proportionnel à son tirage. Journal gouvernemental dans un régime censitaire, ce n'est pas seulement à priori un journal conservateur, mais un journal de notables cherchant la qualité influente plus que le nombre élevés d'abonnés, à la difference de La Presse . . ."[20]

Its claim for high standards of journalism was justified by the quality of its writing and the hiring of personalities such as Jules Janin, Hector Berlioz and Etienne-Jean Delécluze as, respectively, theater, music and art critics. The portrait Ingres made of one of its owners Louis-François Bertin, became an image symbolic of the July Monarchy: Monsieur Bertin comfortably enthroned in his chair, looks at the world with great determination and self-confidence.

Delécluze reviewed every single Salon during the July Monarchy.[21] His aesthetic position never changed; as a former student of David, he remained Ingres' staunchest defender. His conservatism brought him respect. His seriousness, his honesty as well as his intelligence brought him a

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[20] André Tudesq, "Un journal gouvernemental au temps de Guizot, Le Journal des débats," Bulletin de la société d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 2d ser., 4 (1958): 12.

[21] On Delécluze's career, see Robert Baschet, E. J. Delécluze, Témoin de son temps, 1781-1863 (Paris: Boivin, 1942). Delécluze wrote an article for L'Artiste, which is a good summary of his aesthetic position, see: L'Artiste, 2d ser., 1 (29 April 1838): 7-10.

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considerable reputation during his lifetime. His support of history painting and classicism never varied; he was the unconditional supporter of the beau ideal. At the 1824 Salon, Delécluze had divided the art world between the supporters of le beau and le laid, and in 1850, he was to equate the two terms, naturalism and peinture socialiste:

> Depuis trente ans que je traite les matières de l'art, j'ai eu pour habitude constant d'éloigner toutes les allussions politiques que l'on se plait si souvent à y attacher.[22] Mais cette année j'ai si souvent entendu parler d'un art, d'un peinture *socialiste* que ce sujet a éveillé mon attention, et après mûr examen, j'ai reconnu que les compositions ainsi désignées, sont au fond les plus fortement empreintes de ce que nous avons appelé *naturalisme;* c'est à dire celles où les personnages sont sans noms, sans célébrité: dont les sujets insignifiants sont tirés de la vie privée la plus humble et la plus commune même, et qui n'ont enfin aucun éclat qui puisse provoquer l'admiration, le respect ou le plaisir; genre de peinture souverainenemt ennuyeuse quand elle n'est pas révoltante, ..." [23]

In his review of the 1839 Salon, Delécluze brought forward this fascinating argument whereby the romantic taste for le laid was actually a kind of moral disease one had to battle in order to save the country from moral depravation:

> Il y a une maladie, le pica, à laquelle les femmes sont particulièremnt sensibles, qui pervertit leurs instincts

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[22]This was of course a rhetorical statement as Delécluze had earlier in his career classified the paintings of Delacroix and romantic painting in general as "l'extrême gauche en peinture", see Baschet, 282.

[23]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, Salon de 1850. Exposition des artistes vivants. 1850 (Paris: Comon Editeur, 1851), pp. 244-245.

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> naturels et leur donne les goûts les plus étranges, comme de manger du plâtre, du charbon, de la chaux, et une foule de substances analogues. Ces appétits dépravés qui indiquent un trouble général dans la santé de ceux qui les éprouvent, sont pour le corps une maladie de la même nature que celle qui attaque l'âme et l'esprit, quand l'intelligence humaine, attirée par le laid et le bizarre, a perdu le goût naturel du beau et du simple. . . . L'influence du laid est d'agiter nos sens, de tourmenter notre esprit et enfin de plonger notre âme dans un trouble perpétuel. . . . Le laid agite et énerve les âmes; au contraire, le beau y entretient le calme et les fortifie.[24]

Delécluze was one of the art critics who dealt methodically with landcape painting. For each Salon he devoted at least one complete article to the landscapists. Each article was actually a very serious study of the state of landscape painting, comparing the different years, giving technical advice to artists, referring to the past. Delécluze made an effort to classify landscape painting in two main categories: Paysage-portrait and paysage historique or paysage de haut style. Each had a different purpose and followed a different set of rules. The paysage-portrait was represented by artists such as Giroux, Jollivard, Camille Roqueplan and Eugène Isabey and the paysage historique by Aligny, Edouard Bertin, Bidault. By 1836, he added another

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[24]This fascinating passage would deserve a closer reading. One should really examine the connections made by Delécluze between women, disease, and perversion of the "natural instinct" and le laid. This is however not the place for such an investigation. See E. J. Delécluze, "Salon de 1839. Quatrième Article: Paysage," Le Journal des débats (21

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category, the "new school of landscapists" in which he included Flers, Rousseau, Cabat and Corot:

> La nouvelle école des paysagistes s'est montrée aussi avec avantage. Les tableaux de MM. Flers, Cabat, Corot, Thuillier, Mercey, Hostein, Ulrich, quoiqu'ayant entre eux tous un air de famille un peu trop prononcé, témoignent cependant du désir sincère que ces artistes ont d'imiter la nature. Presque tous semblent suivre l'Ecole Flamande en ce sens qu'ils s'occupent moins du choix des sites que de la vérité avec laquelle ils les rendent. En général la poétique de ces jeunes paysagistes rase la terre, et leur manière n'est pas exempte d'affectation; mais en somme leurs efforts sont dignes d'éloges et leurs ouvrages se font regarder avec plaisir.[25]

Once again, the case of the reputation of Corot was problematic.[26] In 1831, Delécluze had found that there was: ". . . une analogie entre celles [the compositions] de MM. Aligny, Corot et Edouard Bertin qui donnerait cette confraternité de talents toutes les apparances d'une fondation d'école paysagiste."[27] But later in 1836, Delécluze saw similarities between Corot, Flers and Cabat. This remarks points to the necessity of revising a dialectic approach to

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March 1839): 1.

[25]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1836. Sixième et dernier article," Le Journal des débats (30 April 1836): 1.

[26]Patricia Mainardi has addressed the fluctuation of Corot's reputation. See "Corot entre deux chaises," in Chiari Stefani et al., Corot, un artiste et son temps (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1998): 155-171.

[27]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Exposition de 1831. Sixième article," Le Journal des débats (14 may 1831).

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nineteenth-century French painting, where the artists are cast once and for all as good or bad, as traditional or progressive.[28]

However, according to Delécluze's own understanding of the purpose of art, each type of landscape painting had its own merits and a different level of significance. He made it very clear that the paysage-portrait despite its pleasing quality was far from being as noble or élevé as the paysage historique.

His argumentation was devoid of the aggressivity and sarcasm of the legitimist critics. It was in perfect accordance with the humanistic and classical ideal enforced by the Academy: man was the center of the universe and he was its organizing and controlling force. Painting should testify to this, enlighten the soul and elevate the spirit rather than simply satisfying curiosity or pleasing the senses. But in certain circumstances feelings were allowed to surpercede reason, especially if one was visiting the Salon. There, a familiar scene could move the viewer. Delécluze then recognized the value of rendering the place as faithfully as possible:

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[28]These issues have also been dealt with by Nicos Hadjincolaou in "la 'Fortune critique' et son sort: sur le problème de l'histoire de l'appréciation des oeuvres d'art," Histoire et critiques des arts 3 (November 1977):

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> Souvent le coeur nous bat, dans les rues de Paris, en reconnaissant l'accent et le patois des provinces de la France ou des autres pays que nous avons visités; de même au Salon, nos émotions se succèdent-elles avec rapidité en reconnaissant la représentation plus ou moins fidèle, des lieux que nous avons vus. Le paysage-portrait a toujours eu du charme pour un tas, mais il en a bien plus encore depuis quelques années, où ce genre est traité avec beaucoup plus exactitude qu'autrefois.[29]

Like many other critics Delécluze recognized the evocative and escapist power of landscape painting, but throughout his career, he clearly stated the superiority of ideas over emotion when he praised the paysage de haut style: "pour faire naître dans l'âme des pensées sérieuses et élevées . . ." and he claimed that:

> Le grand art du paysagiste, n'est pas tant de montrer les objets que de les faire deviner, d'y faire croire et de faire naître dans l'imagination de celui qui regarde mille fantaisies et mille rêves qui ouvrent un champ inconnu et infini à la pensée."[30]

However Delécluze did not totally dismiss the role that the paysage-portrait could play in modern society:

> Il n'élève pas beaucoup l'âme et fait peu travaillier l'esprit, mais il excite cette émotion doucce que tout homme ressent à la vue de végétaux dans la plénitude de leur vie, et d'animaux qui sentent momentanément le bonheur de vivre.
> Le paysage plait surtout aux personnes qui ont habité les grandes villes, qui ont été le jouet des

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[29]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Exposition de 1831. Sixième article," Le Journal des débats (14 May 1831)

[30]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1831," Le Journal des débats (23 July 1831): 1.

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> pressions des autres hommes, et sont désabusées de la vie.[31]

His criticism was seriously grounded in an uncommonly rigorous formal analysis based on the specificity of landscape painting:

> La peinture des sujets où l'homme figure, a pour objet de concentrer l'oeil et l'attention sur un tout fini, circonscrit; aussi tout l'intérêt d'une composition de ce genre, se trouve-t-il ordinairement placé sur le devant du tableau. Mais dans un paysage, l'attention et l'intérêt sont éveillés d'abord par la lumière, puis par le ciel, puis par l'horizon. L'intérêt procède en venant du fond vers les devans [sic], tandis que dans la peinture historique à personnages, il part au contraire des devans [sic] pour s'étendre jusque sur les fonds.[32]

He systematically analyzed landscape paintings from the study of the composition to the description of the texture and the brushwork.[33] To illustrate his point and explain how to

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[31]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1848. Deuxième article," Le Journal des débats (16 April 1848).

[32]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1831. Conclusion," Le Journal des débats (23 July 1831): 3.

[33]In his 1836 Salon, Delécluze criticized the handling of paint in Eugène Lami and Jules Dupré's Bataille de Hondshoote (Lami did the figures and Dupré the landscape): "Les touches téméraires, les épaisseurs de couleur et le travail du pinceau heurté et brutal, ne sont pas de preuves de chaleur et d'enthousiasme. A ce sujet on citera les pratique d'un peintre dont à coup sûr personne ne révoquera en doute le savoir et l'autorité; c'est Rubens. On peut observer minutieusement les ouvrages de cet homme, où il s'est livré à sa fougue avec le plus d'abandon; et malgré la hardiesse de sa touche, jamais on ne la trouvera ni symétrique ni épaisse." Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1836. Sixième et dernier article," Le Journal des débats (30

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analyse the composition of a landscape painting, Delécluze chose a painter who could satisfy both his patriotism (he was always concerned about the status of the French School) and his classical taste, Poussin:

> Pour éclaircir notre pensée et donner du poid à notre opinion, nous citerons le paysage le plus parfait et le plus admirable qu'on ait jamais composé: le Polyphène du Poussin. Rien de plus beau que les trois premiers plans qui forment les devans [sic] du tableau et cependant tout l'intérêt de la composition est rejeté vers le fond sur cette ligne de mer que l'on appercoit à peine, mais que l'on sait que le cyclope amoureux contemple avec une si profonde attention.[34]

Delécluze could not help praising the qualities of Corot, Rousseau and Cabat who he swa as the representatives the nouvelle école de la vérité. About Rousseau, he commented: "Dans un genre plus grave, mais où la vérité exacte est la qualité dominante, le tableau de M. Rousseau dont j'ai déjà fait l'éloge, est un ouvrage fort remarquable. Le site sauvage est une vue prise des côtes de Granville, dont l'aspect fait plutôt rêver qu'il n'élève l'imagination."[35] But he was very critical of Corot and Cabat's lack of respect for the purely French tradition of landscape and their borrowing of Dutch and English styles:

April 1836): 2-3.

[34]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salcn de 1831. Conclusion," Le Journal des débats (23 July 1831): 3.

[35]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1833. Huitième

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> Les ouvrages de MM. Cabat et Corot manifestent évidement le désir qu'on ces jeunes artistes de représenter la nature sous un aspect qu'ils préfèrent. Mais à travers les efforts qu'ils font pour arriver à la vérité, on retrouve trop souvent, surtout dans les peintures de M. Cabat, l'emploi des pratiques empruntées à l'Ecole hollandaise.[36]

For Delécluze, painting was not a question of personal temperament. The goal of the painter was to fit within the national style, to improve on it for the glory of the fatherland.

Despite his attention to landscape painting, Delécluze considered that it was still a minor genre, which could not address the highest functions of man: La raison pure and l'intelligence. Someone who appreciated landscape was like someone who instead of appreciating tragedy and poetry appreciated only vaudeville and romance novels.[37] Like the other critics of the July Monarchy, Delécluze was especially keen on relating the development of the taste for landscape painting to the changes happening in society. Science and the spirit of discovery were part of the reason why landscape painting had become so popular:

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article," Le Journal des débats (1 May 1833).

[36]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1834. Septième article," Le Journal des débats (4 May 1834).

[37]See Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1834. Septième article," Le Journal des débats (4 May 1834).

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> C'est depuis vingt ans seulement que le paysage, revenu en honneur, a été étudié d'une manière plus sérieuse, soit qu'on le traitat dans le style élevé, soit qu'on ne cherchat à reproduire fidèlement la nature. Plusieurs connaissances, devenues assez commnune dans notre siècle ont contribué à donner aux ouvrage des paysagistes un caractère nouveau particulier. L'espèce de fureur avec laquelle on a enseigné aux enfants la botanique et la géologie, jointe au goût beaucoup plus généralement répandu pour les voyages, ont imprimé aux études des peintres de paysages une direction scientifique très marquée. Depuis que l'exploration de toutes les contrées de la terre a permis de faire des comparaisons exactes entres la configuration de chacune d'elles, il n'y a pas un paysagiste qui ne fasse sentir dans ses productions, outre la difference des végétaux, le caractère visible des montagnes ou des terrains composés de calcaire, de schiste ou de débris volcaniques.[38]

Delécluze's discourse, which he did not modify throughout the July Monarchy, was also foremost about class, about the ambiguous status of the bourgeoisie. While the bourgeoisie was gaining more and more political and economical power, it was often despised by its own members for its lack of culture:[39]

> Au risque de nous répéter, nous dirons encore que l'art courant, moyen, bourgeois du paysage, est arrivé à un degré de perfection qui rend le critique presque muet.

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[38]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1843. Quatrième et dernier article," Le Journal des débats (15 May 1843).

[39]"The true cohesion of national brotherhood was reflected in the widespread propensity to execrate the bourgeois, especially when, like Flaubert or Cambon or Huysmans or Proust or so many other French, one was himself a bourgeois." In Eugen Weber's France, Fin de Siècle (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1986): 140. On the continuation and the ramification of this phenomenon later in the century see the entire chapter: "A Wolf to All," Weber, 130-40.

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> Les ouvrages de ce genre, qui sans porter un grand caractère, ni procurer de très vive émotions, passent cependant pour admirablement faits et très agréable, sont assez nombreux.[40]

Despite his conservative agenda, Delécluze's art criticism should be remembered and valued for its rigor and consistancy. He was truly one of the most important voice during the period.

We should turn now to Le Moniteur universel which was the official newspaper. It could not compete with the quality and the creativity of a newspaper like Le Journal des débats. Most of its 2,500 copies were distributed free of charge to civil servants and officials. Le Moniteur universel reported on government actions, the debates at the chambers, and carried all sorts of government announcements. Alfred Nettement, a legitimist journalist, wrote about it: "La pensée ne s'y montre nulle part, elle est regardée comme objet de contre-bande; on n'ouvre la porte qu'aux faits."[41] Fabien Pillet was its conservative art critic, reporting on the Salon with efficiency and diligence, but with a constant lack of enthusiasm. He longed for harmony and balance:

> Ces jeunes têtes ont bientôt reconnu au mécontentement du public, que, dans les arts comme en politique, la

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[40]Etienne-Jean Delécluze, "Salon de 1836. Sixième et dernier article," Le Journal des débats (30 April 1836).

[41]Alfred Nettement, La Presse parisienne (Paris, 1846), 26-27.

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> vraie liberté est enemie de la licence. Sans s'assujetir servilement aux vieilles théories, ils sentent aujourd'hui qu'il y a des règles fondamentales dont on ne doit pas s'écarter, et que la raison est l'organe du vrai comme le goût est l'organe du beau. Telle est la loi de la nature: réaction égale à l'action. . . . Heureusement pour nos jeunes artistes, le champ est toujours assez large entre deux exagérations, et l'on verra avec plaisir, cette année, qu'ils s'y sont presque tous donné carrière avec une juste liberté.[42]

Pillet's career as a Salonnier was long, from 1806 to 1851. During his lifetime, his main concern was to make some sense of the variety of artistic styles he encountered on the Salon walls:

> Appelés à dire leur avis sur une multitude d'essais disparates, les journalistes n'ont, pour appuyer leurs jugemens [sic], aucune des autorités qu'ils trouvaient il y a quelques années dans les leçons académiques, ou dans l'étude assidue des grands maîtres; et cette situation si équivoque ne laisse pas d'être embarrassante.[43]

As if Le Moniteur universel wanted to confirm Delécluze's reservations about his contemporaries' artistic taste, Pillet was quick to dismiss Bertin's historical landscapes: "Satisfait de ses relations habituelles avec les dieux, les nymphes et les héros de l'antiquité, ce peintre tout classique ne cherche pas à se mettre en rapport avec les

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[42]Fabien Pillet, "Beaux-arts, Salon de 1843. 1er. article," Le Moniteur universel (17 March 1843): 458.

[43]Fabien Pillet, "Salon de 1833. Deuxième article," Le Moniteur universel, no.70 (11 March 1833): 667.

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hommes des siècles modernes."[44] Pillet's Salon reviews were never as organized as Delécluze's. They resist any formal sense of order. Apart from the first article of each series, which covered the achievement of the French school since the last exhibition and listed how many works of each genre were presented, Pillet described painting after painting without any kind of directive framework. He jumped from one genre to another, from landscape to history painting, without attempting to synthesize the character of each genre. In term of landscape painting, Pillet came to value picturesque depictions of generic places, bathed in sunlight. He especially enjoyed landscape paintings with small figures of bathers or shepherds.[45]

Le Constitutionnel can be considered the leading Orleanist newspaper, with a circulation of 22,000 in 1830.[46] It had played a more active role in the July Revolution than its cautious competitor, Le Journal des débats. But by 1841, its readership had dropped to 6,452, mainly because of internal rivalry and increasingly uninspired writing. Its new director, the docteur Véron was able to save it by doing two

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[44]Fabien Pillet, "Salon de 1831," Le Moniteur universel (30 May 1831): 1024.

[45]Fabien Pillet, "Salon de 1843," Le Moniteur universel (17 March 1843): 776.

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different things. First he brought in new money from the industrialists, with the help of Auguste Thiers who, as a powerful supporter of the newspaper, promised to follow an economic protectionist policy.[47] And when, in 1844, Véron published Eugène Sue's novel Le Juif errant as a serial, he brought back 15,000 subscribers. From the politically influential newspaper it had been at the beginning of the July Monarchy, Le Constitutionnel had become, by 1845, a popular newspaper. Its circulation represented a little more than seventeen percent of the total circulation of daily newspapers in Paris.[48] Its readership was composed of the petite bourgeoisie, minor officials, clerks and shopkeepers. Its tone was anticlerical, socially conservative but politically irreverent. For the Salon reviewers of Le Constitutionnel, it was never a problem to see the development of French painting as a reflection of a highly politicized cultural life; the anonymous reviewer for 1840 felt perfectly comfortable telling his readers in his opening

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[46]See Hatin, 327.

[47]Auguste Thiers was a central figure of the July Monarchy, as well as of the IIIème République. He was an historian, a parliamentary deputy and a minister at different times during the July Monarchy; he was also a journalist, occasionally even writing Salon criticism for Le Constitutionnel in 1822 and 1824. For more information on Thiers, see Collingham, 450.

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statement that painting was pretty much like politics.[49] Its most famous art critic was Théophile Thoré, who wrote the Salon reviews from 1844 to 1848.[50]

Before Thoré took over the Salon reviews of Le Constitutionnel, its anonymous reviewers agreed to support what they labelled le paysage vrai, in opposition to le paysage de convention or le paysage historique represented by Bidault and Bertin.[51] The reviewer in 1836 recognized the

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[48]Aguet, 260.

[49]". . . et la peinture, sous ce point de vue, ressemble assez à la politique. Si dans l'une on se plaint qu'il n'y a plus de partis, dans l'autre on peut dire qu'il n'y a plus d'école." R..., "Exposition de 1840," Le Constitutionnel, no. 66 (6 March 1840): 1.

[50]Thoré had a prolific writing career; as a republican he contributed to many other opposition newspapers, such as La Revue du progrés, La Revue républicaine, Le Réformateur, La Revue de Paris, L'Artiste, Le Journal du peuple, Le Siècle and La Revue indépendante. He had to go into exile after the fall of the Second Republic and was replaced by Louis Peisse as the art critic of Le Constitutionnel.

[51]Despite the fact that he worked extensively for Le Constitutionnel, I have decided to include Thoré with the other republican critics, in order to deal more specifically with the relationship between a critic's personal opinion and the political line of the publication he/she works for. I will have the opportunity to discuss further Thoré's artistic position; he was a dedicated defender of l'art social, a friend and supporter of Rousseau. For more information on his well-documented life (he is one of the main critics of the period who has always stayed in the limelight) see Grate, Deux critiques d'art, 137-251; and Frances Jowell, Thoré-Bürger and the Art of the Past (New York, 1977).

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progress made by the landscapists, and praised their quest for a more authentic rendition of nature:

> Si il existe aujourd'hui une école française, il faut la chercher dans les tableaux de genre et de paysage. Le temps des grandes toiles est passé; personne ne les commande, personne ne les achète; elles ruinent les artistes. . . . Consolons nous avec nos paysages et nos tableaux de chevalet; notre suprématie est là, dans un très proche avenir. Nos paysagistes font de nobles effort, chacun de leur part, pour s'ouvrir des routes nouvelles. En général, ils négligent les études de convention, pour s'attacher exclusivement à la nature, ce maître des maîtres.[52]

The anonymous reviewer of the 1833 set the tone for the rest of the July Monarchy and for the way most understood the new direction taken by landscape painting:

> M. Cabat a révélé dans quatre tableaux un talent d'exécution bien précieux et un bon sentiment de couleur. Il y a peut-être trop des anciens maîtres dans sa manière; mais M. Cabat est de force à devenir lui-même. M. Huet s'est amendé, et il est très bien dans sa large *Vue de Rouen;* dans sa *Soirée d'Automne*, il y a de la poésie. . . . M. Rousseau tient moins que M. Cabat aux anciennes écoles: sa *Vue des côtes de Grandville* est un morceau fort remarquable; les devants sont d'une facture curieuse et d'un excellent effet. MM. Aligny et Corot, dans un système diamétralement opposé à celui de MM. Huet, Cabat, Delaberge, Rousseau et Jadin, sont très bon aussi, larges, simples, en plein soleil, un peu lourd d'exécution, mais puissants et forts.[53]

L'Indépendant was a relatively small newspaper. It came out twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays. It supported

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[52]Anonymous, "Salon de 1836. Paysages. Marines. Genre," Le Constitutionnel (21 April 1836): 1.

[53]Anonymous, "Salon de 1833," Le Constitutionnel, no. 129 (29 April 1833)

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Louis-Philippe and his successive governments. It was faithful to the spirit of the 1789 Revolution, but was fiercely opposed to the Terror of 1793. It embodied the ideas of the moderate bourgeoisie; strictly anti-republican, often printing satirical songs and articles about the danger of the republic. L'Indépendant covered the Salon extensively, with a series of twenty articles on the 1831 Salon. Its reviewers did not seem to have a very precise aesthetic philosophy; they considered their reviewing task as a walk through the galleries, reporting on what captured their attention, following their impressions, describing more than analyzing.[54]

This was quite a common attitude among art critics during the July Monarchy; many writers used the metaphor of the walk or the promenade, equating looking at art with a kind of visual exercise. For instance, Prosper Haussard provides us with a similar approach to art criticism. He wrote for Le Temps, a newspaper more to the center than L'Indépendant, giving us the following analysis of Cabat's *Chemin de Narni*:

> Il prend envie de s'assoir, comme ces braves gens, sur ce beau chemin qui s'ouvre là devant vous. . . . C'est

[54]"Une promenade dans les diverse galeries, en notant, à mesure, ce qui arrêtera nos pas et captivera notre attention." Anonymous, "Salon de 1834," L'Indépendant (6 March 1834): 1.

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> un admirable lieu de repos que ce chemin, . . . rafraîchi par les grandes ombres qu'épanchent sur lui ces quelques arbres séculaire dont il est bordé: . . . Tout est réel et on peut respirer là à plein poumons, et l'on y semble vivre davantage, et la senteur des arbres vous embaume, et une sève fécondante vous y pénètre; on sent la terre germer sous les pieds; l'être se mouvoir autour de soi.[55]

For these art critics looking at a landscape painting was a stroll for the eye that should follow the format of any other leisure-time activity; they emphasized the informal aspects of their review, and downplayed any educational or scientific approach.

In 1831, Jules Leroy, writing for L'Indépendant called for a juste-milieu in painting, which could emulate the political choices of the government:

> . . . mais en tout, comme l'a dit un orateur fameux, il est un juste-milieu, le Salon de cette année en offre un type remarquable: romantique et classiques semblent, de part et d'autre s'être fait quelques concessions; les premiers ont été moins outrés, les seconds moins secs; le moment est venu peut-être où la fusion si désirable des deux genres s'opérera et donnera un démenti aux détracteurs de notre école, qui est encore forte et vigoureuse, pleine de sève et d'espérances, quoi qu'on puisse dire, et dont les progrès, longtemps stationnaires, il est vrai, vont nous l'espérons, prendre un nouvel essor sous cette ère de liberté qui commence enfin pour la France.[56]

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[55]Prosper Haussard, "Salon de 1838. Quatrième article," Le Temps (3 April 1838).

[56]Jules Leroy, "Salon de 1831," L'Indépendant (12 May 1831): 1.

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As mentionned before, Le Temps was more to the center than L'Indépendant was.[57] Like Le Constitutionnel it had been in the opposition during the Restoration. At the beginning of the July Monarchy, both papers had derived a lot of prestige from the essential role they had played as supporters of the revolution. Le Temps managed to live off its prestige until 1842, when it ceased publication, its circulation having dropped from 10,000 in Febuary 1831 to a little above 1,000. To the end it was very attached to liberalism and its revolutionary past. It covered a wide range of political and cultural issues and it was read by the more intellectual supporters of Louis-Philippe and by moderate businessmen. Prosper Haussard, Louis Peisse and Charles Lenormant were its principal art critics.

Until a few decades ago, Modernism with its insistence on the physicality of painting had trained the public interested in art to disavow any connection between art and the political and historical context in which it was

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[57]"Organe du tiers-parti de Dufaure et d'Hippolyte Passy, ou autrement dit, du petit groupe qui se tenait à égale distance du centre droit et du centre gauche, et qui n'appartenait ni à Molé, ni à Guizot, ni à Thiers, Le Temps faisait figure d'indépendant. . . . Le Temps était un journal sérieux, modéré, et intelligent qui aurait pu jouer un role important au milieu des difficultés à venir." Henry-Thierry Deschamps, "Notice préliminaire. La presse politique française de 1839 à 1848," in La Belgique devant la France de Juillet, l'opinion et l'attitude française de 1839 à 1848

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produced. During the July Monarchy such reasoning was impossible and art was widely understood as a reflection of its times and everything was analyzed in political term. In his review for Le Temps of the 1831 Salon, Lenormant, whom we have previously encountered working for a legitimist newspaper, clearly exemplified this phenomenon: he classified the painters according to political tendencies. He identified as painters belonging to the extreme right, Granger, Forestier, Lancrenon, Dassy, and Ingres. In the center he placed Lethière, Caminade, Orsel, Schnetz, L. Robert, and Larivière. The center left was occupied by Léon Coignet, Horace Vernet, and Paul Delaroche, and finally he placed at the extreme left Delacroix, Deveria, Sigalon, Champmartin, Decaisne, and Ary Scheffer.[58] In Le Temps, Lenormant had a more confortable platform for his views on landscape painting than in Le Correspondant. He continued his crusade in favor of contemporary landscape, and defined landscape painting as the privileged expression of modernity:

> Cet art tout d'ambition et de lutte, dont la prétention n'est rien de moins que de saisir au passage les effets les plus fugitifs de la lumière et de l'espace; de déployer de vastes horizons, et d'associer l'âme à cette personnification des effets de la nature, l'un des rêves

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(Paris, 1956), 136-137.

[58]See Charles Lenormant, "Le Salon de 1831," Le Temps, no. 562 (4 May 1831): cols. 8236-8237.

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de la pensée moderne, inconnus à l'art et presque à la littérature antique.[59]

Prosper Haussard covered the Salon from 1838 to 1842 for Le Temps. In one of the only books published on the art critics of this period, the republican writer Petroz, supporter of the romantics, declared his admiration for him. He esteemed Haussard for his temperance and his balanced opinion and wrote of him: "Il jugeait sainement les choses."[60] Haussard (1802-1866) was a university professor, respected for his fairnness and the honesty of his judgment. When Albert de La Fizelière in Le Bulletin de l'ami des arts published a review of the different articles printed at the occasion of the 1845 Salon, he praised Haussard, then writing for Le National, for having considerably improved the quality of his writing.[61]

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[59]Charles Lenormant, "Salon de 1834," Le Temps, no. 1633 (8 April 1834): cols. 25133-25143.

[60]P. Petroz, L'Art et la critique en France depuis 1822 (Paris: Germer Baillère, 1875), 67.

[61]Albert de La Fizelière noted: "un remarquable progrès dans la critique des grands journaux." Apart from Prosper Haussard, among the other critics who have improved the quality of their writing, he signaled out Delécluze for Le Journal des débats, Théophile Gautier for La Presse, Théophile Thoré for Le Constitutionnel, Eugène Pelletan for La Démocratie pacifique, de Corcy (whom we have already encounter writing for the legitimist La Quotidienne, in 1844) for Le Commerce, Arsène Houssaye and Paul Mantz for L'Artiste, Bergoniaux for La Revue de Paris, and Jeanron for Pandore, in "Salon de 1845. Revue des Journaux," Bulletin de

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Haussard is one of these forgotten voices, highly regarded during his lifetime, who would an in-depth study. He appreciated Horace Vernet, Eugène Delacroix and Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, and he was one of the active supporters of an annual Salon. According to Haussard everyone had something to gain from the annual Salon; it provided the artists with a healthy emulation and a goal to work toward, gave the art critics an opportunity for regular contact with works of art, sharpened their skill. Finally the annual Salon was beneficial to the public which was being gradually educated through yearly visits.[62] Prosper Haussard and Louis Peisse shared the same position on landscape painting; they identified two distinct schools:

> De ce qui précède nous pouvons tirer nos deux catégories de *Paysages* [sic] pour le Salon de 1841: l'une où le sentiment et la pensée domine, où la nature nous parle parce qu'elle l'a touché lui-même, soit par son ingénuité charmante, soit par sa simple grandeur; l'autre, il y a plus de pratique et d'habileté que de verve et d'émotion, où la nature est fade et monotone dans sa réalité, petite et artificielle à travers ses plus grands effets. Les rangs et les mérites, et les défauts sont divers dans ces deux catégories, et nous n'avons pas l'intention de déprimer complétement la seconde. Mais la première est à nos yeux fort supérieure, . . .[63]

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l'ami des arts 3 (1845): 294-340.

