

THE JURY OF THE PARIS FINE ART SALON, 1831-1852

Submitted by Harriet Celia Griffiths, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in French Studies, May 2013.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis provides the first detailed study of the jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon under the July Monarchy and Second Republic. In 1831, Louis-Philippe delegated the role of jury to the members of the first four sections of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*. This thesis analyses the diverse composition of the July Monarchy jury and offers the first account of its procedures and decisions based on a rigorous examination of archival sources. It also examines the nature and extent of the growing opposition to the jury, its eventual abolition in 1848 and the decisions taken in forming a new jury under the Second Republic. In so doing it reveals the failure of the king and his arts administration to respond to the aspirations and expectations of the artistic community under the post-revolution constitutional monarchy. It also shows how the jury's diverse membership sparked conflict, notably between a conservative group of architects and certain more open-minded members of the painting section, as it sought to adjust its academic values and expectations in response to the artistic developments of the period. My examination of the opposition to the jury among artists and art journalists during this period brings to light the key issues surrounding admission to the Salon at the time. Finally, the analysis of the Second Republic reveals the ways in which this opposition was temporarily satisfied by reforms to the jury, examining the significance of changes not only to its composition, but also to its procedures. At each stage the thesis challenges the simplistic misrepresentations of the Salon jury's procedures and decisions prevalent during the July Monarchy itself and subsequently in the history of the emergence of modern art in France during the nineteenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Professor James Kearns for his support, guidance and patience over the past three years. I wish to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for its funding of this doctoral thesis. I am also extremely grateful to my colleague Dr Alister Mill for his advice and friendship, to my second supervisor Dr Hugh Roberts for his valuable comments on earlier drafts of this thesis, to Nick Ashcroft for his I.T. support and to Alain Prévet and the staff of the *Archives des Musées Nationaux* for assisting my research in Paris. I owe a debt of thanks to Professor John House for his encouragement and inspiration.

This thesis would never have been possible without the support of my friends and family. I am especially grateful to my parents, my brother and, most of all, to my husband, Tunde.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABA	Paris, Archives de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts
AMN	Paris, Archives des Musées Nationaux
AN	Paris, Archives Nationales
ENSBA	Paris, Collections de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts
BA PV	<i>Procès-verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts</i> , ed. by Jean-Michel Leniaud, 12 vols (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001-2009)

Note: In quotations, I have retained the orthography of the period. For example, plurals in *-ans/-ens* for *-ants/-ents* (eg. *artistes vivans*) and imperfect endings *-ois, -oit* for *-ais, -ait*.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to provide the first detailed study of the procedures and decisions of the Paris Fine Art Salon jury under the July Monarchy and Second Republic. The subject has its source in the Arts and Humanities Research Council project, *Painting for the Salon? The French State, Artists and Academy, 1831-1852*, managed by Professor James Kearns, which seeks to analyse the role of the Salon in the relationship between artists and the Fine Arts administration during this period. As we shall see in chapter 1, in March 1831, King Louis-Philippe delegated the jury role to the members of the first four sections of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*.¹ By means of a thorough examination of archival material, particularly that contained in the Salon registers of the Louvre's *Archives des Musées Nationaux*, and of published sources of the period, this thesis provides the first detailed account of i) the delegation of the jury role to the academicians, ii) the membership of the first four sections of the Academy to which the role was delegated, iii) the context, administrative and regulatory, in which they carried out their task, iv) the decisions they took, v) the opposition these decisions provoked within the wider artistic community and vi) the abolition of the academic jury in the wake of the revolution of 1848 and its replacement during the Second Republic by a jury more representative of this wider community. I shall address the question of why it survived despite the weight of opposition towards it and to what extent the accusations aimed at the jury at that time reflected the reality of the situation. During this period, when more and more artists were seeking admission to the Salon and when

¹ The first four sections were those of painting, sculpture, architecture and engraving, comprising a total of 34 members, divided into 14, 8, 8 and 4 members respectively. This thesis will also refer to the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* in English as the Academy.

the industrialisation of the French press from 1836 led to a rapid growth in art journalism, the Academy was increasingly represented as a stronghold of conservative values and its jury as an academic gatekeeper bent on obstructing originality and progress.²

This negative perception of the Salon jury has been compounded by literary accounts and modernist art historiography, in which progressive artists were depicted as struggling to overcome traditionalist artists entrenched in institutions such as the Academy, which wilfully obstructed their path. For example, the Goncourt brothers' *Manette Salomon* (1866), set during the 1840s and 1850s, is punctuated with invective against the Academy, establishing a dichotomy between what they saw as a repressive institution which stifled creativity, and the originality and modernity of artists who chose to reject academic principles.³ The novel portrays the character of Anatole Bazoche, a disciple of academic doctrine, as incapable of appreciating the work of talented modern painters, while it champions the innovative painter Coriolis against the archetypal academic figure, Garnotelle.⁴ Zola's *L'Œuvre* (1886), set in the later period of the Second Empire and Third Republic, provides the best-known account of the hostility of the Salon jury towards artistic innovation.⁵ It opens in the summer of 1862 with its artistic protagonist, Claude Lantier, working on his submission for the Salon of 1863 and follows his doomed progress through the 1870s. This fictional character is a composite of contemporary artists, including Paul Cézanne, Zola's childhood friend, and Édouard Manet, whose painting *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*, exhibited at the 1863 *Salon des Refusés* and frequently seen as 'the birth of modern painting' in histories of

² See Marie-Ève Thérenty and Alain Vaillant, *1836, l'an 1 de l'ère médiatique* (Paris: Nouveau monde édition, 2001).

³ See Edmond Goncourt and Jules Goncourt, *Manette Salomon* (Paris: Gallimard 'Folio', 1996). Their disparagement of Anatole's academic ambitions is often voiced through the character of Chassagnol, for example p. 142: 'Non, vois-tu, mon cher, qu'on fasse toutes les tartines du monde là-dessus, ce n'est pas là l'école qu'il faut au talent: la vraie école, c'est l'étude en pleine liberté, selon son goût et son choix.'

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137: 'il méprisait à peu près toute la peinture des talents vivants [...] Pour un homme de ce tempérament et de ces idées, il y avait un grand rêve: le prix de Rome.'

⁵ See Emile Zola, *L'Œuvre* (Paris: Gallimard 'Folio', 1983).

modern art, is directly recalled in Lantier's *Plein Air*.⁶ Lantier comes to exemplify the experience of all innovative artists struggling against the conservative values of the Academy and the Salon. Zola promotes a reading of the jury as not only intransigent, but predisposed to discriminate against originality, writing of Lantier's repeated rejection from the Salon: 'Le parti pris n'était plus niable, il s'agissait de l'étranglement systématique d'un artiste original' (p. 238). He reinforces this image of the jury's inherent opposition towards innovation, by suggesting that its members rejected Lantier's work automatically and without consideration. Describing Fagerolles's failed efforts to persuade the jury to accept Lantier's submission of his *Enfant mort*, Zola writes: 'Il n'essayait que des refus, dès qu'il prononçait le nom de son ami' (p. 314). Finally, Fagerolles secures its admission by the exercise of his 'charité', by which each juror was allowed to admit one work of his choice without reference to the other members of the jury, itself a corruption of the system of exemptions based on achievement which the July Monarchy had abolished in 1831 and the Second Republic had reinstated in 1849.

Modernism's linear view of art history in which each successive movement is replaced by its more progressive successor actively promoted this reading of the July Monarchy and particularly informed Léon Rosenthal's highly influential account of this period, *Du Romantisme au réalisme: essai sur l'évolution de la peinture en France de 1830 à 1848*, published in 1914, which became the dominant early twentieth-century account of the art of the July Monarchy.⁷ By that time the modernist narrative was sufficiently well-established for Rosenthal to describe the Salon jury as 'absurde et féroce' (p. 39). Relying on reviews of the Salon in the press, he enumerated the jury's controversial rejections without placing them within the wider context of their decisions

⁶ See for example Gaëtan Picon, *1863, naissance de la peinture moderne* (Geneva: A. Skira, 1974).

⁷ Léon Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au réalisme: essai sur l'évolution de la peinture en France de 1830 à 1848* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1914). Its authoritative status was underlined by its republication in 1987 with an introduction by Michael Marrinan, author of the important *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe: Art and Ideology in Orleanist France, 1830-1848* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

as a whole. His account of the jury's response to Delacroix is a case in point, in which he unquestioningly reproduced press accounts and was clearly influenced by critical responses, which my archival research reveals to be at best misrepresentative, such as Théophile Gautier's claims in *Histoire du romantisme* that 'le jury, choisi alors parmi l'Institut, se donnait, tous les ans, le plaisir de lui refuser un ou deux tableaux.'⁸ On the basis of this received depiction he portrayed the jury as wishing to 'barrer la route à Delacroix' (p. 40), when the archival evidence shows that the jury accepted seven-eighths of the painter's 64 entries during the July Monarchy and rejected just two works unanimously.⁹ Rosenthal's text has continued to influence recent works and his negative reading of the jury has proved persistent. Gérard Monnier's 1995 study, *L'Art et ses institutions en France*, for example, praised Rosenthal's 'ouvrage pionnier récemment et heureusement réédité' and actively promoted his 1914 assessment of the jury.¹⁰

This narrative has prevailed in places, in large part because no serious history of the Salon or its jury has been written to challenge it. One of the aims of my research is to reveal the simplifications in this reductive form of art historiography. In this respect I welcomed Stephen Bann's dismissal of the traditionalist picture of the Academy:

Instead of regarding the Academy as a kind of black cloud looming heavily over the landscape of the visual arts, we begin to see the institution itself as a central locus of discussion and debate, one in which the very disagreements and dissensions serve to generate new ideas and possibilities.¹¹

This thesis will show that the 'central locus of discussion and debate' which Bann suggests we look for in the Academy can also be found in the Salon jury of the July

⁸ Théophile Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme* (Paris: Charpentier, 1874), p. 201. Specific examples of Rosenthal's misrepresentation of Delacroix's Salon career include his claim that *La Justice de Trajan* was initially rejected in 1840 (p. 41), as asserted by Théophile Gautier in his 'Salon de 1840', *La Presse*, 11 March 1840 and his claim that Delacroix's *Madeleine* was rejected in 1845 (p. 42), as wrongly published in *L'Artiste* in 1845.

⁹ As shown in AMN, *KK49-63.

¹⁰ Gérard Monnier, *L'Art et ses institutions en France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), p. 131: 'Les Salons de la monarchie de Juillet sont restés célèbres pour la sévérité du jury; Rosenthal l'a montré: elle fut "absurde et féroce."'

¹¹ Stephen Bann, 'Questions of Genre in Early Nineteenth-Century French Painting', *New Literary History*, 34 (2003), 501-511 (p. 502).

Monarchy. It aims to challenge the perception of academic intransigence, by examining the relationships between the different parties and figures in and around the jury, the jury's different motivations, its degrees of adaptability, and negotiation of the artistic currents of the time. However, this re-evaluation of the Salon jury does not intend to make ahistorical judgements, either to defend or condemn the acts of the jury. It seeks to avoid the pitfalls of a determinedly revisionist approach, as set out by Neil McWilliam:

While ostensibly dismantling the received distinction between a reactionary and self-serving clique of establishment mediocrities and an oppressed and courageous avant-garde, revisionists frequently run the risk of simply supplanting it with a new and equally value-laden series of dichotomies. [...] One band of heroes is promoted at the expense of another, mimicking the 'myth of the avant-garde' with a new mythology as hagiographical in tone and complicit in moral identity as the dominant discourse it seeks to question.¹²

This thesis takes an internal perspective, in an attempt to understand the value systems which the members of the jury brought to exercise in their role and what their decisions can be shown to reveal, as well as an external perspective, examining how the jury was perceived by contemporary artists and commentators.

No history of the Salon has addressed the period of the July Monarchy in detail. A number of recent texts have provided general overviews of the Salon, without offering any detailed examination of the period with which we are concerned. These include Gérard-Georges Lemaire's *Histoire du Salon de peinture*, Dominique Lobstein's *Les Salons au XIX^e siècle: Paris, capitale des arts*, and Claire Maingon's *Le Salon et ses artistes: une histoire des expositions du Roi Soleil aux Artistes Français*.¹³ Lemaire's work examines the Salon in terms of a series of specific and limited

¹² Neil McWilliam, 'Limited Revisions: Academic Art History Confronts Academic Art', *Oxford Art Journal*, 12, 2 (1989), 71-86 (p. 74).

¹³ Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *Histoire du Salon de peinture* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2004); Dominique Lobstein, *Les Salons au XIX^e siècle: Paris, capitale des arts* (Paris: La Martinière, 2006); Claire Maingon, *Le Salon et ses artistes: une histoire des expositions du Roi Soleil aux Artistes Français* (Paris: Hermann, 2009).

questions and answers, choosing to break down each period into isolated elements, rather than providing an integrated history of the Salon. I shall challenge his interpretation of the jury as an intransigent force, which is heavily reliant on obviously biased press accounts, through a thorough analysis of archival resources.¹⁴ Lobstein's text, which is limited to the nineteenth century, offers a more detailed analysis than Lemaire's and reveals his wider research within the *Archives des Musées Nationaux*. Whilst avoiding Lemaire's exaggerations, it remains influenced by the reductive modernist narrative, regarding the Salon of the July Monarchy as 'une exposition qui va tendre à se replier frileusement à l'abri de l'Académie des beaux-arts en rejetant les œuvres relevant du romantisme et réalisme barbizonien' (p. 117), whereas the jury's response to romantic and realist work, whether by the Barbizon painters or others, was much more nuanced than he suggests. Rather than concentrating on the Salon from an institutional perspective, this beautifully illustrated book focuses instead on what Lobstein sees as key works exhibited at the Salon during the nineteenth century. Similarly, in a section entitled 'Les Salons de la Restauration et de la monarchie de Juillet' (pp. 87-109), Maingon provides a general survey of French painting as exemplified by particular works, categories or movements represented in the Salon, but makes no reference to the jury of the July Monarchy other than to say that one of its principal difficulties 'était le manque de place dans le Musée royal, qui motivait la sévérité des jurys d'admission' (p. 91).

The conviction that underpins the AHRC project is that the July Monarchy marked an important moment in the history of the Salon which deserves to be examined independently and in greater detail. Whilst the Salons of the July Monarchy have not been the subject of a detailed study before now, important research has been carried out on the periods on either side. Thomas Crow's *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-*

¹⁴ For example, in the section entitled 'Abus de pouvoir d'un jury inique?' (pp. 95-99) he refers to the 'autocratie impitoyable des membres de l'Institut' (p. 95) and asserts that 'les artistes doivent subir pendant près de vingt ans la férule de cette magistrature impossible à faire plier' (p. 98).

Century Paris provides an institutional history of the period up until 1789.¹⁵ The first two chapters of Richard Wrigley's *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration* establish the importance of the Salon, extending its early history up until the end of the Restoration.¹⁶ A focus on the Salon is fundamental to both works, with Crow examining its nature as an interactive artistic and public space and Wrigley exploring it as the most important site of artistic production and focal point of critical discourse. This thesis shares the institutional focus of these authors, as well as their interest in the complex relationships between artistic production, institutions and criticism, and seeks to provide a history of the Salon jury for the period which follows.

Two recent French works on the Salons of the Restoration have contributed greatly to the institutional history of the period. Marie-Claude Chaudonneret's *L'État et les artistes: de la Restauration à la monarchie de Juillet (1815-1833)* and Eva Bouillo's *Le Salon de 1827* provide the most detailed historical background to this thesis.¹⁷ Both works are founded in original archival research from the *Archives Nationales* and the *Archives des Musées Nationaux*, sharing an institutional perspective and an attention to the role of individuals within institutions.¹⁸ Both writers emphasise the important role played by the *Directeur des Musées*, Auguste de Forbin, in the organisation of the Salons of the Restoration. This thesis shares their approach, examining how individuals sought institutional ends through official channels and personal working relationships and considering the significant consequences of the decline of Forbin, due to ill health, under the July Monarchy and the rise of his less independently-minded deputy, Alphonse de Cailleux.

¹⁵ Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

¹⁶ Richard Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism: From the Ancien Régime to the Restoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *L'État et les artistes: de la Restauration à la monarchie de Juillet (1815-1833)* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999); Eva Bouillo, *Le Salon de 1827: classique ou romantique?* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009).

¹⁸ See Chaudonneret, *L'État et les artistes*, p. 8: 'L'État, l'administration, ce sont d'abord des hommes.'

Chaudonneret's work acknowledges the continuity between the later stages of the Restoration and early years of the July Monarchy. Whilst it takes 1833 as the end date in its title, the concise analysis of the Salons of the July Monarchy actually extends until 1848 (pp. 62-68). The first chapter of this thesis, which looks at the process and implications of the king's decision to delegate the role of jury to the first four sections of the Academy, substantially expands on Chaudonneret's summary of the transition between the Restoration and the July Monarchy, examining in greater detail the artists' meetings and proposals for reform and clarifying, and in places correcting, her account of the delegation. This analysis shares and develops her conclusion that this delegation was a compromise which would present difficulties later in the regime (p. 64). She provides a short summary of the jury's decisions under the July Monarchy (pp. 65-68), in the course of which she expresses scepticism about what would become a commonplace in modernism's representation of this period: 'C'est de ces années que date l'idée, contestable, que le Salon, par le biais du jury, aurait diffusé "l'académisme" au détriment de "l'Avant-garde"' (p. 66). My analysis of this period allows me to substantiate her suggestion that this commonplace should be challenged and provides a considerably more detailed interpretation of the jury's operations.

In addition to the features which Bouillo's work shares with that of Chaudonneret, her method of detailed statistical analysis applied to the archival data for the 1827 Salon and her combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches has influenced the methodology of this thesis, to which I shall return later in this introduction.

The current project also situates itself within further institutional studies of the Salons of the second half of the nineteenth century from Pierre Vaisse and Patricia

Mainardi.¹⁹ Vaisse's highly influential study of the relations between painters and the authorities during the early years of the Third Republic, *La Troisième République et les peintres*, demonstrated the importance of submitting archival sources to close critical analysis, and the challenge to the reductive interpretation of the Salon as a stronghold of conservative values has informed my analysis of the July Monarchy.²⁰ In the case of Mainardi, I share her recognition of the importance of art institutions in art history, but dispute her portrayal of the Academy as intransigent and self-interested. By acknowledging the Academy's ability to make compromises when acting as the Salon jury, I argue that the artistic diversity, which Mainardi identifies with the Third Republic, was increasingly apparent under the earlier period of the July Monarchy. The artistic pluralism by which the concept of a single French School was replaced by multiple French schools, which Mainardi refers to as a Third Republic phenomenon, was increasingly recognised in the Salons of the July Monarchy, due in part to the jury's admission of a wide range of artists, including some who were only very loosely, or not at all, sympathetic to academic values.

Whilst there exists no detailed history of the July Monarchy Salon, and indeed very few studies of the art of the July Monarchy in general,²¹ the period in question was the focus of the 1996 exhibition *Les Années romantiques: la peinture française de 1815 à 1850*.²² The catalogue of this exhibition provides the most extensive pictorial history

¹⁹ Pierre Vaisse, *La Troisième République et les peintres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995); Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

²⁰ See his introduction to '*Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène*': *Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791-1890*, ed. by James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2010), pp. 1-6 (pp. 1-2): 'C'est là la fameuse question du jury d'admission, de son existence, de sa composition, qui fit couler tant d'encre et suscita tant de polémiques [...] surtout à partir de 1830, lorsque l'État crut devoir confier à l'Académie des beaux-arts la fonction du jury d'admission. D'où cette vision de la vie artistique au XIX^e siècle, constituée à l'époque même et reprise ensuite par les historiens, comme d'une longue lutte des novateurs contre un jury qui leur fermait systématiquement les portes du Salon'.

²¹ See, however, *The Art of the July Monarchy: France 1830 to 1848*, exhib. cat. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989) and Michael Marrinan, *Painting Politics for Louis-Philippe*. See also Marie-Claude Chaudonneret's important review article on these two publications in 'La peinture en France de 1830 à 1848: chronique bibliographique et critique', *Revue de l'art*, 91 (1991), 71-80.

²² *Les Années romantiques: la peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995).

of the period, as well as valuable artist biographies and a directory of works dating from this period held in French collections.²³ Claude Allemand-Cosneau's essay 'Le Salon à Paris de 1815 à 1850', also published in this catalogue, provides the most recent examination of the July Monarchy jury since William Hauptman's 1985 article 'Juries, Protests, and Counter-Exhibitions Before 1850.'²⁴ Allemand-Cosneau raises important issues regarding the significance of the shift of power from Forbin to Cailleux and the apparent inconsistency of the jury's decisions, which this thesis examines in detail. The research for both of these articles, however, focuses on press accounts and secondary literature, at the expense of archival material. This over-reliance on accounts which emphasise the jury's rejections promotes the traditional perception of the Salon, which we have seen has tended to consider the Academy members as dogmatic and self-serving, rather than open to compromise. Like Mainardi, Allemand-Cosneau presents a totalitarian view of the Academy, and overlooks the range of responses within its members. My own study disputes the essay's conclusion that the July Monarchy jury 'a tendance à défendre ses propres valeurs esthétiques, loin de toute attitude prospective' (p. 125) and argues that the jury's decisions, rather than reflecting its short-sightedness or insularity, were fundamentally influenced by its consideration for the future of French art. In Hauptman's article, the theme of protests and counter-exhibitions necessarily focuses the enquiry on the jury's rejections, which leads to a traditional reading of the Salon, reflecting the long-standing influence of the modernist narrative as promoted by Léon Rosenthal.

The transitional year 1848 has been the subject of recent scholarship, including Robert L. Herbert's article 'A Pre-Revolutionary Proposal for Reforming the Salon

²³ Claude Allemand-Cosneau, 'Le Salon à Paris de 1815 à 1850' in *Les Années romantiques*, pp. 106-129.

²⁴ William Hauptman, 'Juries, Protests, and Counter-Exhibitions Before 1850', *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), 95-109.

Jury, 1848' and Chantal Georgel's *1848: la République et l'art vivant*.²⁵ My examination of the July Monarchy seeks to provide a more detailed context for the reforms which took place under the Second Republic than these works which study 1848 in isolation. Georgel's work misrepresents the 1848 Salon as an open exhibition to which artists submitted in large numbers following the revolution, capitalising on the abolition of the jury. Chapter 6 of this thesis clarifies the conditions of the 1848 Salon, which was not a fully open exhibition but which only admitted works which had been submitted prior to the revolution and within the July Monarchy's original deadline for entries. Herbert's work brings to light an important proposal for jury reform, which is discussed in detail in the first part of his article. In the second part, his analysis does not separate the issue of the Salon from the wider artistic context of the Second Republic, arguing that the 'material conditions of artists had not improved' (p. 39). In this study, by maintaining focus on the Salon, I shall locate the precedent for these reforms within the discussions held at the start of the July Monarchy and thereby demonstrate the way in which the reforms temporarily satisfied the long-standing demands of members of the artistic community.

My principal method has involved detailed examination of archival material in the *Archives des Musées Nationaux* of the Louvre, the *Archives Nationales* and the *Archives de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts*, following standard procedures for such research of the kind adopted by Chaudonneret and Bouillo, among others. The information provided by the X series on the Salons and *AA files containing the administrative correspondence of the *Direction des musées*, both held in the AMN archives, allows us to understand the official management of the Salon and its jury. The *AA files in particular revealed previously unpublished material regarding the deliberations surrounding the Salon jury at the start of the July Monarchy, as discussed

²⁵ Robert L. Herbert, 'A Pre-Revolutionary Proposal for Reforming the Salon Jury, 1848', *Oxford Art Journal*, 25, 2 (2002), 31-40; Chantal Georgel, *1848: la République et l'art vivant* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1998).

in chapter 1. The combination of the minutes of the Academy's meetings, published under the direction of Jean-Michel Leniaud by *École des chartes* in a series of volumes since 2001, the archives of supplementary material to these minutes held in the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, and the private and published correspondence of the members of the Academy, has informed my understanding of this institution and its members' response to their role as jury.²⁶ The *Archives Nationales* have provided previously unpublished evidence for the petitions against the jury and the official response to this opposition.

As discussed above (p. 17), in terms of methodology I was particularly influenced by Bouillo's method of detailed statistical analysis applied to the archival data for the 1827 Salon. In order to facilitate the most accurate analysis of the Salon jury, I have built a very substantial digital database of the 77,896 works submitted to the Salon from 1831 to 1851, which has in turn provided a powerful methodological tool through which I have been able to analyse every aspect of the jury's decisions, with respect to the number, artist and gender, work category, painting genre, year and voting details of every single work submitted.²⁷ This digital register has allowed me to analyse the Salon records in much greater detail than has previously been possible and to perform the first thorough statistical analysis of this data.

In accordance with the focus of the AHRC research project, this thesis concentrates primarily on the Salon as an exhibition of paintings and therefore does not focus on the other arts with which the jury engaged (sculpture, architecture, engravings and lithography). This decision corresponds to the preponderance of paintings at the Salon and allows a more focused response to the jury's judgement of these works, which consistently comprised over 85% of submissions and exhibits. The present study

²⁶ *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts*, ed. by Jean-Michel Leniaud, 12 vols (Paris: École des Chartes, 2001-2009).

²⁷ I compiled this database through cross-referencing data found in *KK3 – *KK21 Registers of artists submitting to the Salon 1831-1850, *KK26 – *KK44 Registers of works submitted to the Salon 1831-1850 and *KK49 – *KK65 Registers of jury sessions 1831-1850.

also follows the date parameters established by the AHRC project, analysing the Salon jury from the July Monarchy to the Second Republic, ie. from the Salon of 1831 to that of 1850/51. Though the Second Empire was formally proclaimed only on 2 December 1852, the first anniversary of Louis-Napoleon's coup d'état, the fact that the Salon of 1852 marked the transition from the republican to the imperial Salon was borne out by the change to the composition of the jury that year, when only half its members were elected by the artists, with the other half nominated by the Fine Arts Minister, thus bringing to an end the elected jury with which the Second Republic had replaced the academic jury of the July Monarchy.

The thesis contains three main sections, each divided into two chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 analyse the delegation of the jury to the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, the identity of its members and their response to the role. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the jury's decisions and chapters 5 and 6 address the opposition towards the jury and its reform under the Second Republic.

Chapter 1 provides the first account of the process by which the first four sections of the Academy came to be nominated to the role of jury, examining the discussions surrounding this nomination, the results of a series of artists' meetings and the attempts of the *Directeur des musées*, the Comte de Forbin, to avert and change this decision. It locates the roots of the later opposition against the jury in the administration's disregard for the opinions of the artistic community in 1831. Chapter 2 analyses the composition of the July Monarchy jury, revealing the pluralism of views both within the Academy and the jury and arguing against the traditional homogeneous representation of these bodies. Through an analysis of the *Archives des Musées Nationaux*, the archives of the Academy, the minutes of the Academy meetings and the contemporary press it examines the jury members' response to their role, which in some

cases involved an active negotiation with their academic values, and in others reveals the powerful influence of a determined group of traditionally-minded academicians.

Chapter 3 provides the first statistical analysis of the Salon jury's decisions. As such, it aims to offer a more accurate survey of the Salon jury than previous accounts which have relied upon secondary material, considering the influences and pressures exerted on the jury, and providing the context to their decisions. I analyse the way in which the jury's decisions responded to the annualisation of the Salon and contemporary artistic developments and extend this discussion into chapter 4, which offers a detailed analysis of the jury's judgement of paintings, examining its efforts to respond flexibly to developments in painting and the extent to which the flexibility available varied according to the pictorial genre.

Chapter 5 considers the opposition which arose towards the jury under the July Monarchy and traces the roots of the arguments against the jury back to the initial decision to delegate the role to the members of the Academy. This analysis brings to light previously unknown petitions against the jury, as well as the official responses from the *Chambre des Pairs* and the *Chambre des Députés*. The discussion maintains the argument for the Academy's heterogeneity raised in chapter 2, by revealing the significant roles played by certain individual academicians in the opposition towards the jury. The chapter also examines a possible attempt on the part of the Academy to relinquish its role and considers the failure of the regime to offer a formal response to the growing opposition. The final chapter examines the dissolution of this jury in 1848 and its impact on reforms made to the jury under the Second Republic. It provides the first serious discussion of the 1848 Salon, which serves to clarify the misrepresentation of this exhibition in other texts, and considers the way in which the changes to the jury in 1849 and 1850 temporarily satisfied principal elements of the former opposition.

Each chapter of the thesis will therefore provide new information and expand, qualify or correct existing knowledge of the jury's role in the art history of the period under study.

The digital register of Salon submissions, described above, will be published online. Following my initial creation of the register, I collaborated with my colleague on the AHRC Salon project, Dr Alister Mill, to expand its scope. The focus of Dr Mill's research on the artists of the period led him to add valuable supplementary information concerning artists' training, date and place of birth. Our combined work will be made available online in the form of a digital database, which will be launched later this year in conjunction with the Louvre's own digitalised Salon archives and will, we hope, prove a major resource for current and future researchers working within this period and help to advance further scholarship in this field.

1. NOMINATING THE JULY MONARCHY JURY

The delegation of the role of jury to the first four sections of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* came to define the Salon exhibitions of the July Monarchy. In many ways, it was an unexpected choice, which failed to meet the demands of the artistic community as these were expressed in meetings at the start of the new regime. In this chapter, I shall address the following questions: What were the interests and motivations of the different parties who were involved or had hoped to be involved in this decision? How was a decision on this matter reached and why was this particular decision taken?

The Salon Jury Before 1831

The primary functions of the Salon jury were those of censorship and quality control. Censorship was required to deny access to works deemed to be offensive to public morals or disrespectful to government authorities. Quality control was required to ensure the standards of work on display, since the Paris Salon was considered to represent the French school of art in both the national and international arenas.

A jury had first been instated in 1748, when the Salon was the preserve of a limited number of artists who were members of the elite *Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture*. Thomas Crow informs us how a concern for the public perception of the Salon influenced this decision: ‘The current *Directeur-général*, Lenormand de Tournehem [...] recognized the increasing importance of the Salon as an artistic forum

by establishing the first Salon jury in 1748, and in general regularizing selection procedures and toughening standards.¹

Following the Revolution, access to the Salon was widened. In its decree of 21 August 1791, the National Assembly abolished the Academy's monopoly of admission, granting all artists, French or foreign, the right to submit work, and transferred the organisation of the event to a director responsible to the Minister of the Interior.² A new jury was introduced to guarantee the quality of works chosen for display. However, the egalitarian spirit which had led to the expansion of the Salon proved hard to reconcile with the concept of a jury. The 1791 jury, 'imprégné des idéaux révolutionnaires', accepted all submissions.³ This spirit continued into 1793, when, during the Terror, a Salon was held without a jury. By 1795, however, it had become clear that a jury was required to maintain the standards of work shown. Its composition changed over time, which raised questions over who should decide its structure and who was qualified to serve on it. In 1798, it consisted of five painters, five sculptors and five architects, nominated by the government. From 1808 the Salon was managed by the *Directeur des musées*, Vivant Denon, who presided over a jury comprising both artists and amateurs.⁴

In 1816, Louis XVIII introduced new regulations which reorganised the jury. In his ordonnance of 22 July 1816, he maintained Napoleon's *Direction des musées* but redefined its attributions and role under the jurisdiction of the Minister of the *Maison du Roi*.⁵ This minister presided over a new *conseil honoraire des Musées royaux*, with the Director of Museums as vice-president, one of its tasks being to carry out the role of

¹ Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 6.

² On the jury during the Revolution and Empire see François Benoit, *L'Art français sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), p. 231; Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *L'État et les artistes: de la Restauration à la monarchie de Juillet (1815-1833)* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), p. 59; Eva Bouillo, *Le Salon de 1827: classique ou romantique?* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), pp. 23-24.

³ Bouillo, p. 24.

⁴ See Benoit, pp. 231-232.

⁵ See AN, O3 530, 'Ordonnance du Roi' and Chaudonneret, *L'État et les artistes*, pp. 15-16. The Count Alphonse de Forbin replaced Denon as *Directeur des musées*.

jury.⁶ In 1827, the *conseil* for the Salon that year was composed of just twenty members, who were nominated by the king. Half were *amateurs*, who were predominantly high-ranking officials in the arts administration. The other half were artists, of whom nine were academicians, including the *Architecte du Roi*, the *Premier peintre du Roi* and the *Premier sculpteur du Roi*, who were *ex officio* members. We see, therefore, that although in the ordonnance of July 1816 there was no provision which reserved a quota of places on the jury for members of the Academy, almost half of the *conseil honoraire* were academicians. The presence of this number of academicians on the former jury may have made the delegation to the members of the first four sections of the Academy in 1831 appear a logical decision as far as the king and his entourage were concerned.

The *conseil honoraire* faced considerable criticism for the decisions it took as jury of the 1827 Salon.⁷ The rise of romanticism in the 1820s divided artists and critics alike. Opponents of the new movement accused the jury of being too generous towards romantic works.⁸ Conversely, supporters of romanticism accused the jury of being overly severe.⁹ It was no surprise, therefore, that the composition of the jury should figure prominently in the discussions that took place within the artistic community in the wake of the revolution of 1830.

Artists' Discussions in 1830: A Failed Precursor to Reform

The change in regime in 1830 led a wide range of artists to hope for reforms across artistic institutions from the new constitutional monarchy. To this end, over 400 artists gathered in regular meetings, between 23 August and mid-October 1830, to discuss the

⁶ Article 3 included the following on the role of the *conseil*: 'On le convoque spécialement à l'époque de l'exposition des ouvrages des artistes vivants; Il remplit dans cette occasion, les fonctions attribués par les anciens règlements à un jury.' Forbin, the new *Directeur des musées*, acted as vice-president.

⁷ See Bouillo, pp. 23-32.

⁸ See, for example, F. [Charles Farcy], 'Suite de l'attaque et de la défense', *Journal des Artistes*, 23 December 1827, pp. 817-818.

⁹ For example, [Anon.], 'Exposition de 1827', *Courrier Français*, 6 November 1827 and [Anon.], 'Figaro au Salon', *Le Figaro*, 9 November 1827.

nature of the changes they wished to see introduced.¹⁰ This was a reasonable proportion of practising artists based in Paris, approximately one third of the number who had submitted to the previous Salon. These meetings contained a representative cross-section of artists, including neo-classical and romantic painters, who not surprisingly struggled to agree upon a set of demands.

The neo-classical painters had the backing of the weekly publication the *Journal des Artistes*, which attempted to influence these discussions in a number of ways.¹¹ Its writers attended the meetings and chronicled the artists' discussions in detail, alongside their own articles in which they argued for the reorganisation of the arts administration and Salon jury. They encouraged their subscribers – who would have read these articles and been well-informed of the arguments put forth – to attend the artists' meetings, whose dates and venues they also publicised.

The anti-romantic viewpoint of this publication governed the proposals it published during this period. Its editor, Charles Farcy, held the *conseil honoraire* responsible for admitting romantic works to the 1827 Salon.¹² More particularly, he blamed Forbin, whom he repeatedly accused of using his position on the *conseil* – he was in effect both president and secretary of its jury sessions – to favour their access to the exhibition. He therefore proposed a unified *Direction des Beaux-Arts*, under a new director, and a newly composed jury, which would judge not only entry to the Salon, but also other artistic competitions.¹³ Farcy saw this as a way of effectively reducing Forbin's influence over the Salon, by removing the *conseil honoraire* in which Forbin had played a central role.

¹⁰ [Anon.], 'Assemblée générale des artistes', *Journal des Artistes*, 5 September 1830, pp. 161-163 (p. 162).

¹¹ See articles published in the *Journal des Artistes*, between 29 August and 10 October 1830.

¹² See F. [Charles Farcy], 'Suite de l'attaque et de la défense', *Journal des Artistes*, 23 December 1827, pp. 817-818.

¹³ See F. [Charles Farcy], 'De l'administration générale des beaux-arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 15 August 1830, pp. 109-111; F. [Charles Farcy], 'Direction des beaux-arts: réorganisation', *Journal des Artistes*, 29 August 1830, pp. 137-141.

Farcy also wanted to limit the artistic control of the Academy. Despite his fundamental adherence to neo-classical principles, Farcy opposed the exclusivity of the Academy, as did many academically trained artists who coveted a place within the *Institut*. Farcy's proposals aimed to reduce the dominance of the Academy, especially over competitions for public commissions.¹⁴ His proposed jury would be elected by the artists themselves, for one year at a time, and be divided equally between artists and amateurs, including writers on art. Farcy saw this proposal as the best course for the artists as well as for art itself, referring to it as 'le moyen le plus propre à concilier les intérêts et les vœux des artistes, comme à assurer les progrès des arts.'¹⁵

Farcy's proposals successfully influenced the artists' discussions. At first, it had been difficult for the artists to agree, as is clear from the resignation of the original commission of painters on 27 August, after they had been unable to reach a consensus.¹⁶ However, following the publication of Farcy's detailed proposals, the replacement painting commission, working alongside the sculpture commission, issued a series of very similar propositions for a single jury, nominated by the artists, which would be responsible for a range of decisions including the admission to the Salon:

Elle demande la réunion, dans une seule main, de tous les pouvoirs tutélaires des Beaux-Arts, aujourd'hui disséminés d'une manière funeste; la répression des abus de l'école publique, et un système d'enseignement plus complet; enfin, l'institution d'un jury temporaire, nommé et renouvelé par les artistes eux-mêmes, et auxquels seraient confiés la nomination des professeurs de l'école, les jugemens des concours pour les travaux publics, les admissions aux salons d'expositions, la présentation des artistes pour les récompenses, etc.¹⁷

¹⁴ F. [Charles Farcy], 'Direction des Beaux Arts: réorganisation', *Journal des Artistes*, 29 August 1830, pp. 137-141 (pp. 139-140): 'l'on échapperait ainsi au monopole scandaleux qui existe depuis trop longtemps, et dont il résulte que tels et tels artistes, membres de l'Institut, ont dix ou douze travaux à exécuter à la fois, tandis que nombre d'artistes aussi méritieux qu'eux, à part le baptême académique, sont condamnés à l'inaction.'

¹⁵ F. [Charles Farcy], 'Des concours et du jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 5 September 1830, pp. 167-170 (p. 170).

¹⁶ [Anon.], 'Assemblée des artistes', *Journal des Artistes*, 29 August 1830, pp. 157-158.

¹⁷ [Anon.], 'Assemblée générale des artistes', *Journal des Artistes*, 12 September 1830, pp. 177-181 (p. 179).

The artists wished to reduce the control of the Academy on account of its alleged partiality. Even the neo-classical artists who supported the Academy's doctrines thought its influence on the jury should be limited. These artists featured on the commission nominated to formulate an *adresse au Roi* on the basis of the artists' discussions, which recommended that academicians should remain on the jury, as long as there was a greater number of non-academicians, 'pour balancer l'influence que le corps académique pourrait exercer.'¹⁸ The *Journal des Artistes* was also in favour of the academicians forming part of the jury, 'avec un contrepoids suffisant.'¹⁹

Many younger artists called for a more radical response. A number of them wanted to remove all responsibility from the academicians, who they felt would represent only their own interests within a jury. These artists were turning away from academic principles and practices and did not feel represented by the members of the *Institut*. They had a preconceived idea of the way members of the Academy would behave on a Salon jury, based on their perception of the role of the academicians on the *conseil honoraire*. The critic for *Le Figaro*, for example, had claimed that the jury's rejections hurt 'une foule de jeunes peintres intéressans [...] mais n'ayant jamais approché du prix de Rome' and criticised the members of the Academy for their partiality, writing: 'Mais voilà que maintenant des maîtres peintres, chamarrés de rubans, membres de ce qu'on appelle un Institut, oubliant pourquoi ils sont placés là, exploitent leur mandat au profit de leurs systèmes et leurs écoles.'²⁰

These artists had a great influence on the final *adresse au Roi* and succeeded in removing the proposal for academicians to form part of the jury. Not all of the artists who had participated in these meetings were satisfied with their outcome. For some, the resulting proposition was too radical. The *Journal des Artistes* regretted the decision not

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19 September 1830, pp. 209-212 (p. 211).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 October 1830, pp. 233-235 (p. 234).

²⁰ [Anon.], 'Figaro au Salon', *Le Figaro*, 9 November 1827; [Anon.], 'Figaro au Salon', *Le Figaro*, 7 February 1828.

to include members of the Academy on the jury, as, we might imagine, would many of their readers.²¹ The history painter Drölling, winner of the *Prix de Rome* in 1810 and who would be elected to the Academy in 1833, withdrew from these meetings on account of the radical nature of the proposed changes, writing: ‘J’ai dû cesser de faire partie de la commission ainsi que de la réunion des artistes de la rue Taitbout du moment où je me suis aperçu qu’au lieu d’améliorer on voulait tout détruire.’²²

The demands were far-reaching and would have required a radical overhaul of a range of existing structures. In particular, responsibility for the management of the proposed unified arts administration was to reside with the Ministry of the Interior not the *Maison du Roi*.²³ It soon became clear that these demands were too radical for the king to adopt them. In December 1830, the *projet de loi* for the new *Liste civile*, to replace that which had elapsed with the exile of Charles X, confirmed that Louis-Philippe would retain responsibility for the fine arts within the ministry of the *Maison du Roi*.²⁴ However, perhaps as compensation for this decision, on 25 January 1831, the *Ministre de l’Intérieur*, the Count de Montalivet, launched a commission into art teaching practices, whose remit was to evaluate the role of the Academy in this area by drawing up a report on possible modifications of the organisation of the *École des Beaux-Arts* and the *Académie de France à Rome* and the Academy’s relationship with these two institutions, particularly in relation to the judgement of artistic *concours*.²⁵ This commission appeared to be willing to address the artists’ concerns over the Academy’s domination of art teaching but left the issue of the Salon and its jury still unresolved in January 1831.

²¹ [Anon.], ‘Assemblée générale des artistes’, *Journal des Artistes*, 19 September 1830, pp. 209-212 (p. 211).

²² Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1995-A 1021, letter from Drölling to Jorand, 7 October [1830].

²³ See Farcy, *De l’Avantage et de l’inconvénient d’une direction ou administration générale des arts* (Paris: Impr. de Poussin, 1830), p. 15.

²⁴ See Chaudonneret, *L’État et les artistes*, p. 25.

²⁵ See Alain Bonnet, *L’Enseignement des arts au XIX^e siècle: la réforme de l’École des beaux-arts de 1863 et la fin du modèle académique* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), pp. 146-149.

The Société Libre des Beaux-Arts: A Neo-Classical Union

Following the conclusion of the artists' meetings, the *Journal des Artistes* went to greater lengths to have its viewpoint heard. Dissatisfied with the outcome of these meetings, which they blamed on the influence of the romantic artists, they therefore encouraged the formation of a society of like-minded artists to continue debating matters of artistic concern.²⁶ The *Société libre des beaux-arts* held its first meeting at the offices of the *Journal des Artistes* on 18 October 1830.²⁷ The journal described the society's aims as follows:

Des artistes recommandables qui connaissent notre zèle et nos vues utiles, nous ont chargés dès long-temps de provoquer la formation d'une *société libre*, qui aurait pour but l'intérêt et le progrès des arts, et nous avons pris l'engagement d'activer cette formation aussitôt que les assemblées générales auraient terminé leur travail.²⁸

This society united well-known artists who adhered to the same classical principles upheld by the *Journal des Artistes*. It contained a number of artists who would be elected to the Academy during the July Monarchy, and several more who aspired to this appointment.²⁹ The society quickly became established and on 1 January 1831 the king received a representative party of twenty of its members.³⁰ This acknowledgement from the king led the society to hope that the monarchy would be receptive towards its ideas.

The society persisted with the project for a single jury, elected by the artists. In January 1831, it compiled a *mémoire* in which it presented its views on the issues that Montalivet's commission on teaching had been asked to address. In relation to the 'concours entre les artistes', the society took the opportunity formally to propose their 'jury général', which would not only be responsible for the artistic *concours*, but would

²⁶ G.D.F. [Guyot de Fère], 'Demandes des artistes: de la formation d'un jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 17 October 1830, pp. 267-270 (p. 267): 'Nous savons toute l'influence que le parti romantique s'est efforcé d'exercer sur les délibérations.'

²⁷ [Anon.], 'Société libre des beaux-arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 24 October 1830, pp. 289-293 (p. 289).

²⁸ [Anon.], 'Société libre d'artistes', *Journal des Artistes*, 17 October 1830, pp. 265-267 (p. 265).

²⁹ Abel de Pujol, Blondel, Drölling, Guénépin, Huvé and Forster were all members who were later elected to the Academy.

³⁰ [Anon.], 'Société libre des beaux-arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 9 January 1831, pp. 20-21.

also nominate teachers for the *École des Beaux-Arts* and a Director for the *Académie de France à Rome*, serve as the jury for the Salon and advise the government on acquisitions and rewards.³¹

The difference between the *Société libre des beaux-arts* and the artists' meetings is clear from its less radical demands. In contrast to the earlier proposition, only artists who had been rewarded for their work (in the form of acquisitions, commissions and Salon medals), and winners of the *Prix de Rome* would be eligible to participate in the jury, alongside members of the Academy 'qui entreraient de droit.' The inclusion of winners of the *Prix de Rome* suggests the weight given to traditional academic training within the proposed jury. Farcy is likely to have influenced the proposal to include a number of 'hommes de lettres.' He had previously made this proposal in the *Journal des Artistes* and would no doubt have wished to be able to participate in the jury himself.³²

The members of the society clearly respected the Academy and the status accorded to an academician. This is unsurprising considering that many members of the society aspired to academic honours. Once again, however, we see that even these members who favoured the presence of academicians did not suggest that academicians alone form the jury, but proposed a considerably wider access with the inclusion of other artists and writers.

When the government nominated the members of the first four sections of the Academy alone to act as jury, Farcy opposed this measure. On 5 April 1831, after the official decision over the Salon jury had been taken, he made a final proposal to the society in the hope they might still influence the outcome. Abandoning the wider

³¹ *Annales de la Société libre des beaux-arts*, ed. by M. Miel, 31 vols (Versailles: Imprimerie de Marlin, 1836), I, p. 85.

³² F. [Charles Farcy], 'Administration des beaux-arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 7 Novemebr 1830, pp. 325-327 (p. 326): 'Qu'un jury bien constitué, pris dans le sein des artistes et des gens de lettres, et affranchi de l'influence *exclusive* de l'Institut, remplace les divers jurys et commissions arbitraires dont les jugemens sont toujours attaqués ou attaquables.'

requests for a single all-encompassing jury, he focused on the jury for the now imminent Salon of 1831, saying:

Certaines circonstances auront toujours de l'intérêt, de l'actualité pour les artistes, et nous devons toujours nous empresser de les saisir. Telle est celle à l'occasion de laquelle je prends aujourd'hui la parole, et que vous considérez sans doute, messieurs, comme urgente, bien qu'il soit un peu tard pour s'en occuper; il s'agit du *jury d'admission au salon*.³³

Farcy proposed that the society address a request to the king for a jury of twenty-one members, elected by exhibiting artists. This proposition, more straightforward than that for a 'jury général', because more urgent, confirmed that the most important reform for Farcy was that the jury be nominated by the artists. However, the society decided that it was unable to pursue Farcy's suggestion, since the nomination of the Academy had already been decided.

The request that the artists should nominate the jury was common to each proposal addressed to the new government prior to the 1831 Salon. It was voiced by classical and romantic artists alike, as it was seen by both as a guarantee that their opinions would be represented within the jury. We shall see this fundamental request repeated by Forbin in the proposition he submitted in February 1831.