[62]See Prosper Haussard, "Bruit du Salon 1840," Le Temps (1 March 1840): 2.

[63]Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1841," Le Temps (9 April 1841). For Louis Peisse see "Salon de 1837,"

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Each school belonged to a different tradition: "Les maîtres ont vu la nature sous ces deux aspects differents, traité le paysages de ces deux manières. Pour la première, les maître italiens; pour la seconde les Flamands."[64] And more importantly, when they went looking for sign of improvement and progress, they both agreed that landscape painting was the only genre to carry on the glory of the French school:

> Le paysage est de tout les genres cultivés par nos artistes le seul qui soit évidement en progrès, et qui par tant par le nombre que la diversité et la distinction des talens [sic] ait une véritable importance. C'est là seulement qu'on peut reconnaitre quelques originalité de physionomie dans l'école actuelle. . . . la peinture de paysage parait animée d'un principe de vie qui donne déjà beaucoup et fait tout espérer dans l'avenir. . . . Le paysage doit être donc considéré en ce moment comme le meilleur titre d'honneur de notre école, . . .[65]

By 1845, Le Siècle, which had been created in 1836 as a rival to Emile Girardin's La Presse, was the most widely read newspaper in Paris, with a circulation of 35,000. It was

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Le Temps, no. 2749 (28 April 1837).

[64]Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1839," Le Temps (25 April 1839); see also:"L'école flamande peut servir de type au genre *naturaliste;* et si les rapprochemens [sic] de ce genre n'avaient le tort d'être trop absolus, on pourrait dire que le paysage *historique* ou *composé* est au paysage *agreste, champêtre* (ce sont là des désignations techniques) ce que la peinture grecque et italienne est la peinture flamande et hollandaise." Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1837," Le Temps, no. 2749 (28 April 1837).

[65]Ibid.; see also Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-arts. Salon

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contemptuously called by intellectuals Le Journal des épiciers or le Journal des marchands de vin.[66] Le Siècle epitomized the changes undergone by the French press during the July Monarchy, when France was transforming itself into a modern industrial and capitalist state. The board of financial proprietors of Le Siècle had one common concern: the newspaper had to be a good investment and to make money. The subscription rate was low and its owners accepted its moderate left stance as being the most profitable. Le Siècle appealed to the petite bourgeoisie and to artisans, and to their growing dissatisfaction with the regime.

As the main organ of the gauche dynastique, it often opposed the government, finding its politics too conservative, but never going so far as to support the idea of a republican regime.[67] Le Siècle showed an awareness of

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de 1839," Le Temps (25 April 1839).

[66]See Robertval, 3; Robertval was himself rather biased about the qualities of Le Siècle because it had been critical of the contribution of Belgium to the Salon.

[67]Two of its art critics, Louis Viardot and Louis Peisse also worked for Le National, which was an opposition newspaper. We have observed that this happened quite often between the press of the juste-milieu and the press of the leftist opposition: Thoré worked for small republican journals before he worked for Le Constitutionnel; Prosper Haussard worked for Le Temps and then for Le National. Charles Lenormant was the only critic we encountered who worked for the legitimist press and for the press of the juste-milieu.

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social problems, which was not common in the Orleanist press. Articles on the proletariat brought working-class problems home to the middle-class for the first time in an unpolemical manner. This paper was self-consciously populist, it was keen to forge connections between news, information and entertainment. Thus its reviews of the annual Salon quickly became an integral part of this successful blend.

A rather large number of writers wrote the Salon reviews for Le Siècle, from the anonymous reviewer who called himself "un bourgeois," to Louis Viardot, Alphonse Royer, Louis Desnoyer, Hippolyte Lucas, Alfred de Menciaux, Théophile Thoré and Albert de La Fizelière. Such a variety of reviewers makes it difficult to associate Le Siècle with a precise artistic line. The following excerpt is nevertheless a good example of the general tone of the paper, energetic, quick to complain, and rather disrespectful:

> ...et nous passerons en revue, sans autre préambule, les principales toiles historiques du Salon, tout en nous félicitant du petit nombre de sujets traités dans ce genre ennuyeux. N'oublions pas de mentionner, en même temps, comme un autre avantage la rareté des sujets mythologiques et religieux. La plupart des saints et des saintes qui vont se perdre au fond des églises de province, sur la demande des députés, n'offrent pas plus d'interêt à l'art que les vieilles fables exploitées tant de fois.[68]

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[68]Un Bourgeois, "Feuilleton du Siècle. Salon de 1843," Le Siècle (31 March 1843): 1.

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On the other hand, Le Siècle's support of contemporary landscape painting, especially landscape representing specific views of the French countryside, typifies the acceptance of the genre by the critics writing for a moderate bourgeois audience. Le Siècle's attitude toward landscape painting is also typical of the complex relationship between the urban dweller and nature during the nineteenth century. Nicholas Green has perceptively described the complexity of this relationship. The vogue for country homes and the taste for travel prints, collecting contemporary landscape paintings, were just a few facets of the intricate relationship between the urban middle-class and nature.[69] In the following quotation, landscape painting becomes synonymous with escaping Paris; looking at, and eventually owning a landscape painting is the same as a spring walk in the French countryside, thanks to a group of artists who had answered the public's demand for more realistic renditions of nature:

> L'époque des expositions annuelles de peinture est heureusement choisie pour les paysagistes. C'est le moment de l'année où Paris est rempli de Ménalques et de Tityres qui aspirent à dormir sous l'ombrage des hêtres; du haut en bas de la société, chacun las d'un ciel terne et nuageux, et des travaux ou des plaisirs fatiguants de l'hiver, appelle, comme le poète Horace, la campagne à grands cris. . . . Quel effet produise donc nos paysagistes sur un public si parfaitement disposé, ceux-

[69]See Green, The Spectacle of Nature.

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> là surtout qui, épris de la nature, l'ont étudié dans ses plus petites réalités, et qui la représentent avec la plus scrupuleuse vérité! C'est le mérite de notre nouvelle école de paysagistes; ils ont rompu avec la peinture académique, peinture de convention qui sous pretexte de rappeler les anciens maitres, ne rappelait absolument rien; en un mot ils se sont inspirés de la nature.[70]

La Presse, the direct rival of Le Siècle, was much more personal in tone and in organization. It was the creation of its owner and contributor, the famous Emile de Girardin. It was Girardin, with La Presse, and Armand Dutacq, with Le Siècle, who had pioneered the cheap, mass-circulation newspaper in 1836. La Presse ran an average of 22,409 copies per day. Its politics were more conservative, it was friendly toward the legitimists, but truly reflected the personal opinions of its director. Amongst its regular contributors were Théophile Gautier and Emile Girardin's wife the poet Delphine Gay, who writing under the pseudonym vicomte de Launay, made the paper an extension of her own salon where political and literary notables such as Montalembert, Molé, Pasquier, Hugo, Lamartine, Musset, Mérimé, Balzac and Sue congregated. Her Salon was situated on rue Saint-Georges, the epicenter of the new Parisian quarters. She welcomed politicians with quite different opinions as long as they were in the public eye. Littérateurs here were not considered

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[70]Un Bourgeois, "Feuilleton du Siècle. Salon de 1843.

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like exotic entertainment, as they were in the Salons of the aristocratic Faubourg Saint-Germain, but they were treated as publishing-business associates and equals. Delphine de Girardin's salon fed her an endless stream of fresh information and anecdotes for her weekly column in La Presse. It enabled her to transcend the boundaries of her gender and to have access to information, which had been the exclusive province of the male flaneur.[71]

Between 1837 and 1848, Théophile Gautier was the Salon critic for La Presse.[72] This position enabled him to promote his theory of art for art's sake.[73] It epitomized the kind of art criticism Modernism has accustomed us to. This kind of art criticism was made possible by the close relationship between the arts at the time of Romanticism, when writers came to understand how painters worked and attempted to isolate the aesthetic qualities which resided only in the materiality of the painting. Art criticism became a highly

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Paysages. Vues. Marines," Le Siècle (9 May 1843): 1.

[71]On Delphine Gay, see H. Malo, La Gloire du vicomte de Launay, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925).

[72]Except in 1841, when Eugène Pelletan wrote the Salon reviews. See Eugène Pelletan's series of six articles: "Salon de 1841", La Presse (16 March-3 June 1841).

[73]For Saint-Beuve, Gautier was the best exemple of this mode of criticism, see: C. A. Saint-Beuve, "Théophile

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sophisticated description of techniques.[74] A thorough analysis of Gautier's aesthetics is beyond the scope of this study but the following passage exemplifies his position as a defender of beauty in a changing world:[75]

> . . . l'envahissement de l'industrie et de ce qu'on appelle la civilisation, c'est à dire la prééminence de l'utile sur le beau, a fait naître une réaction pittoresque, car la forme magnifique vêtement filé par Dieu pour couvrir la nudité du monde, ne doit pas lui être arrachée par des mains indignes, la beauté ne doit pas périr; les fabricans [sic] de machines auront beau s'ingénir, l'on ne pourra jamais faire des Vénus de Milo et des Titiens à la vapeur; la main de l'homme conduite par son cerveau vaudra toujours mieux qu'un rouage pressé par un ressort . . . .[76]

Like his colleagues Prosper Haussard and Louis Peisse, Théophile Gautier saw within French landscape painting the coexistence of two distinct schools, which he called l'école

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Gautier," Nouveaux lundis 6 (1878): 314-15.

[74]"Gautier's claim to the epithet of presiding master practioner of the genre rested above all on his inimitable ability to respond equably to what ever was presented to him as a subject for criticism. . . . Gautier epitomized the critic's role as a meticulous monitor of art, conscientiously refining his command of the world of art-as-appearance, distilled down to a series of apodictic utterances." Richard Wrigley, The Origins of French Art Criticism from the Ancien Régime to the Restoration (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 6.

[75]See Spencer, The Art Criticism of Théophile Gautier (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1969); and Robert Snell, Théophile Gautier: A Romantic Critic of the Visual Arts (New York: Oxford Claredont Press 1982).

[76]Théophile Gautier, "Variétés. Salon de 1839," La Presse (31 March 1839): 1.

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idéalisée and l'école qui s'attache à la vérité.[77] These two approaches to art were to complement each other rather than merge into an eclectic style. They were two different conventions, which did not need to be exclusive of one another:

> Nous comprenons ces systèmes si differents et pourtant justes tout les deux. L'art peut être considéré de deux façons, la peinture a un but double: de représenter ce qui est et de faire pressentir ce que l'on voudrait qu'il soit. Le portrait et le rêve sont également de son ressort. La réalité et l'idéal, voilà les grandes seules divisions de l'art[78].

Agreeing with most critics of the period, Gautier praised Louis Cabat's paintings and considered him the best landscape artist of the 1840's, because Cabat managed to transcent the triviality of his subject matter by his artistic talent:[79]

> Le modèle est hideux, le portrait est charmant; comment cela se fait-il? Vous passeriez deux cent fois devant de pareil point de vue sans vous y arrêter: La toile de Cabat vous attache des heures entières. C'est que l'art est plus beau, plus vrai, plus puissant que la nature; la nature est stupide, sans conscience d'elle même, sans pensée, sans passion; c'est quelque chose d'insensible et de morne qui a besoin, pour s'animer, que nous lui

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[77]Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1845," La Presse (17 April 1845).

[78]Ibid.

[79]By 1848, Gautier will say of Cabat: "L'école actuelle du paysage doit beaucoup à Louis Cabat; c'est de lui qu'elle a reçu cette magnifique impulsion qui la rend sans rivale au monde." Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1848," La Presse (9 May 1848).

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> prétions l'âme et le souffle. Cabat, dans ses petits cadres gris et crayeux, a caché, à son insus, à sa discrète mélancolie, sa pensée doucement triste, . . .[80]

Gautier was one of the rare critics writing for the press of the juste-milieu who dared to criticize the choices of the Salon jury. He came out in support of Rousseau and against the academic tradition incarnated by Bertin and Bidault:

> Cette année le jury a été encore plus vertigineux que de coutume; . . . Il s'est livré aux caprices les plus inexplicables: On a refusé *Une vue de Venise* à Cabat! A Cabat, le plus grand paysagiste de l'école française! Un talent si pur, si fin, si correct, qui n'a qu'un défaut: la perfection! Il est vrai que l'on a reçu trois paysages de MM. Bidault et Victor Bertin, dont on ne voudrait pas pour devant de cheminée dans une auberge de village. . . . Insigne mauvaise foi! Inconcevable brutalité! L'on a refusé Rousseau; celui là on le refuse à chaque Salon depuis huit années avec une opiniatreté sans exemple. Rousseau est tout bonnement un de nos premiers paysagistes; à coup sûr, l'un des plus audacieux et des plus originaux.[81]

For Gautier what made the vitality of the French school was its power to renew itself by bringing together the tradition of Romanticism and the tradition of Classicism. In a patriotic spirit unseen before, he embraced a diverse landscape painting school in which variety was a sign of strength and not weakness:

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[80]Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1837, Paysages," La Presse (24 March 1837).

[81]Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1840," La Presse (11 March 1840).

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> L'école romantique a donné la couleur, l'école d'Ingres le dessin, et malgré l'indifference du public et les circonstances les plus défavorables, la France tient maintenant en peinture la place de l'Italie, de la Flandres et de l'Espagne: Rome est aujourd'hui à Paris; c'est le centre des arts, et qui n'a pas la sanction de Paris ne peut avoir la vraie mesure de son talent. . . . Cabat représente le *naturisme;* P. Huet, la poésie; Jules Dupré, la couleur; Marihlat, le soleil; Aligny, la composition; Edouard Bertin et Corot la ligne.[82]

Gautier's acceptance and praise of the diversity of French landscape painting, the care he took in classifying all the different categories with its chef d'école exemplified how ill-equipped and reductive theories such as Modernism can be to understand fully this period. It cannot be reduced to a simple confrontation between Romanticism and Classicism, or between Academicism and Avant-Garde.[83]

But beyond that, Gautier was perfectly aware that landscape painting was the best way for the artists to express modernity. He related the taste for travel and exploration, made possible by the development of railways and steamships, to the development of landscape painting:

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[82]Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1840," La Presse (27 March 1840).

[83]Once more the fluctuation of Corot's reputation testifies to the incapacity of Modernism to become a legitimate methodology for grasping the situation during the 1830s and 40s. If one were to write a modernist history of landscape painting by using the Salon reviews, Corot would not have played the innovative role he has been credited with because most of the time he was classified with the historical landscape painters, the academic genre par

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> Les recentes découvertes de l'industrie commencent à faire sentir leur influence au Louvre; les chemins de fer et les bateaux à vapeur ont donné à l'exposition une physionomie particulière. Grâce à eux l'art devient cosmopolite. Il y a au Salon des paysages pris dans toutes les parties du monde; . . . La glorification de l'homme et des beautés de la nature, tel parait être le but de l'art dans l'avenir.[84]

Gautier's sophisticated and poetic criticism bore witness to Girardin's concern to move away from the purely political journal, and to promote newspaper reading as a sophisticated leisure activity, to be both informative and pleasurable. In his journal Girardin tried to balance information with entertaining articles signed by famous writers, travel accounts with society gossip.

The diversification of the press during the July Monarchy not only benefited the daily newspapers; it also saw the birth of numerous magazines and the development of the specialized press, from fashion and children's magazines, to literary, agricultural and medical journals.

The quintessential literary journal of the July Monarchy was La Revue des deux-mondes, under the directorship of François Buloz. By 1843, it had reached a circulation of about two thousand, which, however, was not enough for survival. It relied on the subscriptions which the Ministries

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excellence.

[84]Théophile Gautier, "Salon de 1846," La Presse (31

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of the Interior and Public Instruction took out for their upper-echelon employees, and was forced to accept governmental aid.[85] It was moderately romantic, its political commentaries centrist, and it presented its middle-brow readers with high-quality articles by the foremost writers of the day. George Sand and Alfred de Musset met there in 1833, Honoré Balzac, Jules Michelet, Gustave Planche, Alexandre Dumas, Saint-Beuve, Edgar Quinet were regular contributors. Writers such as Prosper Mérimée, Alfred de Musset and Henri Monnier wrote Salon reviews, but Louis Peisse and Gustave Planche were the principal art critics.

The choice of such critics was perfectly in line with the politics of serious and thorough professionalism the readers of La Revue des deux-mondes had come to expect. Louis Peisse was one of the most self-concious critics we will encounter throughout this study; in 1842 he devoted an entire article of his Salon to an analysis of the duties of the art critic:

> Si elle [la critique] ne remplit pas d'une manière tout-à-fait satisfaisante certains cotés de sa mission, il lui reste toujours, par certains autres, une large et

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March 1846).

[85]La Revue des deux-mondes started with 350 subscribers in 1831 and steadly rose to 1,000 in 1834 and 1,500 in 1838. For more information on La Revue des deux-mondes, see Cents ans de vie française à la Revue des deux-mondes (Paris, 1929), 161.

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> belle part d'influence. Elle éclaire peu sans doute, mais elle agite. C'est un moteur, sinon un flambeau. Elle est l'interprète des public auprès des artistes, et entretient ainsi la vie de l'art lui-même.[86]

Peisse had a long career as an art critic. He had worked for Le National in 1831 and 1834, then at Le Temps in 1836 and 1837, before finally taking Planche's position at La Revue des deux-mondes between 1841 and 1844. He ended his career as an art critic by replacing the exiled Théophile Thoré at Le Constitutionnel in 1849.[87] As well as an art critic, Peisse was also curator of collections at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and a philosopher by training.

While Théophile Gautier found in the coexistence of a variety of landscape painting styles a sign of progress, Peisse was one of the ardent defenders of the eclectic doctrine. He condemned Delacroix and Victor Hugo for picking out only the ugly in nature. He was violently opposed to the domination of color over drawing in painting. He saw the future of the French school in the fusion of the two extremes. He advocated a "middle of the road" style, balanced, elegant and infused with literary idealism. This style was best incarnated by the works of artists such as

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[86]Louis Peisse, "Le Salon de 1842," La Revue des deux-mondes (1 April 1842): 109.

[87]For more information on Louis Peisse, see Grate, Deux

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Vernet, Delaroche, Schnetz and Léopold Robert, whom he greatly admired.

Despite his plea for eclecticism, Peisse felt that two main tendencies existed within French landscape painting: "Le point de vue *naturaliste*, ou le point de vue *idéal ou poétique*."[88] For Peisse, landscape painting was the genre in which French painters had made the most progress.[89] Cabat was the leader of the naturalist school: "Le plus habile de nos paysagistes naturalistes est sans contredit M. Cabat. . . . Il ne court guère après ce qu'on appelle les beaux sites, qui ne sont souvent que des décorations de théatres. Quelques arbres, un chemin, un coin de forêt, lui suffissent ordinairement." [90] Aligny found himself at the head of the idealist school: "Parmi nos paysagistes actuels, M. Aligny est celui de tous qui a cherché avec le plus de sérieux et de décision à renouer la chaîne de l'école idéaliste, dont

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critiques d'art, 60-61.

[88]Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1841," La Revue des deux-mondes, 4th ser., 26 (1841): 35.

[89]"On a remarqué depuis quelques années un progrès évident dans la peinture de paysage." Louis Peisse, "Le Salon de 1842," La Revue des deux-mondes, 4th ser., 30 (15 April 1842): 229.

[90]Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1841," La Revue des deux-mondes, 4th ser., 26 (1841): 3.

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Poussin est resté le type."[91] Corot was somewhere in the middle:

> Il serait difficile de trouver dans la hiérarchie du paysage la vraie place de M. Corot, et il importe peu de s'en enquérir. C'est un talent aimable et naïf qui ne cherche ni à imposer ni à susprendre l'admirateur . . . . Il n'y à guère d'artistes qui n'aient plus d'habileté ou d'industrie pratique, et ne puisse se servir plus adroitement de leur brosse; mais il en est aussi très peu qui, avec tout le métier possible, sachent exprimer avec autant de charme et d'abandon ce qu'ils voient et sentent dans la nature.[92]

The form of Peisse's writing changed according to the publication, he was writing for. When writing for daily newspapers such as Le Temps, his style was livelier, more polemical, using rhetorical questions as a way to raise important issues.[93] When he wrote for La Revue des deux-mondes, each article read like an essay supported by a theory and meant to be understood as a general reflexion of the state of landscape painting for that year.

His articles in La Revue des deux-mondes were much more comprehensive, much more detailed. He reviewed fewer paintings, but each one more in depth. He took into account the evolution of landscape painting as a genre, making

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[91]Louis Peisse, "Le Salon de 1842," La Revue des deux-mondes, 4th ser., 30 (15 April 1842): 235.

[92]Ibid., 238.

[93]See especially his "Salon de 1836," in Le Temps (4 March 1836". The sentences are notably shorter. The style has

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reference to the past, classifying and introducing ideas of hierarchy and development; in short his articles read more like art history than art criticism. Since Diderot's Salons, art criticism had definitely changed from an elitist academic exercise about connoisseurship to a journalistic genre in tune with the expectations of a much more varied audience.[94] Critics were ready to adapt to the evolving rules of the emerging capitalist press.[95]

Gustave Planche, like Delécluze, Haussard and Peisse, is a critic who deserves an in depth-study.[96] He was one of the most reliable critics of the period, always putting the art first, instead of the literary effect or the taste for fashion. Respected and feared for his judgment, he was very influencial in the Parisian art world. George Sand, who enjoyed a short but intense friendship with Planche, left us these impressions: his conversation was not very varied but extremely substantial and clear. She was however a little bit disheartened by "son humeur mélancholique, ses théories de

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a quicker pace.

[94]See Denis Diderot, Salons, eds. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1967, 1975, 1979, 1983.)

[95]On this question, for the period preceeding the July Monarchy, see Wrigley.

[96]For information on Gustave Planche see Maurice Regard, L'Adversaire des romantiques. Gustave Planche, 2 vols.

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dégoût universel, son aversion pour le laisser-aller de l'esprit aux choses faciles et agréables dans les arts, enfin la tension de raisonnement et persistance d'analyse qu'il fallait avoir quand on causait avec lui."[97]

Pontus Grate called his type of criticism "consciencieuse et sévère."[98] In his first Salon published as an independant booklet in 1831, he clearly stated the seriousness of his mission:

> L'art est malade, il faut le traiter comme tel, le consoler et l'encourager, comme doit le faire tout habile médecin. Il faut rapprocher en espérance le terme de la guérison. Mais pour que l'avenir, même le plus prochain, ne se raille pas de nos prophéties, il faut un régime sévère au malade, un travail opiniâtre et une critique consciencieuse.[99]

Art was for Gustave Planche the only way to escape the mediocrity of his times; suffering the common "mal du siècle," Planche found in art a refuge, far above the reality of daily life.

This is probably the reason why in 1831, Planche was one of the rare critics to support fully romantic landscape, and to recognize, instead of Cabat, Paul Huet as the leader of

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(Paris, 1955) and Pontus Grate, Deux critiques.

[97]See Histoire de ma vie (Paris 1904), 4: 282-83.

[98]See Grate, Deux critiques, 71.

[99]Gustave Planche, Salon de 1831 (Paris, 1831), reprinted in Etudes sur l'école française (Paris, 1855), 1:

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the French landscapists. Planche found that Cabat's manner was too much an imitation of Dutch landscape painting:

> J'estime sérieusement les qualités qu'il a révélées jusqu'ici, mais je souhaiterais de grand coeur qu'il abandonnât les galeries pour les voyages, et qu'il appliquât à la réalité le singulier talent d'imitation qu'il n'a jusqu'ici exercé que sur les chefs-d'oeuvre flamands.[100]

By 1836, Planche was defending Rousseau's La Descente des vaches and gave a detailed description of the rejected painting, which he encouraged his readers to go see in Ary Scheffer's studio, along with a seascape painting by Huet which had also been rejected by the Salon jury.[101] For Planche the division of the French landscape school should not be between historical landscape and naturalist landscape, but between romantic landscape and naturalist landscape: "M. Huet prétend avant tout et surtout à l'impression, à l'émotion poétique; M. de Laberge paraît exclusivement préoccupé de la reproduction exacte et complète des moindre détails de la nature."[102]

The art press greatly benefited from the general development of the publishing industry. In 1846, the vicomte

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[100]Ibid., 1: 266. On Paul Huet, see ibid., 1: 94.

[101]Ibid., 1: 37-40.

[102]Ibid., 1: 219.

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Hector de Robertval singled out eight art journals in his article "Les Journaux d'art à Paris et les feuilletons artistiques des feuilles politiques." Robertval's point of view was interesting because of his critical attitude toward the French artistic press; he was Belgian, and the main purpose of his article was to defend the Belgian painters, who always seemed to be harshly criticized when they exhibited at the Paris Salon. He wanted to inform artists of the reputation of each journal:

> . . . il y a dans la capitale du monde civilisé, une dizaine de feuilles *spéciales*, qui se vouent exclusivement à la défense et aux intérêts de l'art. Quand nous disons *aux intérêts*, c'est par pure politesse. Le mot est honnête et c'est tout ce que nous voulons. Pour la majorité, c'est une affaire de boutique, c'est du commerce.[103]

Robertval's numbers are corroborated by the bibliography of art periodicals established by Gustave Lebel; Lebel noted that the art press did not really develop until the 1800s, and did not become important until the mid-1820s.[104] A specialized study of the art press during the July Monarchy would be a welcome addition to 19th-century art scholarship,

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[103] See Robertval, 1. Robertval listed Le Journal des artistes, Le Journal des beaux-arts, L'Artiste, La Revue de Paris, La Gazette universelle des beaux-arts, Le Bulletin de l'alliance des arts, Le Bulletin de l'ami des arts, Le Moniteur des arts and L'art moderne.

[104] Gustave Lebel, "Bibliographie des revues et des périodiques d'art parus en France de 1746 à 1914," Gazette

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but such a study goes beyond the limits of my investigation. Since many of these publications were short-lived, I have chosen to focus on the two main art journals of the period: Le Journal des artistes des amateurs and L'Artiste.[105]

Politically, Le Journal des artistes belonged to the juste-milieu, while L'Artiste was more overtly outspoken against the Academy.[106] The politics and the readership of Le Journal des artistes des amateurs were quite similar to Le Journal des débats; after the 1830 revolution they both had rallied to the new government.[107] Le Journal des artistes was founded in 1826 by Guyot de Fère and was published once a week until 1848. As a professional journal, its mission was

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des beaux-arts, 6th ser., 38 (January-March 1951): 6.

[105]". . . toutes ces feuilles, obligées de vivre au jour le jour pour se soutenir s'enuisent entre elles, se contredisent, s'entre-jalousent, s'entre-dévorent et finissent par s'absorber les unes les autres. Aussi, les voit-on naître et mourrir, changer de propriétaires, de format, d'opinion à toutes les saisons de l'année. C'est une métamorphose perpétuelle. Nous pourrions même dire de quelques-unes, que c'est une *métempsycose* véritable, attendu que, dans leur transformation, elles tournent à la bête d'une manière pyramidale." Robertval, 1.

[106]I will be dealing with L'Artiste's reaction to landscape painting in the next chapter.

[107]Le Journal des artistes had a great variety of Salon reviewers. A careful study of all of them would go beyond the scope of my project; among its most influential critics, I have chosen: François-Charles Farcy, E.-J. Delécluze, Etienne Huard, A. H. Delaunay.

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one of service to art and artists.[108] It carried news and commentaries on all the large government competitions and commissions, on changes in art education, artists' obituaries, and all matters relating to the Société libre des beaux-arts, including its minutes. This organization had been founded by François-Charles Farcy in 1831, it was dedicated to improving employment security and benefits for artists.

Artistically, Le Journal des artistes was rather conservative; under the direction of François-Charles Farcy, it became a fervent opponent of Romanticism. Every week, Farcy would open his editorial with a diatribe against either Delacroix or Victor Hugo:

> Le tableau de La Liberté guidant le peuple, ou le 28 juillet avait annoncé et vanté d'avance sous le nom Une Scène de barricades. M. Delacroix devait s'y montrer supérieur à ce qu'il avait été dans ces oeuvres précédentes; beaucoup de personnes, et nous étions du nombre, en étaient bien aises, pensant qu'il s'était remis en mémoire sa Barque de Dante, et qu'il avait résolu de revenir à un travail serré, à une forme étudiée, à une couleur forte en même temps que sage. Mais nous étions bien dupe de croire à la conversion d'un tel réprouvé! La Liberté guidant le peuple est une femme ignoble, à la peau sale, aux formes grossières, coiffée d'un bonnet rouge, tenant un drapeau tricolore, et gravissant un tas de pavés de manière qu'on ne soupçonne ni le mouvement ni même l'existence de la jambe droite.[109]

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[108]See Le Journal des artistes 1 (January 1-7, 1827).

[109]Charles Farcy, "Salon de 1831," Le Journal des artistes et des amateurs, 5th ser., 1, no. 18 (1 May 1831): 347.

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Like most of the press which supported the politics of the juste-milieu, Le Journal des artistes et des amateurs was eager to acknowledge the superiority of the French School: "L'école française est encore supérieure à toute autre école moderne!"[110] It claimed that the success of the French school could only be guarantied if the artists kept working toward the perfect blending of Classicism and Romanticism, and it urged the artists to strive to merge the two extremes:

> Ajoutons, toutefois, une observation sur laquelle nous ne craignons pas d'insister fortement: c'est que, dans ce rapprochement, dans cette fusion, qui est déjà presque opérée, l'avantage restera aux peintres dessinateurs qui seront devenus coloristes, sur les coloristes qui seront devenus dessinateurs.[111]

Farcy, as editor and Salon reviewer for the Journal des artistes was, with Delécluze, one of the critics of the juste-milieu who was the most attached to the values and standards upheld by the Academy. He could only see in the development of landscape and genre painting and in the decadence of grande peinture signs of the times, when art had ceased to be uplifting and had become only a question of pleasure. In an article of 1838 Bidaut, a member of Farcy's Société libre des beaux-arts, explained what role art had to have in society:

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[110]Ibid., 321.

[111]Ibid., 321-322.

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> Encore une fois, remplir d'abord l'utile et noble mission d'épurer les moeurs, d'encourager leurs concitoyens à la vertue et au patriotisme, par la reproduction des bons exemples; et porter ensuite, par la nature de leurs travaux, la vraie civilisation chez les peuples qui n'en jouissent pas encore, et contribuer ainsi puissamment à l'oeuvre sainte de la fraternisation de tous les peuples, tel est, selon nous, l'avenir réservé aux artistes français, doués de talent et de raison.[112]

Despite the fact that landscape painting had improved greatly, it was still a minor genre, with no intrinsic moralistic messages:[113]

> Nous dirons encore que l'art courant, moyen, bourgeois du paysage, est arrivé à un degré de perfection qui rend le critique presque muet. Les ouvrages de ce genre, qui sans porter de caractère, ni procurer de vives émotions, passent cependant pour habilement faits et très agréables, sont assez nombreux.[114]

Contrary to most critics from the juste-milieu who had no real trouble accepting that landscape painting was moving toward naturalism, Farcy still refused to give up the idea that a landscape artist proved his talent by transforming nature, rather tham by simply copying it:

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[112]Bidaut, "De l'avenir des artistes français," Journal des artistes 23 (1838): 45-6.