The Comte de Forbin's Jury Proposal: Seeking Wider Representation

The Comte de Forbin had been the single most powerful figure in the Salons of the Restoration. Appointed *Directeur des musées* by Louis XVIII on 16 June 1816, he had used his position to advance the careers of the new generation of romantic painters through state purchases and commissions and used his management of the Salon to promote developments in French painting and sculpture that he considered positive for

³³ [Anon.], 'Société libre des beaux-arts: séance du 5 avril', *Journal des Artistes*, 10 April 1831, pp. 273-281 (p. 275).

the French school. In 1825, he helped secure Ingres's election to the Academy as successor to Girodet and his promotion as leader of the neo-classical tradition.³⁴

With the fall of Charles X, however, Forbin's position as Director of the Royal Museums had become provisional, pending the passage through the French Parliament of the new Civil List bill, voted into law only on 2 March 1832. It is clear from his private correspondence that during this eighteen-month period he had doubts about whether he would remain in place under the July Monarchy.³⁵ We have already seen how an influential journalist like Farcy opposed Forbin's encouragement of romantic artists. Forbin also faced opposition from other influential academic figures such as Quatremère de Quincy, the secretary of the Academy and Fontaine, the *Architecte du Roi*. Quatremère was, at 75, the oldest member of the Academy at this time and represented its most traditional wing. A feared authoritarian, he was a hard-line defender of classical doctrine, who personified 'le dogmatisme esthétique, l'effort de résistance au romantisme.'³⁶ Fontaine, a member of the architecture section of the Academy, shared Quatremère's dogmatic stance, as well as a long-standing hostility towards Forbin.³⁷ As members of the *conseil honoraire* jury, Quatremère and Fontaine had strongly opposed the support shown to romantic artists by the *Directeur des musées* and would both undoubtedly have wished to see a more conservative figure replace

³⁴ See Pierre Angrand, 'Le premier atelier de M. Ingres', *Bulletin du Musée d'Ingres*, 49 (1982), pp. 19-58 (p. 22) for Ingres's election to the Academy; Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Ingres: la réforme des principes, 1806-1834* (Lyon: Fage, 2006), pp. 70-80.

³⁵ *Souvenirs du baron Gudin, peintre de la marine (1820-1870)*, ed. by Edmond Béraud (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1921), p. 81. Forbin was in fact confirmed in his post by the ordonnance of 8 March 1832. See AMN, *AA23, p. 1, letter from Forbin to Baron Fain, 11 March 1832.

³⁶ René Schneider, *L'Esthétique classique chez Quatremère de Quincy* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), p. 25. See also Jean-Michel Leniaud, 'L'Académie des beaux-arts pendant la Restauration au-delà de la politique: l'invention d'un grand corps' in *Repenser la Restauration*, ed. by Jean-Yves Mollier, Martine Reid and Jean-Claude Yon (Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2005), pp. 151-160.

³⁷ See Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, 2 vols (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1987), I, p. 616: diary entry for 22 March 1817 describing Forbin as 'ce mince administrateur.' Ibid., II, p. 923: diary entry for 20 March 1832 on Forbin's reappointment as Director: 'L'administration du musée [...] est conservée avec toutes les inutilités [...] qui la composent; M. le comte de Forbin reste Directeur.'

him.³⁸ Forbin realised that the July revolution called many positions into question and whilst this included his own, it also included that of the Salon jury. He did not, therefore, allow his provisional status to stop him from petitioning the government for a reform of the jury.

Seeing himself as the artists' intermediary, Forbin wanted a more representative jury. Soon after the revolution, he had the opportunity to test the water for likely reactions to his ideas concerning a new jury. In his capacity as *Directeur des musées*, he organised in the autumn of 1830 an exhibition at the *Musée du Luxembourg*, whose proceeds were intended for victims of the fighting of 27-29 July. The *commission de la Liste civile* accepted Forbin's proposed list of ten artists who should be invited to join the members of the *conseil honoraire* to act as jury.³⁹ These additional members represented a more varied section of the artistic community whose presence would have brought a significant increase in diversity to the original jury.⁴⁰ They included romantic painters Eugène Delacroix and Ary Scheffer, and the young and very successful painter of historical genre, Paul Delaroche, who had won acclaim at the 1827 Salon and was identified as an ally of the romantic movement. This modification indicated a significant attempt to reduce the authority of the previous members of the *conseil honoraire* and the acceptance of Forbin's proposal by the *commission de la Liste civile* must have led him to hope that he could bring similar changes to the Salon jury.

Forbin appears to have carefully timed his proposal for a new Salon jury to increase his chances of success. In November 1830, he proposed to the king via Delaître

³⁸ René Schneider, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), p. 329.

³⁹ AMN, *AA21, p. 186, letter from Forbin to the *Commission de la Liste civile* asking whether the jury for this exhibition should comprise the former members of the *conseil honoraire* or if it should take a different form, 20 August 1830; AMN, *AA59, p. 123, s.604, 30 August 1830: 'On propose une liste d'artistes à adjoindre au Conseil honoraire des Musées pour l'examen des ouvrages à exposer au profit des blessés'; Ibid., p. 130, 474, 9 September 1830: 'Adjoindre au Conseil honoraire des Musées, pour l'examen des ouvrages à exposer au profit des blessés, les dix artistes désignés. Ces fonctions sont gratuites.'

⁴⁰ AMN, *AA21, letter from Forbin to Lethière, Bidault, Ary Scheffer, Delaroche, Delacroix, Pradier, David d'Angers, Huyot, Richomme and Henriquel Dupont, 10 September 1830.

that a Salon be held in 1831.⁴¹ This proposal was approved in January 1831, and an opening date fixed for 1 April. In the absence of any instruction relating to the composition of the jury, Forbin submitted his detailed proposition for a new jury to Delaître on 23 February.⁴² Aware that the question of the jury must have been under discussion within the royal entourage, he appears to have deliberately waited until the exhibition was imminent and a decision on the jury urgently needed before submitting his proposal.

Forbin used the earlier Luxembourg exhibition jury as a precedent for his proposed changes. His detailed proposition included increasing the number of members from twenty to thirty. The size of the *conseil honoraire* had gradually increased under the Restoration, from twelve members in 1816 to sixteen in 1824 and twenty in 1827.⁴³ Forbin's proposal to add a further ten members in 1831 reinforced this trend and replicated the size of the Luxembourg exhibition jury. The increase in size of the jury was clearly designed to achieve a significantly wider representation of artists among its members.

Forbin wanted to minimise the role of administrators and secure the proportional representation of the different categories of artists on the jury. He suggested leaving only five places to *amateurs* or *hommes de lettres* and offering better representation to the different artistic disciplines, with twelve painters, six sculptors, four engravers and three architects, in contrast to the *conseil honoraire* which, as mentioned above, had been composed of ten *amateurs*, including government representatives, and ten artists in 1827. Forbin stated that he wished to see all the genres represented within the jury, and it is clear from the inclusion of artists like Delacroix and Scheffer that he also wished for a more inclusive representation of painting styles.

⁴¹ Ibid., letter from Forbin to Delaître, 4 November 1830. Delaître was the provisional administrator of the Civil List (*administrateur provisoire de l'ancienne Dotation de la Couronne*).

⁴² Ibid. See Appendix 1 for full transcript.

⁴³ See Bouillo, p. 24.

Forbin's proposal was infused with the same liberal ambition as those of the artists which had preceded it. The key difference between Forbin's proposed jury, on the one hand, and the Restoration juries and the jury of the 1830 Luxembourg exhibition, on the other, was the mode of election. The *conseil honoraire* had been nominated by the king, whose *commission de la Liste civile* had agreed to Forbin's candidates for additional jurors. For the new Salon jury, however, Forbin proposed that the artists themselves should elect the jury. In making this proposal, Forbin represented the views of the artists, many of whom, as we have seen, felt that an artist-elected jury would reflect more closely the anti-authoritarian aspirations of the July revolution.

The Government's Response

Though there is no conclusive evidence, it seems almost certain that the king and his officer of the *Liste civile* discussed Forbin's proposals and may have considered adopting them. A period of silence followed Forbin's letter to Delaître and the registers of correspondence received by the *Direction des musées* have no record of a written reply. However, it appears that Delaître discussed these proposals with the king and investigated the logistics of implementing the recommended measures. In support of this view, we have a record of a rough draft of a letter dated 1 March 1831 from de Cailleux, the *Secrétaire général des musées*, addressed to 'M. le Baron':

Pour compléter les renseignements dont vous pourriez avoir besoin pour le Projet présenté relativement à l'Exposition, je viens de faire faire sur le livre d'Enregistrement le relevé des artistes qui avaient envoyé leurs notices pour l'exposition de 1827.

Le nombre des inscriptions personnelles s'est élevé à 1254 dans lequel se trouvent compris les artistes Etrangers [*sic*], ceux de départemens, les anonymes et environ 150 dames artistes, dont beaucoup sans doute ne se rendront à la convocation. Il est à présumer que les inscriptions ne seront

pas plus nombreuses cette année, et je ne pense pas que la réunion puisse être de plus de 7 à 800 artistes.⁴⁴

Whilst the exact context of this letter remains unclear, given the date, it is difficult to see what else this could be referring to if not to the practicality of arranging a meeting of the artists, possibly in order to elect a jury. That same week the *Journal des Artistes* also published rumours that the jury would be nominated by artists, suggesting that these exchanges between Forbin and his superiors had become more widely known. On 6 March 1831, Farcy wrote: ‘Toutefois, nous devons dire que le bruit circule en ce moment que l’intention est de laisser à la nomination des artistes les membres du jury spécial qui aura à prononcer sur l’admission de leurs ouvrages.’⁴⁵ Even as Farcy was writing his article, however, the decision was being taken to reject Forbin’s proposal and on the day the article appeared, the Academy accepted the king’s invitation to form the jury.⁴⁶

The evidence from the architect Fontaine also suggests that the proposal was given consideration. Fontaine recorded in his diary on 15 March 1831 that:

MM. les directeurs du Musée, sous l’influence des clameurs qui les entourent, ont proposé pour le choix et l’admission des ouvrages qui doivent être exposés dans les salles ordinaires du Louvre un mode de jury pris, au choix des exposants, parmi eux ou au-dehors s’ils jugent convenable. Ce projet soumis à M Delaître, qui remplit les fonctions d’intendant de la Liste civile, m’a été renvoyé, déjà retouché par lui.⁴⁷

Fontaine’s knowledge of Forbin’s proposals confirms that Delaître had discussed them before they were rejected. However, the credibility of Fontaine’s records may be called into question, since he wrote his journal with a view to publication and had a hostile relationship with Forbin. He went on to record that:

⁴⁴ AMN, X 1831: 1831 Salon, ‘Organisation’ folder.

⁴⁵ F. [Charles Farcy], ‘De l’exposition prochaine au Louvre’, *Journal des Artistes*, 6 March 1831, pp. 175-177 (p. 176).

⁴⁶ In *L’État et les artistes*, Chaudonneret has confused the chronology of the election of the jury, mistakenly stating that the final decision was not taken until April 1831 (p. 64).

⁴⁷ Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, II, p. 884, diary entry for 15 March 1831.

Je l'ai retouché moi-même et l'ayant présenté aujourd'hui au Roi, qui de suite en a mesuré les inconvénients, je me suis trouvé dans la nécessité de proposer dans cette affaire que les circonstances rendent important un parti qui a été adopté. Le voici: la classe des Beaux-Arts de l'Institut sera seule juge des ouvrages qui peuvent être admis [...] L'administration du Musée, qui n'aura aucune part dans les jugements, fera l'exposition dans les salles et selon les arrangements exécutés par l'architecte du Louvre, sous les yeux de l'Académie dont il est membre.⁴⁸

Fontaine took the credit for the decision to nominate the members of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* as jury. However, the journal entry in which he claimed to have advised the king is written eight days after the official decision had already been confirmed.⁴⁹ Whilst this may be an error of memory, it is equally possible that Fontaine greatly exaggerated any role he played in the nomination of the Academy as jury. He seems to record Forbin's diminished role with satisfaction, and his animosity towards the *Directeur des musées* is likely to have influenced the accuracy of his version of events.

Further claims have been made concerning the possible influence of Quatremère de Quincy on the king's decision to nominate the Academy.⁵⁰ However, whilst it seems most likely, given his position in the Academy and his conservative views, that Quatremère de Quincy would have welcomed the Academy's new role, there is no evidence that he directly influenced its nomination in 1831 and such claims appear to be unsubstantiated.

The reasons behind the rejection of Forbin's proposals are not made clear, but there are likely to have been several contributing factors. For example, it was difficult to invoke the precedent of the Luxembourg exhibition as a model for the Salon, since it

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ The Academy was asked to serve as jury and accepted the role on 5 March 1831, see BA PV, V (1830-1834), p. 86. The entry in the published edition of Fontaine's diary corresponds with the original manuscript in ENSBA, Ms.797.III, 'Journal de l'architecte Fontaine', volume 3.

⁵⁰ Claude Allemand-Cosneau, 'Le Salon à Paris de 1815 à 1850' in *Les Années romantiques: la peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), pp. 106-129 (p. 116): 'Le choix est clair: peintres, sculpteurs, graveurs et architectes de l'Académie sont seuls investis du privilège d'être juges du talent des autres artistes. Quatremère de Quincy a été écouté, contre tous les artistes indépendants qui réclamaient un jury représentatif.' Chaudonneret, *L'État et les artistes*, p. 64: 'Il est possible que le vieux et dogmatique Quatremère de Quincy, adversaires des novateurs, ait saisi l'occasion et suggéré de faire appel aux académiciens.'

was a one-off exhibition for charity. Lacking the prestige of the annual exhibition, it could incorporate changes more easily. However, it is the proposal for an artist-elected jury which is likely to have caused the greatest concern. The king was unable to delegate this election to the artists if he wished to continue to be seen as the patron of an event which was his annual gift to the artists and was housed in his royal palace. His nomination of the jury was integral to the Salon's role in his patronage of the arts. Every year it was his individual invitation to each member of the jury which initiated the event. If the selection of the jury was transferred to the artists, the Salon became as much their event as his.

The Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1831

The *Académie des Beaux-Arts* presented a solution to the king, as a prestigious *corps constitué* whose official role included advising the government on artistic matters.⁵¹ The Academy in 1831 functioned according to the regulations put in place when it was re-established in 1816. Under the National Convention, on 8 August 1793, a decree abolished all academies, including the *Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture*.⁵² Two years later, on 22 August 1795, the 'Constitution de la République Française' established 'un Institut National chargé de recueillir les découvertes, de perfectionner les arts et les sciences', which filled the gap left by the abolished academies.⁵³ In 1803, a reorganisation of the *Institut* created a separate fourth class for 'Les Beaux-Arts', which had previously been classed together with literature.⁵⁴ The *Institut* was reorganised again on 21 March 1816, under the Restoration, when Louis XVIII created four Academies from the former classes of the Institut, including 'L'Académie royale

⁵¹ Léon Aucoc, *L'Institut de France, lois, statuts et règlements concernant les anciennes académies et l'Institut de 1635 à 1889* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1889), p. 274.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. CCIII.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

des beaux-arts.⁵⁵ Articles 2 and 3 of the king's decree clarified the new Academies' statutory position as independent bodies which benefited from royal protection.⁵⁶

Article 35 of the Academy's regulations encompassed its general mission of contributing towards artistic progress and acting as an advisory body for the government, when required:

L'Académie, étant formée pour s'occuper de tout ce qui peut contribuer aux progrès et au perfectionnement des différentes parties des beaux-arts, donne son avis motivé sur tous les projets, problèmes, difficultés ou questions d'art qui lui sont adressés par le Gouvernement; et, s'il est nécessaire, elle accompagne son rapport de dessins ou de modèles pour faciliter l'intelligence du sujet. Elle propose tous les projets d'amélioration dont l'étude des beaux-arts est susceptible.⁵⁷

The Academy's specific responsibilities included organising the competition for the *Prix de Rome* and choosing its winners, nominating candidates for teaching positions at the *École des Beaux-Arts* and for the Director of the *Académie de France à Rome*. We have seen that its control over these spheres was one of the issues which the artists contested in their discussions in 1830 and into which Montalivet launched his enquiry in January 1831.

By 1831, the Academy was seen by some as an inflexible, conservative institution. It was composed of forty members (fourteen painters, eight sculptors, eight architects, four engravers and six musicians), as well as ten additional *membres libres* and a maximum of ten *associés étrangers*. Membership was for life, and when an academician died, his academic peers elected a successor, voting by secret ballot. In 1831, the painting section was composed primarily of history painters and still included five of its original members, named in 1816.⁵⁸ The traditional *parcours* of an

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 109.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 110: 'Art. 2. Les Académies sont sous notre protection directe et spéciale. Art. 3. Chaque Académie aura son régime indépendant et la libre disposition des fonds qui lui sont ou lui seront spécialement affectés.'

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 274.

⁵⁸ These five members were Gérard (appointed to the Institute in 1812 and then by royal decree to the Academy, 21 March 1816), Guérin, Gros, Meynier and Carle Vernet, each appointed to the Academy by royal decree, 21 March 1816.

academician at this time remained training as a history painter at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, winning the *Prix de Rome* and completing his artistic education by studying the classical masters in Italy.

As the artistic community had widened, and the romantic style had developed in the 1820s, the Academy was no longer considered representative of all French artists, nor was it universally revered as being composed of the artistic elite, as it once had been.⁵⁹ In 1825, it had been publicly booed for awarding the *Prix de Rome* to the artist Giroux.⁶⁰ With the revolution of 1830 attacks on the Academy grew, as the artists' meetings showed. The king's delegation of the jury role to the members of the first four sections of the Academy would ensure that this opposition grew.

The Nomination of the Academy Members: A Ready-Made Solution

On 5 March 1831, Delaître wrote to Quatremère de Quincy asking the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* to form a jury from among its members for the forthcoming Salon.⁶¹ The government did not choose to explain its motivations explicitly, but multiple reasons exist for this nomination.

Firstly, this nomination responded, to a certain extent, to the demands made by the artists for a reform of the jury. It removed the former *conseil honoraire* jury of the Restoration which was judged by many to give undue influence to government administrators and amateurs. The nomination of the academicians sidelined Forbin and thereby addressed the concerns over the potential conflict of interests in having a *Direction des musées*, managed by a practising artist, who both submitted work to the

⁵⁹ Farcy commented on how the closure of the military career after 1814 attracted a new generation to art: 'Après la paix de 1814, la carrière des armes se ferma; une foule de jeunes gens rentrés dans les foyers, et une foule plus grande encore parmi ceux qui n'en sortirent pas, se jetèrent dans les arts' in F. [Charles Farcy], 'De l'administration générale des beaux-arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 15 August 1830, pp. 109-111 (p. 110).

⁶⁰ Eugène Amaury-Duval, *L'Atelier d'Ingres* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1878), p. 10.

⁶¹ ABA, 5 E 21, letter from Delaître to Quatremère de Quincy, 5 March 1831.

Salon and presided over the jury.⁶² Remembering this decision in 1843, Cailleux, by then *Directeur des musées* but *Secrétaire général* at the time of the decision, recalled:

Pour l'exposition qui eut lieu en 1831, le jury subit une nouvelle modification, une sage mesure, on éloigna les administrateurs supérieurs de la Direction des Musées [...] il est sagement décidé que l'administration appelée à rendre des règlements ne peut faire partie d'un jury, qu'elle peut ainsi se trouver dans la double position de juge et partie.⁶³

Secondly, the academicians' credentials, as experienced and successful artists and teachers, made them appear suitable candidates to take on the role. Analysing this decision in 1843, the art journalist Louis Peisse, writing in the pro-Orléanist *Revue des Deux Mondes*, argued that the nomination of the academicians ought logically to have satisfied the artists' demands:

L'Académie des Beaux-Arts semblait mise là tout exprès pour remplir les intentions royales et pour satisfaire les exigences de l'opinion. Ce corps illustre offrait toutes les garanties désirables; tous ses membres étaient des artistes plus ou moins célèbres, des maîtres consommés dans leur art; à l'autorité de la science et du talent ils joignaient celle de l'âge, des honneurs légitimement acquis, d'une position élevée et indépendante. Que pouvait-on demander de plus? L'idée seule de confier à des hommes spéciaux, appartenant à un corps constitué, nombreux, permanent, recruté par l'élection, une mission attribuée jusqu'alors à des commissaires de compétence plus ou moins suspecte, isolément et arbitrairement désignés, était un progrès.⁶⁴

For Peisse, the academicians' status qualified them for the role of jury. Delaître's invitation carried the same implication that the academicians' knowledge and accomplishments made them the most suitable candidates for the role. As he wrote in his letter of 5 March: 'Je serais très heureux qu'elle [l'Académie] voulût bien se charger de cette mission qui ne saurait être confiée à des juges plus éclairés.'⁶⁵

⁶² Forbin was not a member of the first four sections of the Academy but of its sixth section for *académiciens libres* and was not therefore invited to participate on the jury.

⁶³ AMN, X 1843: 1843 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général de la Liste Civile sur l'Exposition de 1843.'

⁶⁴ Louis Peisse, 'Le Salon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 2 (1843), pp. 85-109 (p. 89).

⁶⁵ ABA, 5 E 21, letter from Delaître to Quatremère de Quincy, 5 March 1831.

Timing also played an important factor in the nomination of the members of the Academy. Delaître's invitation was received on 5 March 1831 and the new jury was expected to start its operations just six days later on 11 March, in order to complete their judgement by the opening of the Salon on 1 April. As more time went by without a decision being taken, the Academy became a correspondingly more appealing choice. The Academy represented a ready-made solution to the problem (the 'corps constitué' referred to by Peisse); as the only option which would not require the additional need to select individual jurors, it presented the least problematic solution.

The delegation to the Academy was not initially introduced as a permanent measure. The wording of the invitation, sent from Delaître to Quatremère de Quincy, suggested that the Academy offered the most appropriate, rather than the ideal, solution: 'J'ai pensé que le mode le plus convenable à adopter en ce moment était d'appeler à cet examen MM les membres des première, deuxième, troisième et quatrième sections de l'académie royale des Beaux-arts.'⁶⁶ The phrasing 'en ce moment' equally suggested that this might have been a temporary measure and certainly held no promise of becoming a permanent position.

The decision taken in March 1831 allowed the king to maintain control over the Salon jury, but at the same time to distance himself from their decisions if they proved unpopular. By inviting the members of the first four sections of the Academy individually to participate in the jury rather than delegating the role to the Academy as a statutorily-independent institution, Louis-Philippe retained authority over the Salon, while at the same time placing greater distance between himself and the jury's decisions than had been possible under the Restoration with the *conseil honoraire*, responsible to the *Maison du Roi*. In this sense, the nomination was a clever move politically for Louis-Philippe, but there were two major problems with it; the first, that the distinction

⁶⁶ Ibid.

between individual academicians and the Academy as a corporation was one that non-academician artists and their supporters in the press either did not believe in or chose to ignore; the second, that it marked the start of a policy of non-intervention in the Salon, which would have repercussions later in the regime.

The Academy's Acceptance: A Poisoned Chalice

The immediate acceptance of this invitation, on the same day on which it was received, suggests that the Academy may have seen the potential influence of this role, at a time when its position must have appeared precarious. The speed with which they accepted it implies their appreciation of the new appointment.⁶⁷ We know that some of its members had responded badly to the Montalivet commission in January, which could have potentially reduced its influence over artistic training: 'Gros pleure comme un enfant mal élevé [...] Gérard comme un enfant gâté.'⁶⁸ Whilst this commission failed to bring the changes it threatened, it nevertheless undermined the Academy's authority and undoubtedly made it aware of its vulnerability. As Bonnet writes: 'l'alerte avait été chaude.'⁶⁹ Accepting the position of Salon jury may well have appeared to the academicians to ensure a continued influence over contemporary production.

However, the academicians saw the potential dangers, as well as the benefits, of this role. Since the invitation came from the king, they were not really in a position to refuse, but they were aware that the role could expose them to further criticism. In the same diary as that in which he disparaged Forbin's proposal for a jury elected by artists (see above, pp. 39-40), Fontaine described the delegation as 'un honneur qui l'expose [ie. the Academy] aux animosités d'une jeunesse présomptueuse, sans discipline, et aux

⁶⁷ BA PV, V, p. 86, entry 5 March 1831: 'L'Académie, après avoir délibéré sur la lettre de M le baron de Laitre [*sic*] arrête qu'il lui sera répondu qu'elle accepte avec reconnaissance la mission qui lui est confiée.'

⁶⁸ Léon Cerf, *Souvenirs de David d'Angers sur ses contemporains: extraits de ses carnets de notes autographes* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, [n.d.]), p. 62.

⁶⁹ Bonnet, p. 149.

attaques des mécontents qui pour arriver demandent des réformes.’⁷⁰ The academicians can hardly have failed to be aware that the invitation by the king failed to meet the artists’ demands which had been presented openly in the months leading up to the Salon. Their awareness of the opposition to their delegated role affected the way in which they undertook the task in 1831.

The 1831 Salon: Initial Liberality

The jury’s awareness of the potential difficulties of the new role was reflected in its liberal admission of works to the 1831 Salon, at which it accepted 93% of submissions, compared with 50% at the 1827 Salon. Clearly the jury did not wish to incur the opposition which the *conseil honoraire* had faced in 1827. We can only assume that the members of the Academy, aware of the mood for reform within the artistic community, felt their status was precarious and did not wish to create more enemies by their decisions. In his diary Fontaine was scathing about what he saw as the feeble response by his academic colleagues to the war waged by mediocrity on the standards of the French school:

Il est aisé de reconnaître par l’excès d’indulgence avec lequel nous remplissons notre mission, que loin d’être rigoureux à l’égard de la médiocrité qui nous fait la guerre, nous avons cherché en ne l’offensant pas, en nous déclarant ami de tout le monde, les moyens de l’apaiser.⁷¹

The journal *L’Artiste* attributed the jury’s indulgence to the fact that its members felt ill-suited to the role, writing: ‘Cette année, les juges se font bienveillans parce qu’ils ont senti qu’ils sont mal posés pour juger. Un jury nommé par les artistes était la seule chose raisonnable aujourd’hui.’⁷² This interpretation served to undermine the jury, which *L’Artiste* hoped would be replaced at the following Salon.

⁷⁰ Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, II, p. 884, diary entry for 15 March 1831.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 888, diary entry for 5 April 1831.

⁷² [Anon.], ‘Beaux-Arts: notes sur le Salon de 1831’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 1 (1831), pp. 145-147 (p. 145).

The jury's operations were governed by a concern for public perception. This concern was at the heart of its debate on whether or not to continue the tradition of exemptions which had existed under the Restoration. This question, on which it received no instructions from the government, was hotly debated in the first of its examination sessions.⁷³ In the past, certain works had been exempt from examination, since it was thought that an artist's status effectively guaranteed the quality of their work. In 1827, works produced by members and associate members of the Academy and former pupils of the French Academy in Rome had been exempt from the jury. It was clearly a contentious issue that year, since the regulations not only listed the specific cases of exemption, but also emphasised other cases, such as commissioned works, which would no longer benefit from this privilege.⁷⁴

The changed social climate of 1831 influenced the jury's considerations. Initially, the jurors were in favour of a large number of exemptions, for members of the Academy, the French Academy in Rome, the Legion of Honour, and for gold medal-winners.⁷⁵ Following the first jury session, Forbin reported that the jury had agreed that the above artists would be exempt, together with artists who had received commissions or been members of the *Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* before its abolition in 1793. The registers show that during the first three jury sessions it was recorded under 'Observations' whether an artist met the above requirements and all works by such artists were accepted.⁷⁶ This practice stopped, however, after the third jury session on 11 April 1831, suggesting that the jurors eventually concluded that this policy was

⁷³ AMN, *AA21, letter from Forbin to Delaître, 6 April 1831.

⁷⁴ AN, O3 1422, 'Musées royaux. Affaires diverses de comptabilité, 1828', S.254, 'Règlement pour l'Exposition des Ouvrages des artistes vivans', 24 September 1827, Article 1: 'Les travaux commandés soit par le Ministère de la Maison du Roi, soit par le Ministère de l'Intérieur ou par la Préfecture du Département de la Seine, seront également soumis à l'examen du Jury; les productions des Membres de l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts, des associés correspondans de cette académie, et des anciens pensionnaires de l'École de France à Rome sont seules exemptées de cette mesure. Les médailles accordées aux précédentes expositions ne donnent aucun droit d'exception.'

⁷⁵ Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, II, p. 888, diary entry for 5 April 1831.

⁷⁶ AMN, *KK49: Procès-Verbaux du Jury du Salon de 1831 et 1833.

no longer appropriate, given the political context deemed to be hostile to the exercise of privileges.⁷⁷

The preparations for the 1831 Salon suffered from a lack of organisation and an absence of governmental regulations for the jury. Although the start of the exhibition was postponed to 1 May in order to provide an additional month in which more artists could submit work, the jury received no further instructions regarding its role during this time.⁷⁸ Delaître appears neither to have established any new regulations nor clarified whether the former regulations remained in effect.⁷⁹ Contrary to the announcement made in the press, he authorised the jury to accept works during the course of the Salon, which led to a chaotic judging process.⁸⁰ The jury was assembled a total of fourteen times, with as few as seven members present at several later meetings.⁸¹ Despite the Academy formally registering the end of its proceedings during the Academy meeting of 2 July, the jury met again over three weeks later.⁸² A further sixty-one works, which are not recorded in the judging sessions, appear in the final register of works, and Forbin may well have admitted these on his own. Granet, a member of the Academy and close friend of Forbin, recorded being urged on 6 August 1831 to submit his painting before the exhibition closed just nine days later: ‘L’on me tourmente pour l’exposer au Salon qui doit fermer le quinze du courant; il n’y a que moi qui suis d’un avis contraire, parce que il me semble que c’est porter de l’eau à la mer.’⁸³

The exhibition catalogue published six supplements to keep visitors informed of new

⁷⁷ The Procès-Verbaux of the jury offer the most accurate evidence for when this measure was abandoned. Other accounts have similar reports of a decision being reversed, but differ on the timings. See Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, II, p. 888, diary entry for 5 April 1831 and [Anon.], ‘Beaux-Arts: notes sur le Salon de 1831’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 1 (1831), pp. 145-147 (p. 146). The exceptions granted in sessions 1-3 remained in place.

⁷⁸ For postponement see AMN, X 1831, ‘Organisation’ folder, letter from Delaître to Forbin, 13 March 1831.

⁷⁹ AN, O3 1422, S.254, ‘Règlement pour l’Exposition des Ouvrages des artistes vivans’, 24 September 1827.

⁸⁰ AMN, X 1831, ‘Organisation’ folder, E963, letter from Delaître to Forbin, 16 May 1831.

⁸¹ AMN, *KK49.

⁸² *Ibid.*, meeting of 25 July 1831.

⁸³ Isabelle Neto, *Granet et son entourage: correspondance* (Nogent-le-Roi: Librairie des arts et métiers, 1995), p. 162, letter from Granet to Heirieis, 6 August 1831.

works. Given the possibility of admissions within the exhibition's final fortnight it is unsurprising that even these many supplements failed to record every additional entry.⁸⁴

Following the end of the exhibition, Forbin wrote to Delaître to offer his feedback in the following terms:

Cette exposition a été sans aucun doute une des plus difficiles faites jusqu'à ce jour, surtout en raison de grand nombre d'ouvrages présentés et de la nécessité où l'on s'est trouvé de convoquer pour ainsi dire le jury en permanence pendant toute la durée de cette exposition.⁸⁵

Forbin's dissatisfaction with the 1831 Salon and its jury would lead him to continue to campaign for jury reform the following year.

Further Proposals from Forbin: A Renewed *Conseil Honoraire*

Forbin did not wish to see the members of the Academy continue in the role of jury and, in 1832, made two further attempts to have the composition changed. Both attempts failed to bring about any reform and by 1833 it is clear that Forbin no longer enjoyed the influence he had held under the Restoration.

Despite the disorganisation of the 1831 Salon, the government appeared satisfied with the jury's operations, and chose the Academy to act as jury for the following exhibition. On 11 February 1832, Delaître compiled regulations for the annual Salon, approved by the king, which confirmed the members of the Academy in the role of jury: 'Les ouvrages présentés pour être exposés seront soumis sans exception à l'examen de MM les membres des 1, 2, 3 et 4 sections de l'académie royale des Beaux-arts, et aucun ouvrage ne sera exposé sans avoir obtenu leur approbation.'⁸⁶

When this appointment was first made in 1831, we have seen that it was not presented

⁸⁴ A seventh supplement, containing 29 items, was also prepared but not published at the time owing to time constraints.

⁸⁵ AMN, *AA21, letter from Forbin to Delaître, 30 August 1831.

⁸⁶ AMN, X 1832: 1832 Salon, E. 1549 reg. A.

as a permanent measure, and there was opposition to the jury's reappointment from several quarters.

When Forbin received a copy of the new regulations, he responded by suggesting an alternative composition for the jury. We cannot know the exact nature of these suggestions since we only have Delaître's response, which rejected Forbin's proposal:

Monsieur le comte, quoique je ne partage pas votre opinion sur le mode d'examen des ouvrages des artistes vivants confié aux quatre premières sections de l'académie des Beaux-arts, et dont vous m'avez entretenu dans votre lettre du 15 février, j'ai cru devoir la soumettre au Roi et Sa Majesté m'a fait connaître que son intention était de n'apporter aucune modification à sa décision du 11 de ce mois.

Despite this rejection, Forbin clearly believed he could still influence the king's decision. The fact that his proposal in 1831 had been given due consideration encouraged him to remain persistent. In March 1832 his position as *Directeur des musées* was confirmed, which may have led him to believe he could regain his former influence. On 10 April 1832, the Salon was postponed indefinitely, on account of the cholera outbreak, which offered Forbin more time to try to reverse the king's decision before the next Salon. A reconfiguration of the personnel within the *Intendance générale de la Liste civile* may also have given him greater confidence to submit a third proposal. Delaître chose to retire in March 1832, on grounds of ill health, at the time when his provisional role was *de facto* abolished by the adoption of the vote on the *Liste civile*. It was decided that Montalivet, the then Interior Minister, would replace him as the *Intendant général* at the end of the parliamentary session in October, and that Baron Fain would fulfil the role in the interim.⁸⁷ Forbin may have thought he had an ally in

⁸⁷ Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, II, p. 921, diary entry for 1 March 1832: 'M. Delaître, infirme et souffrant, a demandé sa démission de l'intendance générale des Domaines de la Couronne [...] M. de Montalivet qui est maintenant ministre de l'Intérieur doit le remplacer, lorsque la session sera terminée [...] Pendant l'espèce d'interim que ceci établit, et qui ne sera pas facile à remplir, M. Fain aura la signature et conduira l'intendance.'

Montalivet, who had led the commission into the teaching reform that had so upset the Academy in 1831.

Forbin waited until Montalivet had assumed his position in November 1832 before addressing a third, clearly thought-out proposal for a new jury.⁸⁸ He presented the question as if a definitive decision regarding the jury had not already been taken, writing: ‘Il s’agit maintenant de statuer sur [...] la composition du jury pour l’admission des ouvrages.’⁸⁹ In no uncertain terms he claimed that the 1831 jury had failed to improve upon the former honorary council: ‘Je crois devoir faire remarquer qu’il n’est pas résulté un grand avantage de la nouvelle composition du jury.’⁹⁰

Now that the law on the Civil List had confirmed that the *Direction des musées* would remain under the jurisdiction of the *Intendance générale* and that Forbin had been confirmed in his post, he raised the possibility of a new *conseil honoraire* jury:

En 1831, l’Administration du Musée se trouvait encore dans le provisoire, maintenant qu’elle fait partie de la Liste civile il serait nécessaire de savoir si les fonctions de jury seront remplies par un nouveau Conseil Honoraire des Musées ou si ces fonctions continueront d’être confié aux membres des quatre premières sections de l’Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts.

In a clear concession in relation to his former stance, Forbin no longer proposed election of the jury by the artists, stating: ‘Je pense qu’il est préférable ainsi que l’expérience l’a démontré, que le Jury soit composé de membres choisis par le Roi parmi toutes les notabilités dans les arts, et les amateurs les plus distingués.’ Two years into the new regime he had come to understand that the king would not surrender his responsibility for the arts by allowing the artists to nominate the Salon jury and that only a proposal for a jury which the monarch himself appointed would be acceptable. Forbin may also have hoped that the king would accede to his nominations for members of the new *conseil honoraire*, as had been the practice under the Restoration.

⁸⁸ AMN, *AA23, p. 119, letter from Forbin to Montalivet, 3 November 1832.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Although Forbin had in effect admitted defeat on this issue of an artist-elected jury, he clearly remained anxious that it be more representative of the spectrum of French artists working in 1831. He once again referred to the Luxembourg exhibition jury and the addition of ten artists to the former *conseil honoraire*, which had made the jury more stylistically diverse and representative of ‘les différens genres de peintures.’ In making this argument, Forbin was also conveying the views of the romantic artists themselves. We know that these artists had been among those of the younger generation who had voiced their opposition to the Academy in the artist meetings of 1830. In 1832, the publication *L’Artiste*, which had been launched in 1831 to support romantic artists, regretted that the jury remained unchanged, asking the question: ‘Ne serait-il pas raisonnable et naturel de soumettre la jeune génération qui s’élève à d’autres juges que l’Institut?’⁹¹

Montalivet rejected Forbin’s proposal on 14 November 1832, stating that the first four sections of the Academy would continue to act as jury.⁹² It is unclear whether this delay indicates that he considered the proposal or simply that a reply was not deemed urgent. In any event, this result made it evident that the king and his advisors were satisfied with their former decision, which was enshrined in formal legislation the following year.

1833 Regulations: The Delegation Confirmed

In October 1833, the king approved a new set of exhibition regulations, issued jointly by the *Intendance générale de la Liste civile* and the *Direction des musées* which confirmed that the members of the first four sections of the Academy would act as the

⁹¹ [Anon.], ‘L’Institut au Louvre’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 3 (1832), pp. 25-27 (p. 26).

⁹² AMN, *AA60, p. 164, 739, letter from *Intendant général* to Forbin, 14 November 1832.

jury at the annual Salon. This *Règlement* was more detailed and formal than the 1832 *avis* and was circulated in the main national newspapers and in poster form.⁹³

The regulations not only formalised the jury's composition, but also officially prohibited transgressions which had taken place during the previous two Salons, such as the late submission of work and the holding of revision sessions. The regulations maintained the jury's egalitarian decision that no work would be exempt. No rule was put in place to use quotas to limit the number of entries, despite the size of the 1831 and 1833 Salons, which had created financial and organisational difficulties.⁹⁴ Whereas La Rochefoucauld had implemented quotas in 1827 to reduce the size of the exhibition, the new regulations meant that the jury had the additional responsibility of controlling the number of works on display entirely through its decisions.⁹⁵

The decision to delegate the role of the jury to the members of the Academy overlooked the opposition towards this institution. More specifically, it failed to meet the artists' demands or take on board the advice of their intermediary, the Count de Forbin, for an artist-elected jury. Whilst opposition to the Academy was not universal, even those artists in favour of allowing it to take part in the jury advocated the addition of a number of non-academic members in order to balance out its influence. The opposition to the jury which we see develop across the period has its roots in this decision. While there were clear reasons for choosing the Academy, this decision indicated a disregard

⁹³ See poster in AMN, X 1834: 1834 Salon and announcement published in *Le Moniteur Universel*, 26 October 1833 under 'Intendance Générale de la Liste civile. Direction des Musées royaux. Avis.'

⁹⁴ AMN, X 1831, 'Organisation' folder, E963, letter from Delaître to Forbin, 16 May 1831: 'Ainsi donc, Monsieur le Comte, je ne m'oppose point à la convocation du jury, ni à l'admission de nouveaux tableaux [...] mais l'adoption de ces mesures ne doit point entraîner avec elle aucune augmentation de dépensés, et j'éprouve le regret de vous annoncer qu'il ne m'est plus possible de donner à M Fontaine aucune autorisation à cet égard.'

⁹⁵ AN, O3 1422, S.254, 'Règlement pour l'Exposition des Ouvrages des artistes vivans', 24 September 1827, Article 6.

for the opinions of the artistic community. This disregard would in fact worsen over the course of the July Monarchy, when formal and organised petitions for reform would go ignored.

In 1831, the members of the Academy were already aware of the potential criticisms that they were exposed to by virtue of this role, and thus they approached it with caution. This ambivalence would prompt the Academy's heated internal discussions and debates over the following years concerning the jury. We shall see how, in its management of the role across the period that concerns us, the jury attempted to negotiate the complexities of this position. Before doing so, we shall need to know more about its individual members, their career paths and the alliances they formed or opposed in the exercise of the daunting responsibility that the king had delegated to them. This will be the subject of the following chapter.

2. THE ACADEMY AND THE JURY

At the time when the role of jury was delegated to its members, the Academy was commonly perceived to be a single-minded corporation, committed to conservative values of tradition and authority. In contrast to the *Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* of the *ancien régime*, which had 122 members before its suppression in 1793, the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* (originally the third class of the new *Institut*), was seen as exclusive and membership seemed unattainable for the vast majority of practising artists.¹ The relative secrecy of the Academy's operations allowed this perception of its exclusivity and inherent conservatism to prosper. Indeed, the principal occasion at which the Academy appeared publicly, for its annual public meeting to discuss the *envois* sent by students in Rome, would have compounded such a perception. This assembly showed the Academy at its most corporate, judging the works of students, trained in the academic tradition, according to a set of commonly shared academic criteria. Dressed identically in their formal academician garb, the members of the Academy must have appeared like a unified body to the outside observer. Furthermore, the Academy's famously conservative secretary, Quatremère de Quincy, who played a prominent role as spokesman on such occasions, would have appeared to represent an academic doctrine shared by his colleagues. As we shall see, this commonly held view of the Academy led to similar preconceptions about how a jury comprised of academicians might behave. For those who shared their values, the notion of a unified jury upholding academic standards is unlikely to have posed a problem. However, for

¹ See above, pp. 41-43, for more information on the history of the Academy. See also, for the relative exclusivity of the Academy, Alain Bonnet, *L'Enseignement des arts au XIX^e siècle: la réforme de l'École des beaux-arts de 1863 et la fin du modèle académique* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), p. 42: 'De corps largement ouvert au mérite et aux talents les plus divers, la compagnie était devenue cénacle étroitement clos, inaccessible à la majorité des artistes.'

those sympathetic to the new developments that had emerged in the Salons of the Restoration, this belief in the Academy's corporative nature incited opposition towards the newly appointed jury. In this chapter, I will argue against this received idea of a monolithic corporation and consider the plurality of views which existed in the Academy and which influenced the way in which its members undertook the role of jury.

The Composition of the Academy

The idea that the Academy had a homogeneous membership was unfounded. A gradual turnover of members produced corresponding changes in its ideological balance. Each election was strongly contested and commonly went into several rounds of voting.² The academicians' support for different artists attested to their diverse range of views. In 1832, for example, a majority elected Delaroche in the fourth round of voting against opposition from colleagues supporting neo-classical former pupils of David such as Rouget and Langlois. Anonymous voting by secret ballot gave members of the Academy the privacy, and therefore the freedom, to support whichever candidate they wished. This system of election was a liberal policy, which promoted the expression of the individual over collective influences or pressures and led to an increasingly diverse membership.

Under the Restoration, the majority of the painting section remained tied to an orthodox Davidianism, represented by artists such as Hersent, Garnier, Thévenin, Meynier and Gérard, all of whom had finished their classical training in Rome before 1800.³ As discussed in chapter 1, the Academy was still widely perceived within the artistic community to be a stronghold of such neo-classical history painters and some of

² The maximum rounds of voting during this period were for the replacement of the architect Vaudoyer, in 1846, when Lesueur was appointed in the 14th round. Of the 20 members elected to the first four sections during the July Monarchy, the voting went, on average, to 4 rounds.

³ See Appendix 2 for biographies of the Academy members.

the younger artists, those born at the turn of the nineteenth century, felt that its members were far removed from their own artistic values. Membership, however, had expanded in the 1820s to include a number of painters who had begun to move away from the Davidian legacy. Most notable among these was Ingres, who claimed to be the ‘réformateur de la peinture’⁴ and whom Forbin promoted in the 1820s and 30s as a new ‘chef d’École.’⁵ In his history of the Academy, Delaborde referred to the novelty of the Academy admitting Ingres, Horace Vernet and the sculptor David d’Angers ‘en dehors de tout système préconçu.’⁶ This diversity shows that already during the Restoration the Academy had begun to embody a wider range of art practices than that represented by a more orthodox Davidianism.

The 1830s was a decade of increasing change in the composition of the painting section. Of its fourteen members at the start of the July Monarchy, only half were still alive in 1839. At the time of their elections, the eight new academicians were on average eighteen years younger than their predecessors, which effectively meant that half the painting section was rejuvenated by a generation over the course of this brief period. For the 13th seat within the painting section, Langlois replaced Thévenin in April 1838, but died just months later, to be replaced by Couder in February 1839. The average age difference excluding Langlois’s brief membership is twenty-one years.

Several painters who joined the Academy during this period were seen to diversify a section previously dominated by classical history painters. The election of

⁴ Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Ingres: la réforme des principes, 1806-1834* (Lyon: Fage, 2006), p. 36.

⁵ AMN, X 1833: 1833 Salon, ‘Rapport du Salon de 1833’: ‘Un seul artiste, M Ingres, remplit toutes les conditions désirables; comme chef d’École, il a rendu de très grands services aux arts.’

⁶ Henri Delaborde, *L’Académie des beaux-arts depuis la fondation de l’Institut de France* (Paris: Plon, 1891), p. 213. This work in a sense represents an official history of the Academy, written by one of its members and a strong supporter of its values. This perspective must be taken into account when reading Delaborde’s work, although he claims to be sufficiently removed from the period in question to give an accurate account: ‘On sait que ceux-ci composaient alors exclusivement le jury appelé à décider du sort des ouvrages présentés. Comment remplissaient-ils en réalité leur mandat [...] C’est ce qu’il convient de rechercher ici et d’examiner avec sang froid, à la distance où nous sommes des hommes et des faits en cause.’ (p. 259).

the painter Paul Delaroche in 1832 at the age of 35 was praised by *L'Artiste*, which regarded it as a move towards a broader membership, with greater public approval:

Encore quelques nominations pareilles à celle dont nous voulons parler, et l'Institut, fort de sa composition et de sa conscience, marchera facilement dans le bien et le vrai, d'un pas ferme et sûr, appuyé par cette force qui ne lui manquera pas, l'opinion générale.⁷

Delaroche was a young and popular artist, amongst the best-known painters of the day. Although he had received a classical training in the studio of the academician Gros, he chose to move away from academic subjects inspired by classical texts, towards historical genre scenes of more recent history. His depictions of Mazarin, Richelieu and Cromwell had won him considerable critical acclaim and public popularity at the 1831 Salon.⁸

The election of Schnetz in 1837 continued to broaden the painting section of the Academy. Although, like many of his colleagues, Schnetz had trained under David, by the time of his nomination his manner had evolved to give him a singular position within the Academy, representing 'la robuste sincérité d'un pinceau consacré presque exclusivement à la transcription des scènes rustiques italiennes.'⁹ Delaborde termed both Schnetz and Granet, elected in 1830, as painters 'des genres secondaires.'¹⁰ Their nomination to the Academy attested to the expansion of membership, which occurred in the 1830s, to include representatives of traditionally lower genres, working in a manner and scale which reflected more closely the majority of the artistic community. Because of this, Schnetz was also seen as an element of rejuvenation for the Academy, supported by *L'Artiste* in 1832: 'Si au contraire l'Institut, abandonnant les vieilles voies qu'il a

⁷ [Anon.], 'De la nomination à l'Institut de M. Paul Delaroche', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 4 (1832), p. 165.

⁸ See [Anon.], 'Salon de 1831', *Le Constitutionnel*, 18 May 1831: 'les honneurs du Salon sont à M. Paul Delaroche'; F. [Charles Farcy], 'Peinture et sculpture: Salon de 1831', *Journal des Artistes*, 15 May 1831, pp. 361-365 (p. 362); F. P. [Fabien Pillet], 'Salon de 1831', *Le Moniteur Universel*, 8 July 1831; Viel-Castel, 'Salon de 1831', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 1 (1831), pp. 185-187 (p. 185). See also Stephen Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), p. 117; Isabelle Julia, 'Biographie', in *Paul Delaroche: un peintre dans l'histoire*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1999), pp. 246-261 (pp. 247-248).