[113]"Le paysage, il faut en convenir, a fait comme le genre de grands progrès; beaucoup de talens [sic] se sont perfectionnés; d'autres se sont formés pour ainsi dire tout à coup." Charles-François Farcy, "Salon de 1834," Journal des artistes, no. 16 (20 April 1834).

[114]Charles-François Farcy, "Exposition de 1836," Journal des artistes 19, no. 19 (8 May 1836): 293.

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> Bien que nous puissions convenir que le vrai, dans le paysage, condition première de l'imitation, une des causes qui nuisent à l'école actuelle, et qui rendent le public moins sensible à ses productions, ne serait-ce pas qu'on s'applique beaucoup plus à chercher le *vrai* que le *beau;* qu'on se fait copiste, au lieu d'être artiste; qu'on s'attache beaucoup plus à satisfaire les yeux, qu'à stimuler la pensée, qu'à émouvoir l'âme? . . . Ces reflexions s'appliquent aux paysages qui ne sont trop souvent, aujourd'hui que de simples vues, des scènes choisis avec trop peu d'attention, et que l'on s'astreint à copier servilement.[115]

It is much more difficult to synthesize the opinions of the juste-milieu critics than those of the legitimist because they were writing for much more varied audiences, and their positions on landscape painting varied greatly according to their different personalities. Most of them recognized the need to separate landscape painting into two major categories, but they had in common a lack of appreciation for historical landscape painting. Delécluze in Le Journal des débats and Charles-François Farcy in the Journal des artistes, were the only critics who were outspoken about their preference for historical landscape painting:

> Le progrès que nous avons signalé plus d'une fois dans le *paysage* ne nous a pas empêché de regretter que l'école nouvelle ait peu à peu abandonné le paysage de composition noble, qu'on avait qualifié de nom d'*historique,* pour s'adonner exclusivement au paysage agreste, où l'imitiation vraie est le seul but de recherche du peintre. Ne voudra-t-on jamais se souvenir des admirable pages laissées par Poussin et Claude Lorrain, afin de rentrer dans la voie qu'ils ont si

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[115]Charles-François Farcy, "Exposition au Louvre," Journal des artistes 13, no. 14 (7 April 1833): 246.

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> glorieusement tracée? Ne s'apercevra-t-on pas bientôt que le paysage qui n'est que *nature*, fût-il l'oeuvre de Ruysdaël, ne plaît qu'au yeux, tandis que les admirables compositions de Poussin parlent toujours à l'âme.[116]

They seemed to appreciate the vues or paysages vrais of artists we have completely forgotten about such as Gué, Jolivard, Watelet, and Giroux.[117] They showed very little interest in the artists of the Barbizon School apart from Dupré and Troyon.[118] They preferred Cabat and Flers as representative of a newer kind of landscape painting:

> . . . en un mot, ils se sont inspirés de la nature du grand spectacle de la création. Jules Dupré, Marilhat, Paul Huet, Flers, Cabat, Dagnan, Rousseau et quelques autres ne sont pas en effet des imitateurs d'une admirable école dégénérée; on a tout d'abord applaudi en eux la verve et l'originalité. Les uns ont parcouru la France, qui possède tant de sites pittoresques; les autres ont poussé leurs explorations jusqu'en Orient, mais tout les paysagistes nouveaux, quelle que fût la nature du pays, ont marqué leurs oeuvres du sceau de la réalité.[119]

What is mostly significant about this quotation, chosen rather arbitrarily among many similar ones, is the fact that

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[116]Charles François Farcy, "Exposition de 1836," Journal des artistes 19, no. 13 (27 March 1836): 194.

[117]Anonymous, "Salon de 1831," Le Constitutionnel, no 128 (8 May 1831).

[118]"Dans la seconde école du paysage, école qui s'applique rendre la vie puissante ou le charme ravissant de la nature, M. J. Dupré marche loin en tête cette année." Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1839," Le Temps (25 April 1839).

[119]Un bourgeois, "Salon de 1842. Paysages-Vues-Marines,"

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reviewer has privileged landscape painting of the French countryside alongside landscape paintings of the "Orient", which during this period meant landscape paintings representing the newest conquest of France colonialist expansion: Algeria. The political implications are clear, and patriotism, a feeling we had not seen amongst the legitimist critics, evident.

Corot was most often aligned with Aligny in opposition to Cabat and Huet and Rousseau, as one of the best practioners of the paysage historique.[120] While the modernist tradition has accustomed us to appreciate and value only Corot's naturalist landscapes, the critics of the juste-milieu paid more attention to his historical landscapes and praised them as sign of renewed interest in a genre which had brought much fame to the French school in the past.[121]

Critics who wrote for the juste-milieu newspapers pleaded for moderation.[122] They recognized that they were

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Le Siècle (9 May 1842).

[120]See Anonymous, "Salon de 1833," Le Constitutionnel, no. 119 (29 April 1833); and Anomymous, "Salon de 1836," Le Constitutionnel, no. 98 (21 April 1836).

[121]"Son *Agar dans le désert* mérite aussi certainement le titre de paysage historique que le Polyphène de Poussin, . . ." Louis Peisse, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1835," Le Temps (24 March 1835).

[122]"Nous aimons donc que nos meilleurs paysagistes se

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living a period of transition.[123] As usual they complained about the lack of inspiration in history painting and the injustices of the jury.[124] But they were optimistic and eager to claim the grandeur of the French School: "L'école française peut donc se rassurer sur sa supériorité en paysage, elle n'a point à craindre la concurrence des Suisses et des Allemands."[125]

For them, during this period of transition and regeneration, landscape painting in its diversity, its vitality and its capacity to assimilate and emulate the past, testified to the strength of the French school. The health of

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soient divisés entre ces deux écoles. L'éceuil est dans l'excés, dans un parti trop systématique. La plupart de nos artistes ont tendance à l'exagération des théories, au fanatisme de la secte." Propser Haussard, "Beaux-arts. Salon de 1839," Le Temps (25 April 1835).

[123]"Les Arts, comme la politique, sont en France dans une période de transition. Ajoutons, pour compléter la similitude, qu'ils éprouvent cette perturbation inséparable de toute crise qui a pour but une rénovation quelconque." Anonymous, "Salon de 1834," Journal des artistes, no. 10 (9 March 1834): 147.

[124]In 1847, 4,900 works of art were presented to the Salon jury; 2,321 were accepted and 2,500 rejected. All the critics railed against the jury. Fabien Pillet, the critic for the very official Le Moniteur universel, was the only one who did not dare to venture onto this path.

[125]Théophile Thoré, "Salon de 1839," Le Constitutionnel, no. 128 (8 May 1839).

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the French school of landscape painting was definitely the direct reflection of the health of the nation.[126]

[126]The works of Poussin and Claude were definitely the point of reference for critics dealing with landscape painting, they were considered the greatest French landscapists at a time when France had been at the height of its power. See "Depuis deux ou trois ans, l'école du Poussin tend à reprendre son ancienne importance. Le paysage *historique* est de nouveau traité avec beaucoup de supériorité par quelques artistes et accueilli avec une ferveur marquée par le public." Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1837. Peinture-Paysage," Le Temps, no. 2749 (28 April 1837).

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Chapter 7: The Republican and Utopian Socialist Press

Not only did Louis-Philippe's government have to combat the right-wing opposition, but it also had to contend with opposition on its left. In the Chamber, the leader of the gauche dynastique Odilon Barrot represented the growing number of French voters who were more and more dissatisfied by the conservative tendencies of the government. The Chamber elected in 1846, which would witness the fall of the regime in 1848, had 459 deputies. The legitimists had sixteen seats, the radical-left twelve deputies, and the Orleanist opposition, led by Barrot, had one hundred representatives. The readers of Le Siècle represented this sector of the discontented lesser bourgeoisie. The fact that Le Constitutionnel and Le Siècle, which generally opposed the conservative moves of the government, were the most widely read newspapers in Paris, capturing over one-third of the

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readership, should have been a warning to Louis-Philippe. However these journals never advocated the overthrow of the government, or the establishment of the republic. For that there was an even more radical opposition. To define it presents a few challenges.

The following numbers exemplify the problem: scholars have estimated that over 180,000 Parisians read a daily newspaper, whilst less than a tenth of these readers could actually vote.[1] So even if one could precisely estimate the number of French people opposed to the government, most of them had no actual effective political power. Among a population of 35 million, only 250,000 men paid enough taxes to qualify to vote, which meant that the majority of the French population had absolutely no political representation.[2] One cannot assume that the French working class was by the 1830s and 1840s politically mature. Many peasants of the western region of France were faithful to the Bourbon King and supported the Legitimists. In the old industrial cities of Lille, Mulhouse, Rouen, Nantes and Lyon, the misery of the

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[1]See for instance James Smith Allen, A History of Reading in Modern France, 1800-1940 (Princeton: University Press, 1981).

[2]For a contemporary discussion of the political representation of the working class, and a definition of the bourgeois and working classes, see Jean Reynaud, "De la nécessité d'une représentation spéciales pour les

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workers was more openly displayed than the dispersed and hidden poverty of the peasants, but the factory workers were not yet organized, trade-unions being, of course, illegal until the end of the century.[3] So who were the twelve deputies who represented the extreme left in the 1846 chamber, for whom did they speak and which papers supported them?

Before describing the different publications opposing the constitutional monarchy and favoring the republic or diverse utopian forms of government, I need to clarify who was part of the leftist opposition. David H. Pinkney estimated that in 1830 Paris, a fourth, perhaps even more, of the population was living both physically and morally on the edge of civilized life, that thousands were beyond this edge, and that most passed readily from one side to the other. In July 1830, of the total population of 755,000, 227,000 Parisians applied for a bread card in order to buy bread at a reduced price. About half the city's population lived in the crowded central quarters, which comprised only about one-fifth of the city's area; here deaths from the cholera

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prolétaires," La Revue encyclopédique (April 1832): 12-14.

[3]On the difficulty of the working class to come together as an effective political force, see Jardin, 214ff.

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epidemic of 1832 were double the average rate for the entire city.[4]

So for a majority of French people, surviving the 1830 and the 1846 depressions and battling with chronic or seasonal unemployment and the rising price of bread were the essential priorities. These difficult living conditions kept them in a state of total dependence, anxiety and degradation. Political activism was, then, a luxury reserved for intellectuals and members of the bourgeoisie. The workers had not yet become conscious of the force they represented by virtue of their numbers and their collective labor.

While the dynamic development of the liberal economy aggravated the social inequalities, the ruling classes became aware of pauperism as a social fact. This situation gave birth to a number of political ideologies that were grouped under the name of utopian socialism, the best known of which are the Saint-Simonians and the Fourierists.[5] Various groups

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[4]David H. Pinkney, "A New Look at the French Revolution of 1830," in James Friguglietti and Emmet Kennedy, eds., The Shaping of Modern France: Writings on French History Since 1715 (London: Collier-Macmillan Company, 1969), 221-222.

[5]The main groups were the Saint-Simonians and the Fourierists. Individual leaders included Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Philippe Buchez, Etienne Cabet and Auguste Blanqui. For more information on their activities; see Collingham, chap. 4 and 11; Jardin, 214-222; and Hunt. In his book, Hunt argues for the existence of five or six different schools of socialism during our

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set out to raise the workers' political consciousness, and presented them with radical solutions for building a new society. The utopian and abstract character of these ideas made them rather inaccessible to the popular masses. These organizations lacked contact with reality and failed to propose immediate and rational solutions to seemingly hopeless situations. The ideas, either humanitarian or utilitarian, propagated by these diverse socialist groups had varied sources of inspiration: the materialist philosophy of the eighteenth century, evangelical Christianity, and some extremist offshoots of the French Revolution. These ideas remained ideologies rather than a popular movement, and they ideas could only become accessible to a tiny minority of workers through the mediation of petty bourgeois and intellectuals.

These different groups were able to disseminate their ideas through a wide variety of publications, including journals and daily newspapers. I will first consider Le National, L'Artiste, Le Corsaire, Le Courrier français which ran throughout the July Monarchy, then La Démocratie pacifique, (1843-1852), La Phalange, (1836-1843, 1845-1849) and Le Globe (1824-1845), all associated with the Fourierists or the Saint-Simonians.

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period.

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Because of their constant attacks on the government; these newspapers were frequently brought to trial and received heavy fines which could easily ruin a small newspaper, especially one with a small circulation. Their only recourse was the Association de la liberté de la presse, which provided legal and financial aid for threatened journals. For the most part, these publications did not stay in circulation very long; while Herbert Hunt has counted thirty-three socialist publications for the July Monarchy, most of them not did not last more than a year.[6]

Despite the fact that the openly republican newspapers could not pretend to reach the large circulation of Le Siècle or Le Constitutionnel, which themselves grew more and more opposed to the conservative principles of the monarchy, it would be a mistake to eliminate them. They are essential to my argument because Salon reviews were for the critics the opportunity to publish their views on art and the role of art in society.

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[6]For example, Proudhon's Le Peuple lasted from 1848 to 1849. The Saint-Simonian feminist papers, such as La Femme libre, and La Femme nouvelle were in circulation only in 1832. The most successful in escaping censorship were: La Revue encyclopédique (1831-1835) and La Revue indépendante (1841-1848) both under the direction of Pierre Leroux, the Fourierist newspapers; La Phalange (1836-1846) and La Démocratie pacifique (1843-1851), the workers' newspaper; L'Atelier (1842-1850) and Louis Blanc's La Revue du progrès (1839-1848).

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Rather than taking the reader for a walk through the Salon, describing the main attractions in a fairly standardized fashion, the critics of the left opposition took this opportunity to express at length their views on special issues, focusing sometimes on just a few paintings. A good example is the series of three articles written by Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant in 1842 for the Fourierist newspaper La Phalange. They constitute a manifesto of Fourierist art policy, rather than a traditional Salon review, and their content is purely theoretical. Laverdant proposed that painting should serve purely utilitarian ends, and not simply satisfy the senses and the taste for beauty. For Laverdant good art cannot exist for the sake of form alone, his closing remarks made this clear: "manierism", skill and technique for the sake of vituosity is demining to painting:

> Tout le monde s'accorde à reconnaitre qu'aujourd'hui nos peintres ont acquis une rare habileté dans les procédés matériels de l'art. Pourtant le génie de notre Ecole reste borné, et elle n'obtient pas l'importance que tant de perfectionnement semble promettre. Une flamme manque à nos artistes, c'est la conscience de leur mission. Marchant comme ils font, sans but et au hasard, ils se retournent sur eux-mêmes, se tourmentent et s'épuisent à la besogne matérielle où s'arrête leur ambition. L'art, exclusivement préoccupé du faire, perd le sentiments des grandes harmonies, conçoit à peine un ensemble, se perd dans le detail avec une ardeur maladive. De là vient le caractère particulier, le vice capital des oeuvres de notre temps, le Manièrisme[7].

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[7]Désiré Laverdant, "Le Salon de 1842," La Phalange, 3rd ser., no. 40 (3 April 1842): col. 643.

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The subtitle of the opening article, "But de l'art--les critiques--les inutilitaires", gave a more accurate picture of the content. He reviewed the writings of other critics. He was especially critical of writers such as Théophile Gautier and his theory of art for art's sake. The following articles completed his manifesto, and did not really focus on the paintings in the Salon:

> Le but de l'art est de chanter et de glorifier la vie humaine et de guider l'homme dans les voies de sa destiné. La destiné de l'homme c'est le bonheur, la satisfaction mesurée de tous ses penchants. L'artiste devra donc, d'une part reproduire, sous une forme vive et saisissante, toutes les images du beau et du bien, ainsi offertes à notre imitation, de l'autre, il étalera avec énergie à nos regards les tableaux de la laideur et du mal afin de redoubler, par la pitié et l'horreur, notre aversion pour les causes et la souffrance, afin d'exalter notre ardeur pour la délivrance du monde.[8]

The republican and socialist press saw art as a powerful political tool and favored the theory of l'art social.[9] In radical circles, culture was appropriated as an active element in the struggle for a new political order. Among the republican left, the arts were seen as agents for progressive change, capable of engaging a mass public with power and

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[8]Désiré Laverdant, "Salon de 1842," La Phalange, 3rd. ser., no. 43 (10 April 1842): col. 691. See also 17 April 1842.

[9]For a contemporary definition of l'art social, see Théophile Thoré, "L'art social et progressif," L'Artiste 7 (1834): 38-42. For a more recent discussion on the topic, see

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immediacy. Art was a powerful and dynamic catalyst: "L'art et le travail sont les deux éléments de l'opinion républicaine, ce sont les deux forces avec lesquelles elle prendra tôt out tard possession du mondes."[10] The artist was considered a seer, a prophetic guide. Saint-Simon demanded a didactic art that would denounce the depraved and unnatural conditions prevailing in the present world, and portray the joys of the new utopian world to be created. Laverdant urged the artists to accept reality and to depict poverty without picturesque, then a painting could serve as an eye-opener:

> On ne tend à la souveraine beauté que par deux moyens, l'amour du beau et la haine du laid. Au lieu d'arranger coquètement les scènes de la misère et de la laideur, chargez le tableau, s'il est possible. Montrez nous le village civilisé avec la saleté pitoyable des masures, étalez-nous les plaies et les déformations du corps dans la classe indigente. Les délicats, optimistes qui se détournent de toute image pénible et craignent de troubler la placidité de leur égoisme, crieront que vous voulez rétablir le culte du laid. Laissez dire et faites votre devoir. Comme le poète dont les vers ardents et généreux pleurent sur le sort des pauvres, artistes, retracez-nous le tableau du malheur pour exiter la pitié de l'âme. Voilà l'emploi juste et utile du laid dans les arts. . . . Allez! Allez! Visitez la demeure du pauvre: vos imaginations fécondes ne sauraient rien inventer qui approche de la hideuse réalité. Et vous dont l'âme s'éloigne des scènes terribles et se laisse irréssistiblement entrainer aux songes radieux, aux images de la richesse et du bonheur, offrez à nos yeux ravis de luxe, le sourire, les fêtes glorieuses, les

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McWilliam, Dreams of Happiness.

[10]Armand Marrast. Vingt jours de secret ou le complot d'avril (Paris, 1834), 37

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> voluptés du bonheur. Retracez-nous les plantureuses contrées, les cérémonies pacifiques, les pompes de l'activité industrielle, les délires de l'amour, l'entrainement de naïves amitiés, les joies de la famille, afin que l'homme s'élance avec plus d'ardeur vers tout ces biens auxquels il aspire incessament et qui lui sont réservés.[11]

In Saint-Simon's later writings the artist emerged as a prominent element in the social order; the artist was to influence his viewers by depicting a vision of good or evil. These critics demanded contemporary subjects, which would reflect the reality of French life and its people:

> L'art ne remplit, pas de nos jours, ses hautes destinés; en grande partie consacré aux récréations de quelques oisifs et à l'amusemenent d'une classe peu nombreuse, il est descendu de la hauteur d'une fonction sociale, pour devenir un objet de luxe. Nous n'avons plus comme il y a quelques siècles, un art religieux qui s'adresse aux masses et que les masses comprennent; nous n'avons un art patriotique, comme l'avait les républiques de la Grèce et comme le Comité de Salut Public en aurait voulu créer un; l'art de nos jours, c'est l'art destiné aux musées, qui n'a d'autre but que lui même.[12]

The critics from the left were the most determined supporters of Romanticism. They acknowledged and championed the artist's right to an individual style as a fundamental principle of modern art:

> L'école nouvelle, dans la révolution qu'elle a opérée, a du moins accompli ce bien incontestable qu'elle a rendu

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[11]Désiré Laverdant, "Salon de 1842," La Phalange, 3rd ser., 5, no. 43 (10 April 1842): 699-700.

[12]Henri Robert [Henri-Robert Feugueray], "Salon de 1841," Le National (30 April 1841).

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> à chaque intelligence sa valeur et son cachet personnel. On a compris enfin que chaque imagination d'homme possède son idéalité sublime et comique, sa puissance et sa faiblesse, sa perfection et sa dégradation. De cette théorie, fille du temps et de la raison, l'art moderne est né; de là résult aussi cette remarquable diversité d'intentions et de volontés, d'étude et de manières dans la plupart des innombrables productions du Salon. Bonne ou mauvaise, chacune du moins est le reflet de l'âme de son auteur, et cette volonté d'être soi, est déjà un grand pas dans la bonne route."[13]

The republican critics viewed any move toward the reduction of artistic innovation as symptomatic of a regime determined to eradicate all forms of effective opposition.

Their criticism of the Academy was especially caustic, even more extreme than of the legitimist critics who criticized the Academy as representative of a government they did not recognize. The republican attacks on the Academy and other state cultural institutions were part of a broader agenda, which rejected oppressive state control as an obstruction to art's ability to communicate an authentic perception of nature, capable of enlightening the public.

Liberating the artist from the control of the Academy was the principal Republican goal. It would bring better access to the marketplace, but also it would offer the prospect of cultural renewal. In an article against L'Ecole

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[13]Leaves de Conches, L'Artiste 1, no. 26 (31 July 1831): 316.

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de Rome,[14] as the winners of the Prix de Rome were called, Maurice-Alexandre Decamps, brother of the painter, wrote:

> L'Institut après avoir si longtemps étouffé les arts sous sa jurisprudence suprême, est jugé à son tour; les yeux s'ouvrent enfin, et s'abaissent aujourd'hui sur les autorités vers lesquelles ils s'étaient élevés si longtemps avec une admiration d'habitude. On ne s'arrête guère plus devant les noms; malheureusement on ne s'arrête guère davantage devant les ouvrages; le public éclairé a rédigé son jugement, la société ne tardera pas à se prononcer.[15]

Decamps went on to demand that artists cease to get their inspiration from Italy, a foreign land, and instead concentrate on the French landscape in order to create a truly national art. The issue of the republican critics' demand for a national art is one of major importance. I will have the occasion to deal with it at length in this chapter. However it is interesting to propose the following parallel, in order to exemplify how art can transcend purely aesthetic values, and become charged with political meaning. When in

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[14]Since the creation of the Prix de Rome by Colbert in 1663, the painters spent time in Rome studying. By the nineteenth century they were spending a three-year stay at the Villa Medicis, all expenses paid by the government, and regularly sent works back to France. Horace Vernet was its director until 1834, followed by Ingres until 1840 then by Victor Schnetz until 1846. In the context of my study on the status of landscape painting, it is interesting to note that during the Third Republic, when landscape became, because of its apparent neutrality, the official genre, Louis Cabat, one of the main landscapists of our period, became the director of the Académie de France à Rome.

[15]Maurice-Alexandre Decamps, "Ecole de Rome, premier

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1798, Napoleon brought back to Paris the art his troops had looted from Italy, and had it displayed in the Musée du Louvre Museum. His goal was to make France the new artistic center of the Western World, with all the political prerogatives of supremacy attached to this claim. By denigrating the importance of Rome and urging the French artists to find inspiration in their own country, the patriotic Decamps wanted to assert the supremacy of France again.[16]

Like their colleagues of the juste-milieu, the art critics of the left-opposition recognized that French art was going through a transitional phase:

> Les dieux s'en vont. Le talent des maîtres (et vous savez qui on appelait les maîtres depuis David), le talent des maîtres s'éteint; leur réputation n'est plus un culte pour personne. On a élevé de nouveaux autels, on a de nouvelles adorations. . . . Tout concourt à cette révolution ceux qui se retirent et ceux qui viennent; le goût qui change, une poésie nouvelle, une forme de gouvernment qui admet l'examen, si sévèrement défendu sous l'Empire. . . . On a dit que c'était l'anarchie, le chaos; non, pour les hommes qui ont achevé leur tâche et voient des novateurs produire, c'est le purgatoire ou l'enfer; pour moi. . .c'est un spectacle plein d'intérêt. J'espère beaucoup des efforts qui se font de tous les côtés: Ils ont déjà eu des

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article," La Liberté, no.16 (30 December 1832): 39.

[16]On the political use Napoleon made of the Italian masterpieces, see Patricia Mainardi, "Assuring the Empire of the Future: The 1798 Fête de la Liberté," Art Journal (Summer 1989): 155-161.

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> résultats, ils en auront de plus grands. Il faut savoir attendre.[17]

This specific perception of the present as a transitional era is the clearest testimony to the historical consciousness of bourgeois critics from the center and the left. Granted then that the majority of French people had neither political representation, nor a voice through the press, the oppositional press represented the bourgeois who were republican, Bonapartist, and liberal.

Despite the fact that the "lower classes" had no real power to represent themselves or to support and advance their causes through their own institutions, they were the object of many articles and at the heart of many social debates played out in the daily press. All the stigma attached to them--pauperism, prisons, crime, illegitimacy, and illiteracy--were often discussed in literature, in scholarly and field studies, in churches and in parliament, where they were recognized as a critical problem for modern France.[18]

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[17]Anonymous, "Les anciens et les nouveaux," L'Artiste, 1st. ser., 1, no. 14 (8 May 1831): 173.

[18]See the novels by Eugène Sue, Balzac and George Sand, and contemporary studies such as Alexendre Parent-Duchâtelet, De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris (Paris, 1836); or Nicolas Harou-Romain, Projet de pénitencier (Caen, 1840). The range of contemporary observation can be sampled in Louis Chevalier, Classes laborieuses et classes dangeureuses (Paris, 1958).

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The critics of the left demanded a national art, exempt from foreign influence. It is easy to understand that what they meant was an art that would separated from the on the academic reference to Italian art. For that reason they were the most ardent supporters of naturalistic landscape, which enabled them to praise the individual vision of each artist of his homeland. Jules Janin praised Rousseau's attentiveness to the French climate:

> C'est une nature âpre et animée. Tout le premier plan est peint avec vigueur et vérité. L'oeil s'arrête à contempler le port naturel des arbres, la tenuité et la mobilité des feuilles; vous sentez l'air circuler frais et vif à travers le feuillage comme dans une matinée d'automne. La physionomie un peu rude de la végétation de notre climat n'a jamais été mieux comprise.[19]

Where the legitimist art critics saw only decadence and the critics of the juste-milieu transition, the republicans and utopian socialists went beyond. They associated the change of government with a revolution in art, confirming one more time that in the 1830s there was no such thing as apolitical art criticism.[20] Critics such as Gabriel Laviron

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[19]See Jules Janin, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1833, " L'Artiste, 1st. ser., 5 (1833): 146; see also: "M. Rousseau sera le peintre qui aura rendu avec la vérité la plus saisissante la physionomie de nos bois agrestes." Anomymous, "Salon de 1834," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 7 (1834): 161.

[20]"Une révolution s'est opérée dans la peinture de paysage comme dans les autres branches de l'art." Victor Schoelcher, "Salon de 1831," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 2, no. 1

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and Bruno Galbacio were not alone in recognizing that while the Revolution of 1830 had re-shaped the social and political structure of France, and that a similar renewal could be expected in the artistic field. In other words each political regime had to have its appropriate artistic style:

> On découvre alors comment un art de convention, né dans une époque de préjugés [they are referring to the Empire and the Restoration], ne peut plus convenir à une société qui s'émancipe et qui, sur d'autres points, à passer du faux traditionnel à l'éducation positive.[21]

Le National was the leading republican newspaper, with a rather stable circulation throughout the July Monarchy, from 3,283 issues in March 1831 to a little bit over 4,000 in November 1846.[22] It was in Le National that Thiers and Rémusat had published the denuncation of the Ordonnances, against the Polignac Ministry and Charles X, which had led to the Trois Glorieuses in 1830. Its readership was composed of middle-class republicans and patriots, students, soldiers and a few prosperous artisans. In 1830, it had been backed financially by the banker Lafitte. It reflected the ideas of businessmen who supported radical politics as long as it suited their ideal of liberalism and capitalism. Its social

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(1831): 1.

[21]Gabriel Laviron and Bruno Galbacio, Salon de 1833 (Paris: Abel Leroux, 1833), 292.

[22]See Albert, et al., 12 and 19

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policy was conservative; and the more militant republicans reproached Le National for its lack of concern for the amelioration of the lower classes's standards of living. It had an idealistic devotion to liberty and favored universal manhood suffrage in a distant future. It refused to print serial novels, maintaining that modern fiction was a frivolous source of corruption, not worthy of a serious journal. Its major contributor, Armand Carrel, was opposed to Girardin's efforts at La Presse to lower the price of subscription, seeing this as a purely materialistic maneuver, but eventually Carrel had to lower the subscription rate of Le National to sixty francs.[23]

The principal art critics who wrote Salon reviews for Le National were Louis Peisse (in 1831 and 1834), Maurice-Alexandre Decamps (from 1836 to 1839), Louis Viardot (in 1835), and Prosper Haussard (from 1843 to 1849).[24] A combination of so many diverse personalities points to one of

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[23]Emile Girardin responded to Carrel's attack with a virulent article in La Presse in 1836. Carrel then challenged Girardin to a duel in the Bois de Vincennes, and gravely wounded him, but Carrel died two days later from the stomach wound Girardin had inflicted.

[24]Louis Peisse was essentially a journalist. He was born in 1803 and died in 1880. He went on to be the Salon reviewer for Le Temps in 1835, 1836, and 1837, then for La Revue des deux-mondes, from 1841 to 1844.

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the challenges of my study.[25] As I have mentioned earlier, none of the different factions of the opposition press could really unite in a common front. All the tensions and the ideological diversity not only weakened the republican opposition, but also have frustrated later attempts to identify a coherent and unified political movement.

The same is true of the differences of opinions within a single left publication, where the aesthetic discourse often tended to be varied and diffuse.[26] Within Le National, political positions could fluctuate dramatically, from rather conservative critics like Désiré Nisard and Louis Peisse in the early 1830s, to the committed radical Alexandre Decamps at the end of the decade, and the moderate republican Prosper Haussard, during the 1840s. Before joining Le National in 1836, Alexandre Decamps had written an 1834 Salon review published as a book, Le Musée, revue du Salon de 1834.[27] In

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[25]We have already encountered Haussard, Peisse and Viardot as critics for; respectively Le Temps and Le Siècle. Am I justified to assume that because a critic wrote for a republican newspaper, he was automatically himself republican? We need an in-depth study of all these personalities in order to know where most of these men stood. One could point to the case of Théophile Thoré who was committed to the republican cause but also wrote for the juste-milieu paper Le Constitutionnel.

[26]The same is true of Romanticism as a whole; encouraging individuality resulted in diversity, which is then hard to deal with just because it is so varied.

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this major publication, Decamps set forth his artistic theories. Like the other republican critics, Decamps saw art as a powerful way to affect people's lives.

Decamps represented the quintessential republican critic. In his reviews, he reiterated the same litany of evils against the French artistic institutions, criticizing the government's policy rergarding commission and the inconsistencies of the Salon jury:

> M. Rousseau, dont le tableau exposé l'année dernière était incontestablement le meilleur paysage du Salon, et qui a vu cette année, en récompense de son succés, refuser son grand paysage. Il est vrai que pour obscursir encore cet imbroglio d'ignorance et d'absurdités, voici qu'on a donné une médaille à M. Rousseau probablement pour le tableau qu'on lui a refusé; car la toile qui seule a été admise par le jury est trop peu importante. Puisqu'on voulait encourager M. Rousseau, il fallait d'abord admettre son ouvrage; autrement l'administration rend au jury l'incivilité que celui-ci voulait faire à M. Rousseau.[28]

Decamps campaigned as well against the authoritarianism of the Academy: "L'Académie, déjà battue partout, n'a peut-être pas encore éprouvé de défaite si complète que celle qu'elle a

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[27]Alexandre Decamps, Le Musée. Revue du Salon de 1834 (Paris, 1834); "Salon de 1835," La Revue républicaine 4 and 5, no. 12-14 (1835); "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1836," Le National de 1834 (16 January-19 May 1836); "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1838," Le National (5 March-1 May 1838); "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1839," Le National (7 March-13 May 1839).