⁹ Delaborde, *L'Académie des beaux-arts*, p. 257.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

suivies jusqu'ici, veut se rajeunir et réchauffer ses veines attiédies en y versant du sang nouveau, c'est entre MM. Schnetz et Delaroche qu'il choisira.'¹¹

Other new members, such as Drölling, Abel de Pujol and Picot, may have been considered to continue the Davidian tradition, but we will see there is evidence that such artists were not prescriptive in their aesthetic values and proved receptive towards other artistic movements and innovation, especially within the context of the Salon.¹² These new members are likely to have been more in touch with recent artistic developments than the older generation of artists whom they replaced.

Whilst the painting section began to broaden its recruitment under the July Monarchy, the classical heritage of the Academy remained more firmly intact among its other members, most particularly within the architecture section. These eight architects were united by their near identical training. Five of its members in 1833, namely Fontaine, Percier, Huyot, Vaudoyer and Guénépin had trained under the same master, Antoine-François Peyre (1739-1823), a member of the eighteenth-century Academy. The remaining three had in turn been pupils of Percier and Fontaine, increasing the likelihood that they would continue in the same line as their older colleagues.

This closely-knit section had a hierarchical structure, in which Fontaine and Percier were regarded as the doyens of the group. These two architects were strongly allied, working together and sharing an atelier. Percier focused on teaching and the influence of his studio over a younger generation of architects was renowned: 'Cet atelier, comme on le sait, était la pépinière où s'éleva la plupart des architectes les plus éminents de notre époque.'¹³ Fontaine held the prestigious position of *Architecte du Roi*, which undoubtedly would have offered him an unspoken authority over the other members of the architecture section. His seniority, as the oldest architect and one of the

¹¹ [Anon.], 'Beaux-Arts', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 4 (1832), pp. 141-142 (p.141).

¹² Delaborde, *L'Académie des beaux-arts*, p. 256: 'MM. Drolling, Abel de Pujol et Picot [...] continuaient [...] la tradition fondée par le peintre de la *Mort de Socrate* et des *Sabines*.'

¹³ Charles Lenormand, *Notice biographique sur J.-J Marie Huvé* (Paris: Imprimerie de Schiller aîné, 1853).

most senior members of the entire Academy, would have reinforced this elevated role. Their influence over their colleagues was notorious even outside the Academy; a candidate seeking election as a foreign associate to the Academy, knowing his nomination was not supported by members of the architecture section, had heard that the support of Percier and Fontaine would be vital to his campaign: ‘c’est de la part de la section d’architecture que j’éprouverai beaucoup d’opposition [...] on m’a insinué qu’à cause de cela l’appui de MM. Percier et Fontaine serait très important.’¹⁴

The architecture section was more firmly attached to the Academy’s traditional values than, for example, the more diverse members of the painting section. This unity was strengthened by the members’ sense of loyalty and deference to Fontaine and Percier. We will see that even within the context of the Salon, the architects attempted to uphold their academic values and would at times prove to be an uncompromising force on the jury.

The sculpture and engraving sections do not appear to have been so closely-knit as their architect colleagues. There was no clear hierarchy within these sections and there seem to have been a number of rivalries, particularly among the Academy’s sculptors. David d’Angers, an ardent republican, stood alone within the section, as the sculptor who had turned furthest away from his classical education in Rome. His association with romantic artists may have distanced him from some of his more classical colleagues and we learn that he favoured the diversification of the Academy, having voted for Delaroche against Blondel in 1832.¹⁵ The rivalry between Pradier and David was apparently well known, recorded by the painter Gigoux in his *Causeries sur les artistes de mon temps*: ‘J’ignore l’origine de la haine qui divisait David et Pradier,

¹⁴ *Correspondance de François Gérard, peintre d’histoire, avec les artistes et les personnages célèbres de son temps*, ed. by Henri Gérard (Paris: Ad. Laine, 1867), p. 203, letter from Meyerbeer, 1834.

¹⁵ *David d’Angers et ses relations littéraires*, ed. by Henry Jouin (Paris: Plon, 1890), p. 62, letter LXV to Victor Pavie, 25 June 1832: ‘L’Institut vient de nommer Blondel! et nous étions six pour Delaroche; Schnetz n’a eu que trois voix. Quelle honte!’

toujours est-il qu'ils se détestaient bien cordialement.¹⁶ Both artists were also critical of other sculptors within the Academy, suggesting that this section did not share closely-knit loyalties in the manner of the architects.¹⁷ Within the Academy, the eight sculptors appear, therefore, to have been more independent figures, whose allegiances on the jury may have been uncertain.

The engraving section was composed of just four members, whose influence could not challenge that of the larger sections. Three of its members at the start of the July Monarchy seem to have shared a strong classical doctrine which may have united them with the Academy's more traditional members, as evidenced through their close association with Quatremère de Quincy, of whom it was said: 'il patronne Richomme et Tardieu [...] et surtout Desnoyers.'¹⁸

The plurality of views and allegiances within the Academy were often overlooked by the press, who instead depicted a uniform institution. One way in which opponents of the Academy achieved this was by relying on the well-established stereotype of the academician as a very old man. The Academy's detractors used this common perception to create a false dichotomy between a collective, old Academy and a younger generation of artists. Whilst the average academician was, at 55-60, older than many practising artists, several artists were elected to the Academy in their thirties. In addition to Delaroche's election at the age of 35, Horace Vernet was elected aged 37 and the sculptors Ramey fils, Nanteuil, David d'Angers, Dumont, Roman, Cortot and Duret were all elected before having reached the age of 40. The majority of members were under 50 at the time of their election, thereby disproving the image of an institution comprised uniquely of very old members. Critics tended to focus on the

¹⁶ Jean Gigoux, *Causeries sur les artistes de mon temps* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1885), p. 86.

¹⁷ *Souvenirs de David d'Angers sur ses contemporains*, ed. by Léon Cerf (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, [n.d.]), p. 128: 'Cortot n'a jamais vu que l'effet.'; *James Pradier correspondance*, ed. by Douglas Siler, 3 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1984), II, p. 371, letter from Pradier to his wife Louise, 20 September 1841: '[...] l'arc de triomphe fait par David et Ramey. C'est le comble du mauvais et du ridicule.'

¹⁸ René Schneider, *Quatremère de Quincy et son intervention dans les arts* (Paris: Hachette, 1910), p. 420.

upper end of the scale, offering a collective depiction of ‘les vieux académiciens’, based on the presence of a minority of members in their seventies and eighties.¹⁹

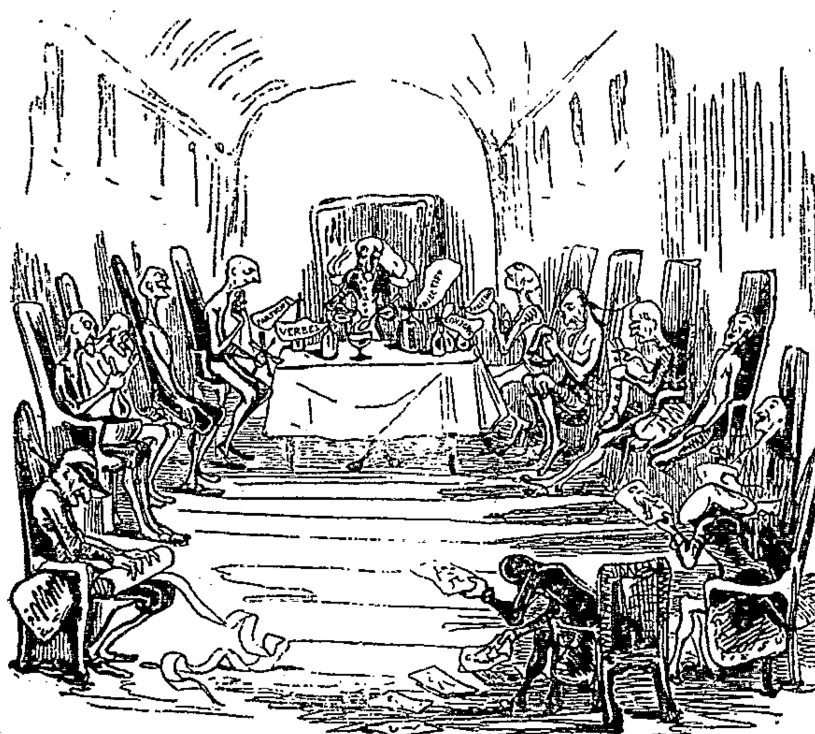


Fig. 1. Untitled depiction of the Academy, published in *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 1 (1831), p. 52; *Ibid.*, 1st ser., 2 (1831), p. 100; *Ibid.*, 1st ser., 4 (1832), p. 118.

The above illustration, which appeared several times in *L'Artiste* in 1831 and 1832, drew heavily on the stereotype of the old academician.²⁰ The decrepit and skeletal academicians as depicted in this caricature were a far cry from the reality of the Academy at this time. This physical decrepitude was also used as a metaphor for the Academy's perceived fossilised practices. The anti-academic publication *La Liberté* propagated this idea in 1832, comparing the academicians with mummified Egyptian

¹⁹ Théophile Thoré, *Salon de 1846 précédé d'une lettre à George Sand* (Paris: Alliance des Arts, 1846), p. 64: 'les vieux académiciens continuent, sans scrupule et sans responsabilité, de donner carrière à leurs jalousies ou à leurs caprices.'

²⁰ When published in *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 1 (1831), p. 52, the image followed an article by Paul Huet, 'Notes adressées à messieurs les membres de la commission chargée des modifications à apporter aux réglemens de l'École des beaux-arts et de l'Académie de France à Rome', which attacked the Academy and the *École des Beaux-Arts*; in *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 4 (1832), p. 118, the image accompanied an article by Gustave Planche, 'La quatrième classe de l'Institut', pp. 117-118, in which he criticised the Academy's 'hautaine exclusion.'

pharaohs.²¹ This representation failed to acknowledge the diverse viewpoints and influences within the Academy and the serious debate under the July Monarchy to which these gave rise.

Negotiating and Managing the Role of Salon Jury

The delegation of the role of Salon jury to the members of the Academy came at a time of considerable change in society and in art. The Academy was perceived as backward or static in comparison with the changes taking place around it. Despite accusations of institutional inertia, there is evidence that the Academy members actively attempted to negotiate these changes. Their response will highlight the plurality of views which had come to exist within this institution.

The role of Salon jury represented new territory for the members of the Academy. Whilst several academicians had been included on the *conseil honoraire*, the July Monarchy was the first time when all the members of the first four sections of the Academy had been invited by the king to act as jury. The academicians were familiar with the process of judging artworks, but in a very different context from the Salon. Each year, they were called on to judge the *concours* for the *Prix de Rome*.²² They were also required to appraise the *envois* received from Rome and evaluate the merits of the works and the progress made by the *pensionnaires*. Both of these processes involved judging works produced in an academic context, following academic principles, by students on scholarships at the *Académie de France à Rome* or competing for these scholarships in the *École des Beaux-Arts*. In the case of the *concours*, there were strict academic guidelines and artists were required to paint a classical subject chosen for

²¹ Jules Raimbaud, 'Union et liberté', *La Liberté*, 2 (1832), pp. 13-16 (p. 14): 'L'Institut me semble être un temple qui ne s'ouvre que pour les gloires mortes ou avortées [...] Mais, dites-moi, les Égyptiens allaient-ils prendre au fond des pyramides les momies de leurs rois pour leur rendre et le sceptre et le trône.'

²² See Philippe Grunheec, *Le Grand prix de peinture: les concours des Prix de Rome de 1797 à 1863* (Paris: École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, 1983).

them. In these instances, the members of the Academy were able to judge works according to academic criteria, based on technical skills including draughtsmanship, anatomical correctness and modelling, harmony of composition, perspective and command of effects of colour and light.²³

A growing proportion of artists submitting to the Salon, however, were turning away from academic ideals and produced work according to a different set of aesthetic values from those taught to aspiring history painters at the *École des Beaux-Arts* or *Académie de France à Rome*. Academic history painters required the support of the state, which alone possessed the means to buy and exhibit their works. Meanwhile, demand for artwork had grown among the prosperous middle classes who favoured smaller genre works, portraits and landscapes, more suited to a domestic environment.²⁴ From the fall of the Empire larger numbers of the population turned to an artistic career, responding to this public demand. The official exhibition became a central marketplace for artists targeting this clientele and the constantly expanding population of artists had resulted in an increase in the number of exhibitors at each Salon under the Restoration, which had risen from 507 in 1814 to 732 in 1827.²⁵ Judging works for the Salon, therefore, would require the academicians to compromise on academic criteria. Only a small number of submissions would have met or, if not met, at least been seen to have made a serious attempt to meet, the exacting standards expected from artists who had undergone a long academic training. The academicians are likely to have feared a resultant backlash from the rejected artists and the danger that these artists would seek alternative means to display their art. As a result, the jury's authority as an arbiter of contemporary production would have been all but lost. Given the government's desire

²³ See K. McLauchlan, 'French Artists in Rome, 1815-1863' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001), pp. 71-78.

²⁴ See further discussion in chapter 3, pp. 122-123.

²⁵ AMN, X 1839: 1839 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général sur l'Exposition de 1839.'

to maintain its control over public exhibitions, this level of selectivity was not an option.²⁶

As we have seen (above, p. 49), the academicians were given very little guidance about how to go about this new task. The administration avoided the responsibility of giving the jury any sort of measures for judgement, for fear of recrimination. The members of the Academy had to negotiate the role between themselves. The plurality of views within the Academy meant that there were a number of conflicting opinions on how to respond to their role and to contemporary artistic developments, which some academicians perceived to reflect a decline in values while others saw the need to make adjustments for the new developments. At times, academic criteria were deemed more applicable than others and we will see in the following chapters that the jury's management of the role reflected a tension between the application of academic values and a desire to make compromises in accordance with contemporary developments. These ongoing tensions often led to an apparent inconsistency in the jury's decisions. The academicians' negotiation of this complex role led to a series of very important discussions which took place within Academy meetings over the course of the July Monarchy. Before their role was made permanent, however, these tensions played themselves out in different ways in the jury's approach to the first two Salons of the regime.

We have seen how in 1831 the members of the Academy who chose to participate in the jury were extremely liberal in their admissions.²⁷ This decision seemed governed by a desire not to create enemies on this their first attempt at the role and at a

²⁶ See Ibid.: 'Il fallait donner à la masse des artistes des moyens de publicité, si l'on ne voulait s'exposer à la forcer de s'en créer ailleurs.' Forbin first suggested an annual Salon partly to prevent artists establishing their own exhibitions which would damage the primacy of the national exhibition. See AN, O3 1422, 'Musées royaux. Affaires diverses de comptabilité, 1828', 267 bis, letter from Forbin to La Rochefoucauld, 3 February 1826: 'Cette vérité a frappé tant de personnes, que plusieurs artistes se réunissent en ce moment pour former une association à l'instar de l'Angleterre, et, comme celle de nos voisins, complètement indépendante du Gouvernement [...] Si la mode sanctionne cette nouveauté, ne nuira-t-elle pas aux Expositions du Louvre, attendues trop longtemps?'

²⁷ See chapter 1, pp. 47-50.

time when hopes for political and artistic reform associated with the July Days were still topical. When the members of the Academy were returned to the role in 1833, the jury was initially significantly more severe than it had been in 1831, rejecting 27% of submissions compared with 7%. This severity can be seen in part as a response to the substantial increase in submissions from 3790 to 4619.

The 1833 jury sessions were irregular for a number of reasons. Firstly, they were presided over by the musician Henri Berton since, following the practice established at the previous Salon, the president of the Academy presided over the jury. However, as a member of the fifth section of the Academy, that of musical composition, Berton was not officially eligible to serve on the jury.²⁸ Voting figures in the records prove that he also participated in decision making, which breached the regulations received from Montalivet.²⁹ A second irregularity was the decision to hold a revision session on the final day of judging, in which previous rejections were reversed.

The records of the jury session held on 28 February 1833 show that 232 previously rejected works were admitted. Fontaine's diary informs us about the circumstances of this revision session, as he explained:

Mais aujourd'hui, n'ayant pu arriver au Louvre que fort tard [...] j'ai été surpris de trouver l'assemblée beaucoup plus nombreuse que de coutume, et de compter au rang des juges plusieurs de ceux qui, au nom et sous le prétexte de leur amour pour égalité, se sont mis en opposition au mode d'admission, et se sont déclarés incompétents pour juger les ouvrages de leurs confrères. L'assemblée en séance [...] était occupée à réviser, sur la proposition de l'un de ces nouveaux membres, venu à cet effet, tous les ouvrages qui pendant les précédentes opérations du jury avaient été rejetés; et dans cette révision, fort brusque, ceux-là seuls qui n'avaient pas d'amis,

²⁸ Only members of the first four sections of the Academy were invited to serve on the jury. The regulations put in place for the 1832 Salon, which was postponed to 1833 due to the cholera outbreak in April 1832, stated: 'Les ouvrages présentés pour être exposés seront soumis sans exception à l'examen de MM. les membres des 1^{re}, 2^e, 3^e et 4^e sections de l'Académie royale des Beaux Arts.' See AMN, X 1832: 1832 Salon.

²⁹ AMN, *KK49, Procès-Verbaux du Jury du Salon de 1831 et 1833.

qui n'avaient pas su intéresser ou effrayer leurs juges, restaient frappés du jugement d'exclusion prononcé contre eux.³⁰

Under half the members of the Academy, 14 out of 34 members, had participated in the principal jury sessions in 1833. It seems from Fontaine's account that certain members who had failed to attend the earlier meetings instigated the revision session in an attempt to reverse certain decisions taken by a small number of their colleagues. It is likely, as we will see from their later reactions to the jury, that Delaroche, David d'Angers and Ingres, none of whom had attended earlier meetings of the jury, were amongst the members attending the revision session. We learn that Fontaine was highly critical of these actions, which undermined the decisions he had played a part in taking at the previous sessions.

Of the 232 works admitted, 215 were paintings, including 75 portraits, 41 landscapes, 55 genre paintings and 24 drawings. The high number of portraits suggest that these paintings particularly divided the jury. A large number of these (45%) had been rejected by vote when first judged, which suggests disagreements within the jury over this growing genre. The emergence of a new naturalist school of landscape painting also divided the jury. The artist Paul Huet, who would continue to split opinion and become the subject of controversial rejections later in the period, had two works readmitted in the revision session, both of which had initially been rejected in a tight vote (5 v. 8 and 6 v. 7).

The average age of an artist admitted in the revision session was 35. It is therefore likely that many of these young artists were influenced by the innovative movements occurring outside of academic art. The admission of these works suggests a certain sympathy for this younger generation of artists from the intervening jurors, which had not been shown in the initial jury sessions. These artists included a number

³⁰ Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, 2 vols (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1987), II, p. 962, diary entry for 27 February 1833.

who would continue to divide the jury, including romantic painters Delacroix and Huet, as well as the ambitious and innovative artist Gigoux, whose work reflected both romantic and realist influences.³¹

The records suggest that Fontaine was right in claiming that the academicians had admitted works in the revision session based on their personal allegiances or connections. Of the admitted works, 64 were by pupils of academicians, including 18 by pupils of Gros, 14 by pupils of Ingres and 10 by pupils of Hersent. Ingres was fiercely protective of his pupils and we will see his ability to influence the jury in their favour later in the period.³²

This revision session reveals the complex interplay of personal motivations amongst the jury members already present in 1833 and further attests to tensions within the Academy which would increase over time. When the delegation of the jury to members of the Academy was confirmed in the 1833 regulations, which also banned revision sessions, the academicians looked to find a better resolution to their different visions for the role.

Discussions within the Academy

The different beliefs and objectives of its members made the Academy a seat of lively debate. The confirmation of their permanent role as jury provoked recurrent discussions as they tried to negotiate the complexities of the position. The resultant unresolved disagreements would eventually see opposition from within the Academy move into the public realm, as external campaigns for a reform of the jury grew. However, the commonly held perception of a corporative Academy, unified by a shared academic

³¹ See chapter 4.

³² See below, pp. 144-146.

doctrine, is so strong that these contentious debates have largely been overlooked, even in recent commentaries.³³

Our knowledge of these discussions is limited by the summary nature of the Academy meeting minutes. Although these records would have been confidential at the time, the secretary was still careful to play down the levels of disagreement between academicians. The institution was concerned to present a harmonious front and guard itself against critics, at a time when its existence was being called into question.³⁴ In addition to these discussions within official meetings, we learn that members of the Academy also debated their role as jury outside of the weekly meetings, both during jury sessions and privately in small numbers.³⁵ Any detailed content of such discussions held outside of the Academy remains unknown at this time. The limited information available may account for the propagation of the idea of a monolithic Academy, yet much evidence remains to challenge this perception.

The impetus for the Academy's first discussion of the jury was undoubtedly the publication of the Salon regulations on 26 October 1833 in the official newspaper, *Le Moniteur Universel*, which provoked an immediate reaction in the Academy meeting held that same day. Prior to this confirmation, the academicians had enacted their jury duties as if on a temporary basis, as we have seen in their irregular management of the role in 1831 and 1833.

³³ For example, in Claude Allemand-Cosneau, 'Le Salon à Paris de 1815 à 1850', in *Les Années romantiques: la peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), p. 118: 'L'Académie, qui avait toujours refusé de remettre en cause le fonctionnement du jury et de discuter, en son sein, du Salon, met le sujet à l'ordre du jour en 1843.'

³⁴ The publication *La Liberté* published several articles calling for the abolition of the Academy in 1832. See for example Didron, 'Nous sommes français', *La Liberté*, 1 (1832), pp. 20-26 (p. 25): 'Criez avec nous: *A bas l'Institut et le professorat!*'

³⁵ BA PV, 6 (1835-1839), p. 12, 7 February 1835: 'Cette discussion n'ayant produit aucun résultat dans l'Académie [...] sera rapportée dans l'assemblée du jury'; AMN, X 1840: 1840 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, 'Proposition lue à l'Académie par M P. Statuaire': 'Déjà, dans l'intimité, et en dehors des séances de l'Académie, plusieurs de nos confrères à l'effet de s'éclairer sur cette question intéressante se sont réunis en petit comité, non pour s'isoler de leurs autres confrères, mais pour élaborer cette question sur toutes ses faces et être en mesure de soumettre à l'Académie le résultat de leurs discussions.'

The painting section drove the initial attempts to improve the jury's operations. The painter Garnier was the first to propose 'quelques mesures d'ordre' which led to 'plus d'une sorte de débat.'³⁶ Garnier had attended the majority of jury sessions in 1831 and 1833, so his proposals were likely to have been influenced by this first-hand experience. The discussion continued into the following week's meeting, at which point, following further proposals, it was agreed that each section would meet separately to propose 'quelques mesures propres à établir plus d'ordre et de régularité dans les opérations du jury.'³⁷ It was clearly an area about which many academicians held an opinion and wished to contribute to the debate.

In the discussions which followed, Delaroche took up the mantle for the painting section and he would play a key role in fighting for jury reform over the following years.³⁸ We are told that in December 1833 he proposed to the Academy 'un certain nombre de mesures dont l'effet serait d'établir un meilleur ordre dans la mission qui lui est confiée de recevoir les ouvrages envoyés par les artistes pour la future exposition publique et d'en faire le choix.'³⁹ In January 1834, however, members of the architecture section succeeded in quashing these discussions, thereby preventing any reform from taking place before the 1834 Salon. Despite there being several weeks before the jury was required to start its operations, the architect Guénépin argued that time constraints meant the Academy should adjourn its discussions until after the exhibition.⁴⁰ Guénépin was supported by Fontaine, suggesting that the architecture section did not support Delaroche's proposals for reform and wished to maintain the status quo.

Delaroche resumed his challenge in January 1836, presenting 'diverses propositions [...] particulièrement sur le système d'exposition des ouvrages au Salon du

³⁶ BA PV, 5 (1831-1834), p. 257, 26 October 1833.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 261, 2 November 1833.

³⁸ For an insightful account of Delaroche's role see Bann, *Paul Delaroche: History Painted*, p. 117.

³⁹ BA PV, 5, p. 264, 14 December 1833.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 272, 11 January 1834.

Louvre.⁴¹ Although once again the meeting minutes failed to reveal the nature of his propositions, newspaper accounts from the time provided further details. According to the *Journal des Artistes*, Delaroche had proposed that works of art should be judged by members of their own discipline:

Cette proposition tendait à ce que la section de peinture de l'académie décidât exclusivement pour l'admission ou le refus des *tableaux*, la section de sculpture pour les *statues*, la section d'architecture pour les projets d'*édifices*, etc. Les sections réunies auraient prononcé ensuite définitivement sur les objets qui auraient été écartés par chaque section en particulier.⁴²

This account was compatible with the statement published in *L'Artiste*, which referred to 'l'excessive partialité de leurs collègues en faveur des artistes qui tiennent particulièrement aux doctrines de l'Académie.'⁴³ This report is an early indication of the more open-minded approach towards non-academic art of members of the painting section, who did not wish to impose strict academic criteria on the Salon. We will see that an incident in 1845, at which the tensions addressed here came to a head, will corroborate this information.

These proposals were carefully considered and tightly debated. Nominated commissions from each section met mid-week in several *séances extraordinaires* outside of the weekly Academy meetings, perhaps in an attempt to reach a decision before the start of the 1836 Salon. Discussions took place over at least five separate meetings, suggesting the Academy's difficulty in reaching any consensus. We learn that opinions were divided during these meetings, at which 'plusieurs membres sont entendus pour ou contre cette proposition.'⁴⁴

In an act which mirrored the breakdown in discussions in 1834, a neo-classical architect introduced a counter-proposition which defeated the attempt at reform driven

⁴¹ BA PV, 6, p. 72, 30 January 1836.

⁴² [Anon.], 'Nouvelles des arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 21 February 1836, p. 127.

⁴³ [Anon.], 'Variétés', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 11 (1836), p. 36.

⁴⁴ BA PV, 6, p. 72, 6 February 1836.

from within the painting section. The architect Huyot proposed that discussion of Delaroche's proposition be adjourned indefinitely, and that commissions from each section instead draw up a generic report 'de manière que l'Académie puisse donner son avis sur tout ce qui doit contribuer au progrès et au perfectionnement des différentes parties des beaux-arts.'⁴⁵ By implying that the Academy had surpassed its remit, his proposal redirected the discussion away from the topic of the Salon and its jury, into the general territory of the progress of French art, which formed part of its official mandate as stipulated in article 35 of its statutes, claiming: 'De cette manière, Messieurs, vous rentrerez dans les limites que vous imposent vos statuts.'⁴⁶ The members of the architecture section seemed unwilling to relinquish their part in judging painting submissions to the Salon. We will learn that the architecture section in particular wished to impose stricter academic criteria on submissions and guard the Salon against the types of non-academic paintings which some of their colleagues supported.

These failed attempts at reform in 1836 provoked the first public act of dissent against the jury. Delaroche and Horace Vernet both resigned from the jury, in an open demonstration of their disagreement with their colleagues. Delaroche's declaration of his withdrawal was merely symbolic, since he had not participated in the jury since at least 1833.⁴⁷ 1836, therefore, marked the moment when internal dissensions relating to the conduct of the jury went outside the Academy into the public sphere. After this time, Delaroche abandoned the subject within the Academy, but would later become involved in public campaigns against the jury.

The suggestion that the topic of the jury fell outside the Academy's jurisdiction may have prevailed for a time. Following the end to the discussions in 1836, the subject

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 74, 20 February 1836.

⁴⁶ ABA, 5 E 26, 'Séance du samedi 20 février 1836': 'Les 5 sections de l'Académie se formeront immédiatement en autant de commissions, présidées chacune par un de ses Membres, afin de donner à l'article 35 de ses Statuts tout le développement dont il est susceptible.' See above, p. 42, for earlier discussion of Article 35.

⁴⁷ See Appendix 3. Delaroche may have attended the revision session in 1833, at which no register of presence was recorded.

was not raised for a period of over three and a half years. Delaroche had been a fundamental driving force in these early discussions, and his resignation clearly also had an effect on proceedings. Although we know from the support he gained in 1836 that a number of his colleagues shared his opinion, they shied away from reigniting the debate within the Academy, perhaps deterred by their previous failure to win reform.

Concern for the management of the jury, however, did not disappear during this time. Increased negative commentary in the press at the end of the 1830s, aimed at the jury's rejection of several established artists, is likely to have provoked further debate. We have already seen (above, p. 70, note 35) that academicians had discussed the matter in private after the sculptor Petitot had raised the subject of reform on 7 December 1839. Despite the reassurance that those participating in these discussions did not mean to isolate themselves from their colleagues, the private nature of such meetings would have allowed them to establish a common position to submit a stronger argument to the Academy as a whole. The signs of division within the Academy are apparent and seem to have led to the formation of internal cliques.

Once again we witness the energy which new recruits contributed to the Academy. Petitot had been elected to the Academy in March 1835, aged 41, and had not attended a jury session at the time of the previous discussions, held at the start of 1836. By 1839, however, he was able to speak from experience, having regularly attended the jury sessions for the past three Salons, as he informed his colleagues:

Une expérience de plusieurs années me paraît avoir prouvé, jusqu'à la plus entière évidence, que le mode d'exécution déterminé pour les opérations du jury, bien que sage et convenable dans son ensemble, laisse pourtant à désirer quelques légères modifications qui permettraient à ce jury de procéder avec plus de justice à ses importantes fonctions.⁴⁸

Following Petitot, the discussion was raised again in 1843 by the sculptor Dumont, who had been elected to the Academy in 1838, aged 37. The enthusiasm shown by young

⁴⁸ AMN, X 1840, 'Organisation' folder, 'Proposition lue à l'Académie par M P. Statuaire.'

new members attests to the rejuvenating effects of the Academy's turnover in membership. Whether empowered by their elections, or freed from the complications of old allegiances within the Academy, newer members were more inclined to speak out among their colleagues. They also had the advantage of an external perspective, since they would have known how the Academy and jury were perceived by the artistic community outside its walls before their elections.

Pro-reform academicians were careful to justify the validity of their proposals to colleagues who questioned the Academy's right to discuss the jury. In 1839, Petitot prefaced his proposal by claiming that Article 35 offered him the right to propose 'tous les projets d'amélioration relatifs aux Beaux-Arts', including observations on the jury (ibid.). Furthermore, Petitot specified that the Academy should submit its observations to the administration of the *Liste civile*, which was responsible for the exhibition. In 1840, another member suggested sending observations 'à l'autorité compétente.'⁴⁹

These later discussions seemed to respond to growing external criticism and suggest an assimilation of outside messages concerning the jury. By this time, many critics were outspoken in their opposition towards the jury. Each year, reviews of the Salon in many publications would begin by criticising the jury and listing works which they felt had been unfairly rejected.⁵⁰ In 1839, Petitot seemed to address these complaints when he spoke of bringing greater 'justice' and 'équité' to the jury's proceedings.⁵¹ The colleagues with whom Petitot had met in private are likely to have supported his proposals, and we learn that in the Academy meeting the proposition was 'appuyée par plusieurs membres.'⁵² The majority, however, voted not to consider

⁴⁹ BA PV, 7 (1840-1844), p. 131, 19 December 1840.

⁵⁰ Amongst many examples, see [Anon.], 'Salon de 1845: le jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 19 March 1845, pp. 101-106; [Anon.], 'Le jury: les tableaux refusés', *L'Artiste*, 4th ser., 6 (1846), pp. 29-30; Théophile Gautier, 'Salon de 1845: le jury – tableaux refusés', *La Presse*, 11 March 1845; Louis Peisse, 'Le Salon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 2 (1843), pp. 85-109; Gustave Planche, 'Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1836 I: le jury', *Chronique de Paris*, 24 March 1836; T. [Théophile Thoré], 'Ouverture du Salon', *Le Constitutionnel*, 4 March 1839.

⁵¹ AMN, X 1840, 'Organisation' folder, 'Proposition lue à l'Académie par M P. Statuaire.'

⁵² BA PV, 6 (1835-1839), p. 370, 7 December 1839.

Petitot's proposals further, once again showing the capacity of a disciplined and determined conservative group to resist change.

In March 1843, the Academy acknowledged the external pressure being brought to bear in the jury issue. In 1843, the jury had rejected 60% of submissions, including works by established artists such as Louis Boulanger, Corot, Eugène Devéria, Paul Huet and a former winner of the *Prix de Rome*, Hippolyte Flandrin. There had been considerable reaction in the press which is likely to have resonated within the Academy.

The meeting minutes for 18 March 1843 inform us:

Il est fait une seconde lecture de la proposition de M. Augustin Dumont, tendant à ce que l'Académie demande des modifications au mode actuel de procéder dans les opérations du jury d'exposition du Louvre. La discussion générale étant ouverte sur cette proposition, plusieurs membres prennent successivement la parole, les uns pour qu'elle soit prise en considération, en faisant valoir à l'appui les motifs qui leur paraissent propres à la recommander à l'intérêt de l'Académie, les autres, pour que cette délibération soit ajournée à un temps plus opportun et plus calme que le moment actuel où l'on pourrait croire que l'Académie s'est laissé entraîner à des influences extérieures, quand la décision qu'elle prendra doit surtout, pour avoir toute sa valeur, être marquée de l'empreinte de la plus grande maturité et de sa plus complète indépendance.⁵³

These 'influences extérieures' undoubtedly included criticism in the press, but may also have included the formation of a petition which would be addressed to the king the following week, asking him to improve the system of selection for the Salon.⁵⁴ Five members of the Academy (the painters Abel de Pujol, Delaroche, Drölling and Ingres and the sculptor David d'Angers) signed this petition and their involvement with it may well have been known to their colleagues at the time.

At this volatile moment, when we know that certain academicians were taking a public stance against the jury, Cailleux, who had acceded to the post of *Directeur des musées* on Forbin's death in 1841, seems to have intervened in an attempt to put an end

⁵³ BA PV, 7 (1840-1844), p. 402, 18 March 1843.

⁵⁴ See AMN, X 1843: 1843 Salon, 9 page document beginning 'À sa Majesté Louis Philippe Roi des Français.' See Appendix 4 for full transcript and pp. 219-221 for further discussion.

to discussions within the Academy. His report to Montalivet, the *Intendant général de la Liste civile*, on the 1843 Salon roundly condemned the Academy discussions, claiming:

L'Académie oublie que cette question n'est pas de son ressort, que les expositions se font dans le Louvre, dans un Palais du Roi, et sous le haut patronage de sa Majesté: que les expositions par conséquent sont dans les attributions de l'Intendance Générale de la Liste Civile, et que l'Intendant Général seul, au nom du Roi, peut faire les réglemens qui doivent régir les administrations dépendantes de la Maison du Roi. L'Académie oublie qu'elle n'a pas été consultée sur cette question, et qu'il lui appartient bien moins qu'à qui que ce soit dans cette occasion de proposer des changements à un règlement que ses membres sont seulement appelés à mettre à exécution.⁵⁵

Cailleux was correct in stating that the Academy could not decide new regulations, but wrong to suggest it could not propose or request modifications. Nevertheless, he appears to have conveyed this message to the Academy, which failed to continue its discussions after the two month adjournment. By exerting such a pressure on the academicians, Cailleux indicated his official opposition towards jury reform.

The determination of certain academicians to continue these discussions (and defy Cailleux) became apparent in October 1843, when Dumont asked the Academy to consider his proposition again, discussion of which had been postponed in March. Once again, the divided opinion of the Academy is apparent as we learn 'plusieurs membres prennent successivement la parole, les uns pour soutenir cette proposition [for modifications], les autres pour la combattre.'⁵⁶ The minutes noted that the majority voted by secret ballot against taking Dumont's proposition into consideration. In the following meeting, one of the members took the unusual step of asking for the closeness of the vote, which had been won by 15 votes to 14, to be recorded in the minutes. Not only do we see the closely fought nature of the proposals for jury reform, but in the

⁵⁵ AMN, X 1843, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général de la Liste Civile, sur l'Exposition de 1843.'

⁵⁶ BA PV, 7 (1840-1844), p. 467, 28 October 1843.

academician's request for the vote to be recorded, we also have a clear sign of the importance of these proposals to those members who supported reform.

Following these discussions in 1843, those academicians campaigning for reform abandoned their case within the Academy. Horace Vernet proposed that the Academy declare that since it wasn't called 'en corps' to act as jury, it was not responsible for the jury's acts.⁵⁷ Since we know that Vernet had supported Delaroche's proposals for jury reform in 1836, this measure seems to be designed to absolve himself and his allies of any blame for the jury's decisions. If he could not achieve the reform he desired, he wished to dissociate himself from the jury as much as possible. Vernet's stance reflected Peisse's commentary on the jury, published earlier in 1843 in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in which he had explained:

Le jury est, à la vérité, exclusivement composé d'académiciens, mais il n'est pas pour cela l'Académie. L'Académie, comme corps, reste toujours complètement étrangère et à sa formation, et à sa convocation, et à ses opérations, et à la responsabilité de ses actes.⁵⁸

The conclusion of discussions within the Academy did not, however, signify that the arguments between opposing sides had subsided. In Cailleux's report on the 1845 Salon we gain confirmation of the troubled relationship between the painting and architecture sections, which had driven Delaroche's appeals for reform in the 1830s. Cailleux felt obliged to acknowledge the extent of the hostility between the two groups, writing:

Des contestations assez vives, et qui malheureusement ne peuvent être passées sous silence, se sont élevées cette année parmi les membres du jury au sujet de la non admission de quelques ouvrages et principalement d'un tableau de M. Delacroix intitulé l'Education de la Vierge. C'est avec regret que je me vois dans la nécessité de vous faire connaître la désunion qui par tout [*sic*] existe entre la classe de peinture et celle d'architecture. Les peintres rendent leurs confrères les architectes responsables de ce qu'ils appellent les erreurs du jury; et il est à craindre pour l'année prochaine que

⁵⁷ BA PV, 7 (1840-1844), p. 468, 4 November 1843.

⁵⁸ Louis Peisse, 'Le Salon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 2 (1843), pp. 85-109 (p. 91).

le nombre des Membres du Jury et surtout des peintres dissidents, ne soit encore augmenté.⁵⁹

This statement from Cailleux attests to the severity of the troubled relationship between painters and architects which in 1845 he felt was serious enough to threaten to tear the jury apart. It appears that the architecture section, which had fought any reform which would prevent it from judging painting submissions, was largely responsible for rejecting what it considered to be work outside classical norms, including works by established artists. By 1845, the painting section was considerably more receptive to such works, but this more open-minded viewpoint frequently found itself in the minority on the jury, against the collective force of the architecture section and its supporters in other sections. However, as we will see in the following chapters, many established artists were only sporadically rejected, thereby reflecting the jury's ongoing struggle to find a balance between the conflicting factors which influenced their decisions.

Participation in the Jury

The jury's decisions were usually represented as reflecting the collective view of the Academy. However, registers of presence at jury meetings prove that attendance was far from collective. The plurality of views housed within the Academy were represented to different degrees on the jury. Voting figures show that decisions could be strongly contested. These records of attendance and voting were unknown to press or artists at the time, with the result that they were frequently misunderstood and misrepresented.

Salon Year	Average Attendance	% of Eligible Members
1831	14.7	43%
1833	14.1	41%

⁵⁹ AMN, X 1845: 1845 Salon, 1845 Salon report, untitled 27 page document beginning 'Le nombre des ouvrages', pp. 5-6.

1834	21.3	63%
1835	20.7	61%
1836	20.7	61%
1837	19.4	57%
1838	21	62%
1839	21.6	64%
1840	21.8	64%
1841	21.7	64%
1842	20.4	60%
1843	22.2	65%
1844	20.6	61%
1845	18.7	55%
1846	21.7	64%
1847	22.5	66%
1834-1847	21.0	62%

Table 1. Annual average jury attendance, 1831-1847.

Attendance on the jury was not enforced and far from all 34 members of the first four sections of the Academy took part in the jury's operations. The lowest attendance rates occurred at the first two Salons of the July Monarchy, before the October 1833 regulations were introduced to establish greater order. Attendance fell below an average of 15 members during both of these years, when academicians seemed to regard participation as optional. The lowest average attendance from 1834 onwards was 18.7 members (55% of those eligible), in 1845, whilst the highest was 21.8 (64%), in 1840. A record of 25 members (74%) attended a single meeting in 1838, and two meetings in 1840.

The advantageous position of the painters, who formed the largest section of the Academy, was not reflected in the jury. Of the 14 painters in the Academy, an average of just 7.2 attended jury meetings from 1834 onwards. This 54% participation was the lowest of all the sections. In comparison, an average of 82% of the architecture section attended, 60% of the sculpture section and 63% of the engraving section. As a result, painters on average made up one third of the jury, instead of the greater two fifths proportion they held in the Academy.

Salon Year	Painters	Sculptors	Architects	Engravers	Total
1831	7.3 (52%)	2.9 (36%)	2.7 (34%)	1.8 (45%)	14.7 (43%)
1833	4.5 (32%)	2.5 (31%)	3.6 (45%)	2.5 (63%)	14.1* (41%)
1834	7.3 (52%)	3.9 (49%)	7.1 (89%)	3 (75%)	21.3 (63%)
1835	7.5 (54%)	2.8 (35%)	6.8 (85%)	3.6 (90%)	20.7 (61%)
1836	7.9 (56%)	4 (50%)	5.9 (74%)	2.9 (73%)	20.7 (61%)
1837	5.4 (39%)	4.9 (61%)	6.4 (80%)	2.7 (68%)	19.4 (57%)
1838	7.9 (56%)	4.2 (53%)	6.9 (86%)	2 (50%)	21 (62%)
1839	7.0 (50%)	4.2 (53%)	7.2 (90%)	3.2 (80%)	21.6 (64%)
1840	8.1 (58%)	5.1 (64%)	5.3 (66%)	3.3 (83%)	21.8 (64%)
1841	5.6 (40%)	5.6 (70%)	6.6 (83%)	3.9 (98%)	21.7 (64%)
1842	8.5 (61%)	4.7 (59%)	5.2 (65%)	2 (50%)	20.4 (60%)
1843	7.5 (54%)	5.8 (73%)	6.9 (86%)	2 (50%)	22.2 (65%)
1844	6.9 (49%)	4.7 (59%)	7 (88%)	2 (50%)	20.6 (61%)
1845	5.8 (41%)	4 (50%)	6.9 (86%)	2 (50%)	18.7 (55%)
1846	7.5 (54%)	6.2 (78%)	7 (88%)	1 (25%)	21.7 (64%)
1847	7.5 (54%)	6.8 (85%)	6.5 (81%)	1.7 (43%)	22.5 (66%)
1834-1847	7.2 (54%)	4.8 (60%)	6.6 (82%)	2.5 (63%)	21.0 (62%)

Table 2. Annual average jury attendance by discipline, 1831-1847. *Includes Berton's attendance.

Several factors contributed to the low attendance of painters. Delaroche and Horace Vernet chose not to participate in the jury, as we have seen, in protest against the regulations which allowed non-painters to judge the painting submissions. Drölling also permanently withdrew from the jury after 1839. Similarly, Ingres withdrew definitively from 1844 onwards. These artists each allied themselves with public campaigns against the jury in the 1840s, showing their opposition to the jury's operations and decisions.⁶⁰ The nature of these campaigns leads us to believe that these academicians supported the admission of established painters into the Salon, regardless of their aesthetic choices. Delaroche and Vernet, we have seen, had been critical of the narrow views of their colleagues who only supported academic painters. The withdrawal of these artists from the jury denied innovative painters their support.

The influence of the painting section was also reduced as further members were unable to attend. At the start of the period, Carle Vernet was on a permanent *congé* in Rome and reluctant to make the journey back to Paris, on account of 'mon âge et la rigueur de la saison.'⁶¹ The painter Gérard's failing eyesight prevented him from ever participating in the jury.⁶² Other painters' absence from Paris kept them from attending jury sessions. As directors of the French Academy in Rome, Horace Vernet (1829-1834), Ingres (1835-1840) and Schnetz (1841-1846) were each unable to participate during their time in Italy, had they wished to do so.

Of the remaining painters, some attended more frequently than others. The most regular participants were Couder (who attended 94% of possible sessions), Picot (93%), and Bidault (91%). Garnier, Blondel and Granet, who were members of the Academy throughout the entire period, also attended regularly, as did Gros and Thévenin prior to their deaths in the 1830s. Abel de Pujol also participated every year since his election in

⁶⁰ See chapter 5.

⁶¹ ABA, 5 E 23, letter from Carle Vernet to the Academy, 14 February 1833.

⁶² Adolphe Viollet-le-Duc, *Notice sur la vie et les œuvres de Gérard* (Paris: A. Lainé et J. Havard, 1867), p.24: 'La Révolution de Juillet troubla la vie de Gérard et vint ajouter de nouveaux soucis au chagrin que lui causait l'affaiblissement de sa vue. Il vivait de jour en jour, plus retiré.'

1836. The painters Hersent and Heim, who were also members throughout the period, sometimes attended meetings of the jury but were not dedicated participants.⁶³

We see, therefore, that the highest painter attendance came from the more traditional academic wing of the Academy. However, whatever academic practices they adhered to in their own work, they appear to have been considerably more open-minded when it came to judging works for the Salon. We have seen from the irrefutable evidence of Cailleux that in 1845 members of the painting section, including Bidault, Granet, Picot, Couder and Abel de Pujol, supported the admission of Delacroix and held the architects responsible for the ‘erreurs’ of the jury.

The commentary of several critics supported Cailleux’s testimony. Fizelière’s account in the *Bulletin de l’ami des arts* was entirely consistent with it. He described Picot’s prominent role, writing: ‘Dans l’une des séances du jury, lorsque M. Picot crut devoir défendre devant le tribunal l’*Education de la Vierge* de M. Delacroix, sa voix fut bientôt couverte par les vociférations des sculpteurs et des architectes.’⁶⁴ The *Journal des Artistes* published an even more detailed account of the jury session, attesting to the painters’ support for the work:

Lors de l’examen des œuvres de M. E. Delacroix, les peintres, en voyant les dispositions peu favorables de leurs collègues, ont réclamé vivement le scrutin. M. Picot n’a cessé de s’élever en faveur de M. Delacroix, quoiqu’on l’ait accusé du contraire. M. Couder a noblement défendu la cause des proscrits; il a lutté de toutes ses forces contre le despotisme qui a signé les arrêts de bannissement. M. Abel de Pujol, en voyant les efforts infructueux de ces derniers artistes, a refusé de prendre part à aucune opération, et M. Bidault lui-même a retrouvé une espèce d’énergie pour flétrir les iniquités.⁶⁵

Cailleux’s detailed account of the incident, together with this supporting material, has helped us to identify the support shown by painters on the jury for romantic or non-traditional artists. As we have seen, for the matter to have come to a head in such a way in 1845, the argument had been brewing for some time and dated back to the rejection

⁶³ See Appendix 3.

⁶⁴ Albert de la Fizelière, ‘Salon de 1845’, *Bulletin de l’ami des arts*, 3 (1845), pp. 289-293 (p. 291).

⁶⁵ [Anon.], ‘Actualités – Souvenirs’, *Journal des Artistes*, 29 March 1845, p. 124.

of Delaroche's early propositions in the Academy. We should, however, be careful not to extrapolate from this incident in 1845 a general statement that would apply to the whole of the July Monarchy. We should remember that a work by Delacroix was rejected in 1836 without votes. The painters' defence of Delacroix appears to have grown in the course of the period along with his reputation and status. They may well have felt that an artist who had received important state commissions had a right to exhibit at the Salon, regardless of their views on his style. Such an opinion was professed in 1845 by even the *Journal des Artistes* which had been amongst Delacroix's greatest opponents at the start of the July Monarchy.⁶⁶ The increasingly vehement press reaction to the rejection of Delacroix's work may also have influenced the painters' support for his admission.