[28]Alexandre Decamps, Le Musée. Revue du Salon de 1834 (Paris, 1834), 92-3.

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essuyée cette année dans la peinture du paysage."[29] But as a republican he was also keen on pointing out the deficiencies of the market, and the narrowly materialistic outlook of private patrons. All these element contributed to art's incapacity to relate to the modern world.

The call for modernity, the praising of the artist's quest for originality, the concern for defining a national art and the acute sense of the transitional nature of contemporary society, were the most distinctive characteristics of the republican critical discourse during the 1830s.[30] For Decamps the goal of art was "de parler au peuple et de l'enseigner en faisant vibrer chez lui la fibre nationale."[31] According to Decamps, if art refused to embrace the period in which it flourished, it could not fulfill its moral responsabilities:

> La doctrine de *l'art pour l'art*, telle qu'elle est formulée aujourd'hui, ne peut pas plus que l'art religieux, prétendre à se faire l'interprète de notre époque, à écrire l'histoire de notre temps, et à nous

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[29]Ibid., 89-90.

[30]"Aujourd'hui, entre une croyance dont toute les formules sont épuisées et impuissantes, et une croyance nouvelle qui n'est pas encore formulée pour les simples et les ignorants, les arts languissent et se traînent avec peine au milieu des tiraillements d'une société qui répudie le passé et cherche évidement un avenir qu'elle ne connait pas encore." Alexandre Decamps, "Les Arts et l'industrie," La Revue républicaine 3 (10 October 1834): 33.

[31]Le National (16 March 1839): 1.

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> représenter auprès des générations à venir. Comme la première, elle n'est que l'expression d'une époque transitoire, et de toutes ces nuances d'opinions, de ces principes, surgira sans doute en son temps l'art vraiment national, véritablement moderne, vers lequel l'impatiente pensée des artistes et des nations s'élance aujourd'hui.[32]

The demand for an art that reflected modernity did not actually originate during the July Monarchy but can be traced, as Klaus Herding has shown, all the way back to the 1760s.[33] For Decamps and his republican colleagues modernity was a prerequisite to art's fulfillment of its moral responsibilities and to the artist's unhindered perception of the outside world. The demand for an art that reflected contemporary life not only was part of the struggle against the Academy but also expressed the desire for an art rooted in experience, which could then create more genuinely accessible cultural idioms. The artist would then be allowed to speak with clarity and emotional power to a mass public. But a paradox arose immediately from this call for change: How could a distinctive language of modernity be constructed in a world ostensibly characterized by fragmentation and crisis? The anonymous critic for L'Artiste echoed Decamps'

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[32]Alexandre Decamps "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1836," Le National de 1834 (4 March 1836): 1.

[33]Klaus Herding, "Utopie concrète à l'échelle mondiale: L'art de la révolution," in La Révolution française et L'Europe (Paris, 1989), 1:xxi.

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preoccupations by commenting on the lack of direction typical of this transitional period, where no clear new direction seemed adequate to replace the old order. Furthermore he blamed this lack of direction for the disenchantment of artists with history painting and their refuge into landscape painting:

> Quand partout en littérature, en morale, en politique, les liens se relachent, que nulle conviction n'a remplacé encore celle qui est morte, quand, faute d'une autorité qui les recueille et les concentre, les sentiments de la masse errent au gré des intérêts et des fantaisies du jour, comment les beaux-arts échapperaient-ils à cet immense naufrage de l'inspiration de la pensée? En fait d'expression durable, l'art n'a jamais que celle de son époque: seulement il peut arriver que dans un siècle de doute, de dissolution et de ruines, le dévelopment plus général de l'intelligence et la rencontre de plus de plus de nature aptes à la pratique des arts excercent et alimentent plus volontiers des dispositions secondaires. . . . Faute d'une croyance générale, qui les portent et les soutiennent; les artistes ne demandent plus rein au monde moral. C'est la nature extérieure qui les sollicite davantage; ce sont ses jeux, ses effets, ses accidens [sic] de lumière et de d'ombre, les différentes formes de sa multiple création, terres et mers, hommes et animaux, plantes et momnumens [sic] qu'ils s'attachent à reproduire.[34]

Decamps' support of contemporary landscape against the traditional paysage historique was rooted in his contempt for the upper-classes and his demand for an art relevant to the present:

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[34]Anonymous, "Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 5, no 6 (1833): 70.

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> Tous ces jeunes artistes [Decamps is talking about Cabat, Jules Dupré, Flers and Troyon] qui font aimer la nature comme ils la voient, comme ils l'aiment, eux qui vivent dans les champs, dans les bois pendant la plus belle partie de l'année, eux qui aiment peindre les tableaux qu'ils découvrent avec tout l'amour qu'inspire un beau pays; toutes ces jeunes intelligences étrangères aux tristes et vaniteuses préoccupations qui engourdissent les classes élevées de la société, ne se laisseront pas prendre au dégoût qui, depuis quelques années, a frappé de mort tant d'artistes de talent et de jeunesse; ils travailleront dans l'attente de l'avenir, comme chaque hiver, ils mettent à profit les études de l'année, en attendant que l'été leur ramène leurs beaux modèles, leur monde, leur société, leurs paysages.[35]

Decamp saw in nature a possible redemption for a society in danger. This attitude went hand in hand with another aspect typical of republican criticism: The demand for a national art. In a fascinating review of the landscape paintings exhibited at the 1837 Salon, Decamps opened his commentary by reviewing the auction of the painting collection of the Elysée Bourbon palace. Commenting on the collectors' enthusiasm for Dutch painting, he nonetheless regretted that they were willing to acquire these foreign works from past centuries instead of visiting the Salon and discovering the work of the talented young generation:

> Bien des riches et honorables amateurs qui sont allés à l'Elysée-Bourbon couvrir d'or les tableaux de Ruisdaël et Winantz, ne savent peut-être pas qu'il y a au Salon des ouvrages qui, pour être de notre temps et sortir des mains des jeunes artistes, ne sont pourtant pas indignes

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[35]Alexandre Decamps, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1839. Intérieurs, Paysages, Portraits," Le National (13 May 1839): 1.

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> peut-être de figurer dans les galeries, à côté de ces illustres grands maîtres. Ces amateurs ne vont peut-être guère au Salon, ou, s'ils y vont, ils n'ont pas la patience de chercher, dans ce bazar de grands et détestables tableaux, un petit paysage de M. Cabat, représentant une vue prise dans le département de l'Indre; finesse et vérité de ton, simplicité d'effet, exécution à la fois ferme et délicate des détails; les qualités qui distinguent cette petite toile sont du premier ordre, et pourtant qui a parlé du paysage de M. Cabat? Excepté les artistes assez patiens [sic] pour aller déterrer les bonnes choses dans les coins obscurs où la direction des musées les a ensevelies.[36]

In this review, Decamps brought forth once more the main ideas of the republican critic. He showed contempt for the former ruling family of France, the Bourbons, by criticizing their taste in collecting and lamenting on the success of the auction.[37] He supported contemporary national landscape painting by proposing Cabat's painting as an alternative to Flemish landscape, and finally demonstrated his disdain for Academic institutions by pointing to the incompetence of the

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[36]Alexandre Decamps, "Salon de 1837 (7e article). Paysages," Le National (30 April 1837): 2.

[37]"Que la haute noblesse, non seulement de France, mais encore d'Angleterre et de Russie, se soit montrée empressée de recueillir les riches et précieuses reliques de la grandeur déchue de la maison de Bourbon, cela ne nous étonne peu; la légitimité et la religion ont repris le sceptre de la mode, en attendant qu'elles reprennent celui de la puissance; nous n'en parlerions même pas, si nous n'étions obligés de chercher dans cette vénération pour les débris de la royauté tombée, l'explication de l'aveugle engouement avec lesquel on acheté indifféremment des chefs-oeuvres et des ouvrages médiocres." Alexandre Decamps, "Salon de 1837. (7e article). Paysages," Le National (30 April 1837): 2.

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Salon organizers. By the 1840s Decamps had abandoned the feuilleton artistique, but he had been one of the most progressive and articulate critics of the period.[38]

After Decamps left Le National, a more moderate critic, Prosper Haussard--who had been the reviewer for the bourgeois newspaper Le Temps--along with Charles Lenormant and Louis Peisse, replaced him.[39] As I have mentioned before, Haussard was an academic, respected for his honesty and his conscientiousness. His criticism was directed by several priorities: art had to be good, useful, moral and national. In his review of the 1843 Salon, he clearly stated what he expected from artists: "Dans toute oeuvre, exiger d'abord l'idée, l'exécution après; préférer l'artiste penseur au *naturaliste*, le sentiment à l'imitation, l'âme à la main."[40] Like Decamps, Haussard imposed on the artist a burden of moral responsibility, making the artist into a pedagogue; he was clearly in favor of didactic art.

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[38]As with so many other forgotten voices, so far I have been unsuccessful in tracing Decamps's career, or even in collecting biographical information. The standard source for biographical information is the five successive editions of Gustave Vapereau's Dictionnaire universel des contemporains, published between 1858 and 1886.

[39]Haussard covered the Salons of 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842 for Le Temps; then the Salons of 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, and 1849 for Le National.

[40]Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1843," Le

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Haussard was a constant supporter of Théodore Rousseau:

> Quelques uns, dont le talent supérieur s'est lassé de ces ignobles affronts [caused by the Salon jury], ont déjà pris les devans [sic] [to create a société libre in order to exhibit outside of the Salon]: M. Barye, qui mettait dans sa sculpture d'animaux un sentiment si vif, une originalité si forte; M. Dupré, qui s'est creusé une route si neuve dans le paysage; M. Théodore Rousseau, dont les toiles atteignent à moitié déjà le prix des Ruysdael, se tiennent pour interdit et ne se présentent plus au Louvre depuis dix ans.[41]

His review of the Salon of 1849 acknowledged the return of Rousseau as the major event of the first jury-free Salon of the second Republic:

> Le fait capital, l'événement du Salon de 1849 à signaler, c'est la réapparition de MM. Th. Rousseau et A. Préault, victimes de la plus sauvage persécution qu'ait jamais exercée un jury académique. Pendant douze ans, les portes du Louvre leur ont été fermées violement, la publicité et la critique interdites, sans que leurs stupides adversaires aient pu les étouffer ou les tuer. . . . Nous espérions voir l'oeuvre entière de paysage que M. Th. Rousseau a créée en silence et à huit-clos pour les amateurs qui se la disputent. Il est regretable qu'il ait envoyé trois toiles seulement: *Une Avenue* (salle 21); *Lisière de Forêt* (salle 23); *Terrains d'automne* (salle 25); cela suffit bien pour justifier le bruit que l'on a fait de cette gloire inconnue.[42]

Such a comment testified to the erosion of the importance of the Salon as sole showcase for of contemporary art, and

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National (15 March 1843): 2.

[41] Prosper Haussard, "Salon de 1847. Ouverture," Le National (16 March 1847): 1. See also for instance Le National (15 March 1844) and (23 May 1845).

[42]Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de

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showed that despite his rejection (and maybe also in part because of this rejection) Rousseau had been able to maintain a reputation and a clientele.

Like his colleague Decamps, Haussard's ardent support of naturalist landscape against historical landscape makes him one of the most important voices in this chapter. Support for naturalist landscape was something many critics from the left had in common. Gabriel Laviron and Bruno Galbacio, two critics associated with the Saint-Simonians participated in the same promotion of naturalism. They favorably described the artist who "cherche dans l'étude de la nature le secret des passions humaines, pour les dérouler en drame sur la toile ou sur le marbre, et faire ainsi de l'art un moyen civilisateur." [43]

The following quotation illustrates the growing interest in naturalism and the moralization of nature among the critics of the left:

> Leurs exemples [Haussard is referring to the Italian and Dutch landscapists] a d'ailleurs engendré la triste catégorie du paysage académique, dit *historique* et *composé*, où le lieu n'est plus que la toile de fond et le décor de l'action, où tout revêt un style convenu, où tout est de pure invention, y compris la nature.

1849," Le National (26 June 1849): 1.

[43]Gabriel Laviron and Bruno Galbacio, Salon de 1833 (Paris: Abel Ledoux, 1833), 343. For a recent study of the investment of nature with a moral, quasi-religious content, see McWilliam, Dreams of Happiness, 281ff.

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> Malgré la grave autorité des maîtres, nous pensons qu'il ne convient pas, même en paysage, de mêler les genres, pour faire passer l'un par l'autre. Mieux vaut garder à chacun sa destination et y chercher franchement son attrait véritable, sa popularité directe. Il faut faire le paysage pour le paysage: La nature lui suffit. La Nature seule doit y vivre avec sa double expression de puissance et de douceur; y parler ses deux langages, le sublime et le naïf. D'un coté, les lignes et les ondulations sévères de ses terrains, les profondeurs mystérieuses de ses bois, la haute architecture de ses monts et de ses ruines, la poésie de ses ciels et de ses eaux, l'infini de ses horizons, provoquent à la pensée et agrandissent l'âme. De l'autre, ses chemins agrestes, ses taillis pleins de senteurs, ses chaumines au soleil, ses petites rivières ombragées, ses pâturages et ses coteaux féconds, égaient tous les sens et exaltent la vie. Sous ces deux aspects d'une beauté simple et méditative ou d'une heureuse et grasse abondance, la nature saura nous toucher, si le paysagiste en est touché lui-même, si son art sait mettre en vue et en relief l'un ou l'autre.[44]

Prosper Haussard's discourse about the search for a moral and spiritual dimension in nature, and his defense of contemporary landscape paintings as the carrier of such messages, reveal an interest that we have not seen among the critics of the legitimist and juste-milieu press. For most of these critics, landscape painting was still a minor genre, whose overwhelming presence on the Salon walls testified to the decadence of the French School. For these critics, renewal and reform should and could come only through history painting.

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[44]Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1844," Le National (23 April 1844): 1.

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Whereas on the contrary, for Haussard, the public had been misguided in seeing landscape painting as a minor genre. In the following comment, influenced by Romanticism and echoing Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Réveries d'un promeneur solitaire, he argued that landscape painting was capable of suggesting a wide variety of intimate feelings and emotion:

> Si communément le paysage est placé moins haut dans la hiérarchie des genres, et même obtient peu de popularité dans nos expositions, ce n'est pas que nous lui prêtions trop de force ou d'attrait, ou que nos paysagistes en soit trop dépourvus. C'est qu'il ne pique pas tout d'abord la curiosité comme les sujets à figure de l'histoire; c'est qu'il est mystérieux, solitaire, et veut être comprit intimement, goûté comme la nature avec amour et recueuillement.[45]

As I mentioned earlier the art press was an integral part of the general development of the publishing industry. In chapter 6, I have already introduced the juste-milieu Le Journal des artistes et des amateurs. L'Artiste was created in 1831.[46] Despite its self-proclaimed distance from politics L'Artiste belonged, by its aesthetic choices and anti-academic attitudes, to the opposition press. The permit

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[45]Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1848," Le National (2 April 1848): 1.

[46]Like Le Journal des artistes, L'Artiste employed a number of influential writers. I have chosen to highlight the following: Leaves de Conches, Victor Schoelcher, comte H. de Viel-Castel, Jules Janin, Théophile Thoré, Gabriel Laviron, Arsène Houssaye, Paul Mantz, Clément de Ris, Théophile Gautier, Laurent-Jan, all of whom shared at different moments the responsibility of reviewing the annual Salon.

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needed to run a cultural journal was different from the one needed to operate a political journal; the level of caution money was not as high, so of course cultural journals were eager to announce that politics was none of their concern. However the first director of L'Artiste, Achille Ricourt, had strong ties with the Fourierists. He employed Fourierist writers and wrote several articles highly sympathetic to the Fourierists.[47]

L'Artiste is often considered the first art periodical.[48] Its role in the artistic life of the July Monarchy has been already studied at length.[49] In 1844, it merged with La Revue de Paris, keeping its title, and its

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[47]See McWilliam, Dream of Happiness, 245. In 1848, L'Artiste came out in favor of the republic, see L'Artiste 39 (1848): 279-280. But one year later, its editor Arsène Houssaye wrote an article in which he again clearly separated politics from art; see L'Artiste 42 (1849): 64.

[48]See Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, The Triumph of Art for the Public, 1785-1848: The Emerging role of Exhibitions and Critics (Princeton University Press, 1983), 313.

[49]See Suzanne Damiron, "Une Grande Revue d'art, L'Artiste: son rôle dans le mouvement artistique du dix-neuvième siècle; ses illustrations hors-texte," thése de doctorat, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1946; A.R.W. James, "La Fraternité des arts et la revue L'Artiste," Gazette des beaux-arts (March 1965): 169-180; Peter J. Edwards, "L'Artiste (1831-1861): The Role of an Artistic Review," (PhD Diss. Fordham University, 1973); Nancy Ann Roth, "L'Artiste and *l'art pour l'art:* The New Cultural Journalism in the July Monarchy," Art Journal (Spring 1989): 35-39; and finally Peter J. Edwards, "La Revue L'Artiste (1831-1904): notice bibliographique," Romantisme, no. 67 (1990): 110-118.

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subsequent circulation averaged between 1,000 and 1,500 every week, throughout the July Monarchy.[50] Jules Janin was L'Artiste's first editor, followed in 1843 by Arsène Houssaye. Jules Janin (1804-1874) had pursued law studies before becoming a writer. He was regarded as an eclectic critic, well-appreciated by his colleagues for his literary talent and excellent writing style. He advocated an artstrickly about itself and its own process:

> De la peinture qui peint, et qui se fie à elle-même pour produire son effet; de la peinture qui ne joue ni le mélodrame, ni la tragédie, ni l'idylle; qui ne joue rien en elle-même, car elle est tout ce qu'elle veut être, ce qu'elle peut être.[51]

This kind of formalism saw art as it own justification, with its own morality: For Janin, the pursuit of beauty was the true pursuit of moral values. Arsène Houssaye took over Janin's job, as well as the ownership of the magazine, from 1843 until 1849. Houssaye belonged to a small group called le petit Bohème. It was composed of young men, like Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, Roger de Beauvoir and Célestin Nanteuil, forever opposed to the regular habits of bourgeois life. Houssaye continued Janin's line, opening L'Artiste to the younger generation of artists. Born in 1815, Houssaye's enormous literary production was extremely varied, from books

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[50]See Edwards, "La Revue l'Artiste," 114-115.

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on the history of Dutch and Flemish painting and on the history of French art to plays, poems and humorous novels. He was also administrator of the French national theater, la Comédie Française. In 1861, he became one of the principal owners and editors of La Presse. As a journalist, he was also a regular contributor to Le Constitutionnel, La Revue des deux-mondes, and La Revue de Paris.[52]

From the early days of its creation, L'Artiste promoted the Romantic cause of the union of all the arts; an union which was actively illustrated by a mixture of articles on the visual arts with articles on the theater, on music, poetry and literature. It was really the first magazine to devote itself to culture, as we have come to understand it. It was not dictatic. Such a publication can be related to the phenomenon of the consumption of culture as leisure time enjoyment for the well-to-do. As it addressed itself to a cultured audience, it took great care in its presentation, with carefully lithographed and printed vignettes by the foremost graphic artists of the period, such as Tony Johannot.

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[51]See L'Artiste, 1st ser., 7 (1834): 295.

[52]For more information on Janin and Houssaye's career, see Philibert Audebrand, "Les Salonniers depuis cent ans," L'Art, 2nd ser., 4 (October-December, 1894): 527-537.

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L'Artiste's attitude toward contemporary landscape painting was basically established in 1831 when Victor Schoelcher wrote:

> S'il est un genre où la vérité soit une qualité essentielle, indispensable, c'est bien certainement celui du paysage. Sans justesse de couleur, sans air, sans ton de nature, il pert tout son charme, et quelles que soient la beauté du site, l'adresse de la composition, l'habileté de la main, il ne reste toujours qu'un ouvrage assez médiocre; . . . Il est temps que la révolution qui s'est opérée dans la figure gagne le paysage, ce n'est qu'en se rapprochant de la nature que les hommes de ce mérite peuvent reprendre leur place.[53]

A complete investigation of Victor Schoelcher's journalistic career is beyond the scope of this study but we will encounter him again working for the Fourierist newspaper La Phalange.[54]

Alexandre de Saint-Chéron, another of the numerous critics for L'Artiste, saw in the straightforward emulation of nature a guarantee of an authentic, original emotion, as well as of an elevated and pure moral inspiration. By going back to nature, the artists would secure the renewal of the French School:

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[53]Victor Schoelcher, "M.M. Beaume, Bellangé, Destouches, Huet, Dagnan, Jollivart, Aligny, Gué, Darche, Lanzac, Devéria, Drolling," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 1, no. 22 (3 July 1831): 272.

[54]I will have the opportunity to discuss Victor Schoelcher's career in more details when dealing with the Fourierist's views on landscape painting.

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> Dans le Salon de 1833, les beaux-arts ont abandonné sur la route leurs soeurs (la poésie et la littérature) dont elles aimaient autrefois à reproduire sur la toile ou par le marbre les chants et les histoires joyeuses et pathétiques; vous aurez vu peut-être ça et là, dans quelques coins, deux ou trois tableaux, deux ou trois sculptures inspirées des oeuvres littéraires de l'époque; mais la grande majorité est restée libre, n'écoutant que ses caprices, ou la voix des grands poètes, comme Dante, Byron, Goëthe, ou les souvenirs d'Orient et des paysages de France. Et certes il ne pouvait rien arriver de mieux à notre peinture et à notre statuaire de laisser là, dans son bourbier, cette littérature avilie et prostituée, qui n'a nul souci de la dignité et de la sainté de l'art, qui ne sait qu'improviser, du soir au matin, des ébauches de moyen-âge, de cynisme et d'atrocité.[55]

L'Artiste was one of the publications that systematically defended landscape painting and recognized it as the true future of the French school:

> . . . jamais en France la peinture de paysage n'a été mieux placé aujourd'hui pour produire un grand artiste; nous pourrions dire en aucun pays; car chez quelle nation et dans quel siècle a-t-on vu peindre le paysage par tant de mains à la fois? . . . nous ne pouvons connaître, même approximativement, le moment où un grand paysagiste, Ruysdaël ou Poussin, que notre époque attend encore, apparaîtra parmi nous. Mais favorables à tout ce qui peut nous rapprocher de cette heure désirée, nous nous réjouissons de cet envahissement des galeries du Louvre par le flot des paysagistes qui signale chacune de nos expositions, plutôt que de le déplorer.[56]

The work of Nicolas Poussin, hailed by many critics of this

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[55]Alexandre de Saint-Chéron, "Conclusion générales du Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 1st. ser., 5, no. 16 (1833): 196.

[56]Anonymous, "Paysages," L'Artiste, 7, no. 10 (1834): 110.

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period as the greatest French painter, provided the perfect justification to claim landscape painting as a purely indigenous art form. It is plausible that the reasons for such support were not purely artistic, but were also ways for the critics to downplay the importance of contemporary English landscape painting, especially in view of the constant rivalry between France and England.

A nationalist rhetoric underscored the production of art criticism during these times: the France of Poussin had been the strongest country in Europe in the seventeenth-century, not only the wealthiest but its powerful military the most feared.[57] Nationalism was not the only issue at stake in this critical discourse, however. Echoing the work of Jules Michelet and his definition of French identity as grounded in the land and the diversity of its regions, an anonymous critic for L'Artiste pointed out that the French landscapists were the best at rendering the variations of nature:

> Nous autre, Français, notre climat variable nous a, par son inconstance même habitués à des impressions moins

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[57]"Ce que nous avons dit du *genre* peut se dire à plus forte raison encore du paysage. Les peintres français ont, sous ce rapport une supériorité évidente sur les peintres étrangers. Ce n'est pas au surplus d'aujourd'hui seulement que date cette superiorité. Dans les siècles précedent Poussin, Patel, Lahyre, Lorrain, Le Guaspe avaient montré tout le parti que l'on peut tirer de la nature mise directement en rapport avec l'artiste." Louis Clément de Ris, "Salon de 1848", L'Artiste 5e ser., 1, no. 2 (19 March 1848): 86.

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> constantes et moins tranchées que celles qu'offre la nature champêtre de la Grande-Bretagne; pour des mois de brumes et de pluies, il nous a donné au moins par année quelques jours de soleil italien, et notre sol humide et boisé vers le nord se déroule vers le sud avec ses plaines et ses collines chaudes et colorées. Notre imagination, familiarisée avec cette variété de spectacles, apprend ainsi à comprendre les natures diverses, et, si l'on peut dire, se trouve placée dans des conditions d'impartialité que le mode exclusif dont sont affectés les yeux des Anglais ne comprte pas. Le paysagiste français qui voudra se conformer à ces diverses exgigence de nos sentimens [sic] devra varier au même degré et dans la même proportion le sentiment de ses compositions. Le plus souvent triste et sombre comme notre nature l'est le plus souvent, il faudra aussi quelques fois que le soleil répandu sur ses toiles vienne éblouir nos regards comme il les éblouit à de trop rares intervalles dans nos campagnes embellies par ses rayons.[58]

The support of French landscape painting, especially works representing the French countryside, went hand in hand with the demand made by so many republican critics for a purely French art devoid of foreign influence and subject. The only influence that these critics seemed to respect was the emulation of Dutch landscape painting, even if Decamps in other circumstances had criticized the public's taste for Dutch landscapes.[59] Again this could be interpreted, as a

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[58]Anonymous, "Paysages", L'Artiste, 7, no.10 (1834): 111.

[59]See page 312. "Nos paysagistes, guidés par l'expérience de trois siècles, ont comprit que pour faire du bon paysage il fallait tout simplement copier ceux que le bon Dieu leur a mis sous les yeux, sans essayer de les modifier ou de les changer en aucune façon. L'étude de la

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coded criticism of the monarchy, as Holland, having fought to gain independence from the Spanish crown, had been able to establish a long-lasting republican government in 1604.

These critics' support for landscape painting is also in perfect accordance with their concern with creating an artistic language grounded in modernity, which could speak to a wider mass public without the classical education necessary to decipher the complicated narrative of history painting. The encouragement given by the critics of L'Artiste to landscape painting can also be understood in the context of their support for Romantic painting and their quest for originality. They systematically ignored or were highly critical of the moribund genre of historical landscape:

> Nous ne nous arrêtons pas davantage aux trois paysages de M. Bidault, l'art n'a rien de commun avec ces choses là et nous n'avons rien à y voir; nous ferons observer encore une fois que lorsque que l'on fait de la peinture comme celle-là on n'a pas le droit de se montrer sévère envers qui que ce soit [Bidault was the only landscapist at the academy and member of the jury, he was famous for his intolerance of naturalist landscape painting]. En présence de pareilles oeuvres, le public en est à se demander à quoi sert le jury d'admission, et comment il se fait qu'il ait cru pouvoir refuser les plus informes tentatives de peinture, après avoir reçu ces maladroites

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nature est leur unique préoccupation. Aussi plusieurs d'entre eux sont-ils arrivés à égaler les maîtres passés. Rousseau, et nous le disons très naïvement et très-franchement, nous paraît aussi fort que Ruysdael ou Hobbema." Louis Clément de Ris, "Salon de 1848", L'Artiste 5e ser., 1, no. 2 (19 March 1848): 86.

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> répétitions des plus banales formules du paysage académiques.[60]

Instead the critics privileged, in their writings, the works of Huet, Cabat, and Rousseau:

> Le peintre [Théodore Rousseau], et c'est un immmense mérite, se fait déjà reconnaître dans ses ouvrages au premier coup d'oeil, et jamais on est tenté de le comparer à aucun des peintres renommés dans la peinture de paysage. Il est franchement original: aucun souvenirs des Flamands ou des Italiens ne se découvre dans sa manière. M. Rousseau a étudié avec un bonheur singulier la végétation de notre climat. La plupart des peintres de paysages ont semblé oublier que, si les végétaux sont dénudés de locomotion, il ne sont pas pour cela condammés à un repos et à une immobilité absolue. Dans les arbres comme dans les plantes les plus humbles, un leger frémissement court toujours par toutes les parties, et leur donne à chacune un mouvement distinct. C'est surtout ce sentiment qui anime le feuillage que M. Rousseau a reproduit à un profond degré de vérité. Il a saisi la physionomie de la végétation, mais sans tomber dans ce mécanisme de procédés que beaucoup de paysagistes se sont créés et à l'aide duquel ils parviennent à copier l'arbre qu'ils ont choisi, commme machinalement, et sans trouver dans leur travail plus d'intérêt qu'ils ne font éprouver au spectateur.[61]

The fact that the Salon had become a bazaar was, as I mentioned earlier, one argument that brought together the

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[60]Anonymous, "Salon de 1843", L'Artiste, 3e ser., 3, no.13, (26 March 1843): 195. See also: "Une révolution s'est opéré dans la peinture de paysage comme dans les autres branches de l'art. Ces paysages de nature de convention, ces respectables paysages bien balayés, bien époussetés, sans ronces, bien guindés, bien cadencés, ont disparu à peu près du Salon." Anonymous, "Salon de 1831. Paysages," L'Artiste, 2, no. 1 (7 August 1831): 1.

[61]Anonymous, "Paysages", L'Artiste, 7, no. 10 (1834): 112.

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conservative legitimist press and the radical republican critics. For Jules Janin, reviewing the 1833 Salon, the argument went even further, he devoted one entire article to the issue of patronage. His contempt for the bourgeois monarchy was equal to that of his legitimist counterparts:

> Je ne crois pas qu'avant la révolution de 1830 le pouvoir ait jamais imaginé de marchander un tableau à un peintre. Si le peintre était jeune et donnait des espérances, on achetait son tableau un bon prix, et il était tout heureux d'être traité, non en marchand, mais en peintre. Il n'avait pas à se débattre avec le gouvernment pour quelques louis d'or; il était vraiment l'obligé du pouvoir qui traitait avec lui d'égal à égal.[62]

For Jules Janin, supporting contemporary painting should not belong to the realm of business. It had to be the national duty of the government to guarantee that mercantile concerns did not soil art.

> En effet acheter un tableau à un peintre, c'est payer une dette nationale; c'est profiter d'une haute position pour encourager les beaux-arts, qui ne vivent que de grands encouragemens [sic]; c'est faire profession de haute estime pour le talent, c'est être généreux en un mot, et non acheteur.[63]

Recognizing the strength and the power of the bourgeoisie, Jules Janin acknowledged that the members of the bourgeoisie had become the principal buyers of contemporary art; their

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[62]Jules Janin, "Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 5, no. 14 (1833): 169.

[63]Jules Janin, "Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 5, no. 14 (1833): 170.