Abel de Pujol had certainly been defending the rights of established artists to exhibit at the Salon for several years. In 1843, he allied himself with those campaigning for jury reform, but unlike those colleagues who were abstaining, he was determined to represent these artists within the jury. Given our knowledge of his role in 1845, it is possible to trust similar commentaries from 1843 which referred to his support for 'la cause des proscrits', even whilst he had been unwell.⁶⁷ This important role played by Abel de Pujol has also been noted in a recent catalogue, which relates Pujol's own experimental style in the 1840s to his tolerance for non-academic work: 'Cette production [...] témoigne [...] de sa tolérance pour d'autres modes d'expression artistique, lui qui, en tant que membre régulier du jury de Salon, défendit ardemment

⁶⁶ [Anon.], 'Salon de 1845: le jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 19 March 1845, pp. 101-106 (p. 102): 'Certes, nous ne sommes nullement partisans de l'école du laid-ideal [...] mais nous ne reconnaissons à qui que ce soit le droit d'expulser au Salon ni M. Delacroix, ni M. Riesener, ni M. Chassériaux [*sic*], ni M. Levêque.'

⁶⁷ A. Tabarant, *La Vie artistique au temps de Baudelaire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1963), p. 61: 'Sans intervention de M. Abel de Pujol, toujours malade, qui s'est levé de son lit pour venir plaider la cause des proscrits, la prochaine Exposition du Louvre ne compterait ni Léon Cogniet, ni Robert-Fleury, ni Leleux, ni Gleyre.'

nombre de “refusés” et de jeunes confrères issus d’autres mouvances.⁶⁸ Pujol’s support for innovative painters, therefore, seems to have been influenced by his own eclectic approach.

The architecture section attended the jury assiduously, with the result that its conservatism often influenced the jury’s decisions. The high turn-out of architects meant that they frequently comprised over a third of the jury, although they made up less than a quarter of the first four sections of the Academy. Looking at average participation across all jury sessions in each year, architects outnumbered painters on the jury in 1837, 1839, 1841, 1844 and 1845, despite having six fewer representatives within the Academy.

Salon Year	Painters	Sculptors	Architects	Engravers
1831	49.7%	19.7%	18.4%	12.2%
1833*	31.9%	17.7%	25.5%	17.7%
1834	34.3%	18.3%	33.3%	14.1%
1835	36.2%	13.5%	32.9%	17.4%
1836	38.2%	19.3%	28.5%	14.0%
1837	27.8%	25.3%	33.0%	13.9%
1838	37.6%	20.0%	32.9%	9.5%
1839	32.4%	19.4%	33.3%	14.8%
1840	37.2%	23.4%	24.3%	15.1%
1841	25.8%	25.8%	30.4%	18.0%
1842	41.7%	23.0%	25.5%	9.8%
1843	33.8%	26.1%	31.1%	9.0%
1844	33.5%	22.8%	34.0%	9.7%
1845	31.0%	21.4%	36.9%	10.7%

⁶⁸ Virginie Frelin-Cartigny, *Abel de Pujol, la ligne souple* (Valenciennes: Amis du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Valenciennes, 2012), p. 23.

1846	34.6%	28.6%	32.3%	4.6%
1847	33.3%	30.2%	28.9%	7.6%
1834-1847	34.1%	22.7%	31.2%	12.0%

Table 3. Annual composition of jury by discipline, 1831-1847. *Berton comprises the remaining 6.1%.

The close-knit composition of the architecture section was undoubtedly responsible for their strong, collective attendance. The architects seemed particularly keen to be well represented on the jury following the 1833 regulations. We have seen that the architects Guénepin and Fontaine were responsible for ending discussions on jury reform, which may have sought to restrict their role to judging architecture submissions, before the 1834 Salon. In what seems like a direct response to this threat, the architecture section attended jury sessions in 1834 at a rate of 89%, compared with just 45% the previous year. The strongly neo-classical architecture section wished to have its opinion heard within the jury, and determinedly upheld its academic doctrine.

Fontaine's position as *de facto* leader of the architecture section may well have been replicated on the jury. A colleague speaking at his funeral attested to Fontaine's dedication to his academic duties, claiming: 'plus il vieillissait, plus il était exact à se rendre à nos séances.'⁶⁹ His commitment to the jury may even have surpassed his commitment to the Academy. The records show that he attended jury sessions on days when he was absent from Academy meetings, suggesting that he prioritised the jury over the Academy.⁷⁰ Although, as *Architecte du Roi*, the preparation of the Louvre for the Salon would have presented a considerable demand on his time, he nevertheless participated in 84% of jury sessions from 1834 to 1848. The experience of the 1833 revision session may have left Fontaine concerned about how his fellow academicians might behave in his absence. He seemed determined to attend as frequently as possible and to remain a dominant force within the jury.

⁶⁹ Philippe Lebas, *Funérailles de M Fontaine: discours de M. Lebas* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1853), p. 7.

⁷⁰ Attendance records for the Academy meetings are taken from BA PV, 3-8 (1821-1849) and attendance records for jury sessions from AMN, *KK49-63.

A sense of allegiance to the section, and its older members, might explain the dedicated attendance of Fontaine's fellow architects who were amongst the jury's most regular participants. The architect Debret attended more sessions than any other academician across the period. Lebas and Fontaine were both also amongst the top five most regular participants. Newer members elected to the architecture section during the July Monarchy were also fully committed to their jury duties. Both Huvé and Gauthier only missed a single jury session following their respective elections in 1839 and 1843.

The aesthetic conservatism of the architecture section is not in itself surprising. Given the importance to the discipline of formal structure and linear composition, the architects were likely to have difficulties with romantic painting's challenge to these elements. In addition, the growth areas in painting during the July Monarchy were in those genres which, unlike traditional history painting, were more suited to domestic environments, rather than to the 'high art' venues of architect-designed state buildings or churches. In his 'Salon de 1846', Champfleury reported Fontaine's distaste for the work of the romantic painter Riesener: 'Messieurs, je vous abandonne la couleur, je ne m'y connais pas. Pour le dessin, c'est autre chose, je suis architecte... Ce tableau est très mal dessiné. Refusé. Passons à un autre.'⁷¹ Evidently, the accuracy of this report cannot be confirmed, but from what Fontaine's diaries tell us of his artistic views, it seems entirely plausible.

Some members of the sculpture and engraving sections undoubtedly shared the architects' desire to impose academic criteria on the Salon. When Delacroix was rejected in 1845 by twelve votes to six, five additional members must have supported the seven architects present.⁷² These two sections were not as closely-knit as the

⁷¹ *Œuvres posthumes de Champfleury: Salons 1846-1851*, ed. by Jules Troubat (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1894), p. 18.

⁷² Lee Johnson researched the voting record for Delacroix's Salon submissions but missed the record for this work in 1845 and was not aware of the controversy surrounding the painting's rejection. See Lee Johnson, 'Eugène Delacroix et les Salons', *Revue du Louvre*, 16 (1966), pp. 217-230 (p. 224) and *The*

architecture section. Each participated in the jury at an average rate of around 60%. Nevertheless, certain individuals were among the most regular jury members, including the sculptors Nanteuil and Cortot, and engravers Richomme and Galle.⁷³ Of these, we know that Nanteuil, Richomme and Tardieu were allied to the neo-classical principles of the Academy and were amongst the close associates of the fiercely neo-classical Quatremère de Quincy.⁷⁴ These members may well have allied themselves with the architecture section on occasion.

Within the sculpture section, Petitot, who we have seen campaigned for improvements to the jury within the Academy in 1839, may have been sympathetic to innovative artists. David d'Angers, whom we know was closely associated with many non-academic artists, only attended jury sessions in 1831 and 1836 before withdrawing permanently due to his ideological opposition to the jury, believing all artists had the right to exhibit. The sculptor Pradier and engraver Gatteaux were both close allies of Ingres and may have supported his pupils against their opponents on the jury.⁷⁵ Members of these two sections are likely not to have acted *en bloc* within the jury. Their irregular attendance and less rigid allegiances are likely to have contributed to the random appearance of the jury's decisions, which reflected the lack of fixed doctrine governing the jury as a whole.

We are aware of specific conflicts of opinion within the jury, thanks to the records of votes taken on certain entries. Overall, the jury voted on 6% of submissions (3938 works).⁷⁶ It is highly unlikely that all other results were entirely unanimous, but they are likely to have reflected an obvious majority viewpoint, and therefore not required an official vote. The records show that the jury had often voted in the case of

Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue: 1832-1863, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), III, pp. 215-216.

⁷³ See Appendix 3.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 62 note 18.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 146.

⁷⁶ This is presuming all votes were recorded in the minutes, which may not have been the case.

certain artists whose rejections were deemed controversial by many critics.⁷⁷ For example, twelve of Delacroix's sixty-four submissions (19%) went to a vote, which reveals a greater than usual level of deliberation or contention. More significantly, the jury went to vote on five of the seven works rejected, which proves that there was support for the artist and resistance towards the rejection of his work. The jury was only unanimous in its rejection of two of his works, *L'Hermite de Copmanhurst*, submitted in both 1833 and 1834, and *Hamlet et Horatio*, submitted in 1836. Unaware of this fact, the critics branded the entire jury responsible for the rejections.

In instances of voting, the jury was slightly more likely to admit a work. This suggests that the members of the jury in favour of rejecting a work would make its defenders force a vote before allowing it to be admitted. There is also a minor correlation between the number of votes held in a year and the number of painters present on the jury. When more painters attended the jury more works were voted on, perhaps suggesting greater levels of contention with a larger painter contingent on the jury.

Representation of the Jury's Composition

The press often failed to show the internal disagreement within the jury over many of their decisions, which were usually presented as a collective judgement. Reviewers tended to offer a black and white reading of complex issues and were unaware of or failed to understand the levels of debate and dispute within the jury, which allowed them wrongly to portray, and attack, the jury as a homogeneous body.

On some occasions, certain critics did acknowledge the role played by non-painters on the jury. The influential role of Fontaine, for example, was discussed in *L'Artiste* in 1841, in an article criticising his control over his colleagues: 'Parlons de

⁷⁷ For example, the jury voted on 11 of Riesener's submissions (33%) and 10 of Corot's (21%) both of whom received plenty of press coverage following rejections.

l'Académie des Beaux-Arts et de l'espèce d'assujettissement où elle vit sous l'influence, ou plutôt sous la fêrule de monsieur l'architecte du roi, Fontaine.⁷⁸ The article went on to expose the architecture section as being responsible for the majority of rejections: 'car il est bon que vous le sachiez: ce ne sont pas les peintres qui refusent le plus de tableaux, c'est M. Fontaine, aidé de ses architectes et de quelques sculpteurs.'

Caricaturists were amongst those who acknowledged the role of non-painters, and exploited the comic potential of the situation.

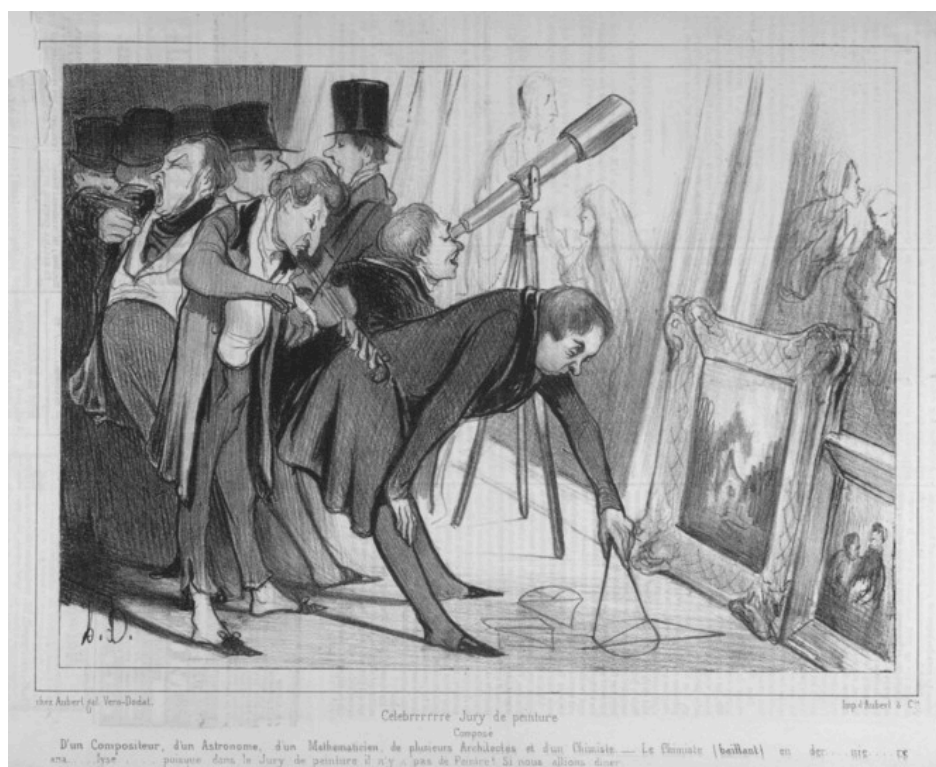


Fig. 2. Honoré Daumier, *Célèbrrrrrrre Jury de Peinture*, lithograph, published in *Le Figaro*, 14 March 1839.

This caricature by Honoré Daumier, published in *Le Figaro* in 1839, mocked the composition of the jury in which it depicts a musician, an architect and an astronomer, each distracted by their various occupations, followed by the caption: 'Célèbrrrrrrre Jury de peinture composé d'un Compositeur, d'un Astronome, d'un Mathématicien, de plusieurs Architectes et d'un Chimiste – Le Chimiste (baillant) en der... niè... re ana... lyse... puisque dans le Jury de peinture il n'y a pas de Peintre! Si nous allions dîner.'

⁷⁸ [Anon.], 'M. Fontaine et l'Académie des Beaux-Arts', *L'Artiste*, 2nd ser., 7 (1841), pp. 6-8 (p. 7).

Caricatures offered considerable scope to criticise the jury through humorous depictions and in this image the jury is made to appear particularly absurd. This derisive image may even have depicted real members of the Academy. The musician's prominent nose might identify him as Henri Berton, who was famously the only musician to serve on the jury in 1833, and the architect might represent François Debret.⁷⁹

Daumier's primary purpose was to produce a humorous image, which belittled the jury. He exaggerated the relatively small number of painters in the jury by eliminating them altogether. However, his image failed to acknowledge the influential role of the non-painters, whom he depicts as completely uninterested in the jury process. The architect appears totally disengaged from the judgement process, making technical drawings on the floor.



Fig. 3. Clément Pruche, *Fameux Jury de Peinture Salon de 1841*, lithograph, published in *Le Charivari*, 19 March 1841.

This image by Clément Pruche also highlighted the role of non-painters on the jury. It was a particularly vituperative image which was initially intended for

⁷⁹ For Berton's likeness see J. G. Reins, *The Portrait Medallions of David d'Angers* (New York: Polymath Press, 1999), p. 40: No. 40 Portrait Medallion of Henri Berton.

publication in 1840, but failed to gain approval when the printer Aubert submitted it under the legal deposit system on 17 March 1840.⁸⁰ The image was approved on 18 May 1840 following an unknown alteration and published in *Le Charivari* during the following Salon on 19 March 1841.

The accompanying text reads: ‘Cette phrase: JURY DE PEINTURE forme une charade dans laquelle on trouve Perruque, Machoire, Concombre, Cruche, Ganache, Crouton, Pot, Melon, et dont le mot est toujours remis à l’année suivante!’ As Nadine Orenstein has pointed out, in French ‘all these words had familiar secondary meanings that implied the jury members were too old for their positions (*perruque*), stupid (*machoire, concombre, cruche, ganache, melon*), or very bad painters (*crouton*).’⁸¹

Several of these words were also used to designate adherents of classicism, thereby suggesting the homogeneity of the classical jury. *Perruque* was specifically used in this way by romantics during this period, as Balzac wrote in 1839: ‘Les romantiques se composent de jeunes gens, et les classiques sont des perruques [...] Le mot perruque était le dernier mot trouvé par le journalisme romantique, qui en avait affublé les classiques.’⁸² Gautier also used a number of these derogatory terms in his satirical work on romanticism, ‘Daniel Jovard ou La conversion d’un classique’, in a list which culminated with the greatest insult of all, an academician:

[...] il lui fit voir l’échelle ascendante et descendante de l’esprit humain: comment à vingt ans l’on était Jeune-France, beau jeune mélancolique jusqu’à vingt-cinq ans et Child-Harold de vingt-cinq à vingt-huit [...] comment ensuite l’on ne comptait plus, et que l’on arrivait par la filière d’épithètes qui suivent: *ci-devant, faux-toupet, aile de pigeon, perruque, étrusque, mâchoire, ganache*, au dernier degré de la décrépitude, à l’épithète la plus infamante: *académicien et membre de l’Institut!*⁸³

⁸⁰ This system, in place since 1835, formed part of the government’s censorship legislation and required all published images to be submitted for approval before publication. <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/refused-works> - Online database of Archives Nationales F*18 VI 48 file.

⁸¹ Nadine Orenstein, *Infinite Jest: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011), p. 69.

⁸² Honoré de Balzac, *Un Grand homme de province à Paris* (Paris: Hippolyte Souverain, 1839), p. 148.

⁸³ Théophile Gautier, *Les Jeunes-France: romans goguenards* (Paris: Eugène Renduel, 1833), p. 76.

Like Daumier, Pruche mocked the composition of the jury, in which the single painter was greatly outnumbered. The image depicted a number of architects, represented by technical drawing instruments on the heads, and musicians, including the central figure whose head is replaced by a violin. The one painter visible stood at the back of the group and was represented by perhaps the most vitriolic image of all - a *croûton* with a breadknife in his head.⁸⁴ A possible reason for the work's initial rejection is that it may have depicted identifiable members of the actual jury. In the amended version the figure represented by a column capital remains identifiable as the architect Louis Hippolyte Lebas. The image features Lebas's distinctive beard, as seen in later lithographs, and the Corinthian capital makes reference to the recently completed church of Notre-Dame de Lorette, of which he was the architect.⁸⁵ The inclusion of real academicians reinforces the attack on the Salon jury.

Caricatures were able to depict the jury satirically in this way, but few critics attempted to discuss the actual composition of the jury. It was very uncommon for critics to publish jury composition lists, since they did not have access to such records. On the rare occasions when a critic did publish composition figures, based on second-hand information, they were very inaccurate. The *Journal des Artistes* in 1838 printed such an inaccurate version, apparently through a clerical error, that they felt obliged to correct it in a later edition.⁸⁶ In 1846, Thoré published the following list:

Cette année, vingt membres de l'Académie ont assisté aux opérations du jury: MM. Bidault, Abel de Pujol, Hersent, Picot, Couder, Granet, Blondel, Heim, Garnier, peintres; Ramey, Nanteuil, Petitot, Lemaire, Duret, Dumont, sculpteurs; Gatteaux, graveur en médailles; Fontaine, architecte de la place

⁸⁴ <http://www.cnrtl.fr> online dictionary definition: 'Mauvais peintre qui ne peint que des croûtes'

⁸⁵ Print of Hippolyte Lebas by Jacques-Martial Deveaux, 1864, Collection ENSBA, Est 5012.

⁸⁶ [Anon.], 'Nouvelles des arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 11 March 1838, p. 127: the list named a number of painters as architects and vice versa, missed out Granet, erroneously claimed Percier did not attend and Richomme and Ramey père did, as well as including a sculptor 'Guynard' who was not a member of the Academy. Partial corrections were reprinted in [Anon.], 'Nouvelles des arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 18 March 1838, p. 141.

du Carrousel; Huvé, architecte de la Madeleine; Lebas, architecte de Notre-Dame-de-Lorette; Debret architecte de Saint-Denis.⁸⁷

Records show, however, that Thoré omitted four architects Caristie (10 sessions), Gauthier (13 sessions), Leclère (10 sessions) and Vaudoyer (8 sessions) as well as the sculptor Pradier (10 sessions), and was incorrect in his inclusion of the painter Hersent, who did not attend. Thoré's incorrect list for 1846 disguised the influence of the architects. Thoré claimed nine painters were present and eleven others including four architects. However the true figures show that all eight architects attended and only eight out of fourteen painters. That a critic as informed as Thoré could make this error following the internal conflict within the jury between architects and painters in 1845, suggests that these tensions were not widely broadcast and that the influence of the architects may have remained a predominantly unrecognised issue. It is also important to note that the erroneous information published by Thoré was repeated as recently as 1995.⁸⁸

Critics were, therefore, generally more likely to emphasise the role of the painting section. Since painters made up the largest section of the Academy, critics tended to equate the Academy, and hence the jury, with its painting section, particularly in the context of judging the Salon, which was predominantly a painting exhibition. We may also see this portioning of the blame as a critical tactic designed to undermine the jury; in targeting painters, they were able to mock the academicians' own productions and create an opposition between the classicising nature of certain academicians' work and the innovation of the artists whom they rejected.

Gustave Planche frequently targeted members of the painting section in this way. He was particularly vehement in his criticism of the landscape artist Bidault, whom he blamed for rejecting works by Rousseau and Huet. Planche was also hostile

⁸⁷ Thoré, *Salon de 1846*, p. 65.

⁸⁸ See Claude Allemand-Cosneau, 'Le Salon à Paris de 1815 à 1850', p. 65.

towards Heim and Blondel, two neo-classical history painters on the jury. Discussing the rejection of Delacroix's *Hamlet et Horatio* and other works in 1836, Planche suggested that Heim and Blondel were the likely responsible parties⁸⁹: 'Quels sont les rivaux d'Eugène Delacroix dans la quatrième classe de l'Institut? Serait-ce par hasard M. Heim ou M. Blondel?'⁹⁰ Planche made his reasoning clear in 1840 when he stated: 'Il est impossible en effet que M. Blondel approuve la peinture de M. Delacroix, et pourtant, malgré ses défauts, M. Delacroix est un peintre éminent, tandis que M. Blondel est un peintre absolument nul.'⁹¹ Clément de Ris, a fervent opponent of the jury, wrote in *L'Artiste* in 1847:

La plupart des noms qui composent le jury sont complètement étrangers à l'art, ou tellement tombés dans le discrédit qu'il ne viendra à l'idée de personne que M. Heim ou M. Garnier, ou M. Blondel, soient aptes à juger la peinture de Delacroix, de Rousseau ou de Decamps.⁹²

Similarly, Rosenthal claimed 'c'est Couder, Blondel et Bidault qui jugeaient Delacroix et Decamps.'⁹³ Such accusations betray a lack of understanding of the selection process and the jury composition. The architecture section was a driving force in many rejections wrongly attributed to neo-classical painters and we know that several of the painters listed above fought for Delacroix's right to exhibit in 1845.

The influence of the narrative of modernism has largely excluded the role of the architects and other non-painters from the historiography of the Salon jury.⁹⁴ This version presents a linear history, with a progressive view of painting, in which successive movements supplant one another and innovation overrides the outmoded ways of the past.⁹⁵ The force of the narrative relied upon the reactionary response of the

⁸⁹ On this occasion the meeting register tells us that Heim had not even been present when Delacroix's work was refused on 18 February 1836: AMN, *KK53.

⁹⁰ Gustave Planche, *Études sur l'école française*, 2 vols (Paris: Lévy frères, 1855), I, p. 292.

⁹¹ Gustave Planche, 'Salon de 1840', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 4th ser., 22 (1840), p. 100.

⁹² Clément de Ris, 'Salon de 1847 – le jury', *L'Artiste*, 4th ser., 9 (1847), p. 17.

⁹³ Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au réalisme*, p. 44.

⁹⁴ See introduction for a discussion of Stephen Bann's revisionist approach to the Academy.

⁹⁵ John House, *Impressionism: Paint and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 207:

'The modernist narrative was preoccupied by the notion of the avant-garde [... which] involves a linear

previous generation of painters against the innovators coming to take its place. The dichotomy created between the works of painters on the academic jury and the younger generations of artists had the same purpose.

Writing in 1914, Rosenthal was heavily influenced by the modernist narrative which allowed him completely to ignore the role of non-painters on the jury, writing:

L'Institut fut-il tout entier coupable et est-il possible de préciser les responsabilités? Bien qu'architectes et sculpteurs fussent appelés à juger les peintres, il paraît bien que c'est la section de peinture dont l'avis devait prévaloir (p. 43).

Despite producing no evidence for this assertion, Rosenthal's use of 'il paraît bien' seems designed to give the strong implication that proof existed. Moreover, he also claimed that the painters who abstained from the jury did not go beyond 'cette protestation passive' (p. 44) when we will see that they publicly campaigned against the jury in several formal campaigns. The lasting influence of Rosenthal's authoritative work means that such misinformation continues to be repeated, and exaggerated, in recent works.⁹⁶

We have seen from the evidence above that the Academy was home to a wider range of views than was traditionally acknowledged. Contrary to the manner in which they were represented, its members were not passively guided in the role of jury by a shared academic doctrine, but actively sought to negotiate their management of the role. However, despite the number of members who supported reforms to ensure greater

view of history; this linear history is often presented as a succession of avant-garde movements, one supplanting the other when the previous one was exhausted.'

⁹⁶ For example in Gérard Monnier, *L'Art et ses institutions en France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), p. 132: 'Rosenthal a distingué un groupe intransigeant, composé de peintres âgés, de second ordre (autour de Bidauld, Couder et Granet), qui imposent leur loi [...] Il est clair que les autres membres du jury (Ingres, Delaroche, Horace Vernet) ne s'opposent pas vraiment à ces intransigeants gardiens du métier, qu'ils laissent faire.'

impartiality in their judgements, a narrow majority of members successfully resisted such change.

The jury's decisions reflected its attempts to achieve a compromise between its members' academic principles with standards appropriate to the Salon. An examination of the composition of the jury has revealed that its most assiduous members came from the more traditional wing of the Academy and were responsible for the controversial rejections of established non-academic artists. The jury's decisions, of which such controversial rejections accounted for just a small minority, will be the subject of the next two chapters.

3. THE JURY'S DECISIONS IN CONTEXT

Before proceeding to an analysis of specific decisions taken by the jury in relation to each of the major categories of painting, which will be the subject of the following chapter, it is important to understand the context within which these decisions were taken. In this chapter, I shall therefore begin by considering the various circumstantial external pressures brought to bear on the jury and seek to determine to what degree it sought to act independently of the administration. I shall then consider the artistic context of the July Monarchy and Second Republic, with particular reference to the impact of the annualisation of the Salon, agreed but not implemented in the closing stages of the Restoration and confirmed by Louis-Philippe at the closing ceremony of the 1831 Salon. Finally, since the members of the Academy assumed the role of jury at a pivotal moment in the nineteenth century, when the growth of artistic production was creating a major challenge to the traditional hierarchy of genres, I shall consider the way in which the jury attempted through its decisions to resist this challenge.

Circumstantial External Pressures on the Jury

Certain external factors had a variable but significant impact on the jury's decision making before issues of quality or other aesthetic considerations were raised. The conditions under which it judged the Salon submissions were less than ideal and are likely to have had an effect on its decisions. Given the high number of submissions, ranging from approximately 3000 to 5000 works, the jury had little time to judge each entry. Prior to the opening of each Salon, it held between eight and fifteen meetings whose length was not officially recorded, but which seem to have ranged from between

five and seven hours.¹ Estimations therefore suggest that it had approximately one minute to judge each work.

The number of submissions and rushed nature of the jury sessions were frequently commented upon in the press. In 1833, the *Journal des Artistes* observed: ‘Assurément, il doit y avoir des erreurs involontaires, au milieu d’un mouvement de 5,000 ouvrages présentés.’² In the press, critics of the jury emphasised these rushed conditions through comical exaggerations. In 1837, Charles Farcy compared the speed of the jury’s decisions with images from a magic lantern projector:

L’attention et les forces humaines ont des bornes; un homme, ou vingt hommes ensemble, quelle que soit leur habileté, ne peuvent juger *quatre mille* tableaux en douze ou quinze séances; au bout de quelques heures, au bout de quelques jours, ils ne savent plus ce qu’ils voient, ce qu’on fait passer devant eux plus rapidement que dans une lanterne magique.³

Cham, writing in the satirical publication *Le Charivari*, estimated the necessary strength for such a task in horsepower:

Des calculs officiels et chronométriques nous ont appris que le jury de 1846 a su examiner, apprécier et classer environ cinq mille tableaux en une douzaine de jours. C’est-à-dire que ce jury de quinze personnes a montré une force de cinquante chevaux, ou si vous aimez mieux, de quatre-vingt-cinq mulets.⁴

These representations, although hyperbolic, were based on a widely-recognised reality and, as such, served to undermine the credibility of the jury’s decisions.

Members of the jury themselves acknowledged the difficult conditions under which they had to work. David d’Angers, writing to an acquaintance whose work had

¹ BA PV, 5 (1831-1834), p. 281, 15 March 1834, ‘Notice en forme de procès-verbal des opérations des membres de l’Académie des beaux-arts composant le jury d’admission des ouvrages d’art à l’exposition du 1er mars 1834’: ‘Huit séances de cinq heures de durée dont la première a eu lieu le 10 février et la dernière le 20 du même mois, ont été employées à l’examen des dits objets.’; [Anon.], ‘Actualités – Souvenirs’, *Journal des Artistes*, 23 February 1845, pp. 71-72 (p. 72): ‘Dès neuf heures du matin le jury a, le 21 février, commencé ses opérations par les tableaux de genre; elles ont continué jusqu’à quatre heures.’

² [Anon.], ‘Le Jury’, *Journal des Artistes*, 10 March 1833, pp. 153-154 (p. 154).

³ F. [Charles Farcy], ‘Salon de 1837’, *Journal des Artistes*, 5 March 1837, pp. 145-150 (p. 148).

⁴ Cham, ‘Revue charivatique du Salon de 1846’, *Le Charivari*, 17 April 1846.

been rejected, offered the following consolation: ‘vous seriez tout rassuré si vous pouviez voir l’encombrement d’ouvrages entassés devant les membres du jury.’⁵



Fig. 4. Henri Gervex, *Une Séance du jury de peinture*, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée d’Orsay, 300 x 420 cm, before 1885.

One imagines the difficulties of more than twenty academicians simultaneously attempting to view the same work. This painting of a jury session by Henri Gervex depicts a crowded and haphazard scene, in which different jurors are examining a number of different works, which may itself already suggest one possible response to the very limited time available to judge each work. Those standing towards the back of the crowd are prevented from seeing the works in question clearly and seem to play less of a role in the decision-making process. Since these preparations are for a much later Salon, held in the *Palais de l’Industrie*, the scene should not be taken as fully indicative of a July Monarchy session, but, nonetheless, it gives an idea of the sort of conditions that may well also have prevailed in earlier periods.

Aware of the intrinsic difficulties of their task, the members of the jury attempted to adjust their operations in order to ensure fairer decisions. In 1838, Hersent,

⁵ *David d’Angers: nouvelles lettres du maître et de ses contemporains suivies de dernières lettres de l’artiste et de ses correspondants*, ed. by Henry Jouin (Macon: Protat Frères, 1894), p. 164, letter from David to Experton, 18 March 1842.

the jury's president for that year, proposed that the jury adjourn its judgements on any work over which opinion was divided, and come back to it to make a final decision. His colleague Schnetz described the initiative as follows:

Notre jugement se fait avec beaucoup d'attention et de conscience mais le mode d'appréciation est vicieux de sorte que le résultat n'est pas toujours sans reproche. Hersent avoit proposé cette année une nouvelle manière de procéder qui permettoit [de] présenter plus de garanties, on l'avoit mise à l'exécution à la première séance, ce nouveau mode consistoit à ajourner tous les ouvrages qui n'avoient pas été admis ou rejetés à l'unanimité, par ce moyen on les voyoit après avoir vu tous les ouvrages présentés, et l'on arrivoit à pouvoir les juger ensemble et en les comparant.⁶

The jury adjourned its decision on 59 of the 187 works (c.32%) judged in its first session, once again suggesting the difficulties they were experiencing in reaching decisions in such circumstances.

Despite the jury's intentions to be more equitable in its decisions, the administration, which Schnetz described disparagingly as 'routinière', failed to allow this irregularity. Cailleux immediately contacted the *Intendant général de la Liste civile* regarding what he saw as a breach of article 6 of the regulations of October 1833 (see above, p. 54), which banned revision sessions.⁷ The *Intendant général* in turn forbade the jury from continuing this practice, which not only broke the regulations, but, he claimed, would also prolong the jury's operations and threaten to delay the start of the exhibition.⁸ The administration thereby obstructed the jury's initiative to reduce the arbitrary nature of its decisions.

The artist-elected juries of 1849 and 1850/51 clearly saw the benefits of being able to revise their judgements. In both years, the jury admitted a limited number of works – just 2% of all submissions – in a revision session. Revision sessions were not referred to in the Salon regulations for these years and apparently took place at the

⁶ *Lettres inédites de Jean-Victor Schnetz à François-Joseph Navez*, ed. by Laurence Chesneau-Dupin and others (Flers: Flers promotion, 2000), p. 121, letter dated February 1838.

⁷ AMN, X 1838: 1838 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, S.456, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général', 6 February 1838.

⁸ *Ibid.*, E.932, letter from the *Intendant général* to Cailleux, 7 February 1838.

jury's discretion. The jury was accorded greater freedom under the Second Republic than it had been under the less flexible administration of the July Monarchy.

A further arbitrary element of the July Monarchy jury's decision making was its tendency to reject more works in its first judging sessions each year.

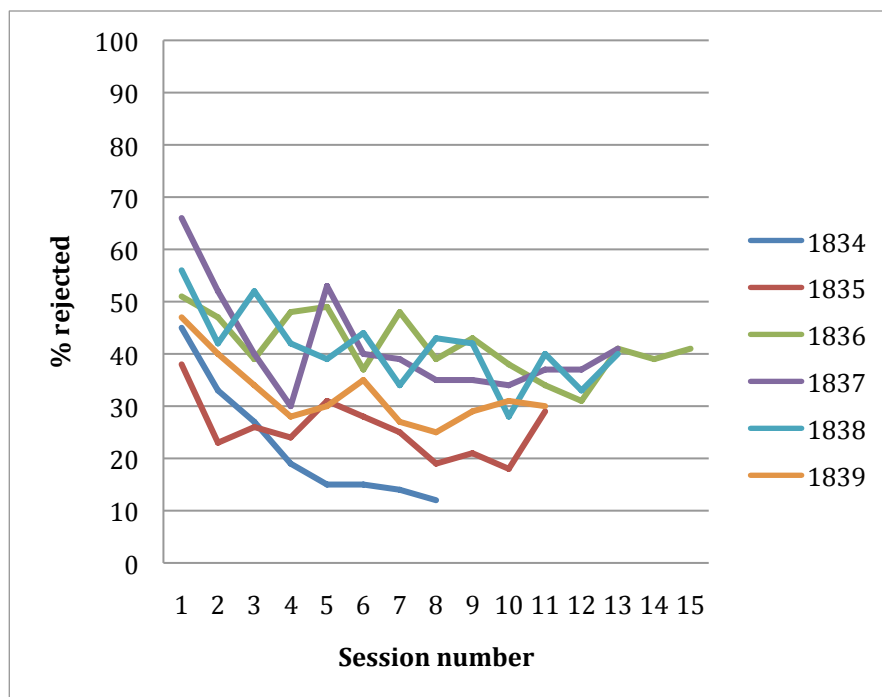


Fig. 5. Graph illustrating percentage of works rejected at each jury session, 1834-1839.

The above chart clearly shows that the jury was consistently more severe in decisions taken during its initial sessions each year between 1834 and 1839. 1831 and 1833 were anomalous years since during this period preceding the adoption of the October 1833 regulations the jury's operations were irregular and their decisions were uncharacteristically lenient (see above, pp. 47-50). During the six Salons held between 1834 and 1839, however, a work was more likely to be rejected if it was judged in an early jury session and considerably more likely to be rejected if judged in the first session.

There were several possible reasons for this tendency. A letter from the academician and jury member Garnier to a former pupil helps explain the jury's actions:

Je trouve que vous pressez un peu trop votre envoi, il ne faut pas attendre aux derniers jours, mais il ne faut peut être pas être de la première journée. Dans la crainte que quelques morceaux trop inférieurs arrivés des premiers

ne disposent mal les juges et les rendent trop sévères sur les 1^{ers} choix, ce qui est d'un [illegible] peu favorable pour ceux qui ont le malheur de se trouver en mauvaise compagnie. Laissez passer au moins deux séances que la marche du jury soit établie. Il sera assez tems de vendredi prochain en 8.⁹

Garnier's letter offers multiple explanations for the jury's early severity. We learn that weaker works were often submitted early and that, as a result, a greater number of rejections should be expected. However Garnier also implied that the jury could be more severe in its opening sessions even towards works that deserved to be admitted, such as that of his pupil. He seems, therefore, to acknowledge that an artist who ought to be admitted was more likely to have been rejected in the jury's first two sessions. This acknowledgement reveals a chance element in the jury's decisions based on an entirely arbitrary factor of when a work was submitted. It also seems possible that the jury entered into the judgement process with a strong resolve not to accept what it deemed to be sub-standard works. However, the more works it judged, the more difficult the rapid succession and visual impact of work submitted must have made the judgement process.

In 1840, circumstantial factors put an end to this practice. From 1836 a pattern had developed in which more works were submitted close to the deadline for submission.¹⁰ As a consequence, there were too few works for the jury to judge in its initial sessions. In 1839, 1222 works were submitted during the final four days, which meant that the jury had to judge over 450 items in a single session in order to finish in time for the *Direction des musées* to arrange the works. In 1840 the problem had escalated, so that 2050 works were submitted over the same final four-day period.¹¹ The jury finished its judging three days behind schedule, on 25 February, causing the

⁹ Paris, Fondation Custodia, 1998.-A.566, letter from Garnier to unknown recipient, 31 January 1838.

¹⁰ This was predominantly related to artists struggling to complete their works in advance of the Salon. However, artists may also have become aware of the jury's propensity towards severity in its opening sessions and consequently delayed submitting their works.

¹¹ See marginalia in 1836-1840, AMN, *KK30-34, 'Enregistrement des ouvrages.'

opening of the Salon to be delayed until 5 March.¹² This delay had the unintentionally positive effect of giving the *Direction des musées* time to arrange the submissions by discipline and genre. The jury was thereby able to carry out a more organised examination of the submissions according to these categories, which put an end to the disproportionate severity previously shown in its early sessions. From 1840 onwards the jury would begin its judgements after the submission period had finished on 20 February, and all works would be grouped by discipline and genre. Montalivet re-released the 1833 *Règlement* with modifications made to Articles 1 and 2, specifying the new Salon dates as beginning 15 March and ending 15 May.¹³ It is significant to note that the intransigence of the administration meant that only logistical necessity could provoke changes to a system which it regarded as adequate.

Whilst the administration could modify the regulations, there is no firm evidence to indicate that the jury's decisions were directly influenced by any form of external guidance or instructions, either from the administration of the *Liste civile* or from members of the *Direction des musées*. However, such instructions would not have been unprecedented and it is certainly possible that the July Monarchy jury was subject to external pressure. We know that in 1827 Forbin had strongly advised La Rochefoucauld to take action against the growing number of mediocre submissions, telling him: 'Il vous est entièrement réservé, Monsieur le Vicomte, de mettre des bornes à ce désordre [the high number of submissions], arrivé à son comble.'¹⁴ In response, La Rochefoucauld instructed the jury to 'repousser impitoyablement' mediocre works by women and amateurs.¹⁵ In 1852, Nieuwerkerke was also explicit in the need for severe decisions from the jury. The *livret* for the 1852 Salon recorded Nieuwerkerke's demand for strict judgements in the jury meeting of 4 March 1852: 'M le Directeur général des

¹² AMN, X 1840: 1840 Salon, Announcement of 27 February 1840.

¹³ AMN, X 1841: 1841 Salon, 'Règlement pour l'exposition publique au Louvre.'

¹⁴ AN, O3 1422, 'Musées royaux. Affaires diverses de comptabilité, 1828', letter from Forbin to Rochefoucauld, 20 August 1827.

¹⁵ Ibid., letter from Rochefoucauld to Forbin, 31 August 1827.

Musées termine en insistant sur la nécessité de composer le Salon d'œuvres remarquables, et demande au Jury une sévérité devenue indispensable.¹⁶ We learn from Catherine Granger that the Museum director later expanded on these instructions:

Nieuwerkerke s'en expliqua dans son discours de clôture: 'Dans la pensée de l'administration, les expositions ne sont pas destinées à servir de bazar aux œuvres quelconques de tous ceux qui portent le titre d'artiste ou y prétendent. Elles ne doivent pas être un lieu de dépôt institué pour faciliter le placement de tous les produits de l'art moderne, ou consacré à recevoir le trop plein des ateliers.¹⁷

It would seem credible, therefore, that the jury of the July Monarchy could also have received similar instructions, despite no formal indications of such.

One private source gives us reason to believe that the July Monarchy jury received instructions from the *Direction des musées*. In his biography of Gros, Tripier le Franc gave an account of Gros's experience as president of the jury in 1835:

Trouvant, un soir du mois d'avril 1835, le Baron Gros chez Mme Vigée Le Brun, nous lui demandâmes [...] puisqu'il était encore cette année président du jury de l'Exposition, s'il était vrai, comme le bruit en courait, qu'il y eut beaucoup de tableaux refusés. – Ah! Mon Dieu, oui, nous dit-il, et plus que je n'aurais voulu. Ces messieurs vous pèsent cela comme du beurre. Il leur faut le poids juste... ils refusent... ils refusent [...] c'est, voyez-vous, le mot d'ordre de M de Forbin et de son factotum.¹⁸

Whilst we cannot be sure that this account is reliable, since it was not published until 1880, the corroborating evidence from the Restoration would seem to support it. An anecdote published in Henry Lemonnier's later biography (1905) also upholds this depiction of Gros as an unwilling subscriber to the jury's severity, adding further weight to Tripier Le Franc's report:

Férogio, du moins, raconte qu'au Salon de 1833, le vieux Thévenin, se montrant d'une sévérité extrême, Gros se serait emporté contre lui. A un tableau plus que passable, que M. Thévenin frappait encore de sa

¹⁶ *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivants, exposés au Palais-Royal le 1er avril 1852* (Paris: Vinchon, 1852), p. 21.

¹⁷ Catherine Granger, *L'Empereur et les arts: la liste civile de Napoléon III* (Paris: École des Chartes, 2005), p. 165.

¹⁸ J. Tripier Le Franc, *Histoire de la vie et de la mort du Baron Gros* (Paris: Jules Martin, 1880), p. 501.

réprobation, M. Gros se fâcha et lui dit: ‘Vous qui renvoyez ce tableau, vous ne seriez pas capable d’en faire autant!’¹⁹

Le Franc’s reference to ‘le poids juste’ suggests that the *Direction des musées* had clear ideas regarding the size of the exhibition. Since it was responsible for the logistical arrangements of the Salon, and for keeping preparations within budget, it seems likely that it would intervene in this capacity. A smaller exhibition was easier to organise and more affordable, as it required fewer temporary exhibition spaces to be constructed in front of the museum’s permanent collection and fewer staff to employ. In May 1831, Forbin was informed that there was no more money available to expand the exhibition spaces of the Salon, since those needed to accommodate the jury’s admission of over 3,000 works had already exceeded the budget for that year.²⁰ Such considerations are likely to have continued to act as constraints throughout the period and an approximate quota of entries may have been advised to keep admissions under control.

The jury’s actions can certainly be shown at times to reflect official thinking. In the reports on the Salon, which the *Direction des musées* submitted to the *Intendant général*, we learn that Cailleux approved of the jury’s severity. In 1841, he reported favourably on the jury’s decisions the previous year, stating: ‘La sévérité du jury, qui, l’année dernière avait paru si grand, vient de porter ses fruits au Salon de cette année.’²¹ He repeated this approval in 1844, following the jury’s severity in 1843:

La sévérité du Jury de l’année dernière, contre laquelle il y eut tant de si vives réclamations, n’a pas été sans avantage pour le Salon de cette année beaucoup plus nombreux que celui qui l’a précédé (puisqu’en 1843, il n’y avait que 1597 numéros au livret, et que celui de 1844 n’en compte pas moins de 2423), il n’est pas plus faible, et sous le point de vue de l’exécution matérielle, on peut avancer sans crainte, que l’Exposition de 1844 prouve plus d’efforts, plus de recherches de la part des artistes

¹⁹ Henry Lemonnier, *Gros, sa vie, son œuvre* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1905), p. 87.

²⁰ AMN, X 1831: 1831 Salon, letter from Delaître to Forbin, 16 May 1831. See above p. 54, note 94.

²¹ AMN, X 1841, ‘Organisation’ folder, ‘Salon de 1841: Rapport à M l’Intendant Général.’

exposants, et qu'il y a eu bien moins que précédemment, de ces ouvrages à grands écarts, annonçant l'abus de la facilité et l'absence de l'étude.²²

In 1844, there were rumours that Louis-Philippe had instructed the jury to be more tolerant, following the artists' petition to him in 1843, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.²³ The jury admitted 66% of works in 1844, compared with just 41% in the previous year. However, this sort of fluctuation also occurred between 1840 (47% admitted) and 1841 (64% admitted) so was not necessarily a sign of intervention, but could reflect what was seen as an increase in standards of submission. More convincing evidence comes from the decrease in controversial rejections of established non-academic artists in 1844. These rejections had been the main cause for complaint in the artists' petition and it seems quite possible that Louis-Philippe responded by urging wider admission. Cailleux's report for this year seems to support this theory. For the first time, he actively championed the jury's more open admissions²⁴:

MM les membres du jury présents cette année paraissent avoir mieux compris le but véritable de la mission qui leur est confiée: le résultat des opérations le prouve: ils n'ont plus considéré les ouvrages soumis à leur examen comme des travaux présentés pour un concours: aussi leur jugement a-t-il été beaucoup plus large et par suite aussi, y a-t-il eu pour ainsi dire absence de réclamations.²⁵

Cailleux's reports were generally sycophantic in tone and his praise for the jury's newfound understanding of its task would seem motivated by a desire to be seen to approve the king's instructions.²⁶

The lack of explicit evidence for the administration's exertion of influence over the jury points to the more informal nature of its interventions compared with, for

²² AMN, X 1844: 1844 Salon, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général sur l'Exposition des Arts de 1844.'

²³ See Appendix 4 and p. 221 for discussion.

²⁴ The change in tone between this report and that of 1843 led Miquel to question whether they had the same author. See Pierre Miquel, *Art et argent: 1800-1900* (Maur-la-Jolie: Éditions de la Martinelle, 1987), p. 306: 'À lire le rapport sur le Salon de 1844 l'on s'interroge. Est-ce bien le même homme qui a rédigé ceux de 1843 et 1844? [...] La coloration change beaucoup: les mots de liberté, de tolérance, de besoins de l'époque y fleurissent. Est-il possible de virer de bord à ce point?'

²⁵ AMN, X 1844, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général sur l'Exposition des Arts de 1844.'

²⁶ See, for example, AMN, X 1839: 1839 Salon, 'Rapport sur l'exposition de 1839': 'L'influence de la nouvelle Galerie Espagnole s'y fait visiblement sentir [...] La munificence éclairée du Roi a su donner une nouvelle direction aux études, c'est encore un bienfait pour les artistes.'

example, the open instructions given in 1827 and 1852. This suggests the apparently more detached attitude of the July Monarchy administration and reinforces the idea that it wished to remain disassociated from the jury's actions in order to avoid the recriminations faced by the previous regime. The administration's potential influence over the jury was limited both by its reluctance to act openly or officially and also by the jury's own sense of its independence. It is clear from Cailleux's comments in certain years that the jury failed to meet official expectations. For example, in 1842, he complained: 'Le grand nombre d'ouvrages faibles et même au dessous du médiocre atteste que ce jury si souvent et si légèrement attaqué, n'a pas été aussi sévère qu'on veut bien le dire.'²⁷ Unlike in 1827 and 1852, the *Directeur des musées* was not also a member of the jury, and thereby unable directly to influence the jury's decisions within its meetings. The July Monarchy jury was able to act with relative autonomy and frequently did so in its individual decisions by rejecting artists who were favoured by the administration. In chapter 4, we shall discuss the rejection of a number of works commissioned by Louis-Philippe for the *Musée historique de Versailles*. The jury also rejected a number of artists favoured by Louis-Philippe's son Ferdinand, the duke of Orléans, who was a significant patron of the arts and who had pro-romantic tastes: 'Il descendait dans l'arène avec l'ardeur de ses prédilections, et de la voix et du geste il appelait, animait, excitait et soutenait le progrès.'²⁸ Ary Scheffer, an artist closely associated with the romantic movement and its key figures, had been his drawing teacher between 1822 and 1830 and later acted unofficially advising him on purchases of romantic works by artists such as Delacroix, Paul Huet, Decamps, Lami and Théodore Rousseau, as well as the sculptor Barye. Despite the royal patronage of these artists, the jury repeatedly showed itself to be at odds with the duke's modern tastes by

²⁷ AMN, X 1842: 1842 Salon, 'Rapport à M l'Intendant Général de la Liste civile sur l'Exposition de 1842.'