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character, however, prevented them from taking risks and investing in artists whose reputation was not established, disregarding the young and emerging artists. Janin's interest in the young and struggling artist was grounded in the romantic understanding of the role of the artist, as well as in his distrust in the bourgeois capacity to support the most radical artistic production; they are preoccupations common to many critics of the republican press.[64] This points out once more the paradox of the situation that, while addressing himself to a bourgeois audience, Janin could not help criticizing its taste and so was reduced to seeing government and traditional aristocratic patronage as the only solutions for contemporary art:

> Car le véritable acheteur de tableaux, car le bourgeois ne va s'exposer à acheter in tableau à une réputation naissante; le bourgeois attend que cette réputation soit consacrée, et quand elle est consacrée, il attend que le hasard, la misère, l'expropriation forcée ou la mort de l'artiste lui donne son oeuvre à bon compte. Le bourgeois, d'ailleurs, préfère souvent une gravure à un tableau, et souvent une glace de cinq pieds à une gravure. Quand le bourgeois achète, le bourgeois marchande, c'est son droit; mais chez un prince, marchander, cela n'est ni son droit, ni son devoir. Le prince donne de l'or au peintre qui lui donne son tableau; le prince ne profite pas de sa haute position pour acheter à bon compte, mais bien pour acheter très-cher. Plus il est

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[64]See for example: "Ceci n'est pas une exposition; c'est une exhibition, un étalage; le Musée n'est plus un salon, c'est un magazin. Jamais l'art ne se montra aussi démesurément boutiquier." Anonymous, "Musée. Première promenade. Méditation," Le Corsaire (6 March 1833): 2.

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> élevé, et plus il sent combien c'est une triste position que celle du peintre et du statuaire.[65]

For L'Artiste as well as for Le National contemporary painting had to be national, naturalistic, and capable of arousing moral or emotional thoughts; landscape painting fulfilled all these requirements perfectly.

> Nous avons déjà eu occassion de le dire ailleurs et nous sommes heureux de pouvoir le répéter ici: pour nous, la principale supériorité de l'école française sur toute les autres écoles consiste surtout dans le paysage. Les Flamands eux-même, chez lesquels pourtant l'étude de la nature a été poussée à un si haut degré et dirigée par une intelligence si vive et si fine, n'ont pas mis sur leur toile d'aussi grandes qualités et en aussi grand nombre que nos paysagistes modernes. Préocuppés d'abord de la reproduction exacte de la nature, et y excellant surtout, on ne sent pas chez eux, comme chex les peintres de nos jours, la grande âme de la nature, le Pan éternel, jeter son uniformité harmonieuse sur l'infinie diversité des formes et des couleurs du paysage.[66]

Only by looking at the position of other republican papers, such as Le Corsaire and Le Courrier français, can we be sure that this was a general pattern followed by the opposition press as well as establish that the critics' response to the annual Salon truly varied according to their socio-political-aesthetic point of view. Like Nicos Hadjinicolaou, I wonder if "it would be perhaps useful to

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[65]Jules Janin, "Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 5, no. 14 (1833): 170.

[66]Louis Clément de Ris, "Salon de 1847", L'Artiste, 9, no. 3 (21 March 1847): 105.

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establish statistical comparisons on the frequency of the use of key concepts and notions in art-critical literature over a sufficiently broad chronological sweep," in order to truly be able to determine if a connection existed between aesthetic values and socio-political positions, or if I would encounter many contradictions.[67]

Le Corsaire continued the work started in 1832 by the satirical Le Charivari, which had been sold by Philipon when the September Laws made it impossible to safely publish political caricature. As a result of political censorship, Le Charivari turned to the more profitable and safer field of social satire.[68] In 1844, Le Corsaire absorbed another small sheet and became Le Corsaire-Satan. It had brilliant contributors like Alphonse Karr, Henry Mürger, Jules Sandeau and Champfleury. These Boulevardiers seemed to have written this paper largely for their own enjoyment. Le Corsaire supported the republican cause in caricature and text; in 1831 it had a circulation of 754, which stayed approximately the same during the entire July Monarchy, never quite

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[67]Hadjinicolaou, "The Debate at the Salon of 1831," 62.

[68]For more information on caricature, see: James Cuno, "Charles Philipon, La Maison Aubert, and the Business of Caricature in Paris, 1829-41," Art Journal 43, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 347-354; and Gabriel Weisberg, "The Coded Image: Agitation in Aspects of Political and Social Caricature," in The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830 to 1848, 148-191.

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reaching a thousand subscribers.[69] Most of its Salon reviews were published anonymously; however from 1845 to 1850 Courtois wrote them, assisted in 1846 by Champfleury, who was just beginning as an art critic.[70] It is interesting that Champfleury, who is remembered as one of the earliest and most fervent defenders of Courbet, as well as a writer committed to popular culture, started his career writing art criticism for a satirical and oppositional publication.

The tone of the criticism was blatantly satirical. In one instance, in order to criticize the incompetence of the jury of the Salon of 1840, the writer made up a mock dialogue between two jury members; an architect and a musician, engrossed in a partie de bouchon, paying no attention whatsoever to the paintings they were supposed to be judging. It is symptomatic that the reviewer chose two members of the Academy who were neither painters nor sculptors. The lack of technically qualified artists on the jury was one thing most of the art world complained about. Because musicians and architects were part of the Fine Arts branch of the Academy,

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[69]830 in 1837, 733 in 1838, 835 in 1845, and 797 in 1846. See Albert et al., 16-20.

[70]Courtois also wrote for Le Globe in 1841.

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their presence as voting members of the Salon jury was always a sore point.[71]

When it wanted to criticize historical landscape, Le Corsaire of course used satire:

> L'art du vernisseur a fait de sensible progrès, MM. Bidault et Forbin se disputent aujourd'hui cette nouvelle spécialité; leurs tableaux méritent une brosse d'honneur de première classe.
>
> Assurément il est impossible de mieux polir, dorer, beurrer, vernisser, cirer, savonner, frotter et refrotter que ne le font ces deux membres du jury.[72]

The critic's choice of two artists who not only exhibited at the Salon but also had important official positions in French art institutions was far from being innocent. Bidault was the only landscape painter on the jury and he always opposed anything that was not historical landscape. The comte de Forbin was not only a landscapist but also Director of Musées Royaux as well as, along with the marine painter Gudin, a favorite of the legitimist press.

The article continued in the same tone, the critic pretending to be desperately looking for traces of nature in Bidault's and the comte de Forbin's landscapes. While all he

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[71]The two jury members play, while a young clerk brings painting after painting, which are rejected without being looked at, or accepted according to the whim of the architect and the musician. See: "Examen de l'exposition de peinture par les membres du jury," Le Corsaire (10 March 1840): 1.

[72]See Anonymous, "Salon du Corsaire, les chefs-d'oeuvre

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could find was layers and layers of varnish that transformed the landscape into a fantasy, a dream-like world, the total opposite of what a landscape painting should have been. In this satire, the measure of quality was no longer the closeness to nature and the quality of the painting but the quality of the varnish:

> Passons à d'autres chefs-d'oeuvre! La qualité du vernis du comte de Forbin est peut-être supérieure à celle de M. Bidault, membre de l'Institut. Les vrais connaisseurs pensent que le directeur des Musées royaux pousse l'amour de l'art jusqu'à cinq couches, une de plus que son rival. C'est une belle tradition à conserver. Aussi, les toiles de cet artistes sont-elles d'un luisant irréprochable. Le plus habile frotteur perdrait son temps à vouloir imiter ce poli. Toutes les couleurs du prisme viennent s'y refléter. Les arbres, les ruines, les eaux, les monumens [sic], les cieux, sont rouges, verts jonquille, bleus, roses, violettes, chatoyans [sic]; c'est une charmante fantasmagorie de palette, une orgie de pinceaux, une débauche de vernis.[73]

In this period of censorship, humor was a very incisive and efficient mode of protest against the government.

Like for the other republican newspapers, the contempt for the bourgeoisie was also a leitmotif of the critics of the Corsaire:

> Comme toujours les portraits surabondent. La bourgeoisie, cette infirmité de la politique, est devenue une plaie du Salon. Et pourtant cette plaie de la bourgeoisie, Dieu, dans sa colère, l'avait épargné aux Egyptiens. Ces braves gens, toute la dextre degantés, par respect sans doute pour la poignée de main

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inconnus," Le Corsaire, no. 6694 (27 April 1840): 2.

[73]Ibid.

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> octroyée, ont l'air de jubilation qui semble dire aux spectateurs: "rien de manque à ma gloire, j'ai dansé aux Tuileries." On sait que chez les Grecs, ces amants passionnés du beau, il était interdit aux peintres de faire des portraits, tant on craignait que l'asservissement aux formes vulgaires n'altérât le sentiment de l'idéalité. Cet empêchement ferait croire que déjà la face d'épicier courtisan, abrité du bonnet d'ourson, était connue des Grecs.[74]

Like many of his colleagues, Courtois stays very critical of all the other genres and sees in landscape painting the only true progress of the French school: "Le paysage poursuit sa marche ascendante et s'élève radieux au-dessus de toute les autres parties de l'art."[75]

Not all oppositional newspapers made use of satire. Le Courrier français suffered from the direct competition of Le Siècle, addressing itself to the same audience, the lesser bourgeoisie.[76] Its readership steadly declined from 8,000 in 1831, to 6,397 in 1836, to 4,990 in 1837, and finally to 2,204 in 1846. It stood to the left of Le Siècle and was rather dull, its most estimable contributions being made by Adolphe Blanqui, a leading economist and the brother of the revolutionary Auguste.

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[74]Courtois, "Salon de 1845," Le Corsaire-Satan, no. 10111 (3 March 1845): 2.

[75]Ibid.

[76]The principal art critics who reviewed the Salon for Le Courrier français were: Nicolas Artaud (1831, 1833), Alexandre Tardieu (from 1834 to 1844), Paul de la Garenne

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Nicolas Artaud, was the main critic for Le Courrier français. Born in Paris in 1794, he was a writer as well as an academic. He was. He married the sister of Baron Haussmann and died in 1861. He first taught at the prestigious Parisian Lycée Louis Le Grand from which he had to resign for his collaboration with opposition newspapers during the Restoration. He was however able to resume his academic career during the July Monarchy; and he became inspector for the French University (Inspecteur d'académie in 1830, and inspecteur général in 1835). His principal contributions to French literature were his translations of Greek and Roman authors and of Walter Scott. He also wrote a history of literature from Homer to the Romantics. Despite the radically different agendas of the legitimist and the republican press, both sides were particularly aware of the connection between politics and art. Artaud wrote:

> Si les beaux arts sont le relief des moeurs et des idées, si les production de la peinture ou de la sculpture, comme celles de la poésie réfléchissent l'état moral d'une nation et l'esprit qui l'anime, aujourd'hui plus que jamais on devrait être curieux d'interroger nos artistes sur le sens de ce mouvement général qui aspire à renouveler le monde. Le lendemain d'une révolution populaire, qui promettait de refaire à neuf notre état politique, il n'est pas sans intérêt de chercher dans les créations libres de l'imagination, et sur ces vastes toiles qui tapissent les galeries du Musée, les indices et les symptômes de cet esprit nouveau qui doit présider aux destinées de l'avenir. En

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(1845), and Francis Wey (1846, 1847).

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> effet, tout cela se tient; les réformes pittoresques, littéraires et politiques suivent une marche parallèle: ce sont les conséquences d'un même principe; elles sont toutes filles de la révolution morale et intellectuelle qui se fait dans les sentiments et dans les opinions.[77]

Nicolas Artaud's support of Romanticism, with its search for an original and individual expression, was clearly defined in political terms when he wrote: "Fort peu partisans du juste-milieu en politique, nous croyons que la tentative d'allier les contraires ne produit guère dans les arts qu'une honnête médiocrité."[78]

For Artaud there was no doubt that landscape painting was where the real progress of the French school was to be found. He especially promoted naturalist landscape and praised

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[77]Nicolas Artaud, "Salon de 1831," Le Courrier français, no. 128 (8 May 1831).

[78] Nicolas Artaud, "Le Salon de 1831," Le Courrier français, no. 130 (10 May 1831). About the search for an original and individual expression, see: "Le côté louable, nécessaire même de la révolution, qui s'opère aujourd'hui dans la poésie et dans les arts, et à laquelle on a donné le nom de *romantique*, c'est de vouloir substituer l'originalité à limitation, l'inspiration individuelle à la routine des écoles. Voilà le caractère commun par laquelle elle se rattache à la réforme politique. C'est encore une fois l'activité de l'homme qui proteste contre les limites ou les formes invariables dans lesquelles on prétendait l'arrêter. Car ce qui caractérise le *classique* en tout genre, c'est la prétension d'enfermer l'art tout entier dans les formes qui ont une fois réussit; c'est l'adoption d'un type unique auquel on veut ramener l'art tout entier dans les formes qui ont une fois réussit. On exclut alors tout ce qui est en dehors de ce type, on proscrit tout ce qui ne rentre pas dans les genres fixés." Ibid.

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artists who devoted themselves to rendering nature in its most realistic details:

> L'imitation de la nature est en progrés. Ce n'est sans doute pas la partie la plus élevée de l'art; mais jamais on n'a produit avec plus de fidélité la transparence des eaux, l'aspect des terrains, le fourré des bois de M. Jolivard s'est créé un genre original en copiant avec une rare exactitu de la nature réelle, sans tous embellissemens [sic] de convention qui formaient la poétique du paysage.[79]

The landscape paintings he chose to deal with were essentially French: from Normandie and the Dauphiné to Parisian views and views from Marseilles to the forest of Compiègne.

While for the legitimist and the juste-milieu press, landscape painting was rarely of great concern, republican critics such as Alexandre Tardieu supported contemporary landscape painting as the expression of the individual vision of the artist.[80] Le Courrier français provides Tardieu with a forum to debate his ideas about landscape painting. Tardieu was one of the rare critics who attempted to theorize about landscape painting, as a way to deal with its increasing presence on the Salon walls. He divided landscape painting between "le vieux paysage classique", represented by Victor

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[79]Nicolas Artaud, "Salon de 1833," Le Courrier français (22 March 1833).

[80]Amboise Tardieu was the regular art critic for Le Courrier Français until 1846 when Francis Wey replaced him.

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Bertin; "le genre mélancolique et grave", represented by Rémond; "les artistes qui créent une nature à leur usage", represented by Jadin; "les peintres qui imitent la nature avec une intelligente exactitude"; represented by Flers and Lapito; and finally "ceux qui arrange la nature, la font pénétrer dans leurs souvenirs", represented by Cabat:

> Chacun a sa manière de voir la nature et d'exprimer ce qu'il a vu. Aussi est-ce dans le genre paysage que la diversité se fait le plus sentir. Si nous voulions procéder par méthode analytique et tracer minutieusement la physiologie du paysage, nous y trouverions bien plus que les divisions capitales de l'ancienne école; nous pourrions montrer dans un combat perpetuel cinq ou six genres de paysages qui luttent entre eux pour la prééminence.[81]

Cabat was his favorite.[82] It is interesting to note that none of the Barbizon painters were included in his panorama of contemporary landscape painting, the only exception being Corot, whom he criticized for his lack of consistency.[83]

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[81]Ambroise Tardieu, "Salon de 1838," Le Courrier Français, no. 86 (27 March 27 1838).

[82]"*Le Chemin de la vallée de Narni*, M. Cabat, est peut-être entre les paysages du salon ce qu'est la *Médée* de M. Delacroix entre les peintures historiques." Amboise Tardieu, "Salon de 1838," Le Courrier français (2 March 1838).

[83]"Puisque nous citons des écoles à part dans l'école de paysage, nous n'aurions garde d'oublier M. Corot dont la naïveté et la gaucherie, la délicate intelligence et la maladresse persévérante sont depuis longtemps connues. Qualités et défauts se retrouvent cette année dans les oeuvres de M. Corot, surtout dans le paysage où trois enfans [sic] occupent le premier plan. En étudiant la belle harmonie des arbres du fond, l'air qui circule, le terrain

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Tardieu also recognized, without contempt, that the genre was perfectly adapted to the needs of the new July Monarchy patrons:

> L'un des genres les plus agréables, les plus variés et les plus riches, le paysage continue toujours d'exciter la verve de l'école française, et le goût du public est ici d'accord avec cette prédilection de bon nombre de nos artistes. Quelle sorte de sujets pourrait [sic] en effet mieux convenir comme ornement de la plupart de nos habitations, que ces jolis aspects d'une nature qui se renouvelle sans cesse? Quoi de plus attrayant pour la masse des amateurs, auxquels il manque la place pour loger la grande peinture ou l'argent pour la payer, que ces petites toiles animées, riantes, qui transportent dans le plus humble des logis la campagne et le soleil, les vallées et les montagnes, tous [sic] les climats comme touts les sites?[84]

Studying the republican and utopian socialist press presents a set of specific problems, mainly the diversity of their political agendas, the sheer number of publications and their often short lives. This makes it difficult to summarize their positions with the same focus that I had for the legitimist and juste-milieu press. However these critics are

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qui fuit, la douce lumière qui s'étend discrétement sur la verte pelouse, on se demande si tout cela ne serait pas encore possible et n'aurait pas plus de valeur avec une imitation plus vraie, avec une excécution plus attrayante." Amboise Tardieu, "Salon de 1842," Le Courrier français (21 April 1842)

[84]Alexandre Tardieu, "Salon de 1839," Le Courrier français, no. 81 (22 March 1839). The reference to the specificity of the bourgeois patronage of contemporary landscape painting, and the possible effects landscape painting could have on the mood and feelings of its urban audience, are two fascinating issues that are discussed at

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the writers who paid the most attention to landscape painting, they were the critics most eager to defend the rejected artists.

A substantial number of oppositional newspapers went beyond campaining in favor of the republic. In a quest for universal harmony, the Fourierist and Saint-Simonian press promoted a radical transformation of the society, in which the arts were to play an important role. As a full-scale analysis of the utopian socialist Fourierist and Saint-Simonian's aesthetic positions is impossible in the context of this study.[85] I have chosen to write about three of their periodicals, La Phalange, La Démocratie pacifique, Le Globe. I will concentrate on their attitudes toward landscape painting. Le Rêve de bonheur, by Dominique Papety, exhibited at the Salon of 1842 has long been acknowledged as a prototype of Fourierist aesthetic.[86] The

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length by Nicholas Green, see Green, 1990.

[85]As of 1998, the most recent, serious and thorough study of this extremely complicated subject is McWilliam, Dream of Happiness.

[86]On this subject see Nancy A. Finlay, "Fourierist Art Criticism and Le Rêve de bonheur de Dominique Papety," Art History 2, no. 3 (September 1979): 327-338; Linda Nochlin, "Seurat's *La Grande Jatte:* An anti-Utopian Allegory," The Politics of Vision (New York, 1989), 170-193; McWilliam questions Finlay's interpretation, 201-204. According to McWilliam, Le Rêve de bonheur "stands as the most complete response to this call for a prophetic evocation of harmonian

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Fourierist's understanding of the role of art differed greatly from their Saint-Simonian counterparts. Their commitment to the liberation of human passion rejected any focus on art as a moralizing medium, since Fourier associated such didactic purposes with the suppression of natural instincts and blamed such restraints for contemporary social dislocation. Fourierists explicitly rejected the role of moral leadership accorded to the artist by the Saint-Simonians. Fourier's own attitude toward art emphasized sensual rather than intellectual appeal, echoing Jean-Jacques Rousseau's evocation of the unalienated culture of the Golden Age in his regard for music and dance as physical embodiments of spiritual harmony.[87] The Fourierist's quest for happiness and harmony, the establishment of a rural commune as the cornerstone of their new order, and their interest in the sensual made their support of landscape painting very understandable.

La Phalange was published under the direction of Victor Considérant from 1836 to 1846.[88] Its circulation was small;

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society." ibid, 201.

[87]See P.E.J. Robinson, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Doctrine of the Art (Bern: 1984), 81-82.

[88]Victor Schoelcher, whom we have already encountered writing for L'Artiste in 1831, wrote the 1838 Salon review, Cantagrel the review for the Salon of 1841; finally, Désiré

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in 1836 an average of 170 issues were distributed daily.[89] Considérant (1808-1893) was an utopian-socialist author and journalist. He graduated from the Ecole polytechnique and became the leading follower of Fourier (1772-1837) during the 1830s. Under his guidance, the Fourierists reached a national following, largely drawn from the prosperous bourgeoisie. On several occasions, Considérant unsuccessfully attempted to form his own version of the phalanstères, the semi-autonomous collective utopian communities invented by Fourier. The Fourierists were devoted to the pacific adoption of radical social and economic changes. This left them confused and indecisive in the face of the political upheaval of 1848. They then faced great hostility under Napoleon III's regime, four years after 1848, which led to a quick decline of their influence.

F.M. Foissy and O.-A Barbier wrote art criticism for La Phalange. On March 10, 1837, they published a very unusual article about the 1837 Salon, entitled "Salon. Disposition d'ordre dans les expositions publiques," which was also reprinted as a booklet. The purpose of this article was to help the public to find a specific work among the usual chaos. Interestingly enough, the writers chose to organize

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Laverdant became the art critic from 1842 until the end of La Phalange's publication in 1846.

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the landscapes according to the département they represented. Victor Schoelcher (1804-1893) was in charge of the Salon review for 1838. Since it seemed that Schoelcher did not have any sustained contact with Fourierism, his contribution can be better understood in relation to his broader journalist career, as he was closely identified with liberal republican currents throughout the July Monarchy as a supporter of l'art social.[90] His identification with Fourierist principles does not seem to have gone further than a general belief in aesthetic utilitarism, as outlined by another Fourierist critic Eugène d'Izalguier:

> Car des deux choses L'UTILE et le BEAU, chacune est de création divine, la condition vivifiante de l'autre, condition inéductable et *sine qua NON;* car entre elles il y a une corrélation aussi intime qu'entre les notes élémentaires d'un accord musical . . . car leur isolement produit leur faiblesse, et de la non participation à l'activité d'ensemble résulte nécessairement leur dépérissement et leur mort.[91]

Izalguier shared other Fourierist critics such as Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant as well as with Schoelcher a contempt for the theory of l'art pour l'art:

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[89]See Albert, 16.

[90]See L. Bougenot, Victor Schoelcher (Paris: 1921), 23-29.

[91]Eugène d'Izalguier, "Loi de la corrélation de la forme sociale et de la forme esthétique." In Trois Discours prononcés à l'Hôtel de Ville, faisant complément à la publication du Congrès historique, edited by Dain, V.

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> Devons-nous placer l'idée du Beau dans une complète indépendance à l'égard de l'idée du Bon, et conclure à la doctrine de l'art pour l'art? Ce serait là, pour nous servir d'un terme de l'École, une vue *simpliste*, c'est à dire n'embrassant qu'un seul côté des choses. . . . L'art ne remplira donc d'autant mieux sa mission, qu'il parlera en même temps aux passions sensuelles, à la raison et au sentiment. Il est si peu vrai qu'il faille disjoindre ces deux idées du bien et de la beauté, qu'en vertue d'une loi préétablie par le Grand Économe, on peut dire que plus l'artiste touche à l'idéal du bien, plus il atteint la beauté. Tel est l'accord dont Platon enseignait le principe dont il disait: *Le beau est la splendeur du vrai*. D'où suit que l'artiste en faisant le beau prêche nécessairement le bon.[92]

But Laverant and the others also had reservation about l'art social. While for them pure formalism was inadequate, the didacticism of l'art social could hinder one's ability to appreciate the potential wider social value of genres lacking explicit didactic overtones:

> L'objet de l'Art, c'est la satisfaction combinée de tout les sentiments qui font l'homme. Plus il y a de forces de l'âme solicitées, plus il y a d'intérêt produit. La jouissance se complète par l'émotion sympathique du coeur et par l'accord harmonique de l'intelligence. Pour qu'une oeuvre soit parfaite, ait une valeur capitale, il faut qu'elle s'adresse à-la-fois à l'oeil, à l'âme affective et à l'esprit. . . . Georges Sand, le poète, a donc eu raison de dire: "Tout artiste qui ne se propose pas un but noble, un but social, manque son oeuvre." C'est un flambeau heureux dont la flamme guidera vers des régions heureuses.[93]

Considérant, and E. d'Izalguier (Paris: 1848), 113.

[92]Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, La Mission de l'art et le role des artistes (Paris, 1845), 9.

[93]Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, "Salon de 1842," La Phalange, 3e ser., 5 (3 April 1842): col. 647.

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Beauty could not be an end in itself but was the result of the ideal corespondance between form and function.[94]

We have already encountered Victor Schoelcher as a supporter of what we would now call naturalistic landscape painting.[95] He was a friend of Théophile Thoré, with whom he had planned to publish a newspaper, which would have been called La Démocratie. The publication notice was signed by Thoré before a notaire; it described the goal of the newspaper as: "continuer le mouvement social et politique de la Révolution française; d'élaborer et de propager, en vue du présent et de l'avenir, les réformes radicales qu'exige le XIXe siècle." Schoelcher is mentioned as the editor-in-chief (rédacteur-en-chef), and among the contributors are listed: Jeanron, Pierre Leroux, Louis Blanc, George Sand, Félix Pyat, and Arago.[96] La Démocratie announced itself as a journal non-politique, using a habitual stratagem in order to pay less

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[94]For more information on these complex issues, see Neil McWilliam, "The Beauty of Happiness: Art Social and Fourierist Criticism," in Dream of Happiness, 188-266.

[95]"S'il est un genre de peinture où la vérité soit une qualité essentielle, indispensable, c'est bien certainement celui du paysage." Victor Schoelcher, L'Artiste, no. 22 (3 July 1831): 272.

[96]See Prospectus pour La Démocratie: journal politique quotidien, avec périodiquement des articles critiques sur la littérature, le théatre, les arts, la science, l'industrie, 1839. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lc2 1454.)

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caution. Political journals not only had to pay more caution but in addition ran a higher risk of fines if found guilty of not respecting the censorship laws. While cultural magazines paid less caution money, they were prohibited from refering to any kind of political matter. Most radical publications devised a stategy to combat the need for high sums of caution money by pretending to run a cultural journal; they then took advantage of the situation by disguising their political criticism under their aethetic agenda.

Schoelcher is remembered today more for his anti-slavery activities than for his art criticism. As a promoter of l'art social, Schoelcher was trying to reconcile a social message and inspiration with the picturesque and expressive lyricism of romantic landscape painting. Schoelcher's interest in nature as a metaphor for a balanced and harmonious ideal society, as well as his recognition of the morally inspiring value of beauty, led him to defend Théodore Rousseau's work:

> Chaque année M. Rousseau présente de vigoureux paysages, M. Préault d'énergiques sculptures, et chaque année ces deux jeunes gens, malgrès leur mérite reconnu, éprouvent un implacable refus. . . . Du reste il faut avouer que ces gens, si difficiles en peinture, ne le sont guère en morale. . . . Ils chassent du Musée un paysage de M. Rousseau, et ils permettent à M. Collin de nous montrer *Romeo et Juliette* sur le balcon se disant adieu bouche à bouche, et comme si ce n'était pas assez polluer la divine scène anglaise d'entr'ouvrir les rideaux pour nous faire voir un lit en désordre.[97]

[97]Victor Schoelcher, "Salon de 1838," La Phalange 2 (15

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The comparison of the morality of landscape painting versus the morality of the Salon painting was a strategy used by the critics of the left who were also concerned with the didactic message of art.

In 1842, Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant took over the job of Salon reviewer at La Phalange from Cantagrel, who seemed to have had difficulty in sustaining an integrated Fourierist perspective on the arts.[98] Laverdant was born in the French colony of Mauritius in 1809. He attended the Ecole Polytechnique, and studied law. I have already mentioned that one of the major arguments of the critics across the political spectrum was a feeling of living in a transitional and confusing period. Using Fourier's demand for the classification of all things and the application of what he called l'esprit méthodique, Laverdant set out to try to impose, through classification, an order on the chaos of the exhibition.

He separated the artistic productions by genre, excluding the paintings that, according to his standards, showed no sign of elevated idea or expression; out of a total of 2412 paintings in the 1846 Salon, he eliminated 943 of them. Then each genre was broken down according to the

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April 1838): 153.

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emotional content of the work: Bonheur, bien-être, malheur and tristesse. Landscape paintings came right after the portraits in term of quantity (316 versus 514); however he found more landscapes than portraits belonging to the sad category (130 versus 186.) He then established comparative charts of the different years from 1842 to 1846.[99] His purpose in doing so was to monitor the progress of French art, hoping to see more and more works exhorting Fourier's theories.[100]

In a long article devoted to landscape painting, Laverdant discussed the main reasoning behind the importance of the genre. He recognized four specific types of landscape painting, respectively depicting primitive paradise, desert wilderness, cultivated countryside and finally earthy paradise. Each a different moralistic implication and a different role to play in promoting Fourier's ideals:

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[98]See McWilliam, Dream of Happiness, 245.

[99]Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, "Souvenir du Salon de 1846," La Phalange, 1e ser., 3 (1846): 559.

[100]"En 1846, les deux cinquièmes environ des oeuvres ont une signification, un sentiment; nous sommes ont le voit, en grand progrès sur les années précendentes. Les *quatre affectives,* amitié, amour, ambition, famille, qui donnaient 146 oeuvres en 1845, fournissent cette année 322 poèmes. Peut-être l'impulsion venue de *la Phalange* et *de La Démocratie pacifique* n'a-t-elle pas été sans influence sur ces mouvements heureux, sur ce généreux effort des artistes français." Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, "Souvenir du Salon de

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> 1. Êden primitif; tableaux de la nature vierge, sortant des mains de Dieu dans toute sa fraîcheur et sa force exubérante.
> 2. Desert, site sauvage; la nature abandonnée par l'homme, avec ses entassements désordonnés, ses ruines, ou son aridité désolée.
> 3. Site campagnard; la nature gâté par le mauvais travail de l'hommme, avec son aspect mesquin et confus, avec ses arbres semés au hasard, tourmentés et taillés bêtement, ses plantations morcelées et mal accordées, ses murailles ornées de cactus et de verres cassés, haies et fossés, sentiers défoncés, mares puantes; enfin, toutes les pauvretés qui offusquent aujourd'hui l'oeil du paysagiste, et au sein desquelles pourtant quelques-uns s'efforcent encore de trouver du charme.
> 4. Le paradis terrestre; la nature dans toute sa splendeur, l'idéale beauté du paysage, telle qu'elle résultera de la culture savante et délicate du sol; la terre parée, embellie, glorifié par le travail de l'homme en unité avec Dieu.
> Deux de ces motifs correspondent à ce que nous avons nommmé la face critique de la mission de l'art; les deux autres appartiennent à l'art harmonique et prophétique. Les premiers sont des tableaux de la subversion et du mal, devant lesquels l'artiste a dû éprouver et nous fait partager une émotion de tristesse, d'horreur et de dégoût, dont il fait réelement la critique; les seconds sont de radieuses images qui invitent à l'harmonie et au bonheur.[101]

He demanded that the government create a series of prizes to encourage the landscapists who seemed so capable of carrying out Fourier's search for universal harmony:

> Reproduire les scènes désolées de la nature, les champs mal cultivés et en désordre, les cabanes enfumées, les basses-cours boueuses, les paysans indigents, sales, grossiers, abrutis, exploités, c'est, pour le paysagiste peindre le royaume de Satan, l'enfer où nous sommes.

1846," La Phalange, 1e ser., 3 (1846): 559.

[101]Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, "Souvenir du Salon de 1846," La Phalange, 1e ser., 3 (1846): 563

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> Chercher toutes les beautés du paysage, exalter tous les charmes de la nature, idéaliser les perspectives, peupler de riants palais les campagnes luxuriantes, assembler aux fêtes du travail de joyeuses compagnies, faire éclore partout sur le sein de la terre richesse, splendeur, rayonnements, sourires, c'est révéler le nouvel âge d'or, le paradis où nous aspirons, c'est enseigner la réalisation du royaume de Dieu sur la terre. Heureux le paysagiste qui sent toute cette grandeur de sa mission![102]

In 1844, Laverdant also wrote art criticism for another Fourierist paper, La Démocratie pacifique. La Démocratie pacifique had over 2,000 subscribers in 1847, an unusually high number for such a publication.[103] As the main Fourierist art critic, he was also the most dogmatic, but he also wrote about colonial affairs, the theater, and the history of the Middle Ages. He clearly expressed his views in two seminal works, first in his "Salon de 1842," a series of 9 articles published in La Phalange between April 3 and May 29, 1842, then in a booklet, which was published for the 1845 Salon, and entitled De la mission de l'art et du role des artistes. Salon de 1845. In the article of April 10, 1842 published in La Phalange, Laverdant wrote:

> Le but de l'art est de chanter et de glorifier la vie humaine et de guider l'homme sur les voies de sa

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[102]Ibid., 562.

[103]The other art critics for La Démocratie pacifique were César Daly; in 1844, Eugène Pelletan; in 1845, Lefèvre; in 1845, A. Toussenel; in 1845 and 1846, Charles Brunier; in 1846, L. R. Arnem; in 1847, and finally Courbet's friend F. Sabatier-Ungher in 1851.

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> destiné. La destiné de l'homme c'est le bonheur, la satisfaction mesurée de tous ses penchants. L'artiste devra donc, d'une part reproduire, sous une forme vive et saisissante, toutes les images du beau et du bien, ainsi offertes à notre imitation, de l'autre part, il étalera avec energie à nos regards les tableaux de la laideur et du mal afin de redoubler, par piété et l'horreur, notre aversion pour les causes et la souffrance, afin d'exalter notre ardeur pour la délivrance du monde.[104]

Eventually, his sustained commitment to the philosophy of Fourier and his unwillingness to adapt the doctrine of Fourier's followers led to his estrangement from the movement, in the late 1840s.[105]

From Schoelcher's pantheism to Laverdant's search for the harmony that was the ultimate goal of Fourier's philosophy, we can easily understand why these critics paid special attention to contemporary landscape painting. Nature was considered both as a social model for a future utopian Fourierist society as well as the perfect environment in which to display luxury and harmony, two cornerstone concepts of the Fourierist philosophy. When Laverdant listed the artists who had achieved their mission by "glorifying luxury", he included an unprecedented number of

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[104]Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, La Phalange (10 April 1842): cols. 691.

[105]For a discussion of this issue, and information about Laverdant's biography, see McWilliam, Dream of Happiness, 246-250.

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landscapists.[106] Amongst widely recognized artists like Raphael, Correggio, Rubens, David, Gros, Delacroix, Ingres, he singled out Marilhat, Jules Dupré, Corot, Français, Aligny, and Huet.[107] Français was actually a Fourierist, a friend of Papety and of another Fourierist sympathizer, the painter Célestin Nanteuil. It is not without reason then that another Fourierist critic, Cantagrel in his 1841 Salon review singled out Français' Paysage antique:

> Que de calme, que de fraîcheur! . . . qu'il doit être doux de se reposer à l'ombre de ces grands arbres et de s'enfoncer lentement, au milieu d'un air embaumé, dans cette profonde et mystérieuse vallée, que cette onde est pure et transparente! Comment le coeur ne s'épancherait-il pas ici avec bonheur? Comment l'âme ne s'épanouirait-elle pas délicieusement à la vue de tant de simples beautés?

By the time François Sabatier-Ungher wrote about the 1851 Salon, he was able to praise the proliferation of the genre as a symptom of growing artistic sensibility to the beauty of nature:

> Nous avons assez de l'histoire des hommes et des scènes lugubrent qui rendent le séjour des villes si tristes; il faut mieux aller aux champs chercher d'heureux jours, comme dit Béranger. Qu'on veuille ou non, il faudra bien qu'on songe à déménager des cités. Les paysagistes semblent avoir été chargés par la

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[106]"Nous avons vu que la destiné humaine c'est le bonheur, et qu'un élement du bonheur c'est le luxe. Les artistes, s'ils veulent accomplir leur mission, doivent donc glorifier le luxe." D. Laverdant, De la mission de l'art et du role des artistes (Paris: 1845), 11.

[107]Ibid., 11.

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> Providence de nous préparer, eux aussi, à cet événement; ils nous familiarisent et nous réconcilient avec la campagne, demeure naturelle de l'homme; c'est pour cela, soyez sûr, qu'il y a tant d'habiles paysagistes aujourd'hui.[108]

While republican critics such as Thoré or Schoelcher saw a moral quasi-religious meaning in nature, Laverdant and his Fourierist colleagues saw in landscape painting a prophetic genre, capable of stirring in the viewer a longing for more harmonious times. They did express their greatest enthusiasm for painters associated with the Romantic movement such as Diaz, Huet and Français, but they also admired Corot:

> Où sont, cette année, les maîtres du paysage? Marilhat se repose, Jules Dupré n'expose plus. Rousseau n'expose jamais, et demandez pourquoi au Jury? . . . Heureusement que les absents ne peuvent emporter toute la campagne avec eus. Corot ne nous abandonne jamais; . . . Corot est le peintre le plus intime, le plus profond de la nature vivante, de ces fluides, de ces mouvements qui sont comme les émotions et les attitudes des arbres, ces esprits vêtus de feuilles. [109]

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[108]François Sabatier-Ungher, "Salon de 1851," La Démocratie pacifique (19 January 1851). This growing interest in landscape painting, which began in the 1840s, can also be measured by the fact that Sabatier-Ungher wrote for the 1851 Salon two articles entirely devoted to landscape painting.

[109]Eugène Pelletan, "Salon de 1845," La Démocratie pacifique, 4, no. 111 (21 April 1845).

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What they valued the most in these artists was their capacity to place their personal experience above traditional pictorial formulae.[110]

Before turning to Le Globe, I would like to mention one more critic, who like Schoelcher was a republican with Fourierist tendencies. Eugène Pelletan (1813-1884) had come to Paris in 1833 to study law. He turned to journalism as a way to earn a living. The 1840s were for him a period of intense activity; he wrote art criticism, literary criticism and commentaries on French political life. Pelletan worked for La Démocratie pacifique in 1845; he had written art criticism before, for La Presse in 1841 and for La Sylphide in 1843.[111] After the 1848 revolution, he wrote exclusively on political and social issues.[112] Like most of the critics I have discussed, Pelletan's writing was not limited to art criticism, as he was a regular contributor to Le Siècle, La Revue de Paris, and L'Artiste.[113]

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[110]See Laverdant's comment about Diaz: "Un enchanteur original, . . . nous emporte dans les mondes imaginaires." in "Souvenir du Salon de 1846," La Phalange, 1e ser., 3 (1846): 569.

[111]La Sylphide was published betweem 1839 and 1895. It was a fashion journal.

[112]For more information on his life and career; see Edouard Petit, Eugène Pelletan, 1813-1884: l'homme et l'oeuvre (Paris: 1913).

[113]"La stucture de la presse de la Monarchie de Juillet

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In his reviews, Pelletan, like Schoelcher, was interested in bringing out the moral content of a work of art: his most fascinating contributions to the art theory of the period, however, were his remarks on nature and the symbolic significance he attached to color:

> La peinture ne peut traduire qu'un des charmes du paysage: la couleur et la respiration de Dieu sur les feuillages. Mais ces mille bruissements, ces tièdes haleines, ces murmures, ces fraîches exhaltations, ces gymnases de papillons dans la poussière d'étamine, toutes ces voix éloquentes et vagues comme l'infini, religieuses comme les prières universelles de tous les êtres à l'Etre, la peinture incomplète est obligée de les taire, elle n'a pas de langue pour les traduire. Et si à cette impuissance vous en ajoutiez une autre, si vous supprimiez la couleur que reste-t-il donc?[114]

Pelletan was a zealous supporter of the romantics. But he found it difficult to be entirely supportive of Troyon's landscape since he felt that Troyon's choice of subjects lacked poetry.[115] Pelletan recognized the quality of Troyon's technical abilities but still this was not quite enough:

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encourageait une forme de commerce littéraire dans laquelle la rapidité et la souplesse étaient les plus grands atouts de l'écrivain. La réapparition des mêmes noms dans des revues consacrées à une grande diversité d'intérêts particuliers suggère que, si spécialisée que la presse fut devenue, les écrivains à son service restaient pour la plupart des généralistes." For more information on the status of the art critic and the journalist, see McWilliam, "Opinions professionnelles," 22.

[114]"Salon de 1845," La Démocratie pacifique 4, no. 111 (21 April 1845).

[115]"Sans la poésie, la nature, si bien rendue qu'elle

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> Nous sommes vraiment embarrassé devant les tableaux de M. Troyon. Nous reconnaissons volontier toute la fermeté de cette peinture. Les herbes y brillent comme des émeraude; l'air y circule à travers les arbres. C'est bien la campagne, c'est la banlieue de Paris; mais, en dedans come au-delà des barrières, il n'y a guère de poésie. Quel intérêt pouvons-nous pendre aux scieurs de long, aux pêcheurs à la ligne? Il y a dans la nature quelque chose de plus intime, de plus remuant qu'il faut trouver pour être artiste.[116]

Once again, in accord with the other more radical critics, Pelletan saw that landscape painting was a genre perfectly suited to express modernity.[117] His argument went further than most of the others. In a century when science had taken the place of religion, landscape painting could replace history painting, serving as a common language:

> Nous l'avons dit, et nous le répétons, le paysage est la peinture de notre siècle. Ce sera la gloire,

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soit, n'est qu'une lettre morte. Mais quelle est cette poésie? Ce n'est ni l'histoire, ni la composition, ni la symétrie; ce n'est ni l'architecture grecque, ni le personage antique, ni tout se qui rappelle le travail humain. C'est tout se qui rappelle le travail universel de Dieu, la vie universelle du monde, la brume embrasée qui tombe le soir au fond des clairières, les étangs qui fument au soleil levant, toutes ces expressions, tous ces sourires, toutes ces molles et voluptueuses poses qui sont comme des extases de la végétation sous le toit et dans l'hospitalité des cieux. Cette poésie ne se raconte pas; elle est sentie. Celui qui a marché sous les soleil et ne la connaît pas ne sera jamais paysagiste." Eugène Pelletan, "Salon de 1845," La Démocratie pacifique 4, no. 111 (21 April 1845).

[116]Eugène Pellatan, "Salon de 1845," La Démocratie pacifique, 4, no. 111 (21 April 1845).

[117]See for instance François Sabatier-Ungher, "Salon de 1851," La Démocracie pacifique (21 January 1851).

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> l'originalité d'une époque qui n'a pas de croyance communes, pas de religion, pas de mythologie, pas même de philosophie. La science nous a rendue la nature que la symbolique paienne, que la personification universelle nous avait cachée. Nous connaissons, nous sentons l'unité de vie qui a fait des frères de tous les végétaux et de tous les animaux. Ce n'est pas seulement dans la peinture, c'est aussi dans la littérature que le paysage a conquis de les véritables conditions de son existence.[118]

Finally, his suggestion to create an association to bypass the Salon jury and its unjust judgments implied a broader range of political interests, and a commitment to the reform of artistic institutions.[119] The Fourierist art critics' artistic agenda extended beyond the restrictive notion of l'art social.

Le Globe had been created in 1824 with Pierre Leroux as its editor; it supported a moderate form of Romanticism.[120] Leroux was an important figure during the July Monarchy. He established a system of thought about human psychology, religion, and historical periodicity, which modified Saint-

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[118]Eugène Pellatan, "Salon de 1845," La Démocratie pacifique, 4, no. 111 (21 April 1845).

[119]See Eugène Pelletan, "Ouverture du Salon," La Démocratie pacifique 4, no. 75 (16 March 1845).

[120]In 1832, Le Globe reproduced excerpts of Henri Heine's reviews of the 1831 Salon, originally published in the Morgenblatt, on October 27, November 15 and 16, 1831. It published Salon reviews irregularly. Courtois, whom we have already encountered working for Le Corsaire, and Francis Wey, who worked for Le Courrier francais, were Le Globe's most notable critics.

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Simonian theories within a political doctrine, designed to reconcile individual liberty with social organization. His ideas interested the young Courbet and the sculptor David d'Angers, and also enjoyed a long-standing collaboration with Théophile Thoré. In 1841, Pierre Leroux went on to create with George Sand La Revue indépendante; Louis Blanc assumed its editorship between 1843 and 1848 in order to propagate their mystical brand of socialism.[121]

Le Globe announced itself as "le journal de la doctrine de Saint-Simon," with the motto:

> Toutes les institutions sociales doivent avoir pour but l'amélioration du sort moral, physique et intellectuel de la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre. Tous les privilèges de la naissance, sans exception, seront abolis. A chacun selon sa capacité; à chaque capacité selon ses oeuvres.[122]

One of Le Globe's most interesting interventions in French artistic life of the period was a series of lectures organized in 1831. Specifically intended for artists, their goal was to reaffirm the social value of art and the essential role the artist was to play in the propagation of the new system. This series was organized by the architect Charles Henri and the teacher Emile Barrault, who had made

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[121]See McWilliam, Dream of Happiness, 165-187; and D.O. Evans, Le Socialisme romantique: Pierre Leroux et ses contemporains (1948), especially pp. 105-31, which covers his friendship with George Sand.

[122]See Le Globe, no. 132 (12 May 1831): 1.

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himself famous by publishing in 1830 a detailed doctrinal pamphlet, Aux Artistes. Du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts.[123]

Le Globe carried out Saint-Simon's vision of the reformative role of the artist in society.[124] In 1831, in his opening statement on the Salon, which reviewed the state of the arts in France after the revolution, its anonymous critic deplored that: "L'artiste aujourd'hui a perdu le sentiment de sa mission, de l'importance de son action dans la société; ausi a-t-il perdu toute puissance d'inspiration, toute influence légitime et populaire."[125] This statement on the necessity of the artist's active involvement in the society that surrounds him was symptomatic of the recognition by critics from across the political spectrum of the connection between art and life.[126] Most critics of the time saw in the

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[123]See Oeuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin 27 (Paris: 1865-1878), 71.

[124]"Saint-Simon, qui est venu non seulement pour achever l'émancipation définitive de l'industrie, mais aussi pour faire progresser et la *morale* et la *science*, parceque [sic.] sa révélation comprenait tous les éléments de l'humanité, sans exception, a senti que par l'action toute vivantes des *beaux-arts* devait jouer un rôle magnifique dans cette mission nouvelle." Anonymous, "Beaux-Arts. De l'avenir des beaux-arts dans les gouvernements à bon marché," Le Globe (28 June 1831).

[125]Anonymous, "Politique et Beaux-Arts, Le Globe (31 August 1831).

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state of art a reflection of the political, moral and economic state of the nation. It is a tribute to their acute historical consciousness. In many ways, we have ourselves only recently rediscovered the necessity of taking into account the historical conditions of production of art in order to achieve a better understanding of it. The example of mid-nineteenth century critics should help us to definitely see the limitations of the formalist approach to art.

The art critics of Le Globe seemed more concerned than others with general comments about the state of the arts and the role they would play in the new society. They used the Salon as a platform to preach and promote their political agenda. Chief among their goals was the promotion of a new social order. For the anonymous reviewer of Le Globe in 1831, it became clear that the French people were in favor of a more openly democratic type of government. This aspiration toward a more liberal government was reflected in the artistic world by the growing interest in Romanticism:

> Le *romantisme* en peinture comme en littérature n'est que le libéralisme, le principe de la souveraineté populaire, c'est à dire de la souveraineté de chacun

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[126] "L'importance civilisatrice d'une nation se reconnait à l'état de développement où sont parvenus les beaux-arts, et les peuples grands initiateurs de l'humanité sont ceux-là dont les monuments attestent aux yeux de tous la puissance et la gloire." Anonymous, "Beaux-Arts. De l'avenir des beaux-arts dans les gouvernements à bon marché," Le Globe (28 June 1831).

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> appliquée aux beaux-arts. Chacun agit à sa guise, se laissant aller au hasard, rejetant toutes les règles du passé sans en substituer aucune. Il y a anarchie parmi les peintres et les littérateurs comme dans le monde politique, et cette anarchie est légitime en ce sens qu'elle est la négation d'un *ordre* vieilli.[127]

Once again we find a connection expressed between the political and the artistic, as if the equation went something like: the triumph of a democratic government would mean that in the arts Romanticism would triumph over the Classicism of the School of David. The artistic realm was truly a part of society as large. The paradigms of politics were used to create artistic classifications. This is problematic, however, because if political attributes were used to describe paintings, and especially paintings, which were considered technically radical, that did not necessarily mean that their authors were themselves radical or even democrats.[128] In the case of the School of Barbizon and of Théodore Rousseau in particular, the label "Romantic," then "Naturalist," became understood as meaning "political liberal" as well.[129] Nonetheles while Rousseau was close to

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[127]Anonymous, "Le Salon," Le Globe (12 May 1831): 1.

[128]See Charles Lenormant's review of the 1831 Salon where he classified artists according to political tendency from exteme right where he placed Ingres to extreme left where he placed Delacroix; we actually know that Delacroix was far from being a political liberal. Charles Lenormant, "Le Salon de 1831," Le Temps, no. 562 (4 May 1831): cols. 8236-8237.

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the left the 1830s and came back into public visibility because of the revolution of 1848, he never appears to have been a committed political activist, but someone who stayed essentially focused on his artistic practices.[130]

Although the art critics of Le Globe were not overtly interested in landscape painting, they did, however, support Corot:

> M. Corot est, sans contredit, notre plus éminent poète pastoral. . . . Il aime, en amant passionné les sites poétiques, la belle lumière, les ombres fraîches sous les arbres touffus, les eaux transparentes qui fuient entre les roches mousseuses, les horizons chaudement colorés par le soleil coucant des mois d'été, les beaux soirs éclairant de leur derniers rayons l'intérieur des bois.[131]

They dismissed traditional historical landscape painting by criticizing Bidault for his lack of realism and by comparing

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[129]This is reflected in the preference by the French critics for the label Ecole de 1830 over Ecole de Barbizon; see the first chapter of this study.

[130]On Théodore Rousseau's political opinion see Greg Thomas, Art and Ecology in 19th-Century France: The Landscapes of Théodore Rousseau. (Princeton: University Press, 2000), especially chapter 2: "Ecology and the Naturalist Discourse". I want to thank Dr.. Greg Thomas for sharing his knowledge of Rousseau so generously with me and for a very stimulating exchange that has been taking place between since the College Art Association Meeting in February 2000, where he invited me to present a paper on the session he was chairing on art and ecology.

[131]Jules Joseph, "Feuilleton du Globe du 6 mai. Salon de 1845," Le Globe (6 May 1845).

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his trees to balayettes (dust brooms) and to plumeaux (feather-dusters), and his rocks to painted cardboard.[132]

The comment made by Jules Joseph about Corot's being a passionate lover of nature brings to mind that this trope was used over and over again to discuss Corot's and Rousseau's work by critics writing for the republican and utopian press. In the case of critics such as Théophile Thoré, Corot's and Rousseau's work were discussed as the metaphor of the male lover of nature. The image of love was circumscribed by the masculine frame of reference, the locus of attention being nature as feminine. In accordance to the nineteenth-century cultural construction of woman, women were closer to nature than men.

The following two examples exemplify my point. The first is by a male critic Arsène Houssaye: "Pour l'homme la femme est tout à la fois l'art et la nature "un tableau vivant." Pour la femme, l'homme c'est l'homme, c'est un coeur, c'est

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[132]"Les arbres de M. Bidault ressemblent à des plumeaux qui ont beaucoup époussetés, et que n'a pu laver l'onde dans laquelles ils se mirent; il y a là des roches de cartons peints, copiés d'après nature, et sur le premier plan, des *moutons*, dont la race pullule sous les meublent des appartemens [sic.] mal tenus; probablement, les *balayettes*, que l'artiste a plantées par le manche sur ce rivage, les ont fait rouler du plafond de cette campagne, peint en bleu à la détrempe." Francis Wey, "Feuilleton du Globe. Salon de 1843," le Globe (14 April 1843).

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une âme, c'est un corps. L'art n'y entre pour rien."[133] The second example is by a female critic Daniel Stern, pseudonyme for the Comtesse Marie d'Agoult, art critic, friend of George Sand, author of the three-volume history of the revolution of 1848, whose salon during the Second Empire attracted the liberal opposition:

> La femme est plus voisine que l'homme de la nature. En dépit de la Génèse, je serais tenté de croire qu'elle l'a précédé dans l'ordre de la création. L'influence qu'elle exerce, comme à son insu, participe des influences naturelles. Son oeil a les fascinations de la mer; sa riche chevelure est un foyer électrique; les ondulations de son corps virginal rivalisent de grâce et de souplesse avec les courbes des fleuves et les enlacements des laines, et le Créateur adonné à son beau sein la forme des mondes.[134]

And if according to Thoré: "L'amour de la nature est tout à fait analogue à l'amour des femmes," the identification of nature as the mistress of the landscape painter becomes clearly understandable.[135] To paint nature, a response of love was required. The landscapist should immerse himself in nature with all senses alive, this immersion would culminate in a sensual ecstacy that would enable him to produce a truly original landscape painting. Furthermore,

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[133]Arsène Houssaye, "Esprit de coeur," L'Artiste, 6th ser., 2 (1856): 11.

[134]Daniel Stern, "De la femme," L'Artiste, 5th ser., 4 (1846): 16-22.

[135] Théophile Thoré, "Salon de 1847," in Salons de T.

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Arsène Houssaye advised the landscapist to love nature like the sun does, with its rays. Stripped of its metaphor, the image of sexual penetration becomes totally clear.[136] Nature would reveal herself to the careful lover who would know how to court her.[137] Images of the modest bride or the young virgin were used many times over to warn the prospective artist of the difficulty of his task:

> . . . cependant, pour bien rendre son modèle, il faut l'aimer, il faut le comprendre, il faut l'étudier avec zéle, avec persévance, il faut savoir attendre, il faut chercher, il faut deviner quelquefois; mais aussi, quelle belle et adorable étude![138]

The fusion of the erotic and divine can be related directly to Fourierist thought. Fourier believed that the

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Thoré, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847 (Paris, 1868), 381.

[136]". . . il faut l'aimer [la nature] comme l'aime le soleil, avec ses rayons." Arsène Houssaye, L'Artiste, 4e ser., 6 (1846): 43; see also "La nature n'a jamais été plus doucement pénétrée, plus ingénuement aimée que par M. Corot." Prosper Haussard, "Salon de 1848," Le National (2 April 1848).

[137]"Devant les tableaux de M. Corot on se pendrait presque à aimer ses incorrections. . . . Voilà pourquoi M. Corot est un maître, et un grand maître entendez-vous; parce qu'il a un coeur, parce qu'il s'unit par le coeur, et dans une intime et frémissante communion a cette fiancée de tous les poètes, à cette apparition idéale, virignale, à cette divinité mystique qu'on ne voit pas, qu'on entrevoit, qui habite en nous et hors de nous." Eugène Pelletan,"Paysages," La Démocratie pacifique (21 April 1845).

[138]Anonymous, L'Artiste, 2e ser., 2 (1839): 269.

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passions not only should be given free rein, but that God had intended them to be used as such:

> Love is a divine flame, the true spirit of God who is love. Is it not in the rapture of love that man reaches toward the heavens and identifies himself with God? Is there any lover who does not deify his or her loved one and who is not convinced that their shared love is a divine happiness? . . . It is by means of love that the haughty Diana meets a the shepherd Endymion on human terms. . . . It is in love more than in any other passion that the divine spirit should be sought; it is the best index of the design of God.[139]

Desire, resistance, renewed efforts, and favors received marked the path of the encounter of the Barbizon painters with nature.

The metaphor of landscapist/lover and nature/mistress was truly one of the most prevailing ways critics discussed Corot's and Rousseau's works.

> Un amant ne partage pas plus vivement les impréssions secrètes de sa maîtresses. Rousseau partage en quelque sorte toutes les passions de la nature. Il lit pour ainsi dire dans les yeux de la nature. Il s'inquiète de la pâleur de la lumière, de la fièvre du vent, de la santé des arbres.[140]

Their works motivated a discourse of erotic love, in which their relationship to nature was described in terms of the lover and his mistress, of the suitor pursuing the object of

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[139]Charles Fourier in "Le Nouveau Monde amoureux," quoted in Jonathan Beecher, and R. Bienvenu, The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier, Selected Texts on Work, Love, and Passionate Attraction (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), 332-333.

[140]Théophile Thoré, L'Artiste, 4e ser., 1 (1844): 100.

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his desires. Corot's was the more tender and gentle love, while Rousseau's was the more passionate and anxious love, but both were of an erotic nature: "C'est leur peintre ou plutôt leur amant passionné, . . . et chaque vue, chaque image de sa forêt aimée semble le portrait ému, frisonnant, vivant, d'une maîtresse." [141]

If French naturalist landscape painting of the 1830s and 1840s could be seen as the repository of a new more democratic sense of French identity, they were also marked with the signs of love, love for nature but also by extension love for la patrie, the motherland. The metaphor of the lover allowed critics to speak of desire, and thus Corot and Rousseau were seen to enact the role of lovers before their mistresses in their quest to transform nature into art.

The doctrines of Henri de Saint-Simon and Fourier and their goal of universal love and harmony undoubtedly influenced this new kind of discourse on nature. Their focus on the liberating force of love provided some of the key intellectuals of the period such as George Sand, Pierre Leroux and Théophile Thoré with a richer context for the use of the convention of the landscapist as lover of nature.

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[141]Prosper Haussard, Le National (10 July 1949).

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Chapter 8: Short-lived Republican Publications, the Case of Théophile Thoré and Charles Baudelaire

In this final chapter I have chosen to deal with some of the short-lived republican publications and with two critics who because of their historical importance deserve more extended treatment. Both Charles Baudelaire and Théophile Thoré stood on the political left. During the time Rousseau disappeared from public view because he was either rejected by the Salon Jury or chose not to exhibit, they together established his reputation as France's leading landscapist.

Since many short-lived publications contain high quality art criticism, I chose to include three of them. They are La Liberté, journal des arts (thereafter refer to as La Liberté), which ran from August 1832 to February 1833, La Tribune politique et littéraire (1831 to 1835), and La Revue du progrès (1839 to 1842). Because of their constant attacks on the government, these

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publications were frequently brought to trial and received heavy fines, which could easily ruin a small newspaper, especially one with a small circulation. Their only recourse was the Association de la liberté de la presse, which provided legal and financial aid for threatened journals. For the most part, these publications did not stay in circulation very long; while J. H. Hunt has counted thirty-three socialist publications for the July Monarchy, most of them not did not last more than a year.[1]

Didron, Bruno Galbacio, Jehan du Seigneur, Gabriel Laviron and Jeanron founded La Liberté. It published nineteen weekly issues before closing down in 1833. It was organized in three parts. First it used the topic of artistic affairs to denounce the lack of freedom and the oppressive nature of the regime, then it dealt specifically with art historical issues, finally it kept its readers informed of the academy's actions.[2] The battle cry of the leaflet announcing its forthcoming publication set its virulent tone for the rest of its short existence: "Mort à l'Institut! Mort

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[1]For example, Proudhon's Le Peuple lasted from 1848 to 1849. The Saint-Simonian feminist papers, such as La Femme libre, and La Femme nouvelle were in circulation only in 1832. The most successful in escaping censorship were: La Revue encyclopédique (1831-1835) and La Revue indépendante (1841-1848) both under the direction of Pierre Leroux, the Fourierist newspapers; La Phalange (1836-1846) and La Démocratie pacifique (1843-1851), the workers' newspaper; L'Atelier (1842-1850) and Louis Blanc's La Revue du progrès (1839-1848).

[2]See La Liberté, journal des arts (11 September 1832): 6.

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au professorat!"[3] La Liberté summarized the radical-republican antipathy toward the state's cultural institutions and their accredited representatives; its main targets were the Academy, the professors and their teaching at the Ecole des beaux-arts, and of course, as expected, the Salon jury:

> Dans les arts, comme en politique, les distinctions et les privilèges ont toujours été contraires au but qu'ils devaient atteindre. . . . L'Institut me semble être un temple qui ne s'ouvre que pour les gloires mortes ou avortées. Suivant l'ordre et la date, étiquetées, rangées dans leurs niches, on vient les voir au grand jour.[4]

It advocated total freedom for the arts from the government: "L'âme de l'art c'est la liberté, point de liberté complète, point d'art complet." The authors of this opening remark in the prospectus introducing the new publication then went on exhorting the artists to mobilize to conquer that freedom: ". . . une liberté sans transaction, sans compromis."[5] One of its principal concerns was the Academy's material impact on the artistic community. Many critics of La Liberté campaigned to make sure that Louis-Philippe would keep his promise of having a Salon every year:

> L'Institut qui digère et élabore longuement, petit à petit,

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[3]Prospectus for La Liberté, presented by Didron in 1832, 2 pages.

[4]Jules Raimbaud, "Union et Liberté," La Liberté, no. 1 (1832): 13-14.

[5]Prospectus, La Liberté (1832), 1.

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> peu à peu, à la douce, aime peu les expositions fréquentes, où elle a peu à étaler; L'Institut, qui trouve peu de son appétit la mesure nouvelle et pernicieuse d'un salon annuel, qui créerait incessamment de nouvelles réputations, de nouveaux et vigoureux champions; car les jeunes hommes sont courageux à l'oeuvre; ils ont la funeste habitude de travailler sans relâche malgré les mauvais traitemens [sic] dont on les accable et la lie dont on les abreuve, donc, à plus forte raison, que ne feraient-ils pas, s'ils avaient la gloriole de paraître chaque année à la barre du public, et conséquement, chance de vente pour leurs oeuvres anticanoniques qui verseraient de l'arsenic du mauvais goût dans la coupe de la bourgeoisie et la détournerait de ses admirations patrimoniales? [6]

They were especially critical of the Academy's control over the Ecole des beaux-arts, and of the fact that through the Salon jury, it restricted the professional and commercial access of certain artists to the public, giving its members' a disproportionate share of official purchases and commissions. Alexandre Decamps wrote an especially virulent indictment of the Ecole de Rome in a series of articles published in La Liberté on December 30, 1832 and on January 13, 1833. He criticized this institution for training artists who went on to produce an art which refused to reflect the present and was then totally irrelevant:

> Le public lui-même ne voit plus la patrie dans vos paysages, il ne trouve pas un toit habitable dans tous [sic] vos monumens [sic], . . . Vous ne croyez à rien et vous peignez les croyances de ceux qui sont morts; nous nous croyons à

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[6]Petrus Borel, "Exposition Galerie Colbert au bénéfice des indigens [sic]," La Liberté, no. 1 (1832): 31; see also Jeanron, "De L'exposition annuelle," La Liberté, no. 1 (1832): 3-5.