²⁸ Eugène Briffault, *Le Duc d'Orléans* (Paris: Imprimerie de H. Fournier, [n.d.]), p. 49.

rejecting their works, thereby reinforcing our understanding of its quasi-autonomous position.²⁹

Artistic Context of the July Monarchy and Second Republic: The Impact of Annualisation

The start of the July Monarchy marked a moment of decisive change regarding the frequency with which the Salon was held. Questions concerning the frequency of the Salon had been raised under the Restoration, at a time when the Salon had been held at irregular intervals of between two and three years. Believing the existing system of exhibitions to have become outdated, Forbin proposed in 1826 that the Salon be held every year, in order to accommodate the growing levels of artistic production.³⁰ His proposal reflected his fear of the growth of private exhibitions and aimed to maintain the supremacy of the Salon by offering artists a more frequent official platform for their work. Under the *ancien régime* the Salon was reserved for members of the Royal Academy and was held biennially from 1751 until 1789. However, at that time, as Forbin noted, all other artists were able to exhibit their works annually in the outdoor exhibition on the Place Dauphine. Since the new Salon was effectively a combination of these two exhibitions, he felt that it ought logically to take place on a more regular basis.³¹

La Rochefoucauld was not initially convinced by these arguments, fearing a resultant increase in expenditure,³² but eventually accepted the proposal in October

²⁹ See *Le Mécénat du Duc d'Orléans 1830-1842*, ed. by Hervé Robert (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, 1993). The jury most notably rejected a 'surtout de table' by Barye in 1837 which had been commissioned by the duke (p. 73). In 1839 the duke purchased a painting by Delacroix after it had been rejected from the Salon (p. 94).

³⁰ AN, O3 1422, 267 bis, letter from Forbin to La Rochefoucauld, 3 February 1826.

³¹ *Ibid.*: 'L'état des arts, le nombre immense d'artistes qui se sont formés et qui se forment encore tous les jours, me paraissent nécessiter une exposition annuelle. [...] On n'exposait tous les deux ans que parce que le nombre des artistes était beaucoup plus limité: c'était même du temps du privilège exclusif de l'Académie que cette mesure avait été prise, et il existait dès lors une exposition annuelle à la Place Dauphine pour tous ceux qui ne feraient pas partie de l'Académie.'

³² *Ibid.*, letter from La Rochefoucauld to Forbin, 17 March 1826.

1827.³³ He hoped that a more frequent exhibition would lead to a decline in the number of works admitted each year: ‘En divisant ainsi les expositions accoutumées, on obtiendra naturellement une diminution considérable sur le nombre des tableaux admis à chacune d’elle’ (ibid.). For the 1827 Salon, the administration had been forced to establish limits for each genre of work, to prevent too many submissions.³⁴ It was believed that a more frequent exhibition would remove the need for these quota and satisfy the desires of both artists and the viewing public, who enjoyed the entertainment and distraction of the Louvre exhibition. Finally, despite his initial concerns, La Rochefoucauld started to see the financial benefits of an annual exhibition. A more frequent, and therefore smaller, Salon could actually cut costs by reducing the need for the additional gallery space necessitated by less regular and therefore larger exhibitions. Although the decision to hold an annual Salon with effect from 15 February 1829 was made public in October 1827, following the prolongation of the 1827 Salon until the end of April 1828 the next Salon was not held until 1831, under the new regime.³⁵ At the closing ceremony for the 1831 Salon, Louis-Philippe proclaimed that in the future the exhibition would be held at annual intervals, thereby implementing the decision of his predecessor.³⁶ An outbreak of cholera in 1832 forced the postponement of the Salon that year. From 1833 it took place annually under the July Monarchy.

The annual Salon did initially cause a drop in the number of submissions, however this reduction proved to be short-lived. The pattern for submissions across the July Monarchy reveals an upward trend. The more regular exhibition is believed to have contributed towards this growth in artistic production, since it encouraged artists to

³³ Ibid., ‘Arrêté qui institue les expositions annuelles’, 12 October 1827.

³⁴ Ibid., S.254, ‘Règlement pour l’Exposition des Ouvrages des artistes vivans’, 24 September 1827, Article 6. This move was clearly prompted by fears of overcrowding rather than by a genuine desire to limit the number of works shown by an individual artist. Special arrangements were made so that artists could replace their works during the course of the Salon.

³⁵ [Anon.], ‘Nouvelles des arts’, *Journal des Artistes*, 21 October 1827, p. 675; Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *L’État et les artistes: de la Restauration à la monarchie de Juillet, 1815-1833* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), p. 58; Eva Bouillo, *Le Salon de 1827: classique ou romantique?* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), p. 22.

³⁶ [Anon.], ‘Nouvelles’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 2 (1831), p. 36.

work more quickly in order to exhibit works each year. Painters in particular were thereby discouraged from undertaking time-consuming projects such as large-format history paintings, and turned instead towards what were considered to be more ‘facile’ works.

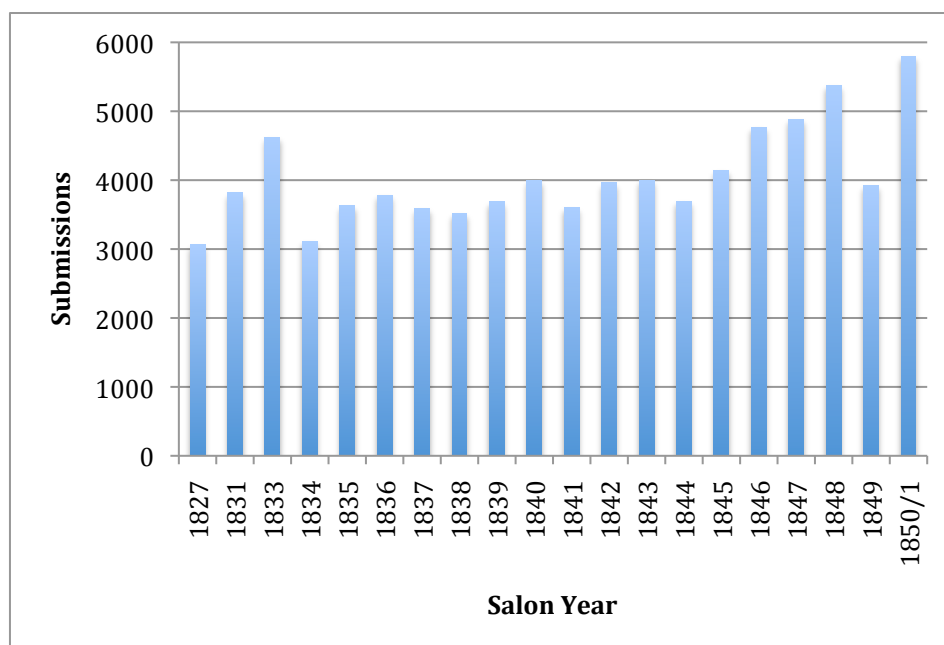


Fig. 6. Graph illustrating the number of submissions to each Salon, 1827-1850/51.

The graph shows that, despite certain fluctuations, there is an upward trend across the July Monarchy and into the Second Republic, showing a steady increase in the number of submissions. We see that production fell significantly in 1834, which was the first Salon of the modern era to take place a year’s interval after the previous exhibition.³⁷ The period between 1834 and 1840 reveals fluctuations in submissions, but shows a rise across the period of nearly 1000 submissions. Between 1840 and 1848 the number of submissions continued to rise by more than another 1000 works.

External factors caused a steep decline in submissions in 1849, compared with previous years. 1400 fewer works were submitted than in 1848, which bucked the trend of gradual growth across the period.³⁸ The political events of 1848 had kept many artists

³⁷ The Salon had briefly been held annually in the eighteenth century. See Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 6.

³⁸ It is likely that scholars who erroneously thought 1848 was an open Salon, with an unusually high number of entries, had only compared submission figures between 1848 and 1849, without examining

from their work. Thoré showed how political events could overshadow art, reviewing the 1848 Salon in just one article claiming: ‘Nous n’arrêterons pas longtemps nos lecteurs sur le Salon de 1848. La politique nous réserve des spectacles plus intéressants. Nous faisons aujourd’hui mieux que de l’art et de la poésie: nous faisons de l’histoire vivante.’³⁹ In February 1849, the painter Boisselier de Boissard, writing to Granet, questioned: ‘Pense-t-on bien aux arts, à la peinture, dans ce moment?’⁴⁰ In July 1849, he informed Granet: ‘Je n’ai rien fait pour l’exposition [...] le temps n’est pas aux beaux-arts.’⁴¹

In 1849, the financial crisis had destroyed the art market and left many artists struggling for survival, a situation made worse by the outbreak of cholera in spring 1849.⁴² Schnetz recorded in February 1849 that ‘presque tous meurent de faim.’⁴³ Artists are likely to have stopped producing work if they could not be certain of securing buyers and this decrease in production was reflected in the low submissions to the Salon. The collapse of the art market meant that fewer young artists submitted to the Salons of the Second Republic. Fewer than 150 painters aged under twenty-five submitted works in 1849 or 1850/51 compared with 300-500 during the 1840s. The unfavourable circumstances clearly deterred young men from taking up or continuing the practice, either on a professional or amateur basis.

In addition to these adverse conditions, the changed date of the Salon may have caught some artists by surprise. *L’Artiste* announced on 15 April 1849 that the exhibition would start on 15 June, which left artists one month to submit their works before the deadline of 15 May. For artists outside the capital, this may have left too little time to organise their submissions.

figures from 1847 and earlier which show 1848 to be a natural progression and 1849 to be anomalous.

See below, p. 238, note 9.

³⁹ T. Thoré, ‘Salon de 1848’, *Le Constitutionnel*, 17 March 1848.

⁴⁰ Isabelle Neto, *Correspondance de François-Marius Granet*, 6 vols (Lille: A.N.R.T., 1992), V, p. 1255, no. 929, letter from Boissard to Granet, 27 February 1849.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1277, no. 947, letter from Boissard to Granet, 20 July 1849.

⁴² See T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973), pp. 32-49.

⁴³ *Lettres inédites de Jean-Victor Schnetz à François-Joseph Navez*, p. 155, letter dated 4 February 1849.

The following year shows a return to the trend towards growth. The delay to the start of the 1849 Salon meant it did not end until 31 August. Further logistical changes meant the following Salon was scheduled to open on 1 December 1850, but was postponed until 30 December, which is why it is usually referred to as the 1850/51 Salon. This eighteen-month interval once again provided the artists with more time to prepare work. The policy of exemptions also raised submissions to this Salon. In 1850/51, the 361 exempt artists submitted an average of 3.5 works compared to 2.5 works in 1848, meaning, on average, each artist capitalised on their status to submit one more work than usual.⁴⁴

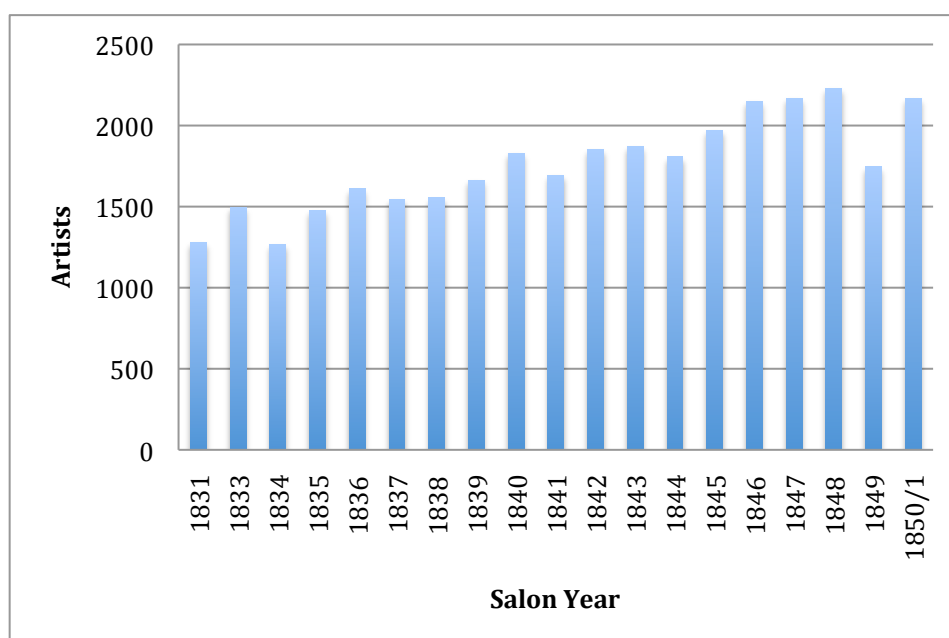


Fig. 7. Graph illustrating the number of artists submitting to each Salon, 1831-1850/51.

We see in the above graph that the number of artists shows a similar trend to the number of submissions, gradually increasing over the course of the period. The number of artists submitting each year increased by nearly 70% from just over 1250 in 1831 to over 2000 by 1846. Large numbers of artists submitted to each Salon over this period. In total, 7496 artists submitted work to the Salons of the July Monarchy (1831-1847) and 8755 including the Second Republic (1831-1850/51). Cailleux reported on the increase in artist numbers in 1840, writing:

⁴⁴ Exemptions also applied in 1849, but since the regulations which announced these exemptions were not released until shortly prior to the Salon, artists had less warning to capitalise on their exempt status.

J'ai déjà signalé dans mes rapports précédents cette successive augmentation dans le nombre des artistes; elle n'avait jamais été aussi considérable que cette année; la raison est facile à trouver: c'est que l'on ne s'adonne qu'aux genres faciles, que l'on néglige la véritable étude de l'art et que même les artistes qui paraissent avoir une vocation réelle, se laissent entraîner dans la route de facilité.

Les arts sont devenus une des nécessités de l'Époque; chacun croit, en s'y adonnant, trouver des moyens d'existence, même de fortune, les uns pour améliorer ou l'augmenter, les autres seulement pour subvenir aux premières nécessités de la vie; fort peu les cultivent dans l'intérêt réel de l'art.⁴⁵

Cailleux regretted the numbers choosing art as a profitable career path. Reiterating what Alain Bonnet refers to as the 'ancien distinction sociale du commerce vulgaire et du noble desintéressement académique',⁴⁶ Cailleux viewed the modern commercial motivation evident in the Salon as far removed from the exhibition's initial function: 'L'exposition des ouvrages des artistes vivants instituée pour attester les progrès de l'art, s'éloigne davantage chaque année du but de son institution et il est à craindre qu'elle ne finisse par dégénérer en bazar, plutôt au profit des marchands qu'à l'avantage des artistes.'⁴⁷ Members of the conservative press, such as Delécluze, shared these fears, referring to 'la fécondité monstrueuse de nos artistes.'⁴⁸ However, the liberal republican critic Haussard, who we will see (below, p. 200) favoured an open Salon, welcomed this artistic growth and the increased frequency of the exhibitions, writing: 'C'est une erreur de prétendre que la fréquence des expositions soit un mal. Leur fréquence est un bien: les expositions annuelles sont utiles et fécondes.'⁴⁹

⁴⁵ AMN, X 1840, 'Organisation' folder, 'Rapport sur l'Exposition de 1840.'

⁴⁶ Alain Bonnet, *L'Enseignement des arts au XIX^e siècle: la réforme de l'École des beaux-arts de 1863 et la fin du modèle académique* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), p. 55.

⁴⁷ AMN, X 1838, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général de la Liste civile sur l'exposition de 1838.'

⁴⁸ D. [Etienne Delécluze], 'Salon de 1835', *Journal des Débats*, 3 March 1835.

⁴⁹ Pr. H. [Prosper Haussard], 'Salon de 1847', *Le National*, 23 May 1847.

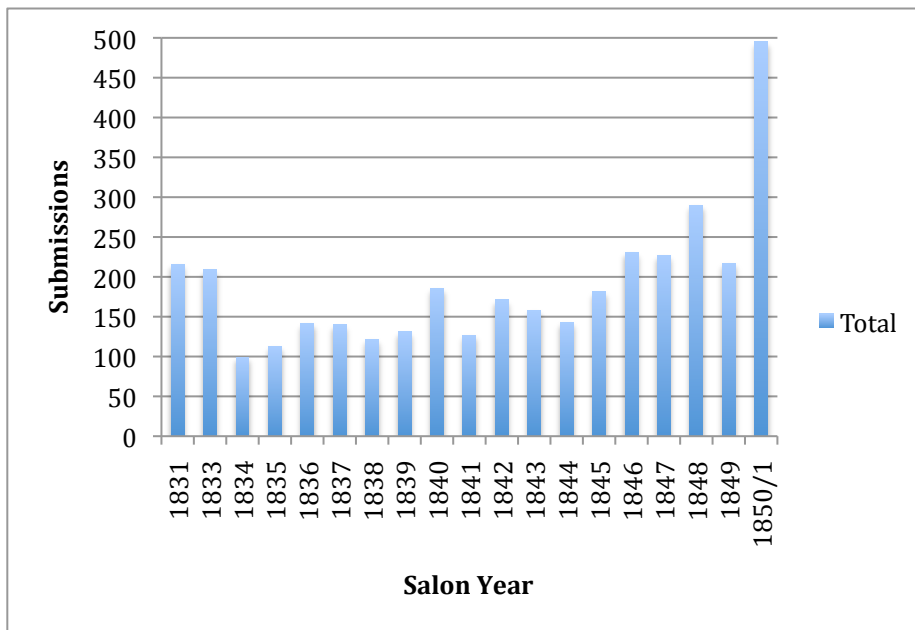


Fig. 8. Graph illustrating the number of one-off submissions per year, 1831-1850/51.

Many members of this growing population of artists, who contributed to this changing appearance and function of the Salon, submitted works only very infrequently. The graph shows that many artists only submitted to a single Salon during the period. In each year, 100-200 artists submitted work in that given year and in no other throughout the period. The higher figures towards the beginning and end of the period should be disregarded since these artists are likely to have submitted during the previous or later regimes. However the middle years show the regular occurrence of 100-200 artists who submitted on a one-off basis.

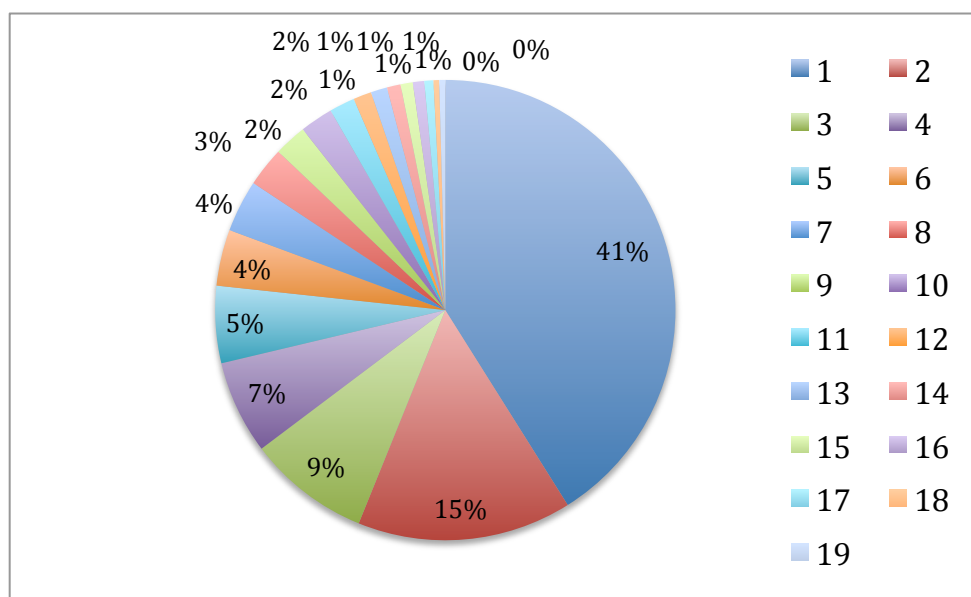


Fig. 9. Graph illustrating the number of Salons to which artists submitted (for the 19 Salons held 1831-1850/51).

The data shows that over 40% of artists who submitted work to the Salon during this time did so on only one occasion and over 55% did not submit to more than two Salons.

Up to two-thirds of the artists submitting to the Salon had no formal training.⁵⁰ Those artists who submitted work only on an occasional basis were significantly more likely to have had no training than artists who submitted more regularly. 1929 artists only submitted a single work to the Salon during this period, of which 83% appear to have had no training. They were likely to be amateur artists who did not rely on the regular exhibition of their work in the Salon to earn a living. The increased periodicity of the exhibition, which was seen to promote smaller works in the less elevated genres at the expense of history painting which required substantial artistic training, may be associated with this rise in the number of submissions from amateurs. Cailleux referred to the dissolution of the distinction between artists and amateurs during this period in which the Salon was seen as accessible to all: 'Autrefois, on comptait des amateurs et des artistes: aujourd'hui tout est confondu, chacun cherche à faire argent de ses œuvres, tout le monde est artiste.'⁵¹ The annualisation of the Salon under the July Monarchy reinforced the change of perception of the official exhibition from that of an exclusive event, reserved for the best artists at the end of their training, to a less restricted exhibition to which anybody might try to gain entry, irrespective of their level of training.

The Salon remained a central event for many artists during this period. Approximately 15% submitted to eight or more of the sixteen Salons of the July Monarchy, and 13% to nine or more of the nineteen Salons up to 1850/51. Approximately 1000 artists, therefore, regularly tried to enter the Salon. This continuity is further shown by the fact that in any given year, 50-60% of artists who submitted

⁵⁰ According to the combined research of myself and Dr Alister Mill on Salon submissions and artists' training.

⁵¹ AMN, X 1840, 'Organisation' folder, 'Rapport sur l'Exposition de 1840.'

work had also submitted in the previous year. We will see that the jury's decisions seemed to respond to the different status of submitting artists.

Review of the Jury's Decisions

Salon Year	Submissions	Admissions	Exemptions	Rejections
1831	3790	3523 (93%)	-	267 (7%)
1833	4619	3612 (78%)	-	1007 (22%)
1834	3111	2474 (80%)	-	637 (20%)
1835	3610	2719 (75%)	-	891 (25%)
1836	3777	2217 (59%)	-	1560 (41%)
1837	3585	2140 (60%)	-	1445 (40%)
1838	3523	2094 (59%)	-	1429 (41%)
1839	3685	2525 (69%)	-	1160 (31%)
1840	3994	1874 (47%)	-	2120 (53%)
1841	3603	2309 (64%)	-	1294 (36%)
1842	3955	2145 (54%)	-	1810 (46%)
1843	4000	1638 (41%)	-	2362 (59%)
1844	3690	2438 (66%)	-	1252 (34%)
1845	4146	2349 (57%)	-	1797 (43%)
1846	4765	2459 (52%)	-	2306 (48%)
1847	4880	2361 (48%)	-	2519 (52%)
1848	5373	5373 (100%)	-	- (0%)
1849	3914	1956 (50%)	639 (16%)	1319 (34%)
1850/51	5793	2687 (46%)	1272 (22%)	1834 (32%)

Table 4. Submissions and jury decisions, 1831-1850/51.

The above table shows how the jury judged each submission during this period. Without including the anomalous years of 1831 and 1833, the jury's admissions ranged from 80% to 40% of submissions, between 2719 and 1638 works. This range is not insignificant and reminds us that the jury's actions varied considerably. However, the differential remains limited enough for us to imagine that the jury had a certain quota in mind, and that there were limits at either end which it was not willing to pass. Whether or not this quota came from an external source, like Cailleux, or was their own decision remains unclear.

The variations within the jury's decisions become more understandable if we consider the annual Salons as connected events. Unlike the sporadic and irregular events of the Restoration, the recurrent Salons of the July Monarchy seemed to form an interconnected series. The jury's decisions in any given year often had a visible effect on the following Salon. We have seen that the jury was most lenient in 1831 and 1833, before the members of the Academy were confirmed in the role and began to consider it as a long-term function. The jury's extreme indulgence in 1831, when it admitted 93% of submissions, may have opened the flood-gates to this trend, by setting a lower standard of entry, which encouraged submissions from amateur artists or younger artists who had not finished their training. The admission of 93% of submissions would have changed the appearance of the Salon and made a place on the Salon walls seem attainable to countless amateur artists. Such indulgence may have led artists to regard the Salon as a quicker route to success than the academic system of training and competitions, thereby reinforcing an idea which had taken hold in the second half of the Restoration.⁵² Over 200 more artists submitted in 1833 than in 1831, and many clearly hoped to benefit from the jury's leniency. Many artists wrote letters of complaint to the president of the jury following their rejection in 1833, as the 1831 Salon seemed to have

⁵² See Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Le Suicide de Gros: les peintres de l'Empire et la génération romantique* (Paris: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2010), p. 122.

led many to believe in their right to exhibit in such company.⁵³ Several artists referred to their own admission at the previous exhibition which had encouraged them to resubmit: ‘J’ai exposé une grande miniature aux salon de 1831 [*sic*] encouragée et ayant doublé d’effort cette année j’espérais y paraître avec quelque succès; jugez de mon chagrin quand je m’en suis vue éloignée par le jury.’⁵⁴ This early liberality is likely to have driven up submissions to the Salon in the following years. Cailleux later referred to the effect of the 1831 Salon, writing in 1843: ‘l’indulgence du jury de 1831 amène pour 1833 une augmentation considérable.’⁵⁵ In choosing to refer to the 1831 Salon and its repercussions in his report on the 1843 Salon, which received a record number of submissions, Cailleux seems to make a connection between the jury’s initial leniency and the continued increase in submissions.

As the number of submissions continued to grow into the 1830s, the jury seemed to take a deliberate course of action in 1836 when it accepted just 59% of works. This greater severity had an immediate effect the following year, when submissions fell by nearly 200 works. In 1840, over 300 more works were submitted than in the previous year. The jury reacted by rejecting over half the number of submissions (53%) for the first time. Their actions appear to have the desired effect from their point of view as nearly 400 fewer works were submitted the following year, suggesting that artists may have become more self-critical in response to the jury’s severity in 1840. The jury again rejected large numbers of works in 1843 but the effectiveness of this method had evidently started to diminish. Towards the end of the 1840s, the constant increase in the number of artists submitting to each exhibition became unstoppable. When the jury rejected 48% of submissions in 1846, over 100 more works were submitted the following year, showing that the jury’s policy was no longer working. Its actions

⁵³ See ABA, 5 E 23.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, letter from Angelique Moreau to Berton, 6 March 1833.

⁵⁵ AMN, X 1843: 1843 Salon, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général de la Liste Civile, sur l’exposition de 1843.’

suggest a desire to reduce the levels of artistic production, but the strength of artistic growth was too much for it to control. In keeping admissions above a certain level, so as not to call into question the Salon's very *raison d'être*, their rejections could not stem the upward trend, or 'torrent' as Cailleux called it in his 1845 report.⁵⁶

The jury was more likely to reject artists who did not submit to the Salon regularly. Amateur artists without training were more likely to be rejected than trained professionals. Until 1843, an artist's information was not recorded in the Salon registers, which suggests that these works were rejected because they revealed an artist's inexperience and not because the jury deliberately rejected amateur artists. Equally, younger artists struggled to gain entry to the Salon. The average age of an admitted artist was c.36 compared with c.34 for a rejected artist, which did not reveal a large bias towards older artists. However, artists over forty consistently outperformed artists under twenty-five. In 1845, for example, when 57% of all works were accepted, the jury admitted 65% of works by artists over forty and just 48% of works by artists under twenty-five.

It has been claimed erroneously that the jury systematically rejected female artists.⁵⁷ Throughout these 16 exhibitions, the difference between the proportion of male and female works accepted was often negligible and never more than 15%. In 1844, for example, 66% of men's submissions were admitted, compared with 64% of women's. In the years in which the jury was particularly severe, women's works did fare worse. The highest rejection rate was in 1843, when the jury rejected 69% of women's submissions compared with 57% of men's. However, when female artists were rejected it seemed more due to the categories and genres within which they predominantly

⁵⁶ AMN, X 1845: 1845 Salon, 1845 Salon report, untitled 27 page document beginning 'Le nombre des ouvrages', p. 2.

⁵⁷ William Hauptman, 'Juries, Protests, and Counter-Exhibitions Before 1850', *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), pp. 95-109 (p. 104): 'The accusation of the specific rejection of works by women artists is borne out in the records of the Salons where it becomes evident that about twice the number of women artists as men were rejected systematically'; Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *Histoire du Salon de peinture* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2004), p. 96: 'On a bien écarté les demoiselles artistes.'

worked, rather than due to gender profiling. For example, a larger proportion of women than men submitted watercolours, a medium which the jury judged severely. Female artists specialising in miniatures, however, continued to fare as successfully as their male counterparts, since this was a category which the jury supported and which was seen by Forbin to uphold the reputation of the French school.⁵⁸ For example, in 1840, 49% of miniatures painted by men were accepted compared with 53% painted by women. The smaller demand such work made on the exhibition space available meant there were fewer economic repercussions in the jury's generous reception of them, which may have accounted for their success over the course of the period. The jury, therefore, did not show the gender bias of which it was accused.

Salons	Total artists	100% success	100% failure	Mixed result
1	3596	1455 (40.5%)	1863 (51.8%)	278 (7.7%)
2	1319	365 (27.7%)	345 (26.2%)	209 (46.2%)
3	751	162 (21.6%)	91 (12.1%)	498 (66.3%)
4	575	100 (17.4%)	40 (7.0%)	435 (75.7%)
5	474	73 (15.4%)	21 (4.4%)	380 (80.2%)
6	346	44 (12.7%)	7 (2.0%)	295 (85.3%)
7	320	36 (11.3%)	5 (1.6%)	279 (87.2%)
8	243	28 (11.5%)	4 (1.6%)	211 (86.8%)
9	201	16 (8.0%)	1 (0.5%)	184 (91.5%)
10	203	23 (11.3%)	0 (0%)	180 (88.7%)
11	157	10 (6.4%)	1 (0.6%)	146 (93.0%)
12	112	8 (7.1%)	1 (0%)	104 (92.9%)
13	101	9 (8.9%)	0 (1.0%)	91 (90.1%)
14	84	7 (8.3%)	0 (0%)	77 (91.7%)

⁵⁸ AMN, X 1834: 1834 Salon, 'Rapport sur l'exposition de 1834': 'Les peintures en miniature soutiennent la réputation de l'École.'

15	75	4 (5.3%)	0 (0%)	71 (94.7%)
16	70	8 (11.4%)	0 (0%)	62 (88.6%)
17	56	7 (12.5%)	0 (0%)	49 (87.5%)
18	35	7 (20.0%)	0 (0%)	28 (80.0%)
19	37	4 (10.8%)	0 (0%)	33 (89.2%)

Table 6. Number of years in which artists submitted and combined results.

The above table shows that the majority of artists received a mixed treatment from the jury. 60% of artists who submitted more than one work to any of the Salons of the July Monarchy had mixed results (i.e. the jury both accepted and rejected their work).⁵⁹ Critics noted the apparent inconsistency of the jury's decisions. In 1843, Louis Peisse reported that 'sa manière d'opérer ressemble à une loterie.'⁶⁰ This sentiment was repeated in 1847 by Prosper Haussard, who wrote with reference to the jury's decisions: 'c'est loterie pour la plupart.'⁶¹ Whilst we must allow for variations in the quality of works submitted by a single artist, this large proportion of artists with mixed success rates attests to the jury's varying levels of severity in different years, or towards different categories of work in the same year, as well as to the number of other arbitrary factors which may have influenced results.

The Hierarchy of Genres

The increase in artistic production for the Salon took the form of a growth of the genres which had hitherto occupied the lower reaches of the hierarchy. The large-format academic history paintings which had formerly dominated the exhibition were in decline. The market for such works had dwindled as aristocratic private buyers disappeared. On the other hand, production in the traditionally less prized categories of painting, including portrait, landscape and genre paintings, grew significantly during

⁵⁹ 3321 of 5567 artists submitting more than one work in the July Monarchy received mixed results.

⁶⁰ Louis Peisse, 'Le Salon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 2 (1843), pp. 85-109 (p. 90).

⁶¹ Pr. H. [Prosper Haussard], 'Salon de 1847', *Le National*, 16 March 1847.

this period. These smaller scale easel paintings were sought after by the growing middle classes. This wide-ranging clientele appreciated the simple subject matter of anecdotal genre works or landscape scenes, or celebrated their social status with portraits of themselves and their family.⁶² Serving, or targeting, this clientele offered artists greater opportunities for income than continuing the traditions of history painting, which relied on support from the State, or significant financial investment of their own.

As a result, from 1830 very few history paintings were submitted to the Salon. From the mid-1830s Louis-Philippe's project for the *Musée historique de Versailles* helped to sustain history painting at the Salon, since work commissioned for the new museum normally initially went on show in the exhibition. Despite this boost from Versailles commissions, however, history paintings consistently accounted for under 6% of painting submissions (rising from just 2% in 1833 and 1834). Portraits made up 25% of submissions whilst landscape varied between 20 and 25%. Genre and historical genre comprised a further 20% and other 'lower' genres such as flower paintings, still lives and interior scenes, as well as watercolours, miniatures, pastels and drawings formed the remainder of submissions.

The jury's response to the differing levels of submissions between the painting genres reveals its desire to support history painting and try to uphold the hierarchy of genres. It is likely that the more traditionally-minded members of the Academy, who, as we have seen, were more assiduous in their attendance of jury sessions, were keen to promote academic history painting. Be that as it may, throughout the period, admission rates for this genre were the highest among all painting categories. Whilst admissions did drop in the jury's most severe years, they remained significantly higher (by 10-25%) than the average painting admission rate. Admissions of history paintings were never

⁶² See Michael Vottero, *La Peinture de genre en France après 1850* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), p. 14; Pierre Miquel, *Le Paysage français au XIX^e siècle: 1824-1874* (Maur-la-Jolie: Éditions de la Martinelle, 1975), p. 71.

allowed to fall below 60%, even in 1843 when the jury admitted only 40% of other paintings.

The jury was most severe in its judgement of portraits and landscapes. The expansion of these genres appears to have epitomised for the jury artistic commercialisation and the consequent decline of academic history painting. The high number of submissions in these categories meant that even when the jury admitted as few as 35% of works, they still dominated the exhibition. In 1843, for example, the jury admitted just 36% of portraits compared with 63% of history paintings, yet due to the relative number of submissions, there were still three times as many portraits as history paintings on show. The jury would have had to admit all history paintings and reject 80% of portraits to level out these numbers.

The jury was particularly severe in its judgement of watercolours, drawings and pastels, which collectively made up 15-25% of 'painting' submissions. The number of watercolours submitted to the Salon increased significantly under the July Monarchy. In 1827, fewer than 120 watercolours were submitted, of which under 50 were accepted. In 1831, around 245 were submitted of which 231 were accepted. Whilst the increase in submissions between 1827 and 1831 attests to a developing interest in watercolour painting, the high admission rate in 1831 was undoubtedly responsible for accelerating this trend in the years which followed. Nearly 400 watercolours were submitted to the following Salon. Watercolour painting, like drawing and pastels, was a more accessible art form than oil painting, with more affordable materials, which appealed to amateur artists. The jury consistently rejected more of these types of works, which it is likely to have deemed less appropriate for the Salon than oil paintings. For example, in 1840 the jury accepted 47% of paintings but just 36% of watercolours and 20% of drawings.

The jury never made explicit its reasons for admitting more history paintings and rejecting lower genres of painting, but it is likely that it shared the administration's

support for what was traditionally seen as the most noble genre of painting and which therefore warranted in its view this positive discrimination. In his report on the 1833 Salon, Forbin encouraged the government to continue to support the nation's painters and help them maintain the tradition of history painting: 'En consacrant principalement la plus grande partie des fonds à l'encouragement du genre de peinture le plus élevé, on entretient une noble émulation parmi les Peintres d'histoire, qui aiderait au développement de grands talents, ainsi qu'à l'étude du haut style.'⁶³ He repeated this plea the following year, writing: 'Je crois devoir réclamer avec instance pour les Peintres d'Histoire, l'appui salutaire et puissant du Roi.'⁶⁴ When Cailleux became *Directeur des musées* he maintained this bias towards history painting, regretting that, apart from the commissions for Versailles, there were few serious works at the Salon:

On ne remarque que très peu d'ouvrages entrepris dans l'intérêt de l'art, l'on peut dire avec assurance que la plus grande partie appartient au domaine du commerce et il est même malheureux d'être forcé de reconnaître que quelques uns rentrent déjà dans celui de l'industrie.⁶⁵

Granet, a prominent member of the jury, later referred to this expansion in production in similar terms, suggesting that members of the jury shared the administration's concerns: 'L'exemple que nous avons chaque année de l'accroissement du nombre des personnes qui s'occupent des Beaux-Arts effrayent ses véritables amis car où allons-nous, et où s'arrêtera cette idée de faire de l'art une partie de l'industrie?'⁶⁶

In this chapter, we have seen that the jury's decisions were influenced by a range of factors. The problematic conditions in which it operated often could have an arbitrary

⁶³ AMN, X 1833: 1833 Salon, 'Rapport sur l'exposition de 1833.'

⁶⁴ AMN, X 1834, 'Rapport sur l'exposition de 1834.'

⁶⁵ AMN, X 1838, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général de la Liste civile sur l'exposition de 1838.'

⁶⁶ Neto, *Correspondance de François-Marius Granet*, V, p. 1231, no. 914, letter from Granet to the members of the Academy, c. 1849.

impact on its judgements, as was commented upon at the time. However, the jury itself was not to blame for these circumstantial problems and, we have seen, actively tried to increase the equity of its judgements in 1838. The administration can be seen to have applied the rules in a rigid and inflexible manner, only changing the organisation of the judging process when logistical or financial necessity demanded. It seems that the jury may have come under pressures from the administration to act in a certain way, but this influence was informal and not strictly enforced. The delegation of the role of jury to the members of the quasi-autonomous Academy seems to have allowed certain room for manoeuvre within the jury. Whilst its members may have seemed under pressure to enforce strict decisions in the early years of their role, in the 1840s Cailleux sometimes found them to be less severe than he would have liked, suggesting that they operated more freely at this time. Annualisation influenced artistic production which increased across the period as more artists submitted works to the Salon. The jury's initial liberality in 1831 and 1833 is likely to have made the Salon appear more accessible than under the Restoration and may have encouraged inexperienced and amateur artists to submit work. From 1836 onwards, the jury's decisions suggest a desire to reverse the growth of artistic production and the increasing commercialisation of art, yet the measures taken in this regard became ineffective over the course of the period. There was a particular growth in the so-called lower genres of painting which consistently outnumbered academic history painting. The jury's consistent acceptance of a high proportion of history paintings demonstrates its desire to uphold academic values and support the traditional hierarchy of genres. However, the rise in the number of portraits, landscapes and genre paintings seems to have been beyond the jury's control. We will see in the next chapter that its decisions revealed a complex negotiation of specific changes taking place within the hierarchy of genres at this time and reflected its struggle

to hang onto its academic values whilst making compromises in accordance with the artistic developments of the period.

4. THE JURY'S RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENTS IN PAINTING

Having analysed important elements of the context in which the Salon jury operated during the period under study, I shall now examine the jury's reception of painting submissions to the Salon. I shall take a view of decisions as a whole, considering not only which artists the jury rejected, but also which it accepted. By considering the academic traditions relating to each painting genre, I shall analyse the ways in which the jury adapted its academic values and expectations when confronted with the developments taking place in these genres. I shall begin by looking at the traditional academic territory of history painting, before considering the jury's reception of the growing categories of genre painting, portraiture and landscape painting. In this way we shall see some of the ways in which the academic jury attempted to negotiate the changes taking place within French art during this period.

History Painting

For a jury composed exclusively of members of the Academy, history painting would naturally hold a particular significance. We have seen in the previous chapter the statistical evidence which confirms that this category of painting received preferential treatment from the academic jury in the form of more generous rates of admissions than those accorded to other categories of painting. Certain history paintings were, nevertheless, still rejected from the Salon and in this section we shall consider three of the most important and complex forms of the jury's engagement with history painting during this period. The first is of its response to the large number of paintings commissioned for the *Musée historique* in Versailles, founded by royal decree in 1833

and opened in 1837, which revived history painting in its most traditional form as prestigious commissions, which formerly had been awarded almost exclusively to members of the Academy. We shall examine the ways in which the greater weight of tradition associated with national history painting of this kind influenced the jury's decisions. The second and third forms are those of its response to two of the major influences on artists undertaking history painting at this time, *ingrisme* on the one hand and romanticism on the other.

The academic *parcours* essentially involved preparing artists to become history painters. Artists who trained at the *École des Beaux-Arts* were taught the principles of drawing in order that they might eventually apply them to historical compositions. In the *concours* for the *Prix de Rome*, artists were presented with a subject taken from Greek or Roman history or mythology or from religion, and required to produce a history painting composed on the basis of this classical training. The members of the Academy, therefore, had specific ideas about the requirements of the genre, particularly with respect to the importance of drawing. Writing in 1831 on the distinction between history painting and less elevated categories of genre painting and landscape, for example, the conservative critic Charles Farcy stated of the latter categories: 'Hâtons-nous, toutefois, de reconnaître qu'ici la sévérité de dessin n'est pas aussi indispensable que dans la peinture historique.'¹ We shall examine the ways in which the academic jury's judgements of history paintings reflected these values.

- ***Painting National History and the Musée historique de Versailles***

The jury was particularly demanding towards works commissioned for the *Musée historique de Versailles*. The aims of the *Musée historique*, dedicated to 'toutes les gloires de la France', were political and pedagogical; political in that it was designed to

¹ F. [Charles Farcy], 'Peinture et sculpture: Salon de 1831', *Journal des Artistes*, 15 May 1831, pp. 361-365 (p. 361).

show the July Monarchy as a government of national reconciliation; pedagogical in that it proposed to teach the lessons of French history and of the school of French history painting.² By virtue of their destination, the Versailles commissions were considered particularly important works and expected to reflect the skills learnt from an academic education. Cailleux's expectations for these works were made clear from his 1836 report when the first of the commissions were exhibited at the Salon. In that year, he reported that the artist Schopin 'avait mal conçu le sujet' and that Monvoisin had failed to produce a work 'digne de figurer dans le monument pour lequel il était destiné.'³ In his report on the Salon of 1838, he referred to the 'l'importance des travaux', which in that year the artists had appeared to understand.⁴ In 1841, however, he was once again critical and wondered whether some of the artists who had received commissions for Versailles had not appreciated what was required of them: 'Peut-être tous les artistes auxquels ils ont été confiés n'ont-ils pas encore compris leur importance réelle? Quelques uns se laissent aller à l'entraînement de nouvelles doctrines qu'ils cherchent à introduire dans les arts.'⁵ The jury's decisions suggest that its members shared Cailleux's concerns and applied stricter academic criteria and higher standards to works destined for Versailles. Between 1836 and 1840, they knowingly rejected at least ten Versailles commissions and also voted on the admission of at least six others, several of which displayed romantic influences. Whilst romanticism was not a new development at this stage, it is likely still to have been regarded as a 'nouvelle doctrine' in such a traditional context, as it had largely remained outside official public art of this nature, previously commissioned from academic artists. By opposing or rejecting these works,

² See the introduction to the museum's three-volume catalogue, *Les peintures: Musée national du Château de Versailles*, ed. by Claire Constans, 3 vols (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), I, pp. 7-11 (p. 7).

³ AMN, X 1836: 1836 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, 'Rapport, 20 avril 1836.'

⁴ AMN, X 1838: 1838 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, S.456, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général', 6 February 1838.

⁵ AMN, X 1841: 1841 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, 'Salon de 1841: Rapport à M l'Intendant Général.'

the members of the jury appear to have attempted to uphold a high standard of academic painting on the national stage.

A primary reason why certain works commissioned for Versailles diverged from academic traditions was due to the wide-ranging artistic tastes of the monarch. Louis-Philippe commissioned paintings from a range of different artists, his broad tastes being attributed to his pragmatic approach to the arts, which depended on the primacy of the subject: ‘d’après lui, les arts plastiques devaient exprimer clairement une idée ou un fait historique. L’art n’était qu’une façon d’illustrer des sujets historiques.’⁶ For the king, the value of the historical lesson took precedence over the artist’s aesthetic allegiances: ‘Ces idées “esthétiques” [...] expliquent la diversité de styles que l’on rencontre à l’intérieur d’un ensemble décoratif [...] À la condition que ses espérances [ie. those of the king] fussent satisfaites, les tableaux néo-classiques pouvaient bien côtoyer les tableaux romantiques.’⁷

A prime example of the jury objecting to an artist’s divergence from academic traditions in work commissioned for Versailles is the case of Eugène Lami. Lami, an artist not academically trained but associated with the romantic movement, received several commissions for Versailles which were not well received by the jury. *La Bataille de Hondschoote*, which he had painted in collaboration with the romantic landscape artist Jules Dupré was narrowly accepted by ten votes to eight in 1836. The painting was criticised for its lack of unity, which may help to explain the opposition shown by certain jury members: ‘Ce tableau, exposé au Salon de 1836, produisit un certain étonnement causé par les manières si différentes des deux auteurs et l’opinion fut à peu près générale: on déplora que l’association d’aussi bons artistes n’eût pas produit un meilleur résultat.’⁸

⁶ Thomas Gaetgens, *Versailles: de la résidence royale au musée historique* (Paris: A. Michel, 1984), p. 118.

⁷ Ibid., p. 119.

⁸ Paul-André Lemoisne, *Eugène Lami 1800-1890* (Paris: Goupil, 1912), p. 53.

Lami's other commission submitted in 1836, *La Bataille de Wattignies*, was narrowly rejected by nine votes to eight. Following its rejection, Lami reworked the painting which he then submitted to the 1837 Salon at which it was accepted by the jury. Without the original work it is difficult to identify the reasons for its initial rejection, however certain aspects which are still present in the 1837 version may have concerned the jury in 1836.



Fig. 10. Eugène Lami, *La Bataille de Wattignies*, oil on canvas, Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 355 x 439 cm, 1837.

The final composition lacked classical unity, as Gustave Planche commented in his 1837 Salon review: ‘En parcourant la toile de gauche à droite, l’œil ne rencontre que de petits épisodes sans relation nécessaire, une suite de lithographies cousues ensemble.’⁹ He felt that the overall effect was muddled and implied that, as a result, the painting failed to glorify this French victory. The jury may also have disapproved of the prominence of the dramatic sky in Lami's original work, which was the first element of the painting that he reworked following its rejection, writing to Huet: ‘Si vous venez dans mon quartier le mois prochain [...] vous verrez, j’espère, mon ciel amélioré.’¹⁰ The

⁹ Gustave Planche, *Études sur l'école française*, 2 vols (Paris: Lévy frères, 1855), II, p. 85.

¹⁰ Paul Huet (1803-1869) *d'après ses notes, sa correspondance, ses contemporains*, ed. by René Paul Huet (Paris: H. Laurens, 1911), p. 113, letter from Lami to Huet, 17 March 1836.

sky, ‘si puissamment dramatique’, remained an imposing aspect of the reworked painting.¹¹

The jury’s decisions imply that they expected an academic handling of these national subjects, in order to reflect the majesty of Versailles and the significance of the national history represented. It may have rejected some works on account of what it saw as their anecdotal treatment of major historical moments. Whilst we shall see that the category of historical genre paintings grew in importance during this period to the point of comparison with history painting, and we remember that the Academy legitimised this practice in its election of Delaroche, commissions such as those for Versailles were thought to demand the more elevated form of traditional history painting. In 1840, the jury was unanimous in its rejection of St Evre’s *Entrevue de Henri II et de Philippe Augustine, 1189*.¹²



Fig. 11. Gillot Saint-Evre, *Entrevue de Philippe-Auguste avec Henri II à Gisors, 21 janvier 1188*, oil on canvas, Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 112 x 164 cm, 1839.