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> l'amour de la patrie et de la liberté, c'est notre foi, notre religion, et avec elle nous croyons à l'avenir.[7]

These attacks were part of a broader republican agenda. La Liberté was unlike most of the other republican newspapers concerned only with the value of art for the masses and the tradition of l'art social. It saw the artist not as a romantic hero but as a worker, fighting to make a living in the world of capitalism, in need of help and of a network of support just like the industrial worker who was struggling against his exploitative employer. In a fascinating article Bruno Galbacio detailed with great irony and sarcasm (a tone that he had in common with many critics of the opposition) the budget of France's cultural institutions, from the cost of running the Collège de France and the Muséum d'histoire naturelle to the money spent in purchasing paintings and the maintaining of the Ecole de Rome. With this article, he made it clear that artists were part of that complex network of institutions.[8] This agenda also rejected an oppressive state control because it was perceived as a serious impediment to art's ability to communicate an authentic perception of nature capable of enlightening a mass public.

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[7]Alexandre Decamps, "Ecole de Rome," La Liberté, no. 17 (13 January 1833): 112.

[8]See Bruno Galbacio, "Budget de 1833," La Liberté (February 1833): 177-188.

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La Liberté provided a training ground for young critics whose work I have already discussed, such as Alexandre Decamps, Gabriel Laviron, Bruno Galbacio and Jean-Barthélémy Haureau.[9] Their militant campaign showed little readiness for compromise and displayed an acute awareness of the imprecation of cultural institutions in the broader nexus of power:

> Dans tous les tems [sic], les arts ont servi laborieusement la cause des peuples, et vous savez ce qu'ils ont fait, de nos jours, dans une route qu'ils se sont faite libre, quoiqu'on ait tant de fois voulu la barrer. . . . Quand vint la grande époque où cette guerre sourde devait éclater enfin, le montagnard David faisait les Horaces et Brutus. Alors l'enthousiasme se câbrait devant ses toiles; les citoyens courraient chasser Brunswich de la Champagne; ils allaient par les rues, ivres de patriotisme et d'extase; on s'armait, on se battait, on chantait l'autre hymne des artistes, *la Marseillaise*; la république était belle, et Paris suait l'inspiration.[10]

Such references to the 1789 revolution became a staple of republican art criticism.[11] References to the Academy as the

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[9]See Decamps's support of the landscape paintings of Cabat, Rousseau, Flers and Huet in Le Musée, Revue du Salon de 1834 (Paris, 1834), 89-93; and "De tous les progrès qui ont été faits depuis quelque temps vers un art moderne, ce sont ceux accomplis dans la peinture de paysage qui ont produit les résultats les plus remarquables. . . . Les jeunes artistes ont compris qu'il n'y avait que l'imitation exacte et l'étude conciencieuse de la nature qui pût faire rentrer l'art dans la sphère de vérité dont il était sorti." Alexandre Decamps, "Salon" La Revue Républicaine, 4 (March 1835): 78.

[10]Bathélémy Haureau, "De la politique et des arts," La Liberté, no. 1 (1832): 29.

[11]See the numerous references to the role of David by Alexandre Tardieu and Nicolas Haureau in Le Courrier français. A

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aristocracy of the art world or to the Institut as the Bastille were among the numerous political metaphors used by the writers of La Liberté: "A l'heure qu'il est. divisez-vous donc le travail pour que personne ne chôme et que chacun en prenne sa part suivant sa force et ses aptitudes; et pour voir tomber dès à présent les premières pierres de la Bastille insolente et surranée qui vous domine."[12] This strongly suggests that art journalism offered a truly effective cover for sniping at those in power.

Didron's article "Nous sommes français", and Jeanron's piece "De l'anarchie dans les arts," are only two of the many occasions in which the writers of La Liberté demanded a national, self-consciously modern art.[13] Alexandre Decamps echoed their ideas in his virulent article against the Ecole de Rome:

> Les Grecs, les Romains, les chrétiens du moyen-âge ont écrits dans leurs monumens [sic] les grandes pages de leur histoires et de leurs moeurs; leur contemporains venaient en reconnaître l'expression, et les générations suivantes en ont étudié les ruines. Quant à nous, que nous disent nos arts? Ils nous parlent un language inconnu de tout le

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careful investigation of the phenomenon would be truly interesting, but is only marginal to the focus of our study on landscape.

[12]Jeanron, "De l'exposition annuelle," La Liberté, no. 1 (1832): 4. See also: "Et cependant, la jeune génération, génération toute de sève et de travail, languit et se consume. Ses efforts viennent se briser contre les portes de cette nouvelle Bastille." Jules Raimbaud, "Union et Liberté," La Liberté, no. 1 (1832): 14.

[13]La Liberté, no. 1 (August 1832): 20-26; and La Liberté, no. 8 (September 1832): 113-119.

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> peuple. Qu'apprendrons-nous à nos enfants sur l'histoire de leurs pères? Rien sinon qu'ils étudaient des langues mortes et copiaient des ruines.[14]

The argument for an art national surfaced again and again.[15] Since this concern for a truly French art was present only in the republican press, we can see that the republican critics' support of contemporary landscape painting representing France instead of Italy was only one facet of their rejection of Academic principles: ". . ., mais je ne suppose pas qu'il faille quitter un pays où toutes les températures développent successivement sous nos yeux leur influence et leurs effets, pour aller glaner à deux cents lieues de sa patrie un paysage chaud, riche et pittoresque."[16]

Landscape painting provided an excellent way to combat the academic tradition because landscape painting demanded, more than any other genre, a sensibility for the specificity of nature, and led to self-expression. For the republican critics, establishing a truly national art meant rejecting the classical tradition incarnated by the Greek and Italian models and perpetuated by the Academy through its teaching at the Ecole des

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[14]Alexandre Decamps, "L'Ecole de Rome. Premier article," La Liberté, no. 16 (30 December 1832): 45.

[15]See for instance Prosper Haussard, "Beaux-Arts-Salon de 1845," Le National (15 March 1845).

[16]Decamps, "Ecole de Rome", 40.

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beaux-arts:

> L'Institut, après avoir si longtemps étouffé les arts sous sa jurisprudence suprême, est jugé à son tour; les yeux s'ouvrent enfin, et s'abaissent aujourd'hui sur les autorités vers lesquelles ils s'étaient élevés si longtemps une admiration d'habitude. On ne s'arrête plus devant les noms; malheureusement on ne s'arrête guère davantage devant les ouvrages; le public éclairé a rédigé le jugement, la société ne tardera pas à le prononcer.[17]

In the same article, Alexandre Decamps criticized the Academy as an institution only interested in protecting a dead tradition based on the past, irrelevant for the present situation. Art ought to be modern, national, and free from governmental control; these were the main concerns of the republican critics.

It interesting that Alfred Sensier, whom we have already encountered in the second chapter of this study as Rousseau's first biographer and dealer, saw Rousseau's rejection from the Salon as a revenge for Rousseau's peripheral involvement with La Liberté.[18] Sensier considered that the Salon jury's mistreatment of Rousseau had actually really started in 1834 when the jury accepted only one small landscape. This picture, Lisière d'un bois coupé, forêt de Compiègne, had in fact been bought by the Duc d'Orléans and brought Rousseau a third class medal.[19]

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[17]Decamps, "Ecole de Rome": 39.

[18]Sensier, Souvenirs, 43-45.

[19]See Marie-Thérèse de Forges and Héléne Toussaint, Théodore Rousseau 1812-1867, exh. cat. Paris: Musée du Louvre (1967), cat.

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Unhappily La Liberté did not survived long enough to be able to review the 1833 Salon. Compared to L'Artiste or even Le Journal des artistes, La Liberté was very self-conscious of its combative nature. It presented itself as a revolutionary journal, whose goal was to undermine and criticize the academic apparatus. It did so by using the political analogy between the privilege of the Institut and that of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. It was a publication for artists more than for connoisseurs:

> Nous fesons [sic] un journal comme il en manquait un, exclusivement ennemi de l'oppression bourgeoise et nobiliaire; car il y a aussi noblesse et bourgeoisie dans les arts, qui pèsent à tout ce qui se sent du tempérament et de la franchise.[20]

Its short life enabled some of its writers to go on writing Salon criticism in the next few years for other publications. Gabriel Laviron (1806-1849) and Bruno Galbacio collaborated in publishing a booklet on the 1833 Salon, while Laviron went on to publish two more books of Salon reviews in 1834 and 1841, and finally wrote for L'Artiste in 1844. Pontus Grate tells us that Laviron was himself a landscape painter. He mentions that among other activities he was an antique dealer, a surveyor, a philologue, and a militant republican who died fighting for the

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no. 9.

[20]Jeanron, "Journaux, feuilletons, revues," La Liberté, no. 16 (30 December 1832): 60.

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Roman republican army against the French in 1849.[21] It has not been possible, so far, to trace Galbacio's Salon criticism any further than his work on the 1834 Salon for Le Journal des travaux publics, Le Locateur, and Le Journal des gens du monde.

These critics supported a pictorial idiom capable of embodying the truth of the modern world and asked the artist to look to nature, instead of to the academic tradition for inspiration. Nature is seen as a guarantee of the artist's individual vision. Their praise for simple, unpretentious art, endowed with a deep attachment to nature and the natural man and faithful to external reality, led Laviron and Galbacio to praise the landscape paintings of Corot, Dupré, Flers, Rousseau, and especially Cabat:

> Son *Cabaret à Montsouris* et sa *Vue des bords de la Bouzanne* sont des ouvrages compris et rendus avec une sagesse et un talent qui lui assignent un haut rang dans les arts, même quand on le comparerait aux plus habiles paysagistes flamands ou hollandais.[22]

More than any of the opposition newspapers, La Tribune politique et littéraire encountered the wrath of the censors, proving that despite the government's claim that censorship could never be re-established, opposing the government was not the best way for a newspaper to stay in business. The republican critics

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[21]See Grate, Deux critiques d'art, 63.

[22]G. Laviron and B. Galbacio, Le Salon de 1833 (Paris, 1833),

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were eager to criticize the government's lack of positive patronage of the arts. It was for them another of their tactics to escape the straightforwardly political by transferring the argument of incompetence into the cultural realm. The following illustrates a deep understanding of the role of the artist as an involved opponent of an oppressive regime:

> Ceux-là seuls qui ont aujourd'hui dans leur caisse le pouvoir de faire produire de l'art, nos gouvernans [sic], sont incapables de lui donner une direction utile et nobles. Spectiques, avares et laches, ils ne peuvent encourager aucune célébrations; la gloire leur ferait honte. Et que demanderaient-ils à l'art, ces gens dont la vie n'est qu'une souillure? Les hauts faits de cette monarchie appartiennent au crayon de nos amis Grandville et Daumier. Au lieu d'avoir des artistes à ses gages, elle a bien mieux fait de payer une cour d'assises pour défendre de conter son histoire. [23]

Under the direction of Armand Marrast, who was with Armand Carrel one of the main republican ideologists of the period, La Tribune was put on trial 111 times during its short existence, between 1831 and 1835. It had a circulation of about 1,000. Jean-Barthélémy Haureau (1812-1896) was the principal art critic for La Tribune. An historian as well as a newspaper editor, he was politically engaged and collaborated on various opposition newspapers. He directed the Courrier de la Sarthe for seven years between 1838 and 1845, and was a librarian in Le Mans. In

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[23]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau, "Varietés. Salon de 1834. Ier article," La Tribune (3 March 1834).

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Paris, he worked at Le National and was curator of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale during the Second Republic. He wrote numerous books on French history, as well as on the history of literature and of philosophy. He reviewed the Salons of 1831, 1833, and 1834.[24]

The critics of the left-opposition shared a number of ideas about what art should be: it had to be morally inspiring, national, modern, and derived from nature. Individualism was also openly defended either as an unavoidable reality corresponding to the transitional times they were living in, or as being a good thing in itself.[25] In his art criticism, Haureau put the emphasis on the moral content of the work, praising paintings which showed the dignity and the integrity of the popular classes. Haureau followed the same line as the leading republican ideologues Louis Blanc and Charles Marrast. They intended to demonstrate that the popular classes possessed an integrity that legitimized their political claims. Haureau praised Jeanron's painting Une Scène à Paris because it attempted to restore the dignity of the Parisian proletariat,

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[24]Haureau reviewed the 1831 Salon for Le Mercure de France au XIXe siècle, and the 1837 Salon for Louis Blanc's Le Journal du peuple.

[25]On individualism, see Swart, "Individualism in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 77-90.

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deprived of moral and material independence by capitalist exploitation:

> Ce qui domine partout, c'est l'amour et l'intelligence du peuple, et surtout de ce peuple de Paris pauvre et enlaidi par la faim qui lui suce la veine et lui creuse les joues, ce Caliban maudit par de méchants maîtres, et comme le monstre de Shakespeare, traînant misérablement dans la fange son corps ployé sous les lourds fardeaux. [26]

When it came to individualism however, Haureau followed a different path: "Quand les arts ont été tués dans l'inspiration, et qu'on a substitué l'individualité aux émotions nationales et religieuses, la peinture de genre nait tout à coup, et elle se perfectionne, avec la décadence morale."[27] As expected of a republican critic, Haureau's regrets of the loss of national sentiment to the cult of individualism echoed the ideas of the 1789 revolution, and at the same time denounced the Bourbon promotion of foreign interests during the Restoration.

Haureau's republicanism became obvious when, in his review of landscape painting at the 1833 Salon, he insisted on making l'école de Flandres the birthplace of landscape painting. This was a rather daring move for a French art critic, especially because Poussin was not even mentioned:

Le paysage, fondé réellement par l'école de Flandres,

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[26]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau, "Salon," La Tribune, no. 62 (9 March 1833).

[27]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau, "Coup d'oeil cynique sur l'exposition," Le Mercure de France au XIXe Siècle 33 (1831): 485.

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> exclusivement contemplateur de la beauté sensible dans les objets extérieurs, dut faire peu de progès depuis le jour où vint sur terre le plus grand peintre selon Diderot, l'homme peignant le mieux le fouillis des arbres ou les vaches écorchées. Les Flamands commencèrent par de grandes gloires et bientôt des noms plus illustres encore firent arriver le paysage à sa perfection dès son berceau. . . . Où sont-ils les coloristes plus hardis qu'Adrien Ostade, que Ruysdaël, qu'Hobbema? Où sont-ils ceux qui furent plus naïfs, plus verts, plus fidèles, plus candides que Wynants ou Paul Potter?[28]

The next year he acknowledged the filiation between the Dutch landscapists and their 19th-century French counterparts by saying: "Depuis Adrien Ostade jamais on n'avait poussé si loin la finesse d'execution dans paysage. (MM. Cabat, Dupré, Jadin, Flers, Rousseau, Mercey, ect., ect.)"[29] He was not a great supporter of "l'école froide et académique de M. Bertin," and like his republican colleagues, he praised the artists who went back to an ideal unmediated experience with nature to paint simple works:

> Et nous, critiques républicains, nous pourrons vanter, avec nos réserves, qui sont maintenant connues, le retour des formes pures et simples signalées par les heureux débuts de MM. Cabat, Rousseau, Delaberge, Flers et Dupré. MM. Cabat et Rousseau, tous deux jeunes et tous pleins d'avenir, nous semblent commencer une nouvelle ère pour le paysage.[30]

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[28]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau, "Revue des Arts-Salon," La Tribune, no. 134 (3 May 1833).

[29]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau, "Varietés. Salon de 1834. 1er article." La Tribune (3 March 1834).

[30]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau,"Revue des Arts-Le Salon," La Tribune, no. 134 (3 May 1833). See also: "Surtout l'art a beaucoup appris dans l'étude des formes de la nature matérielle. . . . Rien n'est plus délicieux que les paysages de Cabat, la grande campagne de M. Rousseau, la masure de M. de la Berge

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In conclusion, despite Haureau's support for non-historical landscape painting, he did not consider that this genre was the best carrier of uplifting inspirational ideas:

> En résumé, le paysage a fait des progrès notables, et chaque jour il gagne dans la même proportion que la haute peinture dégénère. Cela devait être nécessairement: c'est toujours plus commode, plus coquet, le plus simple à placer, surtout moins séditieux qu'une grande page historique qui signifie toujours quelque chose, même pour l'intelligence étroite des banquiers de la Chaussée-d'Antin.[31]

I would like to conclude this overview of the republican press by mentioning Louis Blanc's La Revue du progrès, which lasted from 1839 to 1842. It was published on a narrow base, propagating Louis Blanc's ideas on the organization of labor. His brother Charles (1813-1882) was its regular art critic, replaced for the 1842 Salon by Théophile Thoré. Charles Blanc also wrote for Ledru-Rollin's La Réforme in 1845 and 1846. La Réforme, edited by Flocon, was the successor of La Tribune and Le Journal du peuple; it was more socialist than its predecessors, and actively revolutionary in spirit. It had about two thousand subscribers. Blanc also wrote the Salon reviews for L'Almanach du mois in 1844 and 1845. He went on to have a very

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[sic.], les sombres forêts de Jolivard et la grande vue de Rouen de Paul Huet." Jean-Barthélémy Haureau, "Variétés. Salon. Premier article", La Tribune, no. 62 (3 March 1833).

[31]Jean-Barthélémy Haureau,"Revue des Arts-Le Salon," La Tribune, no. 134 (3 May 1833).

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successful career in various French artistic institutions. In 1848, he was made Director of Fine Arts, in 1859 he founded La Gazette des beaux-arts; his Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles was published in fascicules between 1848 and 1876, and his most popular book, Grammaire des arts du dessin in 1867. He is also remembered for his Trésors de la curiosité published in 1858, which chronicled the taste for landscape painting and especially for Dutch seventeenth-century works in French private collections. After the fall of the Second Empire, he became Director of Fine Arts for three years, and was later professor of aesthetics and art history at the Collège de France.

In an environment where many art critics had little formal training in art history, Charles Blanc's criticism stood out for the level of its expertise; he became the apologist for Delacroix, landscape paintings, and of a moderate form of social art. Charles Blanc's position in favor of a morally-minded art would eventually lead him to support in the 1870s more traditional art. Because Blanc defended heroic and figural art, since the development of modernism, his criticism has often been denigrated.

By 1845, noting the preoccupation with technique displayed in contemporary art, he lamented: "Ne ne savons pas ce qu'il

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faut enseigner, comment saurions-nous ce qu'il faut peindre?"[32] Blanc's question encapsulated the dilemma of modernity. Demanding that artists find suitable subject matter in the present was rather tricky. It presupposed that modernity possessed distinctive characteristics capable of arousing artists' enthusiasm, even though by common admission contemporary life offered little to fire the imagination. Like most of his republican colleagues, Blanc had little but contempt for technical prowess, it being against his democratic ideas, a pure form of elitism:

> Les merveilles de la plastique sont incomprises de la multitude; n'espérez pas à l'initier à tous ces mystères égoïstes qui font la joie des grands-prêtres de l'art; conservez-les dans un coin du sanctuaire; mais la foule rassemblée aux portes du temple veut qu'on lui parle in autre langage." [33]

Charles Blanc shared his position in favor of an art taking nature as its model with other critics such as Laviron and Galbacio. It could be described as an ideal naturalism, a kind of pantheism, where the beauty of nature was the only possible answer to the normative perception of beauty inherent in classical idealism. Nature was the only way to escape stale academicism.

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[32] Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1845," La Réforme (16 March 1845).

[33] Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1839." La Revue du progrès, no. 5 (15 March 1839): 271.

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Artists could also use nature to infuse in their works the moral subtext every good painting needed:

> Le paysage nous offre une éclatante confirmation du jugement que nous avons porté sur la peinture contemporaine. Ici le procédé acquiert plus d'importance; la forme devient presque tout. Aussi le progrès du paysage s'est-il accompli parallèlement aux progrès de l'exécution, conséquence inévitable d'une réforme qui, en introduisant dans notre école une plus forte dose de panthéisme, tendait à confondre les beautés idéales avec les merveilles du procédé; car du jour où l'on divinisait la matière, nos paysagistes devaient chercher le sentiment poétique dans la simple fidélité de l'imitation.[34]

Furthermore, Charles Blanc recognized in the depiction of nature a universal resonance capable of reconciling artistic individualism with the public's emotional needs:

> Croyez-vous donc que la pensée ne puisse trouver un asile dans le paysage? Si, en copiant les aspects de la nature, vous n'obéissez point à un besoin du coeur, si dans les sites riants ou terrible vous ne voyez pas ce qui répond aux divers sentiments de notre âme, vous n'êtes pas un grand peintre. Encore une fois, l'imitation est un moyen, ce n'est pas un but. Sans doute, la pensée qui s'échappe de l'âme du paysagiste pour faire vivre sur sa toile une pensée vague, intime, venue des sources les plus reculées du coeur, une pensée égoïste qui aime les retraites inconnues et les lieux inaccessibles, qui recherche le mystère des forêts et les solitudes où l'on se perd. Mais de sentiment individuel qui s'épanche en un paysage est de nature à émouvoir la foule, car il fait vibrer dans chacun de nous ces cordes de la joie ou de la mélancolie qui sont les mêmes chez tous les hommes.[35]

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[34]Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1839," La Revue du progrès 1, no.8 (1 May 1839): 468.

[35]Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1839," La Revue du progrès 1, no.8 (1 May 1839): 473.

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Blanc's support of landscape painting became then during the July Monarchy a way to reconcile form with the necessity for moral content. Despite his ambivalence about the materiality of nature, he was confident that artists could render the inherent moral meaning of nature through the interpretive intervention of his imagination. No longer equating form with sensualism and its celebration with self-gratification, Blanc saw in painters such as Troyon, Rousseau and Dupré the ability to transmit nature's moral sense through their mastery of paint. The love of beauty, and in the case of landscape painting, the love of nature carried socially beneficial ramifications in the harmony of thought and actions it instilled into the audience:

> Non, il n'y a pas de paysage en l'absence de sentiment, de l'idéal. Si le peintre n'a éprouvé aucune émotion réele, la seule fidélité de l'imitiation ne nous touchera point. A supposer que le daguerréotype reproduisit les couleurs, il charmerait nos yeux, sans doute mais il n'irait pas jusqu'à notre âme. Faites des paysages au pantographe, à la chambre obscure, comme il vous plaira, jamais ils n'interesseront le poéte; car la poésie est en nous-même; et la nature n'est vraiment admirable que lorsqu'elle est allée se réflechir au fond de cette autre chambre obscure, qui est le coeur de l'homme.[36]

Landscape painting became for many republican critics like Charles Blanc a privileged medium for exploring subjective feeling while communicating truth: "Les grands paysagistes ont toujours été ceux

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[36]Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1846. 3e article," La Réforme (10 April 1846).

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qui ont vu la nature avec émotions et lui ont imprimé le cachet de leur caractère personnel."[37]

As I conclude this overview of the national press during the July Monarchy, I realize that I have chosen to concentrate on the daily press because the political stance of each newspaper was clear and could more efficiently inform the analysis that followed. I have also tried to emphasize the position of the lesser-known critics. Through this topography of the French press, it is definitely possible to see that the republican press was more concerned by the changes in landscape painting. The critics were in general more interested in the development of what can be called, for lack of a better word, naturalist landscape painting. They made connection between self-expression, morality and the definition of a purely national modern art.

Critics writing for the republican press were also more involved with theoretical issues than were those of the legitimist and the juste-milieu press. However the one quality that all critics across the political spectrum valued was originality. For all art critics of all socio-aesthetic tendencies, originality constituted the goal which all artists should strive to attain. One of the most interesting comments about originality as a

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[37]Charles Blanc, "Salon de 1845. 7e article," La Réforme (17 May 1845).

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positive value was made by Nicolas Artaud, when he connected its preeminence with political developments:

> Le coté louable, nécessaire même de la révolution, qui s'opère aujourd'hui dans la poésie et dans les arts, et à laquelle on a donné le nom de romantique, c'est de vouloir substituer l'originalité à l'imitation, l'inspiration individuelle à la routine des écoles. Voilà le caractère commun par lequel elle se rattache à la réforme politique. C'est encore une fois l'activité de l'homme qui proteste contre les limites ou les formes invariables dans lesquelles on prétendait l'arrêter.[38]

The Case of Théophile Thoré and Charles Baudelaire:

In conclusion, I would like to turn to two art critics who not only marked their epoch but also became two of the most significant voices to transcend their time: Théophile Thoré and Charles Baudelaire. My purpose here is not to outline their careers, or even to attempt to judge their impact on our understanding of nineteenth-century art. Instead, I would like to focus on their reaction to contemporary landscape painting. Thoré and Baudelaire epitomize the changes that were happening in the field of art criticism.

Baudelaire belonged to the tradition, described earlier on in this study, of the semi-professional art critic. Baudelaire's activities as an art critic were seasonal and sporadic; he

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[38]Nicolas Artaud, "Salon de 1831" Le Courrier Français, no. 130 (10 May 1831).

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reviewed the Salon from 1845 to 1859, and the Universal Exhibition of 1855.[39] He was a professional writer for whom artistic manifestations were the occasion not only to expound his theories but also to earn extra income.[40] On the other hand, Thoré was a professional art writer, moving from journalistic art criticism to art history when he was exiled for his political opinions during the Second Empire. Thoré's writings covered a wide variety of subjects from a study of French sculpture since the Renaissance to studies on museums, the English school, Rembrandt and Vermeer, whom he is credited with having rediscovered. One of Frances Jowell's points is that Thoré supported naturalist painting in order to educate the public. This idea was based on a Saint-Simonian belief in human perfectibility and an organically unified society.[41]

My investigation will focus on the 1840s and will deal mainly with Baudelaire and Thoré's treatment of Rousseau and Corot who were both recognized the leaders of the French School. The case of Rousseau is particularly interesting because he had, by then,

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[39]Baudelaire, Ecrits sur l'art.

[40]On Baudelaire as an art critic see David Kelley, Baudelaire and le Salon de 1846 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) and Alison Fairlie "Aspects of Expression in Baudelaire's Art Criticism," in Ulrich Finke, ed. French 19th Century Painting and Literature (New York: Harper and Row, 1979): 40-64.

[41]For a study of Thoré as an art historian see Jowell, 1977.

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disappeared from public view and stopped submitting to the Salon, tired of being systematically rejected by the jury. Thoré and Baudelaire filled the critical vacuum between 1841 and 1849 by keeping his name before the public, and declaring him the supreme landscapist, the innocent victim of a machination. And as both critics stood on the left, Rousseau's reputation became deeply politicized.

During the July Monarchy, Baudelaire wrote two Salon reviews, in 1845 and 1846. He also reviewed the 1846 exhibition organized by the Baron Taylor and the Association des artistes peintres, sculpteurs, architectes, graveurs et dessinateurs.[42] This exhibition, the Musée classique du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle, was to benefit destitute artists.[43] The same year he also published his Salon caricatural. Despite the fact that landscape painting was never Baudelaire's prime concern, the opening of part V of the section devoted to landscape painting in his Salon de 1845 set the stage for his support of modern landscape painting:

> A la tête de l'école moderne du paysage se place M. Corot. Si M. Théodore Rousseau voulait exposer, la suprématie serait douteuse, M. Théodore Rousseau unissant à une naïveté, à une

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[42]For more information about this exhibition see Fondation Taylor, Le Baron Taylor, l'association des artistes et l'exposition du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle, exh. cat. (Paris: Fondation Taylor, 1995).

[43]Baudelaire-Dufays, "Le Musée classique du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle" Le Corsaire-Satan (21 January 1846).

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> originalité au moins égales, un grand charme et une plus grande sureté d'exécution.[44]

In his next Salon, in 1846, Baudelaire went even further in his study of landscape painting. He identified the different kinds of landscape painting and recognized that the Flemish influence saved the modern school of landscape painting by bringing attention back to the specificity of the motif:

> Lors de la révolution romantique, les paysagistes, à l'exemple des plus célèbres Flamands, s'adonnèrent exclusivement à l'étude de la nature, ce fut ce qui les sauva et donna un éclat particulier à l'école du paysage moderne.[45]

For him, the naturalists and the colorists, best represented by Constant Troyon, were the painters who could best understand and transmit to the viewer the characteristics of nature. This time however, Rousseau was more than just mentioned. He became the subject of an entire page of text, while Corot received only a short paragraph. For Baudelaire, Rousseau became a kind of romantic martyr; he compared him to the painter who for him incarnated the idea of artistic genius, Eugène Delacroix.[46] Baudelaire assumed that the Salon audience would recognize

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[44]Baudelaire, Ecrits sur l'art, 1: 104.

[45]Ibid., 1: 232. Here naturalism is assimilated with romanticism. They were two styles which, because they both rejected the academic tradition became political allies in the battle to overthrow conservatism.

[46]Ibid., 1: 240.

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immediately the painter he was talking about as the prototype of the victimized artist fighting against the conservative artistic establishment:

> Il est un homme qui, plus que tous ceux-là, est même que les plus célèbres absents, remplit, à mon sens, les conditions du beau dans le paysage, un homme peu connu de la foule, et que d'anciens échecs et de sourdes tracasseries ont éloigné du Salon. Il serait temps, ce me semble, que M. Rousseau, on a déjà deviné que c'était de lui dont je voulais parler, se présentât de nouveau devant le public, que d'autres paysagistes ont habitué peu à peu à des aspects nouveaux.[47]

For Baudelaire what was a beautiful landscape? How could he reconcile the naturalism that he deemed necessary for a good landscape painting and the quest for ideal and personal expression so typical of Romanticism? Baudelaire interpreted Rousseau's pictorial innovations, which made his paintings so provocative because they demanded new modes of spectatorship, as an exceptional instance of creative freedom. Baudelaire acknowledged that Rousseau's talent came not only from his fidelity to nature but also from idealism. Both concepts were rooted in the artist's passion for nature. Rousseau's deep love of for nature was the actual source of his aesthetic greatness. Nature is not simply perceived through the act of looking but also through the artist's mind. His lyrical description of Rousseau's style, particularly the grandeur of his light and color, the moisture, and the melancholy point to specific, ephemeral aspects of the observed

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land, and to the deliberate presence of the artist, projecting his feeling onto the landscape he is painting.[48] Rousseau managed to capture the life of nature in its physical movements and its affective moods.

Baudelaire appreciated the essential ambiguity involved in Rousseau's work, which was simultaneously highly naturalistic and highly idealistic. Rousseau is in Baudelaire's text an emblem of the misunderstood creator, artist who embodied the best artistic individualism. With this argument he contributed to the construction of Rousseau, present only by his absence, as a heroic artist. Baudelaire's support of Rousseau was grounded in the idea of the romantic genius. His attitude was also deliberately politicized because by discussing a painter absent from the Salon, he implied that he disagreed with the choices of the jury, and thereby challenged the authority of the Academy.

For Théophile Thoré, the support of naturalist landscape painting was truly part of his open opposition to the government, as his involvement in politics was more real than Baudelaire's. After studying in Poitiers and earning a law degree in 1827, Thoré went to Paris to practice law. He quickly became active in the

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[47]Ibid.