This painting has a static, frieze-like composition, in which the colours and minute decoration of the flags dominate the background and detract from the historical moment depicted. The jury also rejected two historical portraits by Robert-Fleury, whose work

¹¹ Paul-André Lemoisne, *L'Œuvre d'Eugène Lami 1800-1890* (Paris: H. Champion, 1914), p. x.

¹² This is the title under which the work was submitted as number 484 to the 1840 Salon.

displayed similar painstaking attention to minor details.¹³ Chaudonneret has discussed, with particular reference to these two artists, how conservative critics often disapproved of this preoccupation with minor detail: ‘Les critiques conservateurs [...] contestaient cette fameuse “couleur locale”, c’est-à-dire la description détaillée et documentée du mobilier et des objets, des costumes et des portraits [...]. De Salon en Salon [...] bien de critiques notent que les peintres sont “érudits” avant d’être artistes.’¹⁴

The jury also rejected works by classically trained academic artists, including Rouget, who may have been accused of failing to uphold the traditions of his training under David in the work he executed for Versailles.



Fig. 12. Georges Rouget, *Débarquement de St Louis en Egypte*, oil on canvas, Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 173 x 112 cm, 1839.

¹³ These portrait commissions were half-copies, or *œuvres en rapport*, from seventeenth-century originals at the Château de Beauregard, however we should not mistake this as the reason for their rejection. The 1833 regulations clearly state: ‘Ne seront point reçus par la Direction du Musée, et en conséquence ne pourront être admis à l’Exposition: Les copies et répétitions d’ouvrages en tout conformes aux originaux.’ Any such works would not have made it past the *Direction des musées* to the jury sessions and if that had happened erroneously the jury would have been bound to reject the paintings outright, as opposed to voting on their admission. Although inspired by paintings from Beauregard, the Versailles portraits differ considerably from these earlier works in that they are full-length, rather than bust portraits.

¹⁴ Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, ‘Du “genre anecdotique” au “genre historique”’: une autre peinture d’histoire’, in *Les Années romantiques: la peinture française de 1815 à 1850*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), pp. 76-85 (p. 81).

His *Débarquement de St Louis en Egypte* appears to have suffered from the format imposed on the work which seems ill-suited to its subject matter, concentrating the action in a narrow vertical space. The jury is likely to have disapproved of the loose handling of the sea and sky, as Pougetoux notes: ‘l’irréalisme du paysage n’ajoute rien à l’œuvre.’¹⁵

The jury rejected a number of works by other academic artists including Alexandre Evariste Fragonard, who had also studied under David. These commissions were of smaller dimensions, intended for Versailles’s *Salles des Croisades*. It is clear from Cailleux’s praise of the smaller commissions in 1838 that he expected artists to take as much care in these paintings as they would for large-format works. Discussing recipients of Versailles commissions, he stated: ‘quoique chargés d’ouvrages d’une petite dimension [ils] n’ont pas moins apporté les plus grands soins dans l’exécution de leurs tableaux.’¹⁶ It appears that the jury similarly expected artists to apply themselves fully to these smaller works and rejected those which failed to meet their standards. The jury is likely to have reacted against the lack of compositional clarity in Fragonard’s *Albéric Clément escaladant la tour maudite*, which it rejected in 1840.



Fig. 13. Alexandre Evariste Fragonard, *Siège de Ptolémaïs, juillet 1191 (Albéric Clément escaladant la tour maudite)*, oil on canvas, Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 70 x 114 cm, 1840.

¹⁵ Alain Pougetoux, *Georges Rouget: élève de Louis David, 1783-1869* (Paris: Paris musées, 1995), p. 115.

¹⁶ AMN, X 1838, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général.’

Dominique Papety's Versailles commission *Guillaume de Clermont défend Ptolémaïs, 1291*, offers a useful comparison to this work, depicting a later siege on the same city.

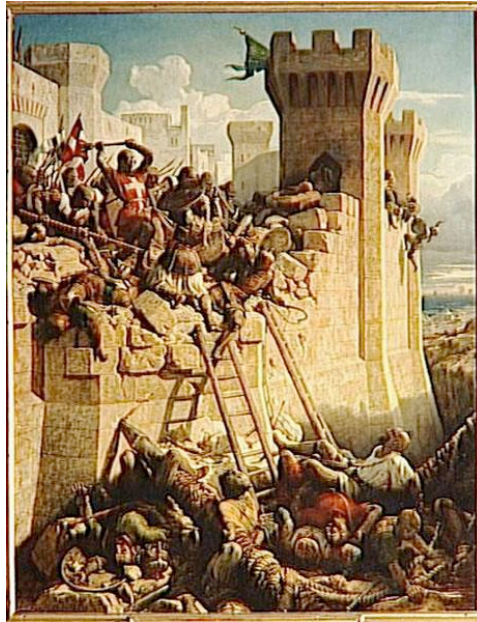


Fig. 14. Dominique Papety, *Guillaume de Clermont défend Ptolémaïs, 1291*, oil on canvas, Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 315 x 173 cm, 1845.

Papety had won the *Prix de Rome* in 1836 and, following his studies at the Villa Medici, submitted this commissioned work to the 1845 Salon, where it was unanimously accepted by the jury. By depicting the fortified wall of the city from a greater distance, he employs a much clearer composition which clearly locates the action around the central figure of Guillaume de Clermont and demarcates those fighting on the battlements from those fallen wounded below. In comparison, Fragonard's scene is a muddled vignette which lacks the legibility and compositional clarity which the jury is likely to have valued in Papety's work.

We see, therefore, that in the case of these State commissions, the jury required higher standards from both academic and non-academic artists alike. We may assume that its judgement was affected by its knowledge of the painting's destination since its conception of national commissions of this kind was deeply engrained. By acting in this way, the jury certainly surpassed its intended role, by subjecting these works to more demanding criteria and judging them in relation to their final destination at Versailles, rather than on the same terms as the other submissions for public view at the Salon.

These rejections may also have been motivated by professional jealousy towards less experienced artists receiving commissions traditionally reserved for academicians. Certainly some contemporary commentators suggested that the jury rejected certain Versailles commissions as a way of voicing its disapproval of the choice of recipients.¹⁷

These rejections were perhaps the jury's greatest act of independence from the administration, demonstrating a striking lack of subservience on its part to the monarch who had delegated the role of jury to them. However, it is quite likely that the academicians did not regard these decisions as audacious, but rather that they felt duty-bound to exercise their statutorily-defined independence of the administration in order to maintain artistic standards in a site of such national importance as Versailles. In his history of the Academy, Henri Delaborde offered the following explanation of the jury's actions:

En tout cas, à l'époque où ils composaient seuls le jury officiel, les membres de l'Académie des beaux-arts ne songeaient guère à faire acte de courtisan, puisqu'il leur est arrivé plus d'une fois de refuser d'admettre au Salon des tableaux commandés par le Roi pour le musée de Versailles. Ils condamnaient ainsi implicitement, - ou les choix qui s'étaient portés sur des artistes encore inexpérimentés, - ou l'indulgence, compromettante pour la dignité du nouveau musée, dont l'administration se rendrait coupable, si elle donnait place dans le palais à des ouvrages défectueux en eux-mêmes, bien qu'ils portassent les noms d'artistes recommandés par des succès antérieurs.¹⁸

Whilst we have seen that Cailleux also shared with the jury the view that work commissioned for Versailles had to demonstrate the highest levels of academic achievement, it seems likely that he would have been uncomfortable with the jury's rejections of commissioned work and that he wished to avoid complications which could arise from works entering the national collection having been refused admission

¹⁷ For example [Anon.], 'Pétition au Roi pour la réforme du jury des expositions du Louvre', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 13 (1837), pp. 83-84 (p. 84) : 'L'Institut ne s'en cache pas; il se servira de son pouvoir de refuser pour empêcher qu'on ne confie à des jeunes gens des travaux qu'il considère comme sa propriété. L'avis s'adresse aux jeunes gens et à ceux qui les emploient, quels qu'ils soient, ministres, associations publiques, et au roi lui-même.'

¹⁸ Henri Delaborde, *L'Académie des Beaux-Arts depuis la fondation de l'Institut de France* (Paris: Plon, 1891), p. 259.

to the Salon. We have reason to believe that Cailleux attempted to minimise the negative repercussions of several of these rejections.¹⁹ In 1836, he forbade Lami from exhibiting *La Bataille de Wattignies* in a private exhibition alongside other works which had been rejected from the Salon:

Je viens vous annoncer, mon cher Huet, que j'ai enfin rejoint M. de Cailleux, il s'oppose formellement à ce que j'expose mon tableau avec les autres infortunés; il ne me le rend qu'à la condition qu'il ne sortira de chez moi que pour aller à Versailles.²⁰

Cailleux clearly did not want the rejection of this work to be publicised, or for a royal commission to be exhibited alongside other rejected works. The display of a royal commission at an exhibition of refused Salon paintings would have highlighted the contradictory positions of the jury and the administration and have subjected both institutions to further criticism and mockery. Since Cailleux had played an important role in deciding who should receive these prestigious commissions, it is likely that he would have felt his authority compromised by their rejection.²¹

- ***The Influence of Ingres***

Whilst the large quantity of commissions for Versailles was predominantly responsible for increasing the number of historical submissions to the Salon, certain artists continued to pursue history painting independently of the new museum. As discussed, the jury made efforts to support this declining genre and admissions rates were much higher than for other categories of painting. Its rejections targeted what it regarded as two different extremes operating within the genre at this time, *ingrisme* and romanticism. Andrew Carrington Shelton has identified the way in which during the

¹⁹ Four days after the opening of the 1840 Salon, Aligny wrote to Cailleux asking to meet him, to which Cailleux responded he would see him the following morning. Whilst the subject of this meeting is unclear, it seems likely that Aligny wished to discuss the rejection of his commission, and Cailleux was keen to meet his request at the earliest possible occasion. See Fondation Custodia, 2004.-A.52, letter from Aligny to Cailleux, 10 March 1840: 'Je vous prie de vouloir bien m'accorder quelques instans d'audience si cette demande peut s'accorder avec vos nombreux occupations.'

²⁰ Paul Huet (1803-1869) *d'après ses notes, sa correspondance, ses contemporains*, p. 113.

²¹ See Thomas Gaechtgens, p. 117.

1830s Ingres's renewal of classicism was criticised by his fellow members of the Academy, who were forced in response to move towards a more central position:

[...] by the end of the 1830s *ingrisme* was firmly positioned in the opposition as far as the authorities within the Institute were concerned, its emphatic linearism and fanatical Raphaelism registering as scarcely less dangerous than the sordid colourism and frenzied quest for originality associated with Delacroix and the Romantics. [...] Having witnessed the appropriation of several of its most important principles by the rapidly proliferating coterie of *ingristes*, the Academy was propelled into the advocacy of a middling, conciliatory, relativizing eclecticism, an approach to art-making that was distinguished not so much by the narrowness of its prescriptions as its lack of any clear directives beyond the achievement of the ambiguous ideals of the 'beautiful' and the 'true.'²²

I shall explore the complex relationships at work within the Academy and examine how the jury's decisions reflected its perception of these two extremes and its desire to contain both of these potential threats to academic history painting. The jury's rejection of acclaimed pupils of one of its own members and of artists who had been awarded the *Prix de Rome* further proves that the idea of the Salon as the embodiment of a conservative, academic institution, as propagated by modernist art history, was an oversimplification. We shall see that these decisions formed part of the jury's continued attempts to negotiate its role and steer the future course of French art in a direction they found acceptable.

During the 1820s, as the first generation of the artists trained in David's studio either died or declined as creative forces, Forbin singled out and steadily promoted Ingres as the heir to the Davidian legacy. Forbin's position under the Restoration made him an advantageous supporter, as Ingres recalled: 'J'eus le bonheur de trouver dans mon ami M de Forbin un protecteur des plus chauds. Quand il vit mon tableau [*Le Vœu de Louis XIII*], il me témoigna vivement son contentement, et voulut qu'il ne fut montré au public que dans la dernière quinzaine de l'Exposition, et à la place d'honneur.'²³ His

²² Andrew Carrington Shelton, *Ingres* (London: Phaidon, 2008), p. 153.

²³ Eugène Amaury-Duval, *L'Atelier d'Ingres* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1878), p. 125.

success with this painting at the Salon of 1824 earned Ingres a position amongst the nation's leading painters and election to the Academy the following year. In October 1826, Forbin secured Ingres a career-making commission, *L'Apothéose d'Homère*, for the Musée Charles X. The further accolade of promotion to *Officier de la Légion d'honneur* came in 1833, on Forbin's recommendation, even though Ingres had not exhibited a history painting at the Salon of that year, which had traditionally been the prerequisite for this award.²⁴

Ingres was in a pivotal position at the start of the July Monarchy. His success in the 1820s had secured him personal fame and financial security, which had allowed him to open his own teaching studio. At the start of the period, pupils from Gros's atelier still dominated the competition for the *Prix de Rome*: 'L'atelier de Gros est le plus fréquenté, en ce moment, et le plus favorisé de MM. de l'Institut.'²⁵ Ingres's most outstanding pupil, Hippolyte Flandrin, competed for the prize in 1831 with support from Ingres, Guérin and Granet, however Gros's studio continued its domination: 'M. Gros et sa bande l'ont emporté.'²⁶ Flandrin was awarded the *Prix de Rome* the following year, indicating the growing influence of Ingres and his studio. The event was clearly talked about and the reputation of Ingres's winning pupil grew: 'Aussi le nom du jeune lauréat acquit-il tout d'abord dans le monde des ateliers, et même dans le monde proprement dit, une notoriété que les débutants n'y obtiennent pas d'ordinaire.'²⁷ Contemporary accounts reveal how Ingres and his studio grew in renown following this victory: 'M.

²⁴ Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Ingres: la réforme des principes, 1806-1834* (Lyon: Fage, 2006), p. 80; AMN, X 1833: 1833 Salon, 'Rapport sur l'exposition': 'Un seul artiste, M Ingres, remplit toutes les conditions désirables; comme chef d'Ecole, il a rendu de très grands services aux arts. Quoiqu'il n'ait exposé, cette année, que deux portraits, l'un de ces ouvrages est une production de premier ordre. Je crois devoir proposer pour cet artiste la décoration d'officier de la Légion d'honneur qui n'a pu lui être accordée, lorsqu'il a exposé son Plafond d'Homère, parce qu'à cette époque il n'avait pas le temps prescrit par l'ordonnance pour passer à un grade supérieur.'

²⁵ François-Xavier Fabre, 'Les correspondants du peintre Fabre (1808-1834)', *La Nouvelle Revue Rétrospective*, 4 (1896), pp. 73-96 and pp. 217-264 (p. 79), letter from Fortuné Férogio to Fabre, 18 October 1830.

²⁶ Henri Delaborde, *Lettres et pensées d'Hippolyte Flandrin* (Paris: Plon, 1865), p. 150, letter from Hippolyte Flandrin to Auguste Flandrin, 30 May 1831.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

Ingres a pris tant d'importance depuis qu'il a eu le grand prix de son atelier, que les élèves des autres ateliers ont une peur extrême de son influence.'²⁸ Ingres's school dominated the competition in the following years, with his pupils also taking the prize in 1833 and 1834.²⁹ The strength of Gros's studio subsided with Ingres's success and with Gros's own personal decline at the start of the July Monarchy, following the critical failure of his Salon entries.³⁰ At this point Ingres was seen as a veritable 'chef d'école' with few to rival him for this position.³¹

At this time, Ingres's influence over a second generation of artists became visible on a national level. Granet claimed that the effects of Ingres's teaching could be seen at the 1835 Salon: 'C'est au Salon de cette année où l'on voit que les semences que vous avez jetées sur cette terre commencent à germer au profit de la belle peinture, dont personne ne pourra (jamais) vous disputer d'avoir été le conservateur.'³² The success of Ingres's studio was also acknowledged in the award of valuable commissions at the *Musée historique de Versailles* to his pupils Ziegler, Comairas and Lehmann.³³ In 1834, following the hostile critical response to his *St Symphorien* at the Salon, Ingres decided to pursue the directorship of the French Academy in Rome, and was successfully appointed to this post.³⁴ Several of the painter's former pupils, such as Hippolyte Flandrin, Eugène Roger and Paul Jourdy, were studying in Rome at this time, and others, like Amaury-Duval, Henri Lehmann and Paul Balze, followed their *maître* to

²⁸ Fabre, 'Les correspondants du peintre Fabre (1808-1834)', p. 251, letter from Fortuné Feroggio to Fabre, 26 March 1833.

²⁹ Eugène Roger won in 1833 with his depiction of *Moïse et le serpent d'airain* and Paul Jourdy in 1834 with *Homère chantant ses poésies*.

³⁰ See Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Le Suicide de Gros* (Paris: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2010).

³¹ Forbin referred to Ingres as a 'chef d'école' in his Salon report of 1833. See also *L'Atelier d'Ingres*, ed. by Daniel Ternois (Paris: Arthena, 1993), p. 29: 'Dès 1827, à l'époque de l'Apothéose d'Homère, et encore davantage encore vers 1830, Ingres est un chef d'école incontesté dont les élèves obtiennent plusieurs Grand Prix.'

³² Isabelle Neto, *Granet et son entourage: correspondance* (Nogent-le-Roi: Librairie des arts et métiers, 1995), p. 172, letter from Granet to Ingres, 5 March 1835.

³³ Pierre Angrand, 'Le premier atelier de M. Ingres', *Bulletin du Musée d'Ingres*, 49 (1982), pp. 19-58 (p. 43).

³⁴ See Andrew Carrington Shelton, *Ingres and his Critics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ch. 1. 'Le Martyre de Saint Symphorien at the Salon of 1834', pp. 15-53.

Italy: 'le petit cercle des fidèles débordait largement la villa.'³⁵ Lapauze noted the dedication felt by Ingres's pupils towards their master: 'La Villa Médicis était de plus en plus le but de toute cette partie de la jeunesse studieuse pour qui Ingres faisait figure de demi-dieu.'³⁶

Ingres's colleagues in the Academy did not all approve of his promotion to such an influential position. The election for the director of the French Academy in Rome was tightly fought and Ingres only won by a narrow margin: 'M Ingres a été élu et placé en tête mais il paraît que ce n'est pas sans peine. Il y avait 35 votans, la majorité était en conséquence 18 et ce n'est qu'après neuf tours de scrutin qu'il les a obtenus.'³⁷ This difficult election attested to the mixed emotions his colleagues felt towards him. The *Prix de Rome* competitions were judged by discipline, which meant that the success of Ingres's pupils testified to the considerable support he enjoyed within the painting section. The director of the Academy in Rome, however, was voted on by the whole Academy, suggesting that members from other sections played a part in opposing his election.

In the late 1830s, members of the Academy vocally opposed Ingres's artistic influence over the *pensionnaires* studying in Rome. In 1838, at the Academy's annual public meeting, discussion of the *envois* sent from Rome led to a virulent criticism of Ingres from Quatremère de Quincy: 'L'Académie dénoncera publiquement ce qu'elle perçoit [...] comme la domination à la fois despotique et débilitante d'Ingres sur les jeunes ouailles à Rome.'³⁸ Such criticism indicated the Academy's desire to prevent the domination of *ingrisme* within the French school. In 1839, the new secretary Raoul-Rochette aimed further criticism at the Academy's director in Rome: 'une accusation en

³⁵ Carrington Shelton, *Ingres*, p. 152; See also *L'Atelier d'Ingres*, ed. by Ternois, p. 28.

³⁶ Henry Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome*, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1924), II, p. 250.

³⁷ *Lettres d'Ingres à Marcotte d'Argenteuil*, ed. by Daniel Ternois (Nogent-le-Roi: Librairie des Arts et Métiers, 1999), p. 24, letter from Marcotte to Robert, 3 June 1834.

³⁸ Andrew Carrington Shelton, 'Modernité, Académisme, Ingrisme: la polémique au sujet des envois', postface to *Ingres: la réforme des principes, 1806-1834*, by Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret (Lyon: Fage, 2006), pp. 152-168 (p. 152).

forme contre M. Ingres, tel est le résumé de cette séance.³⁹ The public denouncement of Ingres's influence exemplified the ideological and aesthetic battle for the future direction of the French school which was being played out within the Academy during the July Monarchy.

Whilst the above history has been documented, the Academy's misgivings over allowing Ingres to assume the role of *chef d'école* had significant repercussions at the Salon which have not previously been explored. During the same period as the *envois* controversies, the jury began rejecting works by Ingres's pupils. In 1837, it rejected three works by Amaury-Duval, including a history painting, *Le Miracle de Santa Annunziata*. The following year it rejected Achille Girardin's monumental *Comte Ugolin au prison*. Auguste Flandrin and Eugène Appert also suffered rejections. Ingres still had allies within the Academy who participated in jury sessions at that time, such as Granet and Pradier, however it would seem that their presence was insufficient to protect even his best-known, government-sponsored pupils.

Tensions between Ingres and his colleagues grew on his return from Rome and were worsened by the grandeur of the painter's re-entry into Parisian life and the success of his latest work, *Antiochus et Stratonice*.⁴⁰ Ingres's close friend the engraver Gatteaux recorded: 'Il est entouré de tant d'éloges et venant de si haut, que ses rapports avec ses collègues deviennent chaque jour plus difficiles.'⁴¹ Whilst Ingres chose not to reopen his studio he was still hailed by his supporters to be the only man capable of leading the French school in the right direction: 'Ingres est le seul homme capable aujourd'hui de mettra l'école française sur la bonne voie.'⁴² Ingres's adulation by his followers fuelled the tensions between the painter and the Academy.

³⁹ H. Fourtoul, 'M. Ingres et l'Académie des Beaux-Arts', *Revue de Paris*, October 1839, pp. 195-203 (p. 196).

⁴⁰ See Carrington Shelton, *Ingres and his Critics*, pp. 54-86.

⁴¹ *Lettres d'Ingres à Marcotte d'Argenteuil*, p. 209, letter from Gatteaux to Marcotte, 13 November 1841.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 209, letter from Marcotte to Gatteaux, 5 October 1841.

Despite his opposition to the jury in principle (see p. 245), Ingres attended jury sessions in 1842, presumably motivated by a desire to protect his pupils from the growing hostility of his academic colleagues. Though we cannot assume that he would have supported the admission of all their works, since he may not have approved their entries and may also have wished to encourage further study, the relatively small number rejected certainly seems to suggest the influence of Ingres on the jury that year.

In 1843, Ingres was prevented from attending the jury, as Cailleux recorded: ‘M Ingres, occupé de terminer des travaux ordonnés par le Roi, et dont l’achèvement ne pouvait souffrir aucun retard, s’est trouvé dans la nécessité de s’abstenir.’⁴³ In his absence, the jury rejected many works by his most renowned pupils, including a portrait by Hippolyte Flandrin. The government had purchased one of Flandrin’s paintings from the 1839 Salon and in 1841 he was awarded the *Légion d’honneur*. The Academy, however, had particularly criticised Flandrin, whose style most reflected that of Ingres and who was as a result ‘désigné comme la victime principale du dépotisme pédagogique de son maître.’⁴⁴ The jury’s 1843 rejection of his work marked its most pointed rebuttal of both pupil and master and its boldest attack on Ingres’s status as the head of the French school. Whilst Flandrin’s rejected work did not feature in the Salon *livret*, *L’Artiste* reported that the work was eventually accepted when Ingres threatened to resign from the Academy when he learnt of its rejection.⁴⁵

Although Flandrin was the most important of Ingres’s pupils to be rejected in 1843, the affront to Ingres that year went much further. In total 51 of his pupils (77% of those submitting) had a total of 80 works (53%) rejected in 1843. Amongst these was a work by another former winner of the *Prix de Rome*, Paul Jourdy. We know that Ingres

⁴³ AMN, X 1843, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général de la Liste Civile sur l’Exposition de 1843.’

⁴⁴ Allard, *Ingres: la réforme des principes*, p. 155.

⁴⁵ [Anon.], ‘Actualités – Souvenirs’, *L’Artiste*, 3rd ser., 3 (1843), p. 176: ‘M. Ingres, froissé dans ses affections, dans ses goûts, dans les intérêts les plus chers de l’École qu’il a fondée, M. Ingres a voulu donner sa démission de membre de l’Institut. L’Académie des Beaux-Arts s’est émue d’une décision qui pouvait provoquer un affreux scandale dans le monde des Beaux-Arts; elle a fait dire à M. Ingres qu’elle admettait le tableau de M. Flandrin.’

especially opposed the injustice of the Salon jury rejecting artists whom the government had sent to Rome, stating ‘où je trouve ces refus absolument injustes, je dirai coupables, c’est à l’égard des jeunes gens auxquels le gouvernement a offert une éducation gratuite.’⁴⁶

Ingres chose to return to the jury in 1844 and defend his pupils. In stark contrast with 1843, only 13 of his pupils and 21 of their 112 works were rejected. Even given the comparative severity of these two years (34% of works rejected in 1844 compared with 59% in 1843) it is clear that Ingres’s presence was responsible for reducing the level of rejections of his pupils from 53% in 1843 to 19% in 1844. His two closest allies within the Academy, Pradier and Granet, were both unable to attend the jury that year, and Ingres seems to have singlehandedly assured the admission of his best pupils. This dramatic change in results highlights Ingres’s unique position within the Academy and his influence would no doubt also have been strengthened if reports of his threat to resign the previous year were true. Ingres’s influence over his colleagues has not previously been properly acknowledged. For example, following the arguments of Rosenthal’s *Du Romantisme au réalisme*, Gérard Monnier has argued that Ingres failed to oppose his academic colleagues: ‘Rosenthal a distingué un groupe intransigeant, composé de peintres âgés, de second ordre (autour de Bidault, Couder et Granet), qui imposent leur loi, excluant tout écart dans le métier et le style [...] Il est clair que les autres membres du jury (Ingres, Delaroche, Horace Vernet) ne s’opposent pas vraiment à ces intransigeants gardiens du métier qu’ils laissent faire.’⁴⁷ Such an account both fails to recognise Ingres’s personal motivations to protect his pupils and fails to understand the singularly authoritative nature of his position which allowed him to do so.

Ingres did not return to the Salon jury after 1844. It is possible that he felt his authority had been sufficiently displayed to prevent further dissent from his colleagues.

⁴⁶ *L’Atelier d’Ingres*, 1878, p. 246.

⁴⁷ Gérard Monnier, *L’Art et ses institutions en France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), p. 132.

His lifelong friend Gatteaux had also been elected to the Academy in the meantime and would attend every jury session throughout the rest of the July Monarchy. The presence of such an ally was likely to have reassured Ingres that his interests would be reasonably safeguarded. However, the jury continued to reject pupils of Ingres later in the 1840s, including established artists such as Mottez, Cambon, Paul Flandrin and Desgoffe, revealing the unique nature of Ingres's influence on the jury which his allies could not replicate in his absence.

- *Romantic Painters and their Aspirations*

While Delacroix was by 1830 already established as the dominant figure in the romantic movement, a number of romantic artists showed aspirations under the July Monarchy to be taken seriously as history painters. Although, as we have seen, the jury was ambivalent towards the impact of romanticism on commissions for Versailles, it did not systematically reject history paintings by artists associated with the romantic movement. Its judgement of artists such as Jean Gigoux and Louis Boulanger, for example, considered during this period to be key proponents of monumental romanticism, though relatively unknown today, suggests rather that the jury was uncomfortable with their ambitions and what it saw as their encroachment on traditionally academic territory. In general terms, it was clearly concerned about the implications of romantic history painting for the future direction of French art.

Throughout the period, the jury accepted all of Delacroix's history paintings, although it also voted on its admission of a number of these works, confirming that there was opposition from certain members. It was particularly divided over Delacroix's submissions of historical battle scenes and subjects from classical antiquity. Certain members may well have found his expressive painterly style ill-suited to conveying specific military events. *La Bataille de Nancy* was accepted in 1834 by twelve votes to

nine, *La Bataille de Taillebourg*, commissioned for Versailles, was accepted in 1837 by fifteen votes to three and *La Justice de Trajan* was accepted in 1840 by eleven votes to seven. As we know (see above, pp. 83-84), in 1845 this opposition towards Delacroix originated in the architecture section of the Academy and these members, in particular, are likely to have voted against Delacroix's earlier submissions.

Delacroix had more success with his monumental mythology painting *Médée furieuse*, which was unanimously accepted by the jury.



Fig. 15. Eugène Delacroix, *Médée furieuse*, oil on canvas, Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts, 260 x 165 cm, 1838.

Cailleux commended this painting in his report on the 1838 Salon, writing: ‘Le tableau de la Médée est un ouvrage remarquable dans lequel on reconnaît les qualités qui distinguent les coloristes.’⁴⁸ The traditionally conservative critic Delécluze also praised the work: ‘Il est évident, pour tout homme qui a l’intelligence et le goût de l’art de la peinture, qu’il y a, dans cette nouvelle production [...] un jet, une ardeur, une existence *charnelle*, je ne trouve pas d’autre expression, qui remue le spectateur avec force.’⁴⁹ Delécluze was able to criticise this painting yet judge it on its own merits, suggesting a

⁴⁸ AMN, X 1838, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général.’

⁴⁹ Delécluze, ‘Salon de 1838’, *Journal des Débats*, 8 March 1838.

degree of openness towards romanticism which conservative critics had lacked at the start of the period:

Tout dans cette production est sacrifié, il faut l'avouer, au désir de faire ressortir la passion extérieure, la vie du corps, les émotions d'instinct, ce qui d'ailleurs est le fait de tous les peintres essentiellement coloristes, comme l'est M. Delacroix. Je pense que son tableau de *Médée*, considéré sous ce point de vue, doit produire de l'effet, car ces qualités sont éminentes dans sa composition (ibid.).

Presumably Delécluze felt that the painting sacrificed certain technical skills of academic drawing and requirements of anatomical correctness in his loose romantic handling, but the overall effect of the work was able to compensate for such sacrifices. It would seem that the jury as a whole was able to share Delécluze and Cailleux's ability to judge this work on its own terms. Whilst mythological scenes were traditionally academic territory, the subject of Medea, imbued with emotion and dramatic tension, seems to have lent itself to a romantic treatment, expressing her disturbed psychological state.

Delacroix proclaimed his desire to be regarded as a serious history painter not only through his submissions to the Salon of work in this category, but also in his application to join the Academy. He first applied to join the Academy in 1837, on the death of Gérard. He was not listed by the painting section, but was first choice amongst the rest of the Academy's selection, thanks to the support of members of the musical composition section, most likely including Auber, Paër and Halévy.⁵⁰ He was

⁵⁰ Preceding his final, successful application to the Academy in 1857, Delacroix thanked the composer Auber for his support. See *Lettres de Eugène Delacroix (1815 à 1863)*, ed. by Philippe Burty (Paris: Quantin, 1878), p. 273, letter from Delacroix to Auber, January 1857: 'Votre bonté et votre amabilité ont été constantes pour moi, non seulement dans mes épreuves académiques, mais partout où j'ai eu le bonheur d'être rapproché de vous.' Delacroix also wrote to Alfred de Musset in an undated letter of either 1838 or 1839, asking him to recommend him to the composer Paër, following at least one of his earlier nominations. See *ibid.*, p. 148: 'Avez-vous encore la possibilité de me faire recommander à Paër pour l'élection prochaine à l'Institut? Si cela ne vous engage pas trop ni ne vous dérange, je vous demanderai le même service que l'année dernière.' Louis Hautecœur has suggested, that in addition to the musicians, Delacroix found support amongst the architecture section of the Academy at this time. I am disinclined to believe this, given the information I have discussed concerning Delacroix's 1845 Salon entries. The author may have been referring to the architect Hittorff, whom he later discussed in relation to Delacroix's eventual election in 1857. However, Hittorff himself was not elected to the Academy until

unsuccessful in his first nomination and the seat was awarded to Schnetz. In 1838, upon the death of Thévenin, he applied for a second time and was once again listed by the Academy but failed to be elected. Upon Langlois's death the following year, he made a third unsuccessful application.

These three attempts in two years demonstrated the seriousness of Delacroix's ambition to be elected to the Academy, but also the concerted effort of sufficient academicians to keep him out. The last of these applications came in February 1839, with the election taking place on the 9th, just two days before the members of the Academy began their first jury session that year. Delacroix's aspirations to join the Academy could not have been fresher in the academicians' minds when they came to judge the artist's submissions. The jury rejected an unprecedented three works by Delacroix, having admitted all his submissions in the previous two years. Whilst there is no evidence which directly links the two events, the jury's rejection of three out of Delacroix's five entries indicates an uncharacteristic severity, which suggests the need to consider further motivations beyond those based solely on aesthetic considerations.⁵¹ The academicians seem to have used their position as jurors to reprimand Delacroix for his aspirations to join their select company.

The jury rejected a number of other romantic artists who demonstrated aspirations to be considered as serious history painters on the same terms as their academic counterparts and it refused to accept what it saw as the subversion of classical principles in monumental history paintings. Both Gigoux's *Marc Antoine et Cléopâtre après la Bataille d'Actium*, rejected in 1837, and Louis Boulanger's *La Mort de Messaline*, rejected in 1843, depicted gruesome subjects which appeared to offer no

1853, and therefore could not have played a part in Delacroix's earlier nominations. See Louis Hautecœur, 'Delacroix et l'Académie des Beaux-Arts', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 62 (1963), 349-364.

⁵¹ This severity was both uncharacteristic in terms of Delacroix's Salon record and of the jury's decisions in 1839 when it accepted 69% of works (the highest proportion since 1835) and when press complaints of other controversial rejections were comparatively low, with only the rejection of one work by Rousseau (by a vote of 14 to 6) and a drawing by Aligny receiving notable commentary.

clear compensating moral interpretations and failed to reflect the classical notion of the *beau idéal*.⁵²

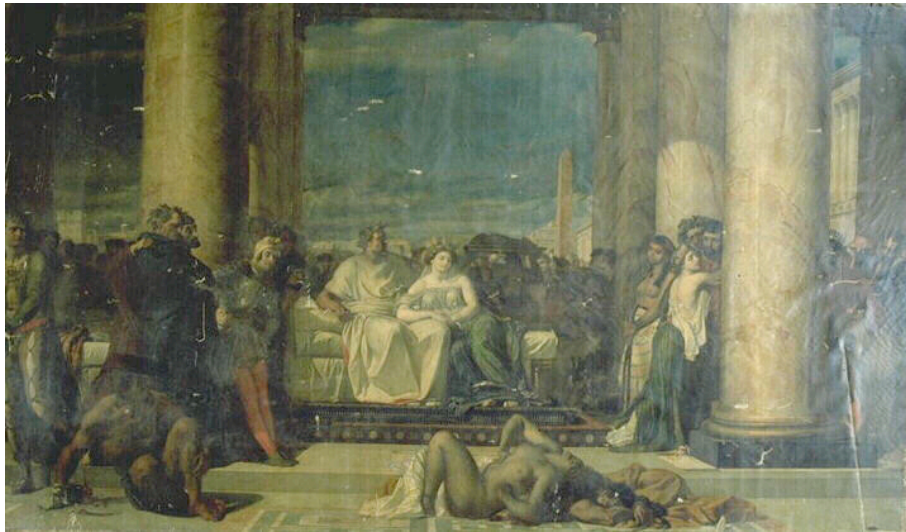


Fig. 16. Jean Gigoux, *Marc Antoine et Cléopâtre après la Bataille d'Actium*, oil on canvas, Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 385 x 650 cm, 1837.

In Gigoux's painting, the Egyptian queen tests poison on a slave, in preparation for her eventual suicide, in a scene taken from Plutarch's *Life of Marc Antony*: 'Cependant Cléopâtre faisoit un recueil et amas de poisons qui ont le pouvoir d'esteindre les hommes, et pour éprouver ceux qui faisoient mourir avec la moindre douleur, elle faisoit l'essai sur des esclaves et des criminels de mort.'⁵³ A naked slave writhes with agony in the foreground of the canvas as Antony and Cleopatra, and their banquet guests, look on, as passive spectators to this gruesome scene. In Boulanger's *La Mort de Messaline*, Messalina lies in the foreground of the painting awaiting her imminent execution. Gigoux and Boulanger's paintings shared a quasi-theatrical staging of the

⁵² Louis Boulanger, *La Mort de Messaline*, oil on canvas, location unknown, 350 x 450 cm, 1843. This painting has become confused with a work of the same title by Biennoury in the Musée de Grenoble and has been mistakenly listed as part of the Musée de Grenoble's collection in Jean Vergnet-Ruiz and Michel Laclotte, *Petits et grands musées de France* (Paris: Éditions Cercle d'art, 1962), p. 228, and *Les Années romantiques*, p. 451. The painting does not form part of the Musée de Grenoble's collection and its present location appears to be unknown. In 1875, it was listed alongside *St Jérôme* and *Le Triomphe de Pétrarque* as 'disséminés' in Georges Berger, 'Les Œuvres de Louis Boulanger', *Journal des Débats*, 1 March 1875. An error has also entered into certain texts concerning the work's date. Aristide Marie, *Le Peintre poète Louis Boulanger* (Paris: H. Floury, 1925), p. 25 mistakenly claimed this work was submitted and rejected in 1836. This mistake was repeated by William Hauptman, 'Juries, Protests and Counter-Exhibitions before 1850', *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), 95-109 (p. 99).

⁵³ Quotation from Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Marc Antony* as quoted in 1838 *Salon livret, Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivans, exposés au Musée royal le 1^{er} mars 1838* (Paris: Vinchon 1838), p. 91.

action depicted and the jury's rejection of these two works suggests its disapproval of a dramatic romantic treatment of historical subjects.

The academicians' sense of themselves as the guardians of the future of French art made them particularly sensitive when it came to history painting. Its rejection of these two works came at a time when both artists had recently won public or official recognition and seems to reflect a desire on the jury's part to arrest this progress. Gigoux was a central figure of artistic Paris under the July Monarchy. Arriving in the capital in 1828, he quickly became associated with members of the romantic movement and provided lithographs for the romantic journal *L'Artiste*.⁵⁴ He submitted his first monumental history painting *Les derniers moments de Léonard de Vinci* to the 1835 Salon, where it was accepted by the jury and hung in the Salon carré by the *Direction des musées*.⁵⁵ This monumental painting, measuring 344 x 488 cm, attested to Gigoux's ambitions as a history painter:

Avec cette œuvre colossale, Gigoux exprime clairement ses ambitions: désirant de ne pas demeurer un peintre de second rang [...] il aborde ici, par le sujet comme par le format, la grande peinture qui doit lui permettre de conduire une carrière à la mesure de ses espoirs [...] le tableau [...] eut [...] l'effet escompté sur le public lors de son apparition au Salon.⁵⁶

The critical success of this work helped to establish Gigoux's reputation. Estignard recalled in 1895 'ce fut un applaudissement universel; le maître, car on pouvait lui donner ce titre glorieux, se plaça sans conteste au premier rang de l'art romantique.'⁵⁷

L'Artiste praised the qualities of this 'remarquable tableau', claiming 'la couleur est digne des maîtres vénitiens.'⁵⁸ Farcy singled out this work, despite certain criticisms, in

⁵⁴ See Henry Jouin, *Jean Gigoux: artistes et gens de lettres de l'époque romantique* (Paris: Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1895).

⁵⁵ Jean Gigoux, *Les derniers moments de Léonard de Vinci*, oil on canvas, Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 344 x 488 cm, 1835.

⁵⁶ Régis Marin, *Jean Gigoux (1806-1894): dessins, peintures, estampes: œuvres de l'artiste dans les collections des musées de Besançon* (Besançon: Musée des beaux-arts et d'archéologie de Besançon, 1994), p. 94; see also *Jean Gigoux (Besançon, 1806 - Paris, 1894)*, ed. by Diederik Bakhüys and Alice Massé (Rouen: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2008).

⁵⁷ A. Estignard, *Jean Gigoux, sa vie, ses œuvres, ses collections* (Besançon: Delagrangue-Louys, 1895), p. 16.

⁵⁸ [Anon.], 'Salon de 1835', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 9 (1835), pp. 109-114 (p. 113).

the *Journal des Artistes*, writing: ‘*Les derniers momens de Léonard de Vinci*, par M. Gigoux, première tentative de l’auteur dans une si grande dimension, méritent certainement une attention particulière.’⁵⁹ Cailleux also praised this painting for which Gigoux was awarded a first-class medal. The jury’s rejection of *Marc Antoine et Cléopâtre*, by thirteen votes to four, might be seen as a reaction from certain members towards Gigoux’s growing status and unequivocal aspirations to be recognised as a history painter. The second work, similarly monumental in scale, confirmed the ambitions demonstrated in the first and threatened to be a show-stopping piece for the public and secure Gigoux’s reputation.

Gigoux used the notoriety of this rejection to gain considerable publicity for his work. The artist had a talent for surrounding himself with influential friends and benefited from a vast network of useful acquaintances, who offered him the publicity he sought. The working relationship he had developed with *L’Artiste* proved highly beneficial and this publication was one of several to protest vehemently against his rejection in 1837.⁶⁰ Following this publicity campaign, Gigoux resubmitted the same work in 1838 when it was admitted by the jury. This example has been used both to emphasise the inconsistency of the jury and also as an example of the successful influence of the press. Etienne Huard referred to it simply as ‘la preuve de l’iniquité du jury’ and Gautier asked ‘que penser d’un jury qui trouve fort bon aujourd’hui ce qu’il jugeait indigne il y a dix mois?’⁶¹ The different composition of the jury in the respective sessions also meant that it was possible that a majority could have accepted the work in

⁵⁹ F. [Charles Farcy], ‘Exposition de 1835, au musée du Louvre’, *Journal des Artistes*, 15 March 1835, pp. 161-167 (p. 162).

⁶⁰ [Anon.], ‘Salon de 1837’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 13 (1837), pp. 49-53 (p. 50): ‘Ils ont refusé le tableau de Gigoux! Les cruels! Or cependant, messieurs les impitoyables, savez-vous bien ce que vous faites, quand vous déchirez ainsi deux années de la pensée, de l’imagination et du talent d’un artiste? [...] vous ruinez sa fortune, vous écrasez sa renommée, vous coupez jusqu’à la racine ce jeune laurier qui ne demandait qu’à grandir.’ See Jouin, *Jean Gigoux*, pp. 46-49 for further protests.

⁶¹ H. [Etienne Huard], ‘Salon de 1838’, *Journal des Artistes*, 18 March 1838, pp. 129-135 (p. 134); Théophile Gautier, ‘Exposition du Louvre’, *La Presse*, 23 March 1838.

1838 without any individual change of opinion from the year before.⁶² The painter Granet, a friend of Gigoux, had been absent in the 1837 jury session but attended in 1838 and may have helped to sway the jury's decision. It seems likely that a combination of the pressure from the press and the changed composition of the jury influenced its decision to admit the work.

Louis Boulanger, Gautier's 'célèbre peintre romantique', was also a key figure of the period.⁶³ A member of romantic circles and a friend of Delacroix, he was also closely associated with the romantic literary world and particularly Victor Hugo.⁶⁴ Boulanger had been one of a number of romantic painters to win fame in the 1827 Salon, exhibiting the monumental work *Le Supplice de Mazeppa*.⁶⁵ Under the July Monarchy he won support from the administration, receiving a commission to decorate the *Chambre des Pairs*, and in 1840 he was awarded the *Légion d'honneur*. *L'Artiste* speculated about the jury members' jealousy at a non-academician receiving these prestigious accolades:

D'où vient que M. Boulanger, toujours reçu au Salon depuis 1827, a vu refuser son tableau alors qu'une main royale a attaché sur sa poitrine le signe de l'honneur et du mérite, alors qu'il vient de terminer avec succès un travail important dans un de nos palais? Beaucoup de sceptiques et de pessimistes répondront à cela que M Boulanger ne doit pas, non plus que les autres peintres de son espèce, recevoir des travaux ou des récompenses qui appartiennent de droit à MM. de l'Institut.⁶⁶

⁶² This possibility was acknowledged by one critic at the time. See Paul Merruau, 'Salon de 1838', *Revue Universelle*, 2 (1838), pp. 246-259 (p. 247): 'Si la Cléopâtre de M Gigoux a été acceptée cette année, c'est peut-être que les réclamations des peintres, le scandale déjà produit par ce refus, ont engagé les juges de l'an dernier à être plus attentifs et à reformer leur jugement; mais ne serait-ce pas plutôt que les juges de cette année n'étaient pas ceux de l'année dernière et se trouvaient ou plus clairvoyants ou mieux disposés?'

⁶³ Théophile Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme* (Paris: Charpentier, 1874), p. 229.

⁶⁴ Delacroix, *ses maîtres, ses amis, ses élèves*, ed. by Gilberte Martin-Méry (Bordeaux: Delmas, 1963), p. 95; Monique Geiger, 'Louis Boulanger, ami et illustrateur d'Alexandre Dumas', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-lettres*, 122 (1977), 319-328; *Louis Boulanger: peintre-graveur de l'époque romantique, 1806-1867*, exhib. cat. (Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1970).

⁶⁵ Louis Boulanger, *Le Supplice de Mazeppa*, oil on canvas, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 525 x 392 cm, 1827.

⁶⁶ [Anon.], 'Album du Salon de 1843. La Mort de Messaline par M. Louis Boulanger. Tableau refusé par le jury', *L'Artiste*, 3rd ser., 3 (1843), pp. 186-188 (p. 188).

For the members of the Academy, these commissions represented what they considered to be the prerogative of the most prestigious painters. The Academy is unlikely, therefore, to have responded well to romantic painters such as Boulanger receiving these awards and appropriating honours which had traditionally been reserved for its members. They can only have been reluctant to offer a rival the possibility to enhance his reputation with the sort of acclaim with which *L'Artiste* welcomed *La Mort de Messaline*, as an 'œuvre remarquable [...] qui devait placer définitivement son auteur au rang des maîtres de l'école française.'⁶⁷

The jury was more partisan than the administration in its support for history painters. The latter seemed willing to support any artist prepared to uphold the declining genre of history painting, even if it was not undertaken in a purely classical style. Cailleux regularly included Delacroix amongst the most prominent history painters at the Salon. In 1845, he listed Delacroix amongst a number of painters exhibiting 'des tableaux d'histoire dans lesquels on retrouverait les qualités inhérentes au talent particulier de chacun de ces artistes.'⁶⁸ In 1838, he praised Gigoux for his dedication at undertaking a large historical work at his own costs:

Si le tableau d'Antoine et de Cléopâtre n'est pas un ouvrage réussi, on ne doit pas moins savoir gré à cet artiste de ses intentions. Ce tableau d'une très grande dimension a été entrepris entièrement aux frais de M Gigoux qui y a consacré toutes les économies qu'il avait pu faire jusqu'à ce jour. Il est à regretter qu'il veuille s'attacher à traiter des sujets qui ne sont pas dans la ligne de ses premiers études. Le tableau de Cléopâtre ne manque pas d'effet et si M Gigoux avait pu de bonne heure développer son talent sous l'égide des maîtres habiles qui recommandaient à leurs élèves l'étude de la forme, nul doute qu'il ne fut parvenu à occupé un rang distingué dans les arts. Je ne crois pas cependant que l'on puisse abandonner entièrement M Gigoux et je proposerai par exception qu'il lui soit commandé un tableau.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ AMN, X 1845: 1845 Salon, 1845 Salon report, untitled 27 page document beginning 'Le nombre des ouvrages', p. 13.

⁶⁹ AMN, X 1838, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général.'

Cailleux reiterated this praise for ‘désintéressement’, wishing to reward artists who displayed a financial commitment to their art. In his praise of the artist Renoux, he was careful to mention the journey he undertook at his own costs:⁷⁰

Il est du nombre des artistes qui ont apporté le plus grand soin et le plus grand zèle dans l'exécution des tableaux de Batailles qui lui ont été commandés. Il a entrepris à ses frais un voyage dans les Pyrénées, afin de recueillir sur les lieux les renseignements qui lui étaient nécessaires. Ses succès méritent d'être récompensés et je crois devoir solliciter pour lui la décoration de la Légion d'honneur.⁷¹

Cailleux appears to have advocated judging history paintings on their own terms and according to the individual style of each artist as opposed to applying academic criteria to the judgement of history painting.

*

The jury's judgement of history painting was strongly influenced by the academic traditions of this genre. Its decisions can be seen to reflect the elevated position of history painting within the traditional hierarchy. National history paintings commissioned for Versailles were subjected to more rigorous demands than other works entered to the Salon as the jury seems to have expected such works to uphold academic standards. Outside the depiction of national history, the jury's decisions have been shown to reflect the Academy's concern for the future direction of French art and in particular its concern over the influences of Ingres and romanticism in an area for which the academicians felt they had a special prerogative and responsibility. That the jury's attitude towards history painting seems to have been more partisan than that of the administration reflects its more corporatist and self-interested response in relation to the most prestigious painting genre. However, we also see the willingness of a majority of its members to adapt their position in response to an established artist like Delacroix or following more specific pressures from the press, as in the case of Gigoux. The jury's

⁷⁰ Charles Caius Renoux, 1795-1846, predominantly a landscape artist, promoted to the *Légion d'honneur* in 1838, first exhibited at the Salon in 1822.

⁷¹ AMN, X 1838, 'Rapport à Monsieur l'Intendant Général.'

navigation of contemporary production ultimately led towards greater compromise in its decisions, which can particularly be seen in the gradual merging of traditional history painting with a less rigid *genre historique*.

Genre Painting

The Academy signalled its acceptance of historical genre painting in its nomination of Delaroche to the Academy in 1832, which, as we have seen (see above, pp. 58-59), was welcomed as a demonstration of the Academy's willingness to adapt to the changes taking place in artistic production during this period. The term 'genre historique' had developed in France during the previous decades of the nineteenth century but the term 'was not used, at least officially, before 1833.'⁷² This genre marked a less stringent and more anecdotal approach towards history painting. It was practised by a number of academicians, including Schnetz, Granet, Horace Vernet and Delaroche who were listed as submitting historical genre paintings to the 1835 Salon. Allard has described Delaroche's 'démystification de l'idéalisme davidien' which epitomises this genre's more relaxed attitude to choice and treatment of historical subjects.⁷³ The judgements of the jury reflect the way in which the Academy embraced historical genre painting.

Cailleux's annual reports on the Salon reveal the gradual assimilation of historical genre paintings with history paintings. In 1835, he stated that historical genre works required the greatest *études*, that is, study in terms of historical knowledge and artistic training, of all forms of genre painting: 'La peinture connue sous le nom de genre, se divise en un grand nombre de parties [...] La première que l'on est habitué à désigner

⁷² See Humphrey Wine, 'The End of History? Painting in France c.1700-1880', in *Tradition and Revolution in French Art 1700-1880*, exhib. cat. (London: National Gallery Publications, 1993), pp. 13-30 (p. 24): 'The more anecdotal subjects taken from national history, such as Ansiaux's picture (Cardinal Richelieu presenting Poussin to Louis XIII), provoked the formal recognition of 'genre historique' as a new category of painting part way between history painting and genre. Although the term 'genre historique' was not used, at least officially, before 1833, a distinction between paintings of this type and paintings of the grand style was noted in the first decade of the nineteenth century.' See also Chaudonneret, 'Du "genre anecdotique" au "genre historique"', p. 79.

⁷³ Sébastien Allard, 'L'expérimentation romantique', in *L'Art français: le XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Henri Loyette (Paris: Flammarion, 2009) pp. 43-164 (p. 121).

sous le nom de genre historique exige les études les plus élevées.⁷⁴ In the same report, he claimed that the painter Beaume ‘s’est presque élevé dans cet ouvrage à la hauteur de l’histoire.’ Whilst this statement reveals that historical genre paintings were considered as less elevated works than history paintings proper, we see that the distinction between the two categories was already substantially reduced. In 1839, Cailleux went further, saying that it was difficult to distinguish between the two and that in any event neither was intrinsically superior to the other:

J’ai conservé comme dans mes précédents rapports pour cette classification des ouvrages la désignation généralement reçue dans les arts de tableau d’histoire et de genre, quoiqu’il soit toujours difficile d’établir parfaitement la ligne de démarcation et surtout sans entendre donner aucune supériorité à tel genre sur tel autre, reconnaissant avant tout que le caractère qu’un artiste sait imprimer à son ouvrage en constitue seul le mérite.⁷⁵

By 1841, ‘Histoire et genre historique’ were classed together in the report and no distinction was made between the artists in this grouping.

The jury’s response to historical genre works reflected this assimilation which occurred in the middle years of the July Monarchy. Whilst never accepting these works at the same high rates it did history painting, in the 1840s the jury nevertheless regularly admitted a greater proportion of historical genre paintings than it did of other genre paintings, landscapes or portraits.

Instead of having their source in classical history and mythology, historical genre works were often inspired by medieval history or literature, which experienced a revival in the context of this period’s enormous interest in history and in romanticism’s challenge to classicism. These subjects remained elevated above non-historical genre subjects and were still thought to require an intellectual engagement comparable with history paintings. Their subjects frequently had romantic associations, but many artists working in this genre were stylistically moderate, observing classical principles of

⁷⁴ AMN, X 1835, ‘Salon de 1835. Rapport.’

⁷⁵ AMN, X 1839: Salon de 1839, ‘Organisation’ folder, ‘Rapport’ folder.

correct drawing, harmonious composition and high finish. Of the main romantic artists at the 1827 Salon, few artists other than Delacroix continued to practise what might be called a pure romantic style, by which I mean the violent treatment of colour, energetic movement and subversion of classical expectations of drawing and composition demonstrated in his 1827 work *La Mort de Sardanapale*.⁷⁶ Painters such as Tony and Alfred Jehannot, who had been disciples of the romantic movement, turned more towards the developing practice of illustration, particularly suited to the narrative qualities of historical genre painting. Their Salon submissions in the 1830s revealed both medieval and literary influences. By respecting basic classical principles in their work, particularly of draughtsmanship, and avoiding the extreme painterly style which troubled the jury, both artists had successful careers under the July Monarchy. Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury was another key proponent of historical genre painting at this time, with a taste for ‘reconstitutions historiques.’⁷⁷ The jury consistently admitted the genre works of this artist, who would be elected to the Academy in 1850.⁷⁸

The jury was receptive towards historical genre works inspired by literary texts. Ary Scheffer entered a number of works inspired by Byron and by Goethe’s *Faust*, all of which were admitted to the Salon. Jacques Foucart’s description of Scheffer’s qualities as a painter help explain the jury’s support for these works:

Artiste le plus en vue sous le règne de Louis-Philippe, exécutant habile et soigneux mais sans lourdeur ni fatigue, portraitiste attiré et séduisant de l’intelligentsia, jouissant d’une immense réputation internationale (notamment en Pologne), Scheffer à partir de 1830 devient le peintre moral et idéaliste, calme et racé, dont s’enchante son époque.⁷⁹

The German artist Steuben was also inspired by literary works and particularly Victor Hugo, submitting two versions of *La Esmeralda* in 1839 and 1841. As Allemand-

⁷⁶ Eugène Delacroix, *La Mort de Sardanapale*, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 392 x 496 cm, 1827.

⁷⁷ Chaudonneret, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 428.

⁷⁸ We have seen above (pp. 133-134) that the jury rejected two of his portraits for Versailles, again suggesting the more academic standards it expected from these commissions.

⁷⁹ Jacques Foucart, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 432.

Cosneau tells us, ‘la critique fut unanime à reconnaître le charme de la peinture’ and the jury received both of these works unanimously.⁸⁰ It also accepted a range of other works inspired by medieval literature, by painters including the Johannot brothers, Beaume, Schopin and Granet, which lacked the elevated subjects of academic history paintings and were more akin to genre painting in their rendering of narrative scenes.

Delacroix’s paintings of scenes from literature were less well-received by the jury. Delacroix was particularly inspired by the works of Walter Scott, which were extraordinarily popular in France during the Restoration and the early years of the July Monarchy. Beth Wright’s pioneering studies of Scott have explored his influence on nineteenth-century French artists. She writes:

Scott had created a new literary genre: the historical novel. A blend of fictional literature and historical documentation, it was simultaneously didactic (but not pedantic) and entertaining (but not frivolous). Because of its style and format, it reached a wide audience. Precisely the same combination was being sought in the pictorial arts.⁸¹

The liberal jury of 1831 received two paintings by Delacroix taken from the works of Scott. However, it rejected *L’Hermite de Copmanhurst* both in 1834 and when Delacroix submitted it for a second time the following year. *L’Artiste* disputed the work’s rejection and praised Delacroix’s treatment of this subject:

Ce n’est pas un tableau fini, c’est une composition peinte de verve, mais qui peut être placée parmi les meilleures de l’auteur. On voit que la scène a été soudainement conçue par lui, et qu’il l’a jetée sur la toile avec la même rapidité qu’elle s’était formée dans son imagination.⁸²

The apparent rapid execution and spontaneity of the work, which *L’Artiste* praised, is likely to have been the reason behind the jury’s rejection. It would seem therefore, that despite its permissiveness with regard to the literary inspiration of certain paintings, the

⁸⁰ Allemand-Cosneau, *ibid.*, p. 436.

⁸¹ Beth Segal Wright, ‘Scott’s Historical Novels and French Historical Painting 1815-1855’, *The Art Bulletin*, 63 (1981), 268-287 (p. 268).

⁸² [Anon.], ‘L’Ermite de Copmanhurst, par Eugène Delacroix, et le jury du Salon de 1834’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 8 (1834), pp. 237-238 (p. 237).

jury found it more difficult to compromise on the importance of an academic ‘finish’ for historical works.

The jury’s acceptance of historical works which fell clearly outside the parameters of the traditional class of history painting points towards a greater tolerance for innovation than has been acknowledged. An artist like Meissonier, whose work seemed deliberately to subvert the classical principles of history painting, was well-received by the jury. Gotlieb explains the artist’s challenge to the traditions of the genre:

Meissonier’s early critics had praised his genre paintings for their challenge to the academic doctrine of the hierarchy of genres. Indebted, as it seemed, to Dutch and Flemish genre paintings of the seventeenth century, his genre paintings were felt to substitute for the academic doctrine of the hierarchy of genres a broader and more subjective aesthetic keyed to the diversity of human experience.⁸³

The jury rejected four watercolours which Meissonier submitted to his first Salon in 1834 and a single painting submitted in 1835, but admitted all of the artists’ historicising genre paintings in the following years. We should recognise that its acceptance of Meissonier from 1836 onwards preceded, rather than responded to, his public popularity and it was via its admission of his work to the Salon that he gained considerable exposure and, consequently, critical and popular acclaim. This tolerance for an artist challenging academic traditions is a clear example of the jury’s ability not to be overly proscriptive in its judgements.

The painting of scenes from everyday life expanded during the July Monarchy. Genre painting was not a new phenomenon, and had been ‘an important aspect of art in eighteenth-century Paris.’⁸⁴ Its expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century attested to a growing demand for scenes from daily life, which resonated with the public in the post-Napoleonic era: ‘According to the critic Arnold Scheffer, the new interest

⁸³ Marc J. Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 12.

⁸⁴ Jon Whiteley and Linda Whiteley, ‘The Institutions of French Art, 1648-1900’ in *Tradition and Revolution in French Art*, pp. 31-56 (p. 45).

was due to the waning influence of Davidian history painting and the pressing concern for family life after the convulsions of the Napoleonic Wars.⁸⁵ The small format and easy accessibility of these works made them ideally suited for decorating bourgeois homes. High numbers of such works were submitted to the Salon, rising from approximately 15% of painting submissions at the start of the period to 20% at the end. The rise of genre painting appeared to threaten the sustainability of history painting and the jury's rejections aimed to curtail this growth and infringement on what it thought of as the major pictorial genres. However, it also continued to accept large numbers of these submissions and an examination of its decisions can suggest what qualities the jury expected in successful genre paintings.

The painter Léopold Robert was a highly successful artist until his death in 1835. The jury unanimously accepted his works which depicted the lives of simple country peasants, no doubt because Robert closely respected the classical concept of the *beau idéal*. His humble subjects were rendered as noble emblems of a morally commendable, simple life. His works evoked a universality which seemed to raise them above the status of genre painting.⁸⁶ Chaudonneret rightly points to the association between these contemporary Italian country folk and their classical ancestry and Ambrosini has commented on the role 'Italophilia' played in the positive reception of Robert.⁸⁷

The genre paintings of Schnetz were also classical works which, like Robert's, idealised their subjects and referred back to a classical past. Schnetz's works were well-received by the jury throughout the period, and the artist was elected to the Academy in 1837. Valérie Collardeau has described Schnetz's particular interpretation of genre painting: 'Peinture de genre à l'italienne, peinture de mœurs, peinture ethnographique,

⁸⁵ Lynne Ambrosini, 'Genre Painting under the Restoration and July Monarchy: The Critics Confront Popular Art', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 125 (1995), 41-52 (p. 43).

⁸⁶ See Chaudonneret, 'Du "genre anecdotique" au "genre historique"', p. 81.

⁸⁷ Ambrosini, p. 48.

peinture de scènes populaires et religieuses de l'Italie, peinture d'illustration, scènes de genre aux personnages italiens, histoire des Romains modernes.'⁸⁸ The jury appreciated the noble rendering and classical resonances of these everyday scenes, as seen, for example, in his 1831 Salon submission *Une famille de Contadini surprise par un prompt débordement du Tibre, se sauve au travers des eaux*.



Fig. 17. Jean-Victor Schnetz, *Une famille de Contadini surprise par un prompt débordement du Tibre, se sauve au travers des eaux*, oil on canvas, Rouen, Musée des beaux-arts, 295 x 247 cm, 1831.

Artists did not have to have attained Schnetz's high academic status in order to have successful careers as genre painters. Cailleux's Salon reports attest to the number of talented painters working in this genre, referring to many genre works 'très habilement exécutés' in 1838. Artists including Duval le Camus, Lepoittevin, and Biard were prolific genre painters at this time who each had all of their submissions accepted by the jury. Duval le Camus and Lepoittevin exhibited work at every Salon of the July Monarchy, and Biard exhibited at fourteen of the sixteen Salons. Between them they exhibited over 150 genre paintings, none of which had required a vote to achieve admission, and their work typifies successful genre painting for the Salon at this time. These classically trained artists took inspiration from Dutch painters, rather than the

⁸⁸ Valérie Collardeau, 'Jean-Victor Schnetz, chef de file d'une nouvelle peinture de genre', in *Jean-Victor Schnetz 1787-1870: couleurs d'Italie*, ed. by Laurent Chesneau-Dupin (Cabourg: Cahiers du temps, 2000), pp. 70-81 (p. 70).

academically sanctioned Italian masters.⁸⁹ There is no sense that these artists were genre painters by default, but rather they actively chose to dedicate themselves to this form of painting rather than traditional history painting. We learn that a contemporary critic praised Biard's choice to be a genre painter, as follows:

Comme tant d'autres, il aurait pu, s'il avait voulu, se faire peintre d'histoire et aborder le héros au lieu du suisse de paroisse; il avait assez de talent et de savoir faire pour en courir la chance; mais, en homme d'esprit il s'est arrêté à ce qu'il sentait le mieux; il a eu raison; sa popularité le prouve.⁹⁰

Like successful painters of historical genre works, these artists combined the techniques acquired in their classical training with a wider range of influences and subjects of a more anecdotal or domestic nature. The jury's positive reception of these works proves a certain willingness to extend the limits of what it judged acceptable and acknowledge the legitimacy of other artistic traditions.

On the other hand, scenes from everyday life rendered in a non-idealised manner went beyond these limits. The jury rejected several genre paintings by the romantic painter Léon Riesener, including *Jeune enfant faisant paître un agneau* (1835) and *Un enfant de campagne* (1836). Riesener was a cousin of Delacroix and greatly influenced by his colourist style. He recalled how the jury had opposed his work: 'plein de conviction pour la cause d'indépendance en matière d'exécution, j'ai reçu les plus fortes bourrades de l'ancien jury.'⁹¹ As we have seen above (p. 87), the architect Fontaine was, according to Champfleury, dismissive of the draughtsmanship in Riesener's works and under his leadership the more dogmatic members of the architecture section may well have opposed this artist's genre works.

Another form of genre painting towards which the jury displayed a certain ambivalence were social realist scenes. Ambrosini offers an explanation for the

⁸⁹ See Michael Vottero, *La Peinture de genre en France après 1850* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), p. 28.

⁹⁰ Auguste Barbier, *Salon de 1836* (Paris: P. Renouard, 1836), p. 101 quoted by Isabelle Julia, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 332.

⁹¹ Geneviève Viallefond, *Le Peintre Léon Riesener, 1808-1878* (Paris: Morancé, 1955), p. 34.

connection between genre painting and realism: ‘By virtue of genre painting’s contemporaneity, reportage, and focus on the transient, its rise was inseparable from the development of realism at mid-century.’⁹² Artists such as Jeanron, Antigna, Leleux and Cals all experimented with social realist painting under the July Monarchy. The jury failed to admit all such works to the Salon and its more traditional members are likely to have opposed the more explicit subversion of classical idealisation in these paintings.

Oriental scenes were also popular with the public, which was generally speaking enthusiastic about the colonisation of North Africa and curious to discover the landscapes of these exotic-sounding places.⁹³ Such scenes generally fared well with the jury.



Fig. 18. Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, *Enfants Turcs auprès d'une fontaine*, oil on canvas, Chantilly, Musée Condé, 110 x 74 cm, 1846.

Alexandre Decamps was amongst the artists inspired by his visits to Northern Africa and Asia and his romantic style corresponded well with the colours and light associated

⁹² Ambrosini, p. 44.

⁹³ For further reading on Orientalism see David Rosenthal, *Orientalism, the Near East in French Painting, 1800-1880* (Rochester: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982); Linda Nochlin, ‘The Imaginary Orient’, *Art in America*, May 1983, 118-131, 187-191; Christine Peltre, *L’Atelier du voyage: les peintres en Orient au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Le Promeneur, 1995); Frederick N. Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

with these lands. Cailleux praised Decamps's originality in 1839, writing: 'Tous les tableaux de M Decamps sont remarquables par un caractère d'originalité [...] cet artiste est du petit nombre des coloristes. Il tient déjà un rang très distingué dans les arts.'⁹⁴ The jury accepted all of Decamps's oriental scenes except his painting of *Le Jourdain*, which it rejected, to much criticism from the press in 1846. However, we know little about this work, which may have been a landscape scene. The jury accepted nearly all of Marilhat and Dauzat's oriental works, which included both landscape and genre scenes. These artists produced accurate representations of daily life, and the jury approved of this ethnographic or documentary manner. Again, these works could also have been seen to have a patriotic purpose, in documenting France's colonial conquests, which the jury may well have supported.

The jury had more difficulty in accepting the exotic aspects of certain oriental scenes. The oriental painter Théodore Frère was the artist on whom the jury most frequently voted under the July Monarchy. It voted on over 20% of his submissions compared with a total average of just 6%, and rejected 26 landscapes and genre scenes from 67 submissions. Frère's works reveal a loose execution, especially in his depiction of people, and strong, exaggerated coloration, which may help explain the opposition of certain jury members.⁹⁵ Unlike Dauzats or Marilhat, Frère chose to emphasise the unfamiliarity of his subjects. The jury may also have found the erotic undertones of certain oriental paintings disconcerting. Chassériau's submissions *Suzanne au bain* and *Esther se parant pour paraître devant Assuérus*, although biblical scenes, reflected a nineteenth-century Western conception of the Orient. His barely clothed female subjects were displayed as contemporary objects of voyeurism, seen as 'nus sensuels, chargés de

⁹⁴ AMN, X 1839, 'Rapport' folder.

⁹⁵ See Jean Lepage, *L'Épopée orientale* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2005), p. 106 discussing Frère's *Paysage d'Algérie*, oil on canvas, Musée de Narbonne, 42 x 56 cm, 1838: 'La densité du bleu, assez exceptionnelle il est vrai, peut surprendre le spectateur qui n'a jamais approché le cours supérieur du Nil [...] Les constructions sommaires [...] participent à la véracité topique d'un paysage tout à fait réaliste, le magenta évanescence des montagnes désertiques du lointain et la végétation étique étayent l'authenticité d'un paysage harmonieusement composé mais malheureusement entaché de représentations anthropomorphes et zoomorphes caricaturales et malhabiles.'

toute la poésie de l'Orient.'⁹⁶ The jury accepted both of these works, but hesitantly, by twelve votes to eight and eleven votes to nine respectively. Certain members are likely to have disapproved of the clear oriental inspiration in these two biblical scenes and their dramatic colouring.⁹⁷

Before the jury was suppressed on 24 February 1848, it held three judging sessions in which it showed a greater tolerance towards innovative work than in previous years. One example of the jury's flexibility in 1848 was its unanimous admission of Millet's *Vanneur*.⁹⁸ Whilst peasant subjects had become commonplace at the Salon before this time, this work was striking in its heroicizing of a non-idealised farm labourer. Whereas Robert and Schnetz made their subjects appear noble and statuesque, Millet's *Vanneur* was a realist portrayal of a working peasant, with rough hands and dirtied feet. Ambrosini refers to images of this kind in which artists 'who used a larger scale and a more serious treatment to aggrandize images of lower-class people were implicitly denying their inferiority.'⁹⁹ The jury's admission of a work of this kind shows its ability to adapt its former expectations. Millet's rough painterly treatment of the work ought not to have endeared him to the jury, which adds to the significance of its willingness to compromise by accepting this work. As we shall see, however, (pp. 231-232), the jury would also have been aware of the seriousness of the political situation at this time and its judgements in 1848 are likely to have been influenced by these external events.

The jury's reception of genre painting revealed a willingness to compromise on its traditional values. It accepted a more anecdotal approach to history painting in historical genre works, many of which, inspired by medieval history or literature,

⁹⁶ Lynne Thornton, *Les Orientalistes: peintres voyageurs* (Paris: ACR, 1993), p. 42.

⁹⁷ See Chassériau, *1819-1856, un autre romantisme*, ed. by Stéphane Guégan, Vincent Pomarède and Louis-Antoine Prat (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2002); Valbert Chevillard, *Un Peintre romantique, Théodore Chassériau* (La Rochelle: Rumeur des âges, 2002).

⁹⁸ Jean-François Millet, *Le Vanneur*, oil on canvas, London, National Gallery, 101 x 71 cm, 1847-1848.

⁹⁹ Ambrosini, p. 50.

revealed romantic associations. This acceptance led to the gradual assimilation of history and historical genre works as the distinctions between the two categories eroded under the July Monarchy and the latter was effectively elevated within the traditional hierarchy. In terms of everyday scenes, it continued to value the classical notion of the *beau idéal*, appreciating, for example, the works of Robert and Schnetz, but was less willing to tolerate non-idealised or social realist scenes. It was generally open towards oriental genre paintings, although it appeared more divided when it came to those which emphasised the unfamiliarity and exoticism of the scene. Whereas the jury's judgement of history painting reflected the weight of tradition associated with the most prestigious academic genre, it was able to respond more flexibly to genre paintings, of which it had less rigid expectations.

Portraiture

In the course of the July Monarchy, the jury was faced with the task of judging a disproportionate number of portraits, which made up approximately a quarter of the paintings entered in the Salon. Portraiture was a fast-growing genre, as artists increasingly saw opportunities to make a living from the aspirations of the growing middle classes, who wished to mark their developing sense of social status through portrait commissions. The jury responded to this proliferation by rejecting more portraits than any other genre, refusing at least a third of entries from 1836 onwards and nearly two thirds in 1843, when at its most severe in its judgement of all paintings. The majority of artists rejected would have been amateurs and inexperienced professionals, who hoped to use the Salon to attract further clientele. However, the jury also rejected portraits by numerous established artists, which once again reveals particular motivations.

The jury rejected portraits by a range of painters, including academically educated artists. As we have seen (see above, pp. 143-146), the jury's rejections revealed a certain prejudice against the school of Ingres, and amongst the portraits rejected were works by Hippolyte Flandrin, Amaury-Duval, Jourdy and other pupils of Ingres. In addition to Flandrin and Jourdy, the jury rejected a single work, in 1838, by another winner of the *Prix de Rome*, Joseph-Désiré Court, who had trained under Gros. This series of rejections proves that the former *pensionnaires* of the Villa Medici were not protected by their success in the state-sponsored education system. Since members of the painting section of the Academy chose the winners of the *Prix de Rome*, it may be that opposition towards these artists from the jury came from outside of the painting section. Court was a prolific painter who submitted 85 portraits to the Salons of the July Monarchy. According to Delécluze, the quality of Court's portraits varied considerably, which may help to explain the jury's rejection of an artist of this academic status.¹⁰⁰

The jury also rejected portraits by innovative artists. Amongst these were works by well-known romantic painters, including one by Eugène Devéria and several by Gigoux. The jury also rejected a number of portraits by Jeanron, which may have displayed some of the realist tendencies of his other works. The portraits of these artists may well have subverted the expected elevated qualities of classical portraiture's *beau idéal*. Unfortunately, very few of these rejected portraits are identifiable. Portraits pose the most problems in terms of identification since they often had generic or abbreviated titles. In the case of those which were admitted to the Salon, press commentaries can often enlighten us to the sitter or offer a description of the work. With rejected works, however, we lack this valuable information. Since for many of these portraits we know little more than who painted them and their dimensions, it is extremely difficult to suggest specific reasons as to why these particular works were rejected. However, we

¹⁰⁰ Delécluze, 'Salon de 1838', *Journal des Débats*, 8 March 1838.

can at least consider the range of artists rejected by the jury. We again see that the jury was least tolerant of artists working in the ‘extremes’, be they *ingristes*, romantics or realists.

In spite of this range of rejections, the jury also admitted an equally wide range of artists. As we have come to see, few established artists were rejected in their entirety, and the jury accepted as well as rejected works by all the above artists. Furthermore, the range of admissions included what might be considered to be archetypal romantic images. One of the most striking portraits from this era was Louis Boulanger’s depiction of the romantic artist and illustrator Achille Devéria.



Fig. 19. Louis Boulanger, *Achille Devéria*, oil on canvas, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 116.5 x 90.5 cm, c. 1837.

Sébastien Allard has discussed how this image subverted the concept of idealisation of the model which was expected from portraiture at this time:

[...] la pose strictement frontale, le puissant clair-obscur inspiré par la peinture espagnole, le visage émacié, les grands yeux noirs composent une effigie violemment dramatique. L’artiste, en produisant un tableau volontairement agressif et en usant d’un hyperréalisme psychologique, renverse les valeurs d’idéalisation traditionnellement attachés au genre.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Sébastien Allard, ‘Entre le roman et l’histoire, le portrait français vers 1835’, in *Portraits publics, portraits privés, 1770-1830*, exhib. cat. (Paris: RMN, 2006), pp. 42-57 (p. 52).

This work has been compared with Gigoux's portrait of the romantic critic, and vehement detractor of the jury, Gabriel Laviron. Gigoux's work has been described as 'mieux que le portrait d'un ami, ce tableau devient l'effigie type du jeune héros romantique.'¹⁰² These quintessentially romantic images were both unanimously accepted to the Salons of 1837 and 1834 respectively.

Another portrait by Gigoux, of his father *Le Maréchal-Ferrant* (1833), revealed similar romantic influences:

Les relations de Gigoux avec son père, qui envisageait d'un œil hostile les visées artistiques de son fils, furent difficiles comme en témoigne le peintre lui-même dans ses *Causeries*. On peut penser que cette distance se cristallise ici avec le caractère ténébreux de la composition encore empreinte de romantisme. On a souvent insisté avec raison sur l'énergie picturale dont fait preuve Gigoux dans ce tableau: la liberté d'une touche nerveuse et juste, la légèreté du pinceau ont justement suscité l'admiration.¹⁰³

Gabriel Weisberg has also identified the realist characteristics of this work:

Gigoux's canvas displayed an interest in intimate genre themes that typified the early Realist movement. The composition is sketchily executed, and the smithy's stance is more conventional than later Realist works. The atmosphere and mood also convey the Romantic heritage from which Gigoux evolved his style.¹⁰⁴

The jury initially rejected this work by ten votes to two before admitting it in the revision session held at the end of their proceedings in 1833. The jury's divided opinion on this work reveals its misgivings over unconventional images of this type, particularly at this early stage of the July Monarchy. Its admission in the revision session, however, points to irrefutable support from at least one jury member (since we have learnt from Fontaine that individual jury members may have admitted works in the 1833 revision session, see above pp. 67-68).

¹⁰² *Jean Gigoux (1806-1894) Dessins, peintures, estampes*, p. 86.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁴ *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing 1830-1900*, ed. by Gabriel Weisberg (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), p. 63.

In 1840, the jury accepted a portrait of the artist Marilhat by Léon Riesener, who was recognised as a prominent romantic artist by this stage of the July Monarchy:

En 1838, on écrivait: ‘M Riesener est un des artistes qui ont eu le plus de combats à soutenir pour obtenir la faculté d’exposer au Louvre. C’est un artiste qui possède à un degré remarquable le sentiment de la couleur [...] aussi le regardons-nous dès à présent comme un des peintres qui font la force de notre jeune école.’¹⁰⁵



Fig. 20. Léon Riesener, *Portrait de Marilhat*, oil on canvas, Clermont-Ferrand, Musée d’art Roger Quillot, 145 x 97 cm, 1840.

Riesener’s portrait of Marilhat revealed his romantic influences. As with the portraits of Achille Devéria and Gabriel Laviron, the romantic handling of the work reflects the allegiances of the sitter: ‘Riesener, qui termina ce portrait un an avant la mort de son modèle, nous fixe sur les traits de l’artiste qu’on peut comparer à un élégant romantique, maladif et distingué.’¹⁰⁶ This work was accepted by the jury by eleven votes to seven. The closeness of the vote reveals the opposition of certain jury members, which we can assume was driven by the anti-romantic phalanx of the architecture section.

We see, therefore, that the jury had a mixed response to works by these artists.

Whilst there were many controversial portrait rejections, the jury also accepted portraits

¹⁰⁵ Viallefond, *Le Peintre Léon Riesener, 1808-1878*, p. 36 citation from *La Revue de L’Artiste*.

¹⁰⁶ Maurice Delotz, *Maurice Delotz: Prosper Marilhat, peintre (1811-1847), visite chez son neveu* (Thiers: Imprimerie de Favvyé, 1913), p. 8.

by the same artists. The jury was not similarly ambivalent in its judgement of all artists and its uniform acceptance of a small number of portrait painters reveals its unequivocal support for a particular type of artist. Of the sixty-three artists who submitted works to all sixteen Salons of the July Monarchy, nine had all of their entries accepted. Of these, the two most prolific were portrait artists Claude-Marie Dubufe and Pierre Duval le Camus. Dubufe entered 134 works, including 119 portraits and Duval le Camus 139 works, including 80 portraits. These were extremely high submission figures which reflected the expansion of portraiture towards mass production.

Dubufe and Duval le Camus were both born in 1790 and joined the atelier of David in 1804 and c.1806 respectively. Dubufe first exhibited at the Salon of 1810 and Duval le Camus in 1819. Under the July Monarchy, Dubufe specialised in large-format portraits, whereas Duval le Camus dedicated himself to working in smaller formats, producing full-length portraits measuring approximately 40-70 cm x 30-60 cm. Both artists offered elegant, idealised depictions of their subjects. The fundamental grounding each had received in David's atelier prepared them for successful careers under the July Monarchy, when each had developed his own individual style. Emmanuel Bréon has explained Dubufe's evolution towards a more relaxed manner of painting: 'très davidiens à ses débuts, les portraits de Dubufe évoluèrent vers une manière plus facile, plus relâchée, vers une atmosphère plus poétique aussi qui caractérisent ses portraits de la Monarchie de Juillet.'¹⁰⁷ Both artists followed a fixed arrangement in their work and arrived at a successful formula to meet the growing demand from prosperous members of Parisian society. The jury would not have wished to offend these artists' notable subjects by rejecting their portraits and their respect for classical principles and the *beau idéal* consistently satisfied its standards for admission.

¹⁰⁷ Emmanuel Bréon, *Portraits d'un siècle d'élégance: Claude-Marie, Edouard et Guillaume Dubufe* (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1988), p. 48.

The painter Sébastien Rouillard, another former pupil of David, submitted 71 portraits to the Salon, of which just one was rejected in 1843. Rouillard was influenced by the British portrait painter Thomas Lawrence: ‘cette influence s’articula à une manière néoclassique qu’elle revivifia par la couleur.’¹⁰⁸ The jury clearly appreciated this union of a fundamental grounding in classical principles and a harmonious sense of colour. Philippe Larivière, although less prolific, was also one of the nine artists who had all their entries admitted to every Salon of the July Monarchy, including twenty-four portraits. A former winner of the *Prix de Rome* in 1824, this artist also found the happy medium between orthodox classicism and moderate romanticism which satisfied the jury. A recent biographer refers to Larivière’s ‘art mesuré’ and his ‘position médiane, entre l’école classique et l’école romantique.’¹⁰⁹

Cailleux consistently commended Larivière, Rouillard and Dubufe in his Salon reports. Certain critics also praised these portraitists’ ability to unite what they saw as the essential qualities of classicism and romanticism:

Nous voyons le portrait [...] par M. Rouillard, [...] par M. Dubufe, plusieurs portraits par M. Court, etc., suivre la voie tracée par David, et s’approcher de la nature sans combinaisons artificieuses, sans effets cherchés de lumière, sans sacrifice de la couleur au dessin ou du dessin à la couleur. Bien entendu qu’il y a dans les talents de ces divers artistes des nuances de qualités, soit de couleur, soit de dessin; mais, tous nous semblent procéder par un même raisonnement et suivre une même marche.¹¹⁰

Other critics, however, did not appreciate the moderation of these works. Planche allowed that Rouillard, for example, ‘possède les secrets du métier’, but found his work ‘prosaïque.’¹¹¹ Gautier disapproved of Dubufe and his prolific production, referring to his work as ‘une vraie manufacture.’¹¹² Dubufe exhibited an average of over 7 portraits per Salon, including a maximum of 16 in 1834. The jury’s judgements were unaffected

¹⁰⁸ Allard, ‘Entre le roman et l’histoire’, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Isabelle Loddé, *Charles-Philippe Larivière, peintre: sa vie, son œuvre (1798-1876)* (Lille: Atelier national de Reproduction des Thèses, 2007).

¹¹⁰ [Anon.], ‘Exposition au Louvre’, *Journal des Artistes*, 17 March 1833, pp. 169-176 (p. 174).

¹¹¹ Planche, *Études sur l’école française*, II, p. 17.

¹¹² Gautier, 1841 quoted in Bréon, p. 48.

by this quantity of submissions and seemed not to have imposed unspoken quotas on portrait artists. Its admission of so many works by individual artists only added to the proliferation of portraiture at the Salon. Whilst we have seen that the jury's overall severity was intended to limit or reduce artistic production, they did not seek to check the levels of production of artists whom they supported.

The growing genre of portraiture was particularly problematic at the Salon. More than all the other categories it became associated with mass formulaic reproduction, raising questions concerning the distinction between art and merchandise. As we have seen, the jury's admission of prolific artists like Dubufe came in for criticism. The jury, however, seems to have been unmoved by such criticism and was willing to accept the extensive production of certain artists provided that they conformed to and maintained their standards. Its unanimous and continued support for these artists reveals the qualities of moderation it looked for in portrait submissions. Its ambivalence towards less conventional portraits reflected its attempt to negotiate the stylistic developments taking place at the same time and its struggle to formulate a consistent response towards innovative works.

Landscape

Landscapes comprised between a fifth and a quarter of paintings submitted to the Salon. From 1836, the jury regularly rejected over a third of these works, rising to over half in its most severe years. Landscape was perhaps the most accessible genre, and many rejected works would have been by amateur artists, who indulged in landscape painting as a hobby.¹¹³ Professional painters also increasingly dedicated themselves to this art form, causing Delécluze to comment in 1834 that landscape was 'l'une des branches de

¹¹³ See Lydia Harambourg, *Dictionnaire des peintres paysagistes français au XIX^e siècle* (Neuchâtel: Ides et Calendes, 2001), p. 7: 'En dehors des professionnels, beaucoup le pratiqueront comme on tient un journal, notamment lors de voyages, et nombreux sont ceux qui reçoivent au cours de leur éducation, des leçons de dessin et de peinture qu'ils mettront à profit plus tard.'

l'art de la peinture, cultivée avec le plus d'empressement.'¹¹⁴ Already under the Restoration the transition from historical to natural or romantic landscape was under way, in particular following the interest generated by the discovery of the English landscapists in the Salon of 1824. During the July Monarchy the jury's reception of landscape painting provided some of its most controversial decisions. I shall here examine the traditions of landscape painting and the range of production under the July Monarchy to consider the implications of the jury's reception of these works.

At the start of the July Monarchy, landscape painting was still broadly subject to established academic conventions. Through the work of artist and theorist Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, the late eighteenth century witnessed a renaissance of historical landscape in the seventeenth-century style.¹¹⁵ In reviving classical landscape painting in the manner of Claude Lorrain and Poussin, Valenciennes effectively raised the status of the genre within the traditional hierarchy, 'setting the *paysage historique* on an upward trajectory that would culminate in 1816 with its inclusion among the pantheon of Rome prizes awarded by the French Academy.'¹¹⁶ This addition of a *Prix de Rome* for historical landscape effectively legitimised the genre and codified the characteristics of an academic landscape painting.¹¹⁷ Albert Boime interpreted the introduction of this prize as one of the elements in the breakdown of the broader hierarchy of genres, stating: 'it must be recognized that by 1830 the rigid hierarchy of subject matter had diminished in importance within the Academy. In 1817 [*sic*] it established a *grand prix* for landscape, which was enthusiastically supported even by its most conservative

¹¹⁴ D. [Etienne Delécluze], 'Ouverture du Salon de 1834', *Journal des Débats*, 2 March 1834.

¹¹⁵ Pierre-Henri Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique à l'usage des artistes, suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture et particulièrement sur le genre du paysage* (Paris: Desenne, 1800). See Geneviève Lacambre, *Pierre-Henri Valenciennes* (Naples: Electa, 1996).

¹¹⁶ Wendy Watson, 'Tradition and Innovation: Pierre-Henri Valenciennes and the Neoclassical Landscape', in *Valenciennes, Daubigny and the Origins of French Landscape Painting*, ed. by Michael Marlais (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 2004), pp. 23-37 (p. 23).

¹¹⁷ See *Les Années romantiques*, p. 419 for Allemand-Cosneau's commentary on Michallon's *Démocrate et les Abdéritains* for which he won the first *Prix de Rome* for historical landscape in 1817.

members.’¹¹⁸ However, the prize was not for ‘landscape’ as Boime states, but for historical landscape. Only this version of the genre had been elevated within the hierarchy thanks to its adherence to classical principles. A true historical landscape often shared the sources and language of history painting, depicting biblical, mythological or antique scenes. Like academic history paintings, historical landscapes were expected to obey certain rules of perspective and composition and to idealise their subject, while the choice of motif was expected to add to the beauty of the scene and refer to the nation’s classical past.

Several generations of artists trained in this manner and were well received by the jury under the July Monarchy. Bidault, the first landscape artist elected to the Academy in 1823, Victor Bertin and Watelet continued to exhibit classical historical landscapes at the Salon throughout their lifetimes. According to Emile Michel: ‘Disciple fidèle de Valenciennes, Bertin était [...] un des représentants les plus qualifiés du paysage historique dans ce qu’il a de plus conventionnel. Il ne voyait guère dans la nature qu’un décor complaisant destiné à encadrer des épisodes mythologiques.’¹¹⁹ Bertin was so aligned with academic ideals that Gautier wrongly identified him as an academician and jury member in 1841.¹²⁰ These classical landscape artists in turn taught a future generation who continued their traditions, competing for the *Prix de Rome* and submitting historical landscapes to the Salon.

Pupils of Bertin were among the most successful artists of this period. Members of his studio frequently won the *Prix de Rome*, including Rémond (1821), Prieur (1833), Buttura (1837) and Lanoue (1841).¹²¹ As we have seen with history painting, winning this prestigious award did not exclude artists from being rejected at the Salon. In the

¹¹⁸ Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 19.

¹¹⁹ Emile Michel, *Les Maîtres du paysage* (Paris: Hachette, 1906), p. 387.

¹²⁰ Théophile Gautier, ‘Salon de 1841’, *Revue de Paris*, 28 (1841), pp. 153-171 (p. 158): ‘Trois peintres seulement ont assisté aux délibérations: ce sont MM. Garnier, Bidault and Bertin.’

¹²¹ The prize was awarded every four years.

1840s, the jury rejected three watercolours by Buttura and three paintings by Prieur. Buttura's rejection may have been due more to his choice of medium than to the quality of his work, since the jury might have expected a former winner of the *Prix de Rome* to represent the French school by exhibiting oil paintings at the Salon, rather than these small watercolour scenes. Such a decision reinforces the idea that the jury was more demanding of academically trained artists who had benefited from a state-sponsored education and were expected to uphold academic ideals.

Not all members of this next generation of landscape artists followed the rules established by Valenciennes as rigidly as their masters. Vander-Burch, a former pupil of David, was one of the most successful landscape artists of the July Monarchy, submitting 69 landscapes and watercolours which were all unanimously received by the jury. Vander-Burch published a highly informative essay on landscape painting in 1839, which helps us to understand how the genre had adapted over time.¹²² This work stressed the importance of choosing a 'belle vue' (p.76) and praised the landscapes of Bertin and Watelet as inspiration for a younger generation of pupils (p. 84). However, Vander-Burch also promoted a more modern approach to landscape painting: 'Le goût actuel veut marier la nature vraie à l'idéal de ces grandes lignes; ainsi, et pour mieux me faire comprendre, on préfère revenir à copier la nature telle qu'elle est, en sachant toutefois la bien choisir et se bien placer' (p. 85). Whilst arguing for the primacy of Italy, he also claimed that the French countryside offered picturesque landscapes: 'D'autres contrées cependant, rentrent aussi dans le caractère du style, car le midi de la France pourrait souvent rivaliser avec l'Italie; mais il faut avouer que cette dernière conservera toujours l'avantage, puisqu'il est moins nécessaire de s'y déplacer, pour y trouver réunis la couleur et l'arrangement des tableaux' (p. 95). Despite these significant concessions, Vander-Burch was uncompromising in the need to depict

¹²² H. Vander-Burch, *Essai sur la peinture de paysage à l'huile* (Paris: Colcomb Bourgeois, 1839).

human figures within the landscape: ‘Le paysage, tel bien composé et tout agréable qu’il soit, ne peut se passer de figures, ou, pour le moins, ce que nous appelons de figurines’ (p. 92). This treatise therefore suggested that a successful landscape painting at this midpoint of the July Monarchy should be picturesque but could be more true to nature than the works of the Restoration and allowed for a greater range of locales. Several former pupils of Bertin and Watelet, including Rémond, Coignet, Lapito and Thuillier, who were consistently admitted to the Salon, adapted their works in this way. They chose not only to paint the landscape of Italy but also scenes from France, Switzerland and Belgium. Thuillier in particular introduced a greater realism into his landscapes: ‘Un des premiers, il a protesté contre le paysage de convention et il a été en matière de pittoresque le propagateur d’un réalisme renfermé dans de saines limites.’¹²³ As for these appropriate limits we are told: ‘La critique apprécie sa peinture, qui sans avoir les audaces de celle des Barbizonniers, s’éloigne de la rigueur théorique du néo-classicisme par son intérêt naturaliste et documentaire du paysage’ (ibid.). In landscape, as in the other painting genres, the jury supported artists whose work reflected this measured moderation.

The jury’s conflict with the school of Ingres that we saw above (pp. 143-146) in relation to history painting might also be witnessed in its judgements of landscape submissions. The landscape works of several members of Ingres’s studio, and pupils in Rome, were thought to reflect their master’s style. Paul Flandrin had been a member of Ingres’s studio in Paris before following his brother Hippolyte to Italy, despite having failed to win the *Prix de Rome* himself. Flandrin’s taste for landscape painting developed in Rome under Ingres’s guidance: ‘Paul travailla sans relâche sur le motif pour ensuite traduire le caractère du lieu par des lignes simples, la recherche de l’idéal conduisant à une stylisation de la nature.’¹²⁴ Alexandre Desgoffe was also influenced by

¹²³ Harambourg, p. 329, quoting Michaud, *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*.

¹²⁴ Isabelle Julia, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 383.

Ingres's style: 'Paul Flandrin va donc se distinguer comme son condisciple Alexandre Desgoffe par son interprétation ingriste de la nature [...] Il cherche [...] à exprimer le caractère du paysage par une ou deux lignes principales.'¹²⁵ These two artists were well-regarded by the administration. Flandrin received a second-class medal in 1839 and first-class in 1847 and Desgoffe won a second-class medal in 1843 and first-class in 1845, and both artists were regularly listed favourably by Cailleux in his reports on the Salon. The jury voted on the admission of both artists in 1839, a year in which it rejected fellow pupil Achille Girardin, but did not reject any of their submissions until the end of the period. In 1846, the jury rejected two small landscapes by Flandrin and three by Desgoffe and a further two by Desgoffe in 1847. Since all of these works are unknown, we cannot consider whether certain stylistic elements triggered their refusals. However, the rejection of both artists in the same year might suggest that the jury chose to target these pupils of Ingres on this occasion and their rejection is certainly at odds with their reputable status.

The jury also rejected the work of another pupil of Ingres, Caruelle d'Aligny. In his history of Ingres's atelier, Amaury-Duval referred to Aligny as 'un des principaux adeptes du paysage historique issu de Poussin' and recalled that Gautier had described him as 'l'Ingres du paysage'.¹²⁶ Dorbec has described Aligny's 'tentatives pour régénérer le paysage historique' and Aubrun has commented on how the artist appropriated a naturalist style, whilst maintaining his concern for 'la pureté des formes et de la ligne.'¹²⁷ In 1833, the jury rejected three 'Études d'après nature dans la forêt de Fontainebleau' (submitted under one number), two 'Études peintes, faites en Suisse' (also submitted under a single number) and two drawings. The *études* could have been

¹²⁵ Olivier Jouvenet, 'Paysagistes, élèves d'Ingres séjournant à Rome entre 1835 et 1841', in *Actes du colloque Ingres et Rome* (Montauban: Ateliers du Moustier, 1987), pp. 121-127 (p. 122).

¹²⁶ *L'Atelier d'Ingres*, ed. by Ternois, p. 194.

¹²⁷ Prosper Dorbec, *Les Grands artistes: Théodore Rousseau* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1910), p. 11; Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, *Théodore Caruelle d'Aligny 1798-1871: catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint, dessiné, gravé* (Paris: Chiffolleau, 1988), p. 13.

very rough works and the jury's rejection would suggest that it required more polished works for the Salon. Aligny could also have afforded to be particularly experimental in preparatory works of this nature, in which case the jury might have opposed them on stylistic grounds. The jury voted on five of Aligny's submissions suggesting that he divided opinion, however it only rejected one of his paintings, which was a history commission for Versailles.



Fig. 21. Théodore Caruelle d'Aligny, *Prise de Jargeau, 15 June 1429*, oil on canvas, Versailles, Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 100 x 130 cm, 1839.