[48]"Sa peinture respire une grande mélancolie. Il aime les natures bleuâtres, les crépuscules, les couchers de soleil singuliers et trempés d'eau, les gros ombrages où circulent les

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socialist circles and took part in the July Revolution. After the failure of his civil servant career as procureur du roi in his hometown of La Flèche, he settled definitely in Paris and became a full-time journalist and writer. In 1834 he founded with Louis Blanc and the Arago brothers La Revue républicaine, which failed after just one year. In 1838, he tried again to publish with the help of Victor Schoelcher a newspaper called this time La Démocratie, but it failed again. He contributed Salon reviews as well as other articles to various publications throughout the July Monarchy.[49] In 1840, he published La Vérité sur le parti démocratique as a result he was tried as an anarchist. He was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and spend a year in prison at Sainte-Pélagie. There he met Lamennais and wrote L'Abolition du prolétariat, published in Brussels in 1842. In 1836 he supplemented his income with the publication of Dictionnaire de phrénologie et de physiognomie, a subject made popular by the works of Gall and Lavater.

In 1840, Thoré had used his position as a journalist to publicize a petition asking for reform in the Salon jury, nothing came of it. From 1842 to 1847, Thoré was in partnership with the

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brises, les grands jeux d'ombres et de lumière." Ibid.

[49]He contributed to L'Artiste: see for instance: "L'Art social et progressif," 7 (1934): 38-42), to La Revue indépendante (see for instance: "Du communisme en France," 1 (1841): 337-348),

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book dealer Paul Lacroix in publishing the Bulletin de l'alliance des arts. This publication was the mouthpiece of their association, which was devoted to the sale and exchange of books and paintings. Finally in 1848, he founded one last newspaper with Pierre Leroux and George Sand: La Vraie République. Having been involved in the insurrection of 13 June 1849, he had to flee abroad where he remained until his amnesty in 1860.[50]

Thoré had been one of Rousseau's closest friends since the 1830s, when they had shared the same apartment at 9 rue Taitbout. They remained close until Thoré's forced exile in 1849. Thoré was well known for his radical politics, a mixture of socialism and mysticism in the tradition of Saint-Simon and the Fourierists. Later on, drawing on the studies he had accomplished while in Belgium and the Netherlands, he became an enthusiastic supporter of Dutch art, which he promoted as a democratic tradition.

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to La Revue du progrès, to Le Constitutionnel, and Le Siècle.

[50]For an in-depth analysis of Thoré's career and writings, see Grate, Deux critiques d'art, 137-248.

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Thoré's role in the politicization of Théodore Rousseau appears clear. In 1868, he published a volume of Salon reviews he had written before his exile, between 1844 and 1848, which were also his most active political years. Thoré had begun his 1844 Salon with a long letter addressed to Rousseau; the following reviews also began with long letters addressed to notorious opponents of July Monarchy, Pierre Jean de Béranger and George Sand. For Thoré's readers in 1868, his invocation of Rousseau's name on the same level as those two famous political figures must have carried a definite political weight. Earlier on in this study we saw how Thoré constructed the character of Rousseau as a recluse and how he saw in the renewal of the landscape painting tradition a way for the French school to assure its superiority on the European art scene.

My purpose is to investigate the political nature of Thoré's eulogy of Rousseau. I have already mentioned the importance of Saint-Simonian beliefs for Thoré. This led him to see in Rousseau's landscapes a way to promote his theory of l'art pour l'homme (art's for man's sake) as oppose to art for art's sake. The Saint Simonian saw in nature a model for a harmonious society. Rousseau's naturalism, a democratic and rational form of art, could advance the education of the entire society. Thoré's promotion of naturalism was an

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attempt to educate the public in human perfectibility and an organic unified society:

> Pour ma part, j'aimerai mieux vivre dans une belle campagne, moitié penseur, moitié paysan, avec une blouse et des sabots, du pain de ménage, des pommes de terres de mon jardin et du petit vin naturel, que de m'agiter dans une vie factice et turbulente, au milieu du luxe et des jouissance materielles. M. Lamennnais me disait encore dans les découragements de sa prison: "J'étais né pour être jardinier. L'ambition du beau, du bien, du vrai, vaut mieux que l'ambition de l'argent. La véritable richesse est dans la modération, dans la fraternité humaine, dans un travail bien ordonné, dans les jouissances du coeur et de l'esprit."C'est le trésor caché du beau roman de *Jeanne*, par George Sand.[51]

This passage points not only to the influence of the Saint-Simonian ideal, but also to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his rejection of the corruptive nature of society. The countryside and by extension nature was where one could live a good life in harmony with its natural cycle away from the artificiality of the city.

Rousseau exemplified for Thoré his faith in the democratic ideal by depicting reality through a strong point of view.[52] Thoré explained the authenticity of Rousseau's rendition of nature by Rousseau's passion for nature, Rousseau's body being perfectly in tune with the movements of

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[51]Théophile Thoré, "Salon de 1844," in Salons de Théophile Thoré: 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848 (Paris, 1868), 9.

[52]Jowell analyzed the linked importance of politics, naturalism, and poésie in Thoré's writing about Dutch art

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nature itself: " Il frisonne avec la tempête, ou il resplendit avec le soleil. . . . Il a peint les aspects les plus difficiles de la nature, l'orage et la pluie, le printemps et l'automne, le soir et même la nuit, le lever et le coucher du soleil."[53] Rousseau's success depended on his emotional and physical immersion in nature. Copying nature faithfully was not enough in order to engage the public and transmit a moral message.[54] But contrary to Baudelaire, who thought that Rousseau injected his soul into the landscape, Thoré recognized that instead Rousseau's relation with nature was based on an exchange between the artist and the land. Rousseau's work drew on a creative order inherent in nature:

> Il est vrai que Rousseau est, sans comparaison, le premier de nos paysagistes. . . . Parmi les maîtres anciens et les premiers dans chaque école, il n'y en a pas qui aime davantage la nature et qui la comprenne mieux. Il n'y en pas de plus spiritualiste, en ce sens qu'il pénètre la vie intime de la nature, qu'il tresaille à toutes ses agitations et aux moindre mouvements de sa physionomie. Un amant ne partage pas plus vivement les impressions secrètes de sa maîtresse. Rousseau partage en quelque sorte toutes les passions de la nature.[55]

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during the 1840s. Jowell, 144-168.

[53]Thoré, Salons, 73.

[54]See in the same Salon, Thoré's harsh criticism of Delaberge's futile attempt to copy nature.

[55]Thoré, Salons, 72-73.

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As I have discussed before, Thoré's erotic metaphor is an integral part of the critical discourse on Rousseau's works. The idea that Rousseau was tapping into the landscape's own creative life marks a rupture with the romantic paradigm in which an artist finds in the appearance of the natural world an echo for his personal emotion or experience.[56]

Thoré's final attempt to link Rousseau's work and politics was in two articles published in Le Constitutionnel, on the occasion of one of his visits to the painter in Barbizon.[57] These articles told the story of their walk from dawn to dusk through the forest's most endangered site. Once again Thoré used their promenade as a platform for criticizing the government's exploitation of nature for profit. The opening of the article was frankly political, and in the next breath, as he had done with his Salon dedication, he brought in Rousseau:

> L'automne nous a rappelé dans notre domaine de Fontainebleau, qui nous appartient en commun à nous tous les prolétaires de l'art et de la poésie, et dont malheureusement, nous avons cédé l'usufruit sous l'influence des chaleurs de juillet 1830. . . . N'ayant qu'un jour à passer en plein air, nous sommes allés

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[56]For an expansion of this concept see Greg Thomas "Théodore Rousseau and the Ecological Landscape," 77-84.

[57]Théophile Thoré, "Par monts et par bois," Le Constitutionnel, no. 531 (27 November 1847): 1-2; no. 532 (28 November 1847): 1-2.

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> retrouver à Barbizon le grand amoureux de la nature, Théodore Rousseau, ce brave compagnon des longues courses à pied, le jour et la nuit, par tous les temps, au travers des pays les plus sauvages.[58]

We are, then, confronted again with the same tactic, Thoré's use of Rousseau as a political exemplar despite Rousseau's actual political passiveness. Despite constant association of Rousseau with the far-left throughout the 1830s and 1840s, there is no conclusive proof that he was actually a republican or even sympathetic to the cause. However, he was concerned with reforming the Salon jury and creating an artist's association and he was deeply involved in the issue of forest conservation.[59] In the political context of the times, these two activities can of course be construed as overtly political as in both cases he opposed the actions of the government. Thoré's article was much less about Rousseau than it was about corruption versus the untouched beauty of nature. Rousseau's distaste for the urban world and its implied politics and his desire to protect the disappearing wilderness of the Fontainebleau forest were for

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[58]Ibid., 1.

[59]On Rousseau's activities in the field of forest conservation see Thomas, 335-405; as well as my own "Preserving the Oak Tree: The Forest of Fontainebleau and the School of Barbizon," paper delivered at the CAA annual conference, February 23-26 2000.

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Thoré two really efficient ways to promote his own political views.[60]

In the last two chapters I have considered how naturalist landscape painting provided a forum for many republican and utopian socialists to discuss issues of nationalism and in a coded manner to present their opposition to the central powers. In my conclusion I would like to sum up the main issues at stake in that study and to reaffirm the essential role played by naturalist landscape painting in the formation of French identity. Landscape painting was becoming the genre replacing history painting in defining the superiority of French painting on the European artistic scene.

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[60]Rousseau would eventually succeed in influencing the government of Napoleon III to set aside a substantial number of acres of the Fontainebleau Forest. These areas were to be untouched by commercial exploitation. However Rousseau's actions as an early ecologist go beyond the chronological framework of this study. See a copy of Rousseau's petition to Napoleon III in Rousseau's papers in the Cabinet des dessins in the Louvre.

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Conclusion

As I come to the end of my study, I am somehow acutely aware of only having been able to scratch the surface of a much larger topic. I have chosen and brought to light many fascinating texts, and have begun the necessary work of a deep and synthetic analysis. I deeply feel that our understanding of this period can not be improved until the basic research had been done. In this sense, my thesis is archeological, as I have attempted to discover the substrata of our present understanding of Barbizon painting, focusing on its politicization in the 1830s and 1840s. And as I went on retrieving information, how could I be sure that I was not imposing too much of my own preoccupation onto the historical texts?

One of the major conclusions of this study is that, while landscape painting remained a minor genre of little

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interest for conservative critics, it became central to the discourse of republican and utopian socialist critics. The discussion of landscape painting became a way to deal with issues of nationalism and national identity, issues which in the 1830s and 1840s seemed to be the prerogative of the left. Naturalist landscape painting was, then, one of the only ways of revitalizing the dying genre of history painting, by anchoring national identity to the land and to modernity, instead of to the past, with its tales of historical, mythological and religious heroes. The landscape paintings of the French countryside of the 1830s and 1840s could then provide a perfect introduction to the discussion of the nature of modern art, which usually begins later with Gustave Courbet.

The rise of naturalist landscape cannot be understood in purely formal terms. The reactions of Théophile Thoré and Rousseau's concerns with the preservation of the forest of Fontainebleau point to another essential component of my study. One cannot understand fully this phenomenon without putting the development of naturalist landscape painting in the context of the development of a metropolitan bourgeois culture. Without the city, representation of the country made little sense. The country and nature were defined in opposition to the metropolitan. The urban middle-class bought

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these landscapes, traveled to the countryside and bought country cottages where they spent their summer vacations. Landscape paintings were an integral part of that desire to escape the city, which was more and more seen as an unhealthy place of corrupting influence. While this perception of the countryside was of course more a myth than reality, it is central to our understanding of modernity in the mid-nineteenth century.

One of the powers of naturalist landscape painting resided in the fact that from the 1830s till the end of the century it would be used to promote many different ideologies. In the 1870s, for Alfred Sensier and other conservative republicans, it could symbolize a mythical eternal agrarian natural order. If Sensier's ideas were originally grounded in the philosophy of the Enlightenment and in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, they were also imbued with a kind of democratic-republican ideal, totally secular, which was very typical among the Parisian bourgeoisie of which Sensier as a civil servant belonged.

But Sensier's agenda was rather conservative. The historical circumstances were in the 1870s different than in the 1830s and 1840s. The painting of the Barbizon School helped him to promote a nostalgic image of simpler, less fragmented times in order to advance his nationalistic and

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paternalistic program. However, for radical critics like Théophile Thoré and Alexandre Decamps, writing in the 1830s and 40s, the depictions of the forest of Fontainebleau were before anything else about personal freedom. Thoré's republicanism had compelled him to politicize his views in order to support his demand for a national art. Nature was never really the neutral place it seemed to be.

Subsequently, Napoleon III's decision in 1861 to listen to Rousseau's plea and to set aside part of the Forest of Fontainebleau for conservation, against the advice of his foresters, reinforced once more the multi-layered significance of the development of naturalist landscape painting. Nature was not just preserved for its own sake. It was preserved because the French State recognized the primordial role the forest played in the renewal of French landscape painting.[1] To conserve plots of "untouched" ancient forest, essentially for artists and tourists, meant that wilderness survived only to be transformed into the ultimate artifice, a painting. But it also showed that the government understood that after the succession of revolutions since 1789, it could use nature

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[1]See Philippe Burty, "La Forêt de Fontainebleau," La Renaissance littéraire and artistique, no. 27 (October 26 1872): 211-12. In this article Burty wrote about the Fontainebleau Forest not just as a museum but also as the

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and, in this particular case the Forest of Fontainebleau, to promote ideas of permanence and stability.

"nourrice du paysage moderne."

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Figure 1: Camille Corot, Fontainebleau. Le Rageur, ca. 1830, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 61 cm, private collection.

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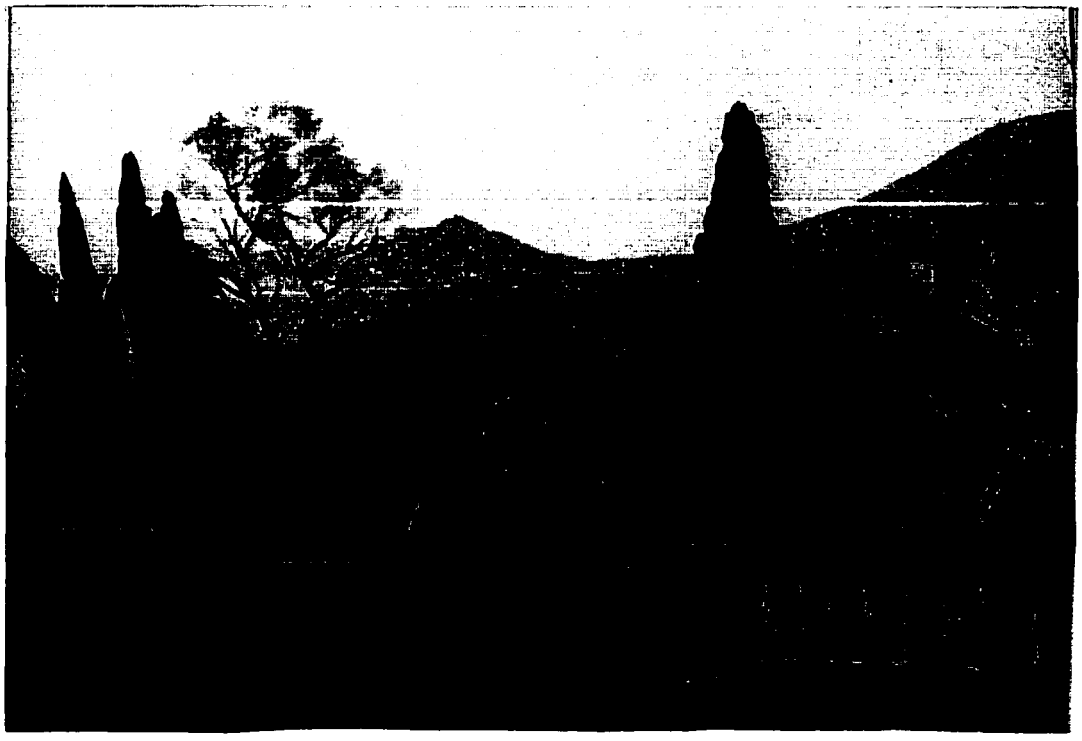

Figure 2: Camille Corot, Tivoli. Les Jardins de la villa d'Este, 1843, oil on canvas, 43.5 x 60.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

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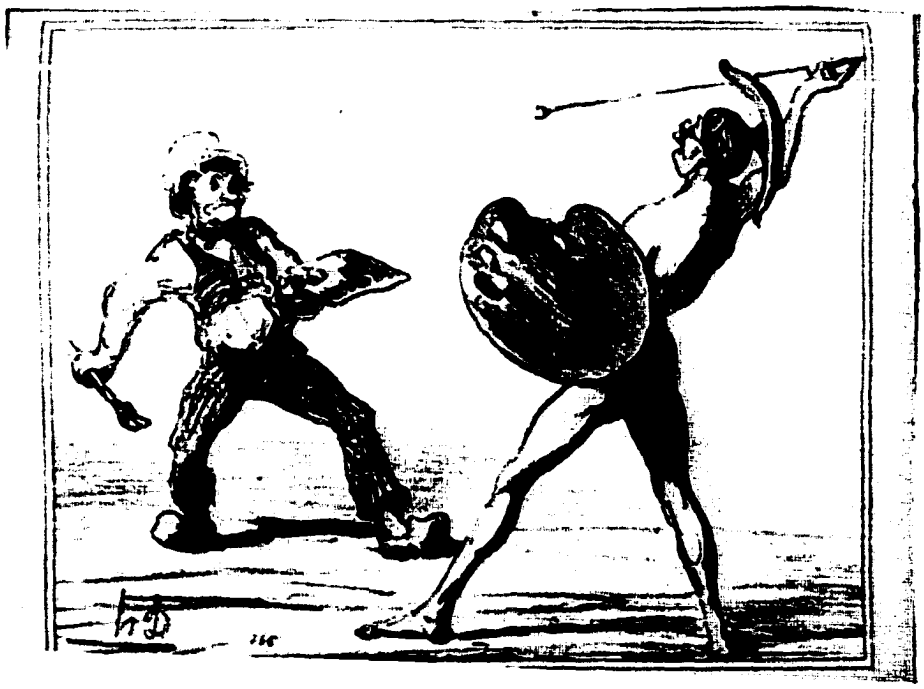

Figure 3: Honoré Daumier, Le Combat des écoles: Idéalisme contre Réalisme, 1855, lithograph published in Le Charivari.

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Figure 4: Thomas Couture, Le Réaliste, 1865, oil on pannel, 55 x 45 cm, Crawford Municipal School of Art, Cork, Ireland.

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Figure 5: Anonymous, Un Délit champêtre, 1846, lithograph, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

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Figure 6: Camille Corot, Vue prise dans la forêt de Fontainebleau, 1846, 90.2 x 128.8 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Samuel Dennis Warren.

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Figure 7: Théodore Rousseau, Groupe de chênes, Apremont, 1852, oil on canvas, 63.5 x 99.9 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

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Figure 8: Camille Corot, Avignon. Une Vue prise de Villeneuve-les-Avignon, 1836, oil on canvas, 33.7 x 73 cm, The Trustees of the Nationale Gallery, London.

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Figure 9: Camille Corot, Soissons vu de la fabrique de M. Henry, 1833, oil on canvas, 80 x 99 cm, Rijkmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo.

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Figure 10: Camille Corot, Vue du port de la Rochelle, 1851, oil on canvas, 50.5 x 71.8 cm, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903.

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Figure 11: Camille Corot, Saint-Lô. Vue générale de la ville, 1831, oil on canvas, 46 x 65 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

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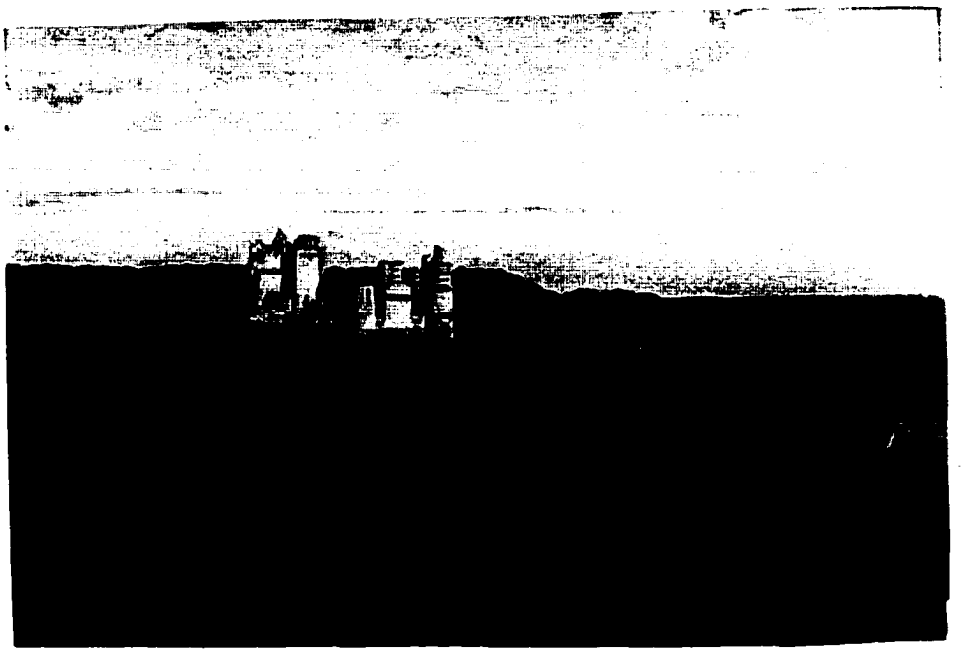

Figure 12: Camille Corot, Pierrefonds (Oise). Vue Générale, ca. 1834, oil on canvas, 51,5 x 78 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Quimper.

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Figure 13: Léopold Robert, Arrivée des moissonneurs dans les marais Pontins, 1830, oil on canvas, 141.5 x 212 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

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Figure 14: Camille Corot, Lormes. Lormes. Une Chevrière assise au bord d'un torrent sous bois, 1842, oil on canvas, 52 x 69,3 cm, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund.

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Figure 15: William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Nut Gatherers, 1880, oil on canvas, 88 x 134 cm, The Detroit Institute of Fine Arts, Gift of Mrs. William E. Scripps.

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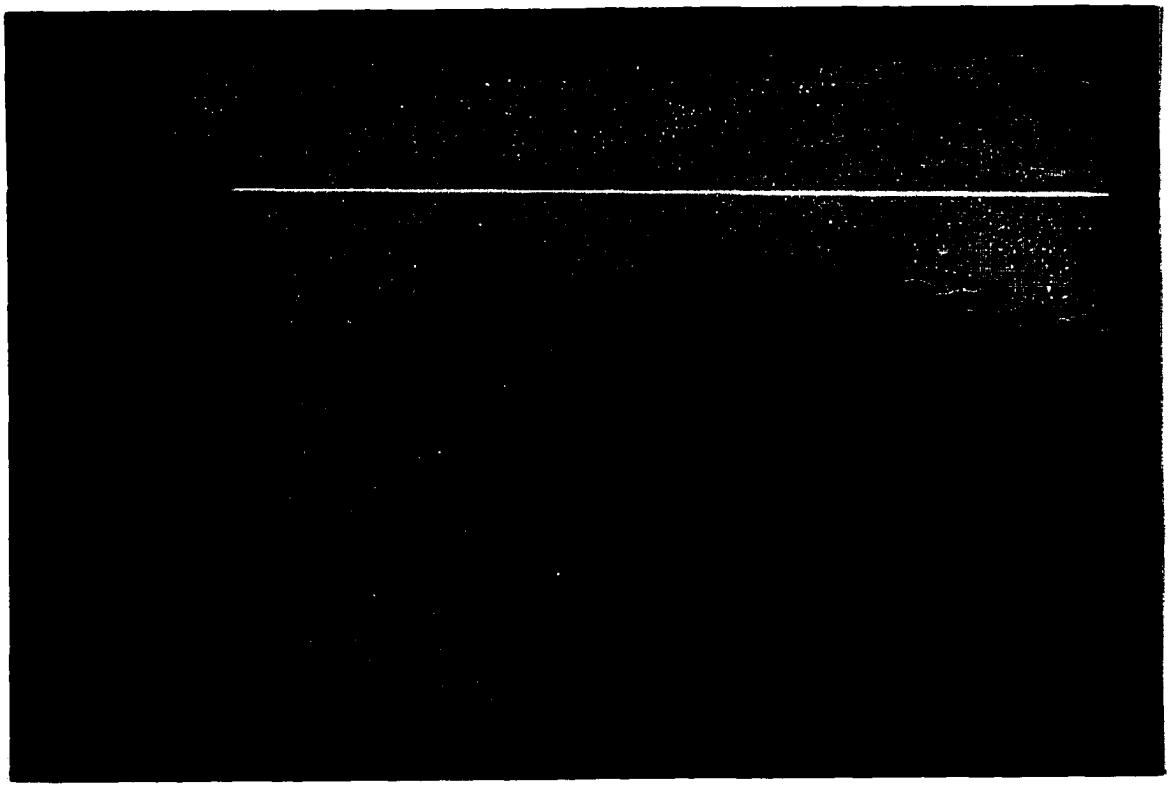

Figure 16: Camille Corot, Genazo. Chevrier en vue du village, 1843, oil on canvas, 35.8 x 57.1 cm, The Philips Collection, Washington, D.C.

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Figure 17: Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet, Un Mécène, 1840, Lithograph, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris.

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Figure 18: Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, Le Paysagiste, 1820, lithograph, Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

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Figure 19: Théodore Rousseau, Le Curé, 1842-3, oil on panel, 42.3 x 64.4 cm, Toledo Museum of Art.

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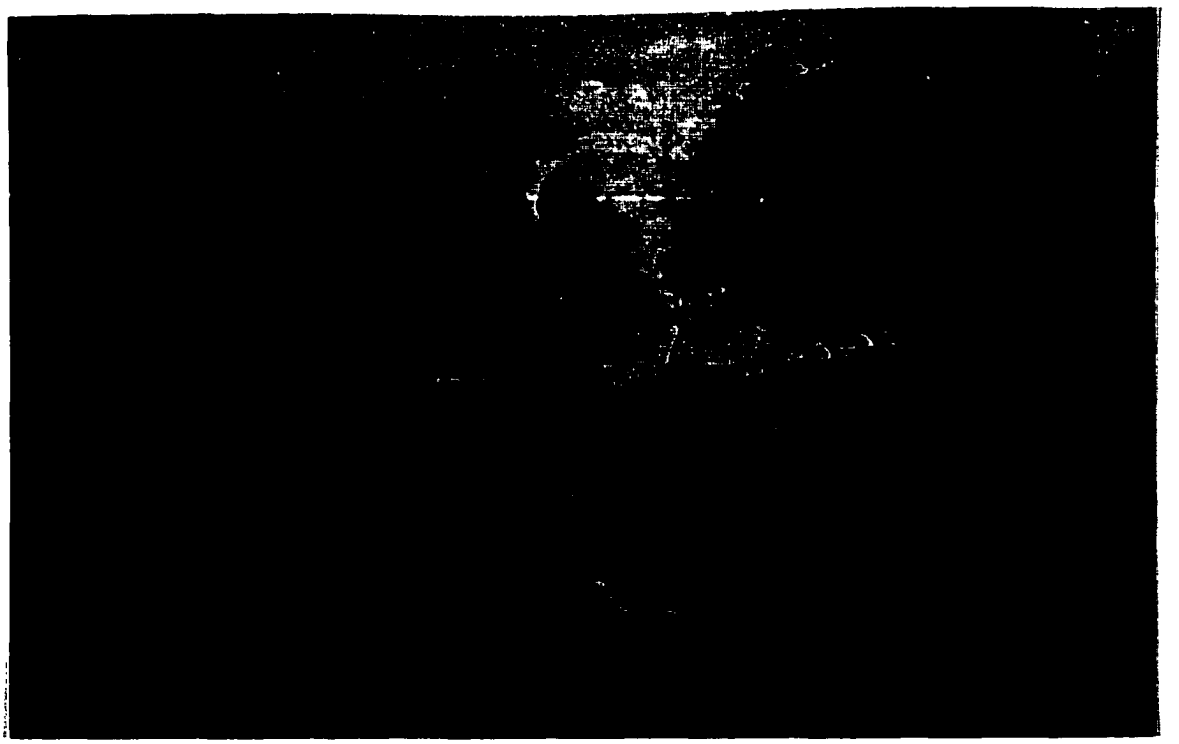

Figure 20: Camille Corot, Homère et les bergers, paysage, 1845, oil on canvas, 80 x 130 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Saint Lô.

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1824:

Jal, A. L'Artiste et le philosophe: entretients critiques sur le Salon de 1824. Paris: Ponthieu, 1824.

1831:

"Les Anciens et les nouveaux," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 1, no. 14 (8 May 1831): 173-175.

"Salon de 1831," L'Artiste, 1 ser., 2, no. 1 (7 August 1831): 1-3.

"Salon de 1831," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 7, no. 14 (1831): 157-163.

"Salon de 1831," Le Constitutionnel, no. 128 (8 May 1831).

"Exposition de peinture," Le Courrier de l'Europe, no. 98 (10 May 1831): 1.

"France. Le Salon. 1er article," Le Globe, no. 132 (12 May 1831): 531.

"Musée royal. Exposition. 1831. Deuxième et dernier article," La Mode 8, no. 7 (13 August 1831): 145-52.

"Salon de 1831," La Quotidienne, no. 128 (8 May 1831): 2.

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A. "Salon de 1831," Le Correspondant 4, no. 24 (24 May 1831): 189.

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Delécluze, Etienne-Jean. "Exposition de 1831. Sixième article," Le Journal des débats, 14 May 1831.

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Farcy, Charles-François. "Salon de 1831," Le Journal des artistes et des amateurs, 5th ser., 1, no. 18 (1 May 1831).

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Schoelcher, Victor. "MM. Delacroix, Léon Cogniet, Decamps," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 1, no. 18 (5 June 1831): 226-228.

Schoelcher, Victor. "MM. Beaume, Bellangé, Destouches, Huet, Dagnan, Jollivart, Aligny, Gué, Darche, Darche, Devéria, Drolling," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 1, no. 22 (3 June 1831): 270-273.

Schoelcher, Victor. "Salon de 1831," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 2, no. 1 (1831): 3-4.

Tardieu, Alexandre. "Salon de 1831," Les Annales de l'école moderne. Paris: Landon éditeurs, 1831.

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V. "Beaux-Arts. Exposition de 1831," Annales de la philosophie chrétienne, no. 13 (31 July 1831): 60.

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"Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 5, no. 6 (1833): 69-72.

"Salon de 1833," Le Constitutionnel, no. 119 (29 April 1833).

"Musée. Première promenade. Méditation," Le Corsaire, 6 March 1833.

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Artaud, Nicolas. "Salon de 1831," Le Courrier français, no. 128 (8 May 1831).

Delécluze, Etienne-Jean. "Salon de 1833. Huitième article," Le Journal des débats, 1 may 1833.

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Haureau, Jean Barthélémy. "Salon," La Tribune politique et littéraire, no. 62 (9 March 1831): 1.

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Janin, Jules. "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1833," L'Artiste, 1st ser., 5, no. 12 (1833): 146-148.

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Trianon, Henri. Examen du Salon de 1833. Paris, 1833.

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"Beaux-Arts," Le Constitutionnel, 15 March 1834, 1.

"Salon de 1834," L'Indépendant, 6 March 1834, 1.

"Salon de 1834," Le Journal des artistes et des amateurs, no. 10 (9 March 1834): 147-154.

Decamps, Alexandre. Le Musée. Revue du Salon de 1834. Paris, 1834.

Delécluze, Etienne-Jean. "Salon de 1834. Septième article," Le Journal des débats (4 may 1834).

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