Miquel has discussed the rejection of this work, writing: 'il semble que l'artiste manifeste un intérêt nouveau pour des recherches de coloris dont le mélange des tons clairs, relativement employés à l'état pur, est assez audacieux.'¹²⁸ The jury may also have found the composition of this work unconventional, with three secondary figures in shadow in the foreground, while the main action takes place in the background. This historical work reveals Aligny's primary status as a landscape painter who chose to accentuate the landscape features of trees, river and sky and depict the historical figures in the work as no more than figurines. Its rejection of Aligny seems to have been less motivated by the influence of Ingres in his works, than by the artist's personal efforts to

¹²⁸ Pierre Miquel, *Le Paysage français au XIX^e siècle: 1824-1874* (Mauris-la-Jolie: Éditions de la Martinelle, 1975), p. 115.

reinvent the classical genre of historical landscape painting, particularly in a work commissioned for Versailles, which, we have seen, the jury tended to judge severely according to academic criteria. Since Ingres was not himself a landscape painter, it seems probable that the jury was less concerned by his possible influence over a limited number of painters in this genre than it was by his direct influence over history painting.

The jury was ambivalent towards artists' attempts to renew historical landscape painting, as evidenced by its treatment of Camille Corot. Corot experimented with a variety of subjects and styles during this period, but remained interested in historical landscape throughout. He submitted a total of eight historical landscapes with themes drawn from the bible, classical antiquity and mythology between 1835 and 1845 alongside thirty-nine other landscapes under the July Monarchy.¹²⁹ The first of these historical landscapes, *Agar dans le désert*, made an impact at the 1835 Salon and 'revealed him as an artist of the first rank.'¹³⁰



Fig. 22. Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, *Agar dans le désert*, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 180 x 271 cm, 1835.

¹²⁹ Corot submitted the following historical works to the Salons of the July Monarchy: *Agar dans le désert* (1835), *Diane surprise au bain* (1836), *St Jérôme* (1837), *Silène* (1838), *La Fuite en Egypte* (1840), *Democrite* (1841), *Destruction de Sodome* (1843), *Daphnis et Chloé* (1845), *Homère et les bergers* (1845).

¹³⁰ Michael Pantazzi, 'The Greatest Landscape Painter of Our Time', in *Corot* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 138-153 (p. 138).

However, Corot's innovation met with mixed results from the jury, which admitted the work by only ten votes to eight. Allard remarks upon the romantic nature of this powerful image, which may explain the jury's opposition: 'Le sujet de la douleur d'une mère perdue dans le désert et voyant, impuissante, son enfant mourir de soif témoigne encore du goût romantique pour les sujets fortement dramatiques.'¹³¹ The fidelity to nature in the stark depiction of the desert may also have troubled the jury: 'Corot affirme avec *Agar dans le désert* le caractère discontinu de la représentation, exploitant pour eux-mêmes les motifs étudiés en plein air et insufflant ainsi à son paysage cette "vérité" tant réclamée par la critique' (ibid.).

The jury went on to accept all Corot's other historical landscapes except for *La Destruction de Sodome*, submitted in 1843. As we know, the jury's judgements were particularly severe in that year, which might have explained its reaction to the work. However, when Corot resubmitted the work in 1844, a year in which the jury was considerably more lenient, possibly on orders from Louis-Philippe (see below, p. 221), the work was received only narrowly, by eight votes to six. Whilst its admission shows a degree of support from the jury, the persistent opposition from certain members is perhaps more significant and indicative of the unease with which the jury first responded to this work.



Fig. 23. Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, *La Destruction de Sodome*, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 92 x 181 cm, 1843 and 1857.

¹³¹ Sébastien Allard, 'L'expérimentation romantique', p. 97.

The work is known today in a reduced form, having been cut down in size in about 1856, from its original large format of 275 x 200 cm.¹³² At this point Corot would have significantly reworked the painting, which makes it difficult for us to imagine the original composition. However, the lack of classical finish, and rough execution of the figures may help to explain the jury's rejection of the work. *Agar dans le désert* and *La Destruction de Sodome* share a sombre palette and the jury may also have struggled to accept this departure from a verdant, picturesque landscape.

Corot also submitted many non-historical landscapes to the Salon, which met with mixed results. His paintings did not deliberately subvert academic conventions, but rather took influence from a wide range of classical precedents. John House has described how easily Corot adopted different styles at the start of his career: 'Corot's early Salon paintings reveal how readily [...] models could be assimilated and then discarded: a neo-classical Italian scene exhibited in 1827 was followed in 1833 by an emphatically Dutch view of the Forest of Fontainebleau.'¹³³ Corot seemed to favour Italian sites, with sixteen of his Salon submissions identifying Italy in their titles and just three identifying France, with the remainder failing to specify their location. The jury did not seem to favour one locale over another and rejected a combination of these works. Whilst the jury voted on its admission of five of Corot's works in the 1830s and rejected one, it voted on six works in the 1840s and rejected ten. This increase in rejections might reflect Corot's increased experimentation in the second decade of the July Monarchy. Discussing Corot's status at the midpoint of the regime, Pantazzi writes: 'Corot's summary style, his attempt to reflect landscape directly, and the more dramatic images he produced were soon to be judged more harshly.'¹³⁴

¹³² See *Corot*, p. 253.

¹³³ John House, *Impressions of France: Monet, Renoir, Pissarro and their Rivals* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1995), p. 20.

¹³⁴ Pantazzi, p. 145.

The artist François-Louis Français was influenced by Corot and also failed to be totally successful with the jury.¹³⁵ Français competed unsuccessfully for the *Prix de Rome* in 1837, attesting to his classical aspirations, as opposed to contemporaries who rejected the academic path. However, like Corot, Français was also interested in modern approaches to landscape. House describes the artist's union of both classical and naturalist styles: 'He painted landscapes almost exclusively, combining a luminous classicising style – sometimes including mythological figures – with a more naturalistic approach' (ibid.). His combination of classicism and naturalism has been regarded as a 'voie intermédiaire', between two extremes.¹³⁶ As we have seen in other genres, and in the more relaxed classicism of the second generation of academic landscape painters, the jury was generally receptive towards what it saw as this more moderate style and Français's preference for picturesque scenes would have found support with the jury. However, the jury did reject two submissions by Français, in 1840 and 1843, hinting at the difficulty it continued to have in accepting a more naturalist approach to classical landscape.

Whilst classical landscape remained a point of reference for artists like Corot and Français, a number of painters emerged in the initial stages of the July Monarchy who deliberately turned away from this model. Artists including Paul Huet, Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, Jules Dupré and Théodore Rousseau challenged the standard classical landscape in different ways. These artists, who have been referred to as members of the 'School of 1830' due to their emergence at this pivotal time, sought inspiration from sources other than Italy. We have seen that while Corot remained most influenced by classical Italian landscapes, he was also inspired by Dutch scenes, and the Dutch school of landscape would become the principal model for this new group of painters: 'The landscapes of the 'School of 1830', of artists such as Rousseau, Paul Huet and Jules

¹³⁵ House, *Impressions of France*, p. 294.

¹³⁶ Roland Conilleau, *Louis Français: peintre de la nature 1814-1897* (Sarrefueminis: Pierron, 1997), p. 30.

Dupré, provided an alternative paradigm and alternative artistic models: the landscapes of seventeenth-century Holland.¹³⁷ These works tended to focus on scenes from daily life and the simple motifs of these realist pastoral scenes contrasted considerably with nineteenth-century French neo-classical landscapes. This emerging group of artists was also inspired by the romantic British landscapes of Richard Parkes Bonington and John Constable, which had been exhibited in France in the 1820s.¹³⁸ Bonington had lived in France since 1818 and had become associated with Delacroix, Huet and other French romantic artists. His paintings were first displayed at the Salon of 1822 and then again alongside Constable at the Salon of 1824, which became renowned for the amount of British works on display.¹³⁹ These British artists promoted an alternative approach to landscape at a time when French landscapes were still largely tied to the classical model.

This period also marked a new level of exploration and documentation of provincial France, which offered a wide source of inspiration to landscape artists. The growing interest in the French countryside was not reserved to the group of newcomers and we have seen that under the July Monarchy even adherents of classical landscape no longer painted exclusively Italian scenes. In 1820, Baron Taylor began his pioneering study of France, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, which would continue over sixty years and was the first major examination and celebration of French heritage. This study was a highly influential work for landscape painters who were inspired to explore and portray new parts of the diverse French

¹³⁷ House, *Impressions of France*, p. 20. See also Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, *Jules Dupré 1811-1889: catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint, dessiné et gravé* (Paris: Léonce Laget, 1974), p. 10: 'Dupré [...] avait longuement étudié au Louvre. Il avait demandé aux Hollandais, à Ruysdaël, à Hobbema, à Berchem, l'art de camper son motif avec naturel, de répartir habilement les valeurs sur tout le champ de la toile, et d'animer de rythmes brefs et contrastés ses ciels et ses frondaisons.'; *Théodore Rousseau 1812-1867: le renouveau de la peinture de paysage*, exhib. cat. (Epernay: Le Réveil de la Marne, 2013), p. 12: 'Très tôt, Rousseau a été attiré par les paysagistes hollandais du Siècle d'Or, tels Van Goyen et Salomon Van Ruysdael.'

¹³⁸ See Marcia Pointon, *The Bonington Circle: English Watercolour and Anglo-French Landscape, 1790-1855* (Brighton: Hendon Press, 1985) and Patrick Noon, *Constable to Delacroix: British Art and the French Romantics* (London: Tate Publishing, 2003).

¹³⁹ See Robert L. Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited* (New York: Clarke and Way, 1962), pp. 17-19.

countryside. John House rightly identifies the nationalistic agenda of such works, writing: ‘Abel Hugo’s *France pittoresque* of 1835 surveyed the whole country in one dense tome. The purpose of the book was blatantly nationalistic, insisting that France was as worthy of study as foreign countries such as Italy that had, until then, been favoured by travellers and painters.’¹⁴⁰ The jury’s reception of non-Italian scenes attests to its ability to adapt to these contemporary developments, and it seems likely that it would have been sympathetic to the patriotic value of idealised French landscape scenes.

The new group of emerging artists took most advantage of the diversity of the French countryside, which provided them with a variety of different landscapes. Classical landscapists favoured picturesque sites which provided them with suitably scenic motifs: ‘A true motif was expected to be visually striking and to carry historical or poetic associations, and it needed to be presented in an ordered pictorial form. Views of dramatic natural scenes most obviously fulfilled these prescriptions’ (ibid., p. 21). Many artists within this new group of landscape painters were less interested in picturesque motifs, and chose instead to work in less scenic areas, where they depicted trees and rocks as they stood in nature.

Camille Roqueplan might be considered as a forefather to the developments which would take place in landscape painting under the July Monarchy. He trained at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, under Gros and Abel de Pujol, but soon became closely associated with the romantic movement. First submitting to the 1822 Salon, he went on to establish himself as the principal romantic landscape painter of the Restoration. In 1826, he had travelled to England and his style was visibly influenced by English landscape art.¹⁴¹ In 1827, both Forbin and La Rochefoucauld, though dissimilar in their artistic tastes, with Forbin more open to the work of the new romantic generation than

¹⁴⁰ House, *Impressions of France*, p. 14.

¹⁴¹ Eva Bouillo, *Le Salon de 1827: classique ou romantique?* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), p. 55

his more traditional superior in the Royal Household, proposed that Roqueplan be awarded a first-class medal, suggesting that the work occupied an intermediary position in relation to both (ibid., p. 140). Crucially, as a ‘coloriste subtil’, he continued to pay attention to draughtsmanship, as his academic training had no doubt instilled in him.¹⁴²

Roqueplan’s works were also characteristically picturesque and charming, which softened the impact of their romantic handling and natural motifs. Gautier described Camille Roqueplan’s status as follows:

Jusque-là, on n’avait rien vu de pareil, et il peut être regardé comme un des aïeux de notre jeune génération de paysagistes, si vraie, si forte, si variée, dont hier encore il était le contemporain: cela maintenant paraît tout simple, peindre des arbres, des terrains, des eaux, tels qu’ils sont dans la nature; mais alors la nature n’était pas de bon goût [...] Par bonheur, à travers ses audaces, Camille Roqueplan gardait toujours le charme, et il fut le moins contesté de ‘nos jeunes modernes.’¹⁴³

The combination of his adherence to correct drawing with the innate charm of his scenes won Roqueplan favour with the jury, which accepted all of the landscapes he entered to the Salon. We see therefore, that the jury was willing to compromise its traditional notions of landscape art, as long as the works continued to obey certain limits derived from classical principles.

Paul Huet’s romantic style proved less acceptable to the jury, which rejected a quarter of his submissions. Like Roqueplan, Huet was influenced by British landscapes and admired the works of Bonington and Constable.¹⁴⁴ He was also inspired by Delacroix, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship from 1822.¹⁴⁵ These associations played an important role in his development of ‘a looser and more emotive style.’¹⁴⁶ Huet’s expressive romantic style, which lacked Roqueplan’s concern for

¹⁴² Sylvain Boyer, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 429: ‘L’art très libre et le caractère affable de ce coloriste subtil lui valent de former de nombreux élèves.’

¹⁴³ Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme*, p. 193.

¹⁴⁴ Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited*, p. 19: ‘He shared the new enthusiasm for British art, copied Constable’s paintings, and was considered by the burgeoning Romantics as their one landscape artist.’

¹⁴⁵ Elisabeth Maréchaux Laurentin, *Paul Huet, peintre de la nature 1803-1869* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l’image, 2009), p. 5: ‘Il fréquente l’Académie Suisse, où il rencontre Eugène Delacroix: c’est le début de l’amitié de toute une vie.’

¹⁴⁶ House, *Impressions of France*, p. 295.

draughtsmanship, captured both the drama and the poetry of the natural landscape. This style had won Huet little support when he first submitted to the 1827 Salon, at which the *conseil honoraire* rejected seven of his eight works, attesting to the unconventional appearance of these landscape works to a contemporary eye. The liberal jury of the 1831 Salon, however, accepted thirteen of Huet's fourteen submissions, including the following work:



Fig. 24. Paul Huet, *Paysage. Le soleil se couche derrière une vieille abbaye au milieu des bois*, oil on canvas, Valence, Musée de Beaux-Arts, 173 x 263 cm, 1831.

Jean Lacambre describes this painting as follows: ‘Huet, sans se soucier des lignes, privilégie les masses, et les formes mêmes du paysage paraissent se dissoudre dans l’atmosphère, ranimées seulement par des empâtements excessifs et des taches brillamment colorées.’¹⁴⁷ The jury’s acceptance of this romantic work attests to its liberal judgements in 1831. However, its rejection of one of Huet’s works in this year and five out of nine of his works in 1833, before two of these were admitted in revision, suggests the jury was having increasing difficulty tolerating this loose romantic style. From 1831 to 1841, it rejected six of Huet’s forty-five submissions, but in 1843 and 1845 it rejected a total of seven out of nine. This lack of tolerance for his romantic landscapes is consistent with the jury’s general increased severity in 1843, and its

¹⁴⁷ Jean Lacambre, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 401.

discrimination against Delacroix and his followers, led by the architecture section, in 1845.

The jury's reception of Narcisse Diaz de la Peña further attests to its ambivalence towards romantic landscapes. Diaz's paintings expressed a personal interpretation of romanticism. Albert Wolff described him as 'le grand fantaisiste' and a recent commentator evokes the emotive quality of his work by referring to its 'moody' romanticism.¹⁴⁸ The jury rejected eight of the twenty-two landscapes that Diaz submitted to the Salons of the July Monarchy. Between 1838 and 1840 it rejected all five of Diaz's Salon entries, suggesting a strong opposition to his work. However, it went on to accept all six of his submissions in the 1840s. In 1836, Diaz had joined Rousseau in Barbizon and four of his submissions in the 1840s were scenes from the forest of Fontainebleau. Vander-Burch had advised against painting forest scenes in his 1839 essay: 'Le genre le plus ingrat et peut-être le plus difficile d'exécution, est sans contredit celui des intérieurs de forêt ou de sites sauvages. Il faut avoir une grande tenacité pour demeurer fidèle à ce genre, qui n'est guère en harmonie avec le goût général du public.'¹⁴⁹ The jury's acceptance of such works in the 1840s suggests its willingness to adapt its classical standards in the second decade of the July Monarchy. It might be that Diaz was better received than Huet in the 1840s due to his good fortune in not submitting work in 1843 and 1845, when the jury was at its most severe.

Certain artists at this time combined both romantic and naturalist elements in their landscapes. Jules Dupré was strongly influenced by a seventeenth-century Dutch conception of landscape painting. His works reflect his affinity with romantic artists, as well as a desire to present nature as he saw it. Dupré was closely involved in the opposition towards the jury under the July Monarchy, and abstained from submitting to

¹⁴⁸ Albert Wolff, *La Capitale de l'art* (Paris: Victor Havard, 1886), p. 103; Michael Marlais, 'Charles-François Daubigny and the Traditions of French Landscape Painting', in *Valenciennes, Daubigny and the Origins of French Landscape Painting*, pp. 38-54 (p. 41).

¹⁴⁹ Vander-Burch, *Essai sur la peinture du paysage*, p. 86.

the Salon after 1839 in protest against the rejections of his friend Théodore Rousseau. However, Dupré himself was predominantly successful with the jury who accepted all of his oil painting submissions. A single watercolour was rejected in 1834, by just twelve votes to nine, and two drawings in 1835, but the jury's admission of his paintings suggests a willingness to accept works modelled on the Dutch paradigm. Dupré was closely associated with Cabat, a 'pionnier du paysage réaliste', who was also accepted by the jury throughout the July Monarchy.¹⁵⁰ Troyon was also influenced by Dupré:

Marqué ensuite par Jules Dupré, s'inspirant de sites sauvages de Limousin, des Landes et de la Sologne, pratiquant volontiers le grand format, Troyon s'affirme comme un vrai peintre de l'école de Barbizon avant la lettre, fréquentant et représentant nommément la forêt de Fontainebleau à partir de 1842-1843, avec des vues intenses, fouillées et riches de tons.¹⁵¹

Troyon's 'facture expéditive' may have found less ready support amongst the jury than Cabat's more studied execution, but the jury nevertheless accepted thirty-three of his thirty-four submissions, which proves that it did not systematically reject works which showed naturalist influences.¹⁵²

The jury's rejections of the work of Théodore Rousseau have been taken by commentators at the time and since as a symbol of the jury's intransigence, particularly towards innovative landscape.¹⁵³ His biographer Sensier propagated this account, describing the jury's 'parti pris de le supprimer et de l'éteindre.'¹⁵⁴ The data shows that the jury rejected consecutively a total of six different paintings by Rousseau, who failed to be accepted to the Salon after 1835. It rejected two works in 1836 (*Paysage de Jura*, *Descente des vaches* and *Vue du château de Broglie*), the same two works resubmitted

¹⁵⁰ Harambourg, p. 78.

¹⁵¹ Jacques Foucart, *Les Années romantiques*, p. 439.

¹⁵² Michel, p. 483.

¹⁵³ For example Dorbec, p. 69: 'Toutes les fois qu'un Rousseau faisait apparition devant le jury, c'étaient comme des Ah! le voilà, c'est lui, suivis du renvoi systématique de la peinture, avant même d'avoir regardé.'; Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme*, p. 127: 'Après avoir paru une fois au Salon [...] Rousseau en fut exclu systématiquement pendant de longues années.'

¹⁵⁴ Alfred Sensier, *Souvenirs de Théodore Rousseau* (Paris: Léon Techener, 1872), p. 86.

in 1838, a *Lisière de forêt* in 1839, which was rejected by fourteen votes to six, two works in 1840 (*Paysage bords de la Sèvre* and *Une lande en Bretagne*) and *Avenue de Chataigniers* in 1841. These rejections certainly reveal the jury's opposition to Rousseau, however the votes in his favour in 1839 show that these were not systematic rejections, and that Rousseau could find support from certain jury members. The jury's rejections of all five submissions by Diaz from 1838 to 1840 and seven works (out of nine) by Huet from 1843 to 1845 are not statistically very far removed from that of Rousseau. However, Rousseau's rejections have become part of a myth about the artist and the jury which is still repeated today.¹⁵⁵ This myth, which often asserts that Rousseau was systematically banned from the Salon for more than ten years, has tended to overshadow the reality of the jury's reception of landscape work to the Salon.¹⁵⁶

Of all the landscape artists who emerged at the start of the July Monarchy, Rousseau would be the one to subvert the ideals of classical landscape the most. However, his early Salon works reflect elements of his classical training under the landscape painter Rémond, from the age of fourteen, and the academician Lethière. Still only nineteen in 1831, his earliest submissions to the Salon reveal the range of sources which influenced him as a young artist: '[Rousseau] cherche son style en toutes directions, chez tous les maîtres (Claude Lorrain, Karel Dujardin, Flamands, Hollandais), conjointement aux paysagistes contemporains.'¹⁵⁷ Rousseau had certainly met Huet by the time of the 1831 Salon and was inspired by his works: 'Huet représente pour Rousseau la première version du romantisme émancipateur, passionné, militant,

¹⁵⁵ The 2013 exhibition on Théodore Rousseau at the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Meudon, the first solo exhibition on the artist since the 1967 Louvre exhibition, unfortunately failed to correct the inaccurate representation of Rousseau's career under the July Monarchy, persisting with the erroneous account of his being rejected by the jury for more than ten years. See *Théodore Rousseau 1812-1867: le renouveau de la peinture de paysage*.

¹⁵⁶ For example Michael Schulman, *Théodore Rousseau, 1812-1867: catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre peint* (Paris: Éditions de l'Amateur, 1999): 'le refus du Salon [en 1836] marque le début d'un ostracisme systématique qui ne prendra fin qu'en 1848.'; Michel, p. 423: 'Pendant douze années consécutives, il était victime d'injustices pareilles.'; *Barbizon Revisited*, p. 174: 'He was excluded from the Salon from 1837 to 1847.'

¹⁵⁷ Rolande Miquel and Pierre Miquel, *Théodore Rousseau: 1812-1867* (Paris: Somogy, 2010), p. 179.

antithèse du néoclassicisme' (ibid., p. 160). The jury unanimously accepted his 1831 submission *Paysage, site d'Auvergne*.

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Fig. 25. Théodore Rousseau, *Paysage, site d'Auvergne*, oil on canvas, Rotterdam, Boijmans Museum, 84 x 136 cm, 1831.

The painting, which was carefully composed, featuring the figure of a fisherman, the bridge and bell tower of Bort-les-Orgues, showed Rousseau still under the influence of his classical training, whilst drawing inspiration from the romantic movement (ibid., p. 45). The wild and rocky landscape of Auvergne also reveals Rousseau's burgeoning naturalist approach.

In 1833, the jury again admitted both of Rousseau's submissions, an *Étude après nature* (unidentified) and a larger romantic work, *Vue prise des côtes de Granville*.



Fig. 26. Théodore Rousseau, *Vue prise des côtes de Granville*, oil on canvas, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 85 x 165 cm, 1833.

In 1834, however, Rousseau submitted a work entitled *Paysage, groupe de chênes*, which was rejected by the jury. His decision to make a group of oak trees the central motif of his painting was a radical choice at this time, and utterly removed from the jury's conception of a classical landscape painting. Its rejection of the work reflected the alien nature of Rousseau's subject.

The jury accepted Rousseau's other submission in 1834 by eleven votes to ten. This work is marked in the *livret* as being owned by the duke of Orléans. In 1835, the jury accepted another two works by Rousseau, which are identified in the *livret* as belonging to the Prince de Joinville, Louis-Philippe's third son. Miquel saw the jury as 'contraint et forcé en 1835' to accept Rousseau's submissions, on account of their provenance (ibid., p. 60). However, the jury almost rejected Rousseau's 1834 painting belonging to the duke of Orléans, which undermines Miquel's argument by suggesting that it felt free to judge these works as it saw fit, regardless of their ownership. In addition, we have seen that it would reject work commissioned for Versailles the following year. The admission of these three paintings in 1834 and 1835 would, therefore, seem to demonstrate that the jury did not oppose all Rousseau's work at this stage.

In the early 1830s, Rousseau visited different parts of France as he searched for inspiration for his work. In 1835, he was among the first artists to be inspired by the forest of Fontainebleau, to which other artists would later gravitate:

Théodore Rousseau, après s'être inspiré des coteaux de Sèvres et de Meudon, s'était aventuré jusqu'à la forêt de Fontainebleau, alors presque inconnue, et il y avait planté sa tente. Là il peignait des arbres, des rochers, des ciels, comme si Bertin, Bidault, Watelet, Michallon n'eussent jamais existé.¹⁵⁸

In the forest of Fontainebleau, Rousseau could indulge his naturalism, observing nature and depicting the forest around him.

¹⁵⁸ Gautier, *Histoire du romantisme*, p. 232.

As we have seen, the jury failed to accept the six paintings of Rousseau submitted to the Salon between 1836 and 1841 and which reflected the development of his naturalist style in and around Fontainebleau. The extent of his subversion of classical ideals seems to have been unacceptable to the Salon jury in these years. Gautier ascribes the jury's rejection of Rousseau's works to the shock factor of painting unpicturesque scenes from nature: 'M. Rousseau peignait tout simplement la nature comme il la voyait, et rien n'était plus choquant à cette époque où régnaient encore les traditions [...] Nulle animosité personnelle ne guidait les honorables membres du Jury: C'était une pure, sincère et invincible horreur du vrai.'¹⁵⁹ As we have seen, six members of the jury voted in his favour in 1839 suggesting a degree of support, which might have resulted in a gradual shift towards acceptance in the 1840s if the artist had persevered in submitting his work. Later in the 1840s, less well-known naturalist artists who had studied with Rousseau were accepted to the Salon. The jury accepted all eight submissions from Narcisse Berchère and all five from Adolphe Bronquart.¹⁶⁰ It is possible that even the hard-line members of the jury were becoming more tolerant of naturalism at this time, as it was embraced by more artists. Its admission of Diaz's Barbizon works also points towards a possible tempering of their opposition.

The July Monarchy jury was not alone in its opposition towards Théodore Rousseau. We shall see that, for the most part, the opposition to the jury raised in the press and in petitions was on account of its rejection of established artists, who had received commissions and awards. The majority of these artists, including landscape painters such as Huet and Diaz, qualified for exemption from the jury in the Second Republic. Rousseau, however, did not and the artist-voted jury initially rejected one of

¹⁵⁹ Théophile Gautier, *Le Moniteur Universel*, 4 September 1859, cited in Miquel, *Théodore Rousseau*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁰ Harambourg, p. 46 on Berchère: 'Il s'adonne [...] au paysage naturaliste et subit l'influence de l'école de Barbizon, tout particulièrement celle de Rousseau et de Huet.'

his submissions in 1849.¹⁶¹ This opposition from a jury composed of a wider range of artists may attest to the radical appearance of Rousseau's work and helps explain the July Monarchy jury's inability to accept an interpretation of landscape so far removed from the conventions they knew. However, the 1849 jury's greater tolerance for Rousseau was demonstrated in its decision to award the artist a medal that year, which made him exempt from the jury at future Salons.

The July Monarchy jury's reception of landscape painting revealed its limited ability to adapt to developments away from the classical form of the genre. Moderate changes and the introduction of a more natural approach were acceptable as long as the landscape represented was picturesque and the choice of motif deemed sufficiently arresting and poetic. The jury's flexibility only went so far and it regularly, if not consistently, opposed those artists who most subverted classical ideals in their landscapes.

The purpose of my analysis of the jury's response to developments in French painting during this period has not been to rehabilitate the jury but to resituate its controversial decisions in the context of its overall decision making, so as to shed more light on the wider issues involved in its reception of painting. The practice of considering rejections in isolation allows too readily for a simplistic reading of the jury's actions. In using the data to understand the jury's response to the different categories of painting and the implications of its mixed reception of some artists and unreserved acceptance of others, we can begin to see the complex negotiation of artistic developments which governed the jury's responses. The role assigned to the members of the Academy was fraught

¹⁶¹ Rousseau's *Terraine d'automne*, 55 x 70 cm, was initially rejected before being admitted in 1849.

with difficulties, not least those of the vast number of works it had to judge and the growing diversity of artistic production. We have seen that the jury responded by attempting to maintain academic standards in those areas which it considered central to the tradition of the French school of painting, particularly within national history painting, but that it also recognised the need to adapt to changing artistic practices. Its attempt to navigate the direction of French art ultimately resulted in an inclusive Salon.

By and large the art journalists and critics of the period had their own agendas to follow and deadlines to meet, both of which encouraged simplified accounts of the jury process. One of the most enduring of these simplifications was that of an abuse of power by a corporatist jury seeking to preserve its institution's vested interests at the expense of innovation. The picture that emerges from an analysis of the jury's decisions, on the other hand, is that of a group consisting of two minority factions, one ready to exclude almost any work which did not pay due deference in one form or another to the notion of the *beau idéal*, the other particularly willing to lend its support to innovative artists despite their failure to conform to classical ideals. Between the two, there was a third category, perhaps the largest, whose members moved to and fro between these two factions, forming and dissolving alliances, depending on the work placed before them. The jury was more sympathetic to Delacroix and the romantics than one might think in view of its reputation and less sympathetic than one might expect to the neo-classical Ingres, whose pupils were attacked in the absence of the master.

It was the more simplified account of the jury which prevailed during the July Monarchy and the publicity surrounding controversial rejections of established artists provoked increasing opposition during the course of the regime. It is to that opposition and the campaigns it engendered against the jury to which we shall now turn.

5. OPPOSITION AND CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE JURY (1831-1848)

This chapter addresses the issue of the opposition which arose towards the jury and which accumulated over the course of the July Monarchy. As we have seen, this opposition had its roots for the most part in the initial decision to delegate the role of jury to the members of the Academy. Here we shall see how this opposition grew in reaction to the jury's management of its role and how the dissatisfaction with the jury and desire for reform expressed by certain academicians would also move from the internal discussions of the Academy into the public realm. We shall consider how the jury's decisions, and particularly its rejection of certain high-profile artists, continued to fuel informal and official opposition, in both individual and collective campaigns. We shall also consider evidence for an eventual attempt by the Academy, in the face of this opposition, to relinquish the role altogether. In the process, we shall see the regime's failure to address the issue seriously through its arts administration.

Development of Pre-1831 Discussions: *Mémoire de la Société Libre des Beaux-Arts, 1835*

The discussions which had taken place in the artistic community during the autumn and winter of 1830/1831 continued to resonate in the following years, as the artists and critics involved continued to maintain their hopes for reform and scrutinised the new jury's behaviour. The earliest formalised campaign against the jury, which took the form of a *mémoire* addressed to the government on 11 January 1835 by the *Société libre*

des beaux-arts, was very closely connected with the earlier discussions.¹ As we have seen, this society, formed in October 1830, had previously compiled a *mémoire* with propositions for an artist-elected general jury in January 1831 (see above, pp. 32-34). It began its later discussions, which would result in the 1835 *mémoire*, in March 1833, after just one Salon under the new regime.

The society continued to question the legitimacy of the jury on the grounds that the hurried nature of the king's decision in 1831 to delegate the jury role exclusively to academicians had ensured that its initial propositions had never received proper consideration:

Lors de la première exposition qui suivit la révolution de 1830, à la fin de l'hiver de 1831, l'intendant provisoire de la maison du roi écrit à l'Académie royale des Beaux-Arts, pour l'engager à charger les quatre sections de *peinture*, *sculpture*, *architecture* et *gravure*, de l'examen des ouvrages qui seraient présentés pour la prochaine exposition, et c'est cette marche qui a été suivie dans les expositions suivantes. Il n'y a donc eu aucune délibération sérieuse de la part de l'autorité pour former le jury actuel: ainsi les artistes peuvent avec toute justice réclamer des institutions capables de protéger leurs intérêts et leur offrir des garanties pour l'avenir.²

As we saw in chapter 1, our own analysis confirmed the rushed, last-minute nature of the king's decision and the lack of any evidence of serious debate either within the Royal Household or between Delaître and Forbin before the decision was taken. This new statement reveals the artists' expectations for a more democratic process to govern the Salon, evidently believing they had a right to be consulted on what they regarded as their exhibition. For the officers of the royal administration, however, the Salon remained the king's gift to the artists, who therefore were not in a position to assert consultation rights over its organisation. This disjuncture between the perception of both parties underlies the impasse between them throughout the period.

The *mémoire* proposed five different options for improving the jury:

¹ M. Demahis, *Mémoire sur l'institution du jury pour l'admission aux expositions* (Paris: Baudoin, 1835).

² [Anon.], 'Mémoire sur l'institution du jury pour l'admission aux expositions du Louvre par la Société libre des beaux-arts', *Journal des Artistes*, 18 January 1835, pp. 33-38 (p. 34).

Le premier serait de supprimer entièrement le jury pour l'admission aux expositions: il s'agirait seulement de veiller à ce qu'aucun ouvrage immoral ne pût être exposé.

Le deuxième, en supprimant également le jury, restreindrait le nombre des ouvrages que chaque artiste pourrait exposer: il ne resterait qu'à fixer ce chiffre, qui serait égal pour tous. Les tableaux pourraient être changés et remplacés pendant le cours de l'exposition.

Le troisième, en laissant subsister le jury tel qu'il est, dispenserait de son examen les ouvrages des artistes qui auraient donné des preuves de capacité.

Le quatrième consiste dans une augmentation du jury par l'adjonction d'un nombre d'artistes égal à celui des membres de l'Académie qui le compose actuellement.

Le cinquième et dernier donnerait à chaque artiste le droit d'exposer un de ses ouvrages. L'action du jury ne s'exercerait que sur ceux qu'il présenterait en plus.

The first proposal – complete abolition of the jury – had not been a serious consideration in the artists' discussions of 1830/1831. The idea had been raised on occasion in the later stages of the Restoration, notably by the critic Auguste Jal, in 1827, who declared: 'Le jury est une institution nuisible [...] Pourquoi pas la liberté absolue à la peinture? [...] Il faut supprimer le jury [...] Liberté pour tous, et laissez faire au public!'³ A less radical approach was taken by the critic for *Le Figaro* in 1828, who referred to the jury as 'une triste invention', without explicitly calling for its abolition.⁴ The idea of abolition may have gained some popularity at the start of the July Monarchy, but was still regarded as particularly extreme. The *Journal des Artistes* reported in 1831 that some artists wanted 'liberté' in the form of freedom from the jury but it had disapproved and warned against the consequences of the exhibition becoming overcrowded with mediocre works.⁵ The fact that by 1835 this publication supported the

³ A. Jal, *Esquisses, croquis, pochades, ou tout ce que l'on voudra sur la Salon de 1827* (Paris: Ambroise Dupont, 1828), pp. 11 and 19.

⁴ [Anon.], 'Figaro au Salon', *Le Figaro*, 7 February 1828.

⁵ [Anon.], 'Du jury pour les ouvrages présentés au Salon', *Journal des Artistes*, 27 March 1831, pp. 225-227 (p. 226): 'Nous croyons qu'un tel parti [ie. abolition of the jury] aurait des conséquences fâcheuses. Le nombre des artistes est aujourd'hui très considérable, et si chacun exposait toutes les productions qu'il jugerait, à tort ou à raison, dignes des regards du public, le Louvre pourrait bien ne pas suffire. Parmi

options proposed in the *mémoire* suggests that the jury's reputation had worsened as a result of its performance during the first three Salons.

Later in the period, certain critics of the jury began to favour the abolition option. For Louis Peisse, for example, the experience of the 1830s proved that a Salon jury was not possible, regardless of its composition. In 1841, he claimed that 'l'institution de ce jury d'admission ou plutôt d'exclusion est mauvaise, parce qu'elle ne peut fonctionner équitablement.'⁶ For Peisse, the increasing artistic diversity of the 1830s rendered the jury's job impossible, since in his view there was no way to establish a rule by which to judge works of such different natures:

[...] on veut qu'ils tracent, au milieu d'une masse d'ouvrages d'esprit et d'imagination, dont le goût, la manière, la conception, l'exécution, diffèrent de toutes les manières dont de pareilles choses peuvent différer, c'est-à-dire à l'infini, une ligne de séparation telle que tout ce qui sera placé à gauche est rejeté, et tout ce qui sera placé à droite admis. Mais pour établir ces deux catégories, il faudrait une règle certaine, une mesure fixe. Or, cette règle, cette mesure, où les prendre? (ibid., p. 15)

As a supporter of the July Monarchy, writing in the Orleanist *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Peisse's support for the idea of an open Salon demonstrates that not only opponents of the regime criticised the jury. Other critics, like the republican Prosper Haussard, supported the abolition of the jury, but believed a more equitable jury could also be found, calling for 'abolition ou réforme du jury: il n'y a point de milieu.'⁷ Haussard favoured the total abolition of the jury but recognised that such a radical proposal had little chance of being adopted, declaring: 'Nous sommes, quant à nous, complètement *abolitionnistes*. Il est probable pourtant que c'est la réforme qui prévaudra' (ibid.).

There were, however, several strong arguments against this sort of open exhibition. Firstly, it was believed it would engender a very large quantity of mediocre

cette foule innombrable, que de médiocrités, que de talents non encore développés, dont les productions ne sont encore que des essais qui ne doivent pas sortir de l'atelier!

⁶ Louis Peisse, 'Salon de 1841', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 4th ser., 26 (1841), pp. 5-49 (p. 14).

⁷ Pr. Haussard, 'Salon de 1840', *Le Temps*, 19 April 1840.

works, amongst which the superior works would be lost.⁸ Secondly, for those who saw the Salon as a showcase of the nation's finest contemporary works, a selection process played a fundamental role. Even if it were agreed that the Salon had a dual function of providing a showcase and an open marketplace, its best works needed to be readily distinguishable. Thirdly, the identity of the Salon as an official state event was also called into question by the proposition. As we saw in chapter 1, the king could not give up his nomination of the jury without abdicating his role as patron of an event he considered essential to his position as a protector of the arts and the artists too recognised that the king's involvement added to the event's prestige. In 1848, when the jury was abolished, these arguments reappeared in force.

The second proposal was a moderated version of the first, intended to ease concerns about its assumed consequences. It maintained the idea of a free Salon, but with quotas to limit the number of works entered. This more specific proposition was rarely raised elsewhere in the period. Gustave Planche seems to have been the only other advocate of this idea, writing in 1840:

Il y aurait un moyen bien simple d'imposer silence à toutes les plaintes, ce serait d'admettre indistinctement tous les ouvrages présentés; et pour circonscrire l'exposition dans des bornes raisonnables, on ne permettrait pas aux peintres et aux statuaires de présenter plus de deux ouvrages.⁹

It is likely that discussion of this proposition, derived from the first and designed to address the major argument against it, was limited to the minority who considered abolition of the jury as a realistic option.

The idea of quotas was not a new one. They had been used in 1827 to limit the number of submissions to the Salon. In 1831, Forbin had considered it 'indispensable'

⁸ See for example Louis Peisse, 'Le Salon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 2 (1843), pp. 85-109 (p. 99): 'On craint deux choses, l'encombrement et la déconsidération de l'art par la prédominance des mauvais ouvrages.' For the official newspaper, *Le Moniteur Universel*, even in 1847 abolition would create a 'monstrueuse anarchie.' Fab. P. [Fabien Pillet], 'Salon de 1847', *Le Moniteur Universel*, 18 March 1847.

⁹ Gustave Planche, 'Salon de 1840', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 4th ser., 22 (1840), pp. 100-121 (p. 100).

to impose quotas on artists.¹⁰ Delaître, however, decreed that ‘tous les ouvrages reçus par le Jury seront exposés quelque [*sic*] soit le nombre de ceux présentés par le même artiste.’¹¹ It was hoped that in making the Salon an annual event, artists would submit fewer works each year, which would remove the need for these former quotas.¹²

The statistics prove that quotas did very little to reduce the number of submissions to the Salon. In 1827, an artist was allowed to submit 2 portraits, 3 genre paintings, 3 landscapes and 3 history paintings. Once the effects of the annual exhibition had taken place, taking the year 1845 at random, these quotas would only have resulted in 323 fewer submissions, or just 8% of total submissions. The logistical inconvenience of imposing quotas which made so little difference to the overall number of entries did not make them worthwhile. The introduction of quotas for an open exhibition would have been ineffective in decreasing the size of the Salon, since the size of the annual exhibition was due more to the growing number of artists, than the number of works submitted by individuals. In 1840, an artist only submitted an average of 2.2 works to the Salon. Since one imagines the number of artists would only increase with the abolition of the jury, only a quota of one work per artist would result in a significant reduction in the size of the exhibition.

The third proposition addressed the complicated issue of exemptions which had arisen in 1831 and would recur throughout the period. The question was not raised during artists discussions’ in 1830/1831 since these focused on the idea of a general jury and its composition, rather than on details relating particularly to the Salon. We have seen that in 1831 the jury eventually decided to abandon the system of exemptions which had been in place at the previous Salon (see above, pp. 48-49) and which had

¹⁰ AMN, *AA21, letter from Forbin to Delaître, 12 April 1831: ‘Les artistes envoient quelquefois un si grand nombre d’ouvrages qu’il est souvent difficile de les exposer tous en même temps. Faute de réglemens les mesures prises à ce sujet ont donné lieu à de nombreuses réclamations. J’ai reconnu qu’il devenait indispensable de limiter le nombre des ouvrages d’un même genre que chaque artiste pouvait exposer à la fois.’

¹¹ AMN, X 1831: 1831 Salon, letter from Delaître to Forbin, 23 April 1831.

¹² See above, p. 110, note 34.

been limited to members of the Academy and French Academy in Rome. The history of exemptions was closely linked to a successful academic *parcours* and in 1831 these exemptions seemed to be based on a system of privileges incompatible with a modern constitutional monarchy.¹³

The series of exemptions suggested in the 1835 *mémoire*, however, were less exclusive. The society included artists who had won medals at previous Salons and those who had exhibited at the Salon a certain number of times.¹⁴ Such achievements were open to all artists, not just those who had chosen to take the traditional academic career path, and were designed to prevent established artists being turned away. As noted in the *Journal des Artistes*, the *mémoire* clearly stated that ‘il faut observer que ce ne sont pas de catégories ni des privilèges qui se trouveraient établis, mais des espèces de *grades*, qui ne peuvent offenser aucun artiste, puisque chacun peut y arriver à son tour en perfectionnant son talent.’¹⁵

By 1835, the jury had rejected a number of prominent and established artists, including Louis Boulanger, Delacroix and Tony Johannot. As previous exhibitors (under the Restoration or during the early, more lenient years of the July Monarchy) and, in some cases, medal-winners, they would have been protected by such a system of exemptions. As the jury continued to reject works by established artists, members of the press and artistic community frequently suggested introducing exemptions. In 1840, for example, Alphonse Royer stated: ‘Une loi rigoureuse que ces messieurs devraient s’imposer aussi, c’est de recevoir *sans examen* les œuvres signées d’un nom consacré

¹³ Fontaine noted following the first jury session in 1831 that honorary exemptions would seem to go against the public mood. See his *Journal 1799-1853*, 2 vols (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1987), II, p. 888: diary entry for 5 April 1831.

¹⁴ Although a number was not specified in the *mémoire*, in early talks it had been suggested that an artist would qualify based on three previous admissions to the Salon. See [Anon.], ‘Société libre des beaux-arts’, *Journal des Artistes*, 3 March 1833, pp. 141-143 (p. 142): ‘M. Montagny aîné a appelé ensuite l’attention de l’assemblée sur le système du jury [...] Il voudrait qu’en principe [...] ceux qui auraient été admis à trois Salons précédents, fussent de droit dispensés de la formalité de cette censure préalable.’

¹⁵ See [Anon.], ‘Mémoire sur l’institution du jury pour l’admission aux expositions du Louvre par la Société Libre des Beaux-Arts’, *Journal des Artistes*, 18 January 1835, pp. 33-38 (p. 36).

par le succès.¹⁶ In 1845, the *Journal des Artistes* called for a similar protection for artists who had achieved success in a variety of ways:

Il faut que le jeune artiste auquel on a facilité les premiers pas dans sa carrière ne vienne pas se présenter pour être repoussé impitoyablement; il faut que les pensionnaires de Rome, que les hommes qui ont reçu des médailles, des récompenses, la croix de la Légion-d'Honneur, qui sont chargés de travaux pour le gouvernement ou qui ont pendant plusieurs années vu leurs œuvres acceptées, aient leurs entrées libres et franches.¹⁷

Some critics, on the other hand, remained resolutely opposed to a system of exemptions. Prosper Haussard argued against any form of exemption, believing that the selection process should function on egalitarian lines: 'Puisqu'un jury est malheureusement nécessaire, il ne peut être établi que sur le principe de l'égalité absolue: tous doivent y être assujétis.'¹⁸ This issue of exemptions recurred throughout the period in question and we will see that they remained divisive when adopted under the Second Republic.

The fourth suggestion proposed increasing the size of the jury and making it more representative of the wider artistic community by adding an equal number of non-academician members. The proposition closely echoed both the society's previous proposal in 1831 and Forbin's proposition that year for a revised *conseil honoraire*. The *Journal des Artistes* made a similar proposal in 1833: 'qu'un jury plus nombreux et plus constitutionnel, dont nous avons plus d'une fois indiqué les éléments, en dedans et en dehors de l'Académie, soit institué.'¹⁹ It is perhaps only to be expected that its authors had found their earlier preconception confirmed by the experience of the academic jury.

The fifth proposal allowed every artist to exhibit one work, and would rely on a jury to judge any additional submissions. The fundamental idea underpinning this proposition was the artist's right to exhibit, which was also established in the society's

¹⁶ Alphonse Royer, 'Salon de 1840', *Le Siècle*, 6 March 1840.

¹⁷ [Anon.], 'Salon de 1845: le jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 19 March 1845, pp. 101-106 (p. 102).

¹⁸ Pr. H. [Prosper Haussard], 'Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1843', *Le National*, 24 March 1843.

¹⁹ F. [Charles Farcy], 'De l'institution et de l'application du jury pour l'exposition au Louvre', *Journal des Artistes*, 7 April 1833, pp. 233-240 (p. 239).

first and second proposals. The introduction of a jury seems intended to reduce the number of additional works and thereby control the size of the exhibition. The proposition would significantly reduce the jury's workload and consequently, it might be hoped, bring more order to their proceedings. On average the jury would have to judge almost half as many works as normal, as nearly half the submissions would be automatically admitted.²⁰ This proposition was not suggested elsewhere, perhaps since it seemed almost contradictory in nature, seemingly supporting an artist's freedom to exhibit, yet failing to abolish the jury.

This *mémoire* was favourably received in the art press, by both the *Journal des Artistes* and *L'Artiste*.²¹ The anonymous writer in *L'Artiste* even supported the propositions to abolish the jury, despite the fact that this publication had previously never favoured such a measure. We see that the artistic community welcomed these continued discussions, since the issues raised in 1830/1831 remained important to them and would continue to recur as long as the existing jury remained in place.

Four academicians, Abel de Pujol, Blondel, Drölling and Guénépin, were members of the *Société libre*, but it is unclear whether any of them was involved in the discussions surrounding the jury, or played a part in the commission which drew up the memo. Their continued membership of the society would suggest that they did not oppose the memo and were happy for the society to make these proposals for jury reform. We will see that certain members of the Academy would speak out openly against the jury later in the period and this memo introduced many of the issues which would be addressed in later petitions.

²⁰ In 1835, for example 41% of works would have been automatically admitted and 48% in 1845.

²¹ The *mémoire* was referred to in the *Journal des Artistes* 18 January 1835, pp. 33-38 and [Anon.], 'Mémoire sur l'institution du jury', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 9 (1835), pp. 4-5.

Individual Opposition: Antoine Etex, 1837

Opposition towards the jury grew as it continued to reject established artists in the 1830s. In 1836, parts of the press criticised the jury's rejection of works by Delacroix, Louis Boulanger and Gigoux, among others. *L'Artiste*, for example, enumerated Delacroix's achievements to ridicule the jury's treatment of an artist with his record of state honours and commissions: 'Delacroix décoré par le roi, ayant des commandes de la liste civile, des ministres, de la chambre des députés! Oh! messieurs du jury, vos coups tombent mal, ou plutôt ils tombent bien, car ils attestent votre inqualifiable partialité.'²²

The cumulative effect of these controversial refusals, though few in number each year, seriously undermined the jury's credibility with certain artists and sections of the press. In 1837, the sculptor Antoine Etex decided to campaign for change on the basis of the jury's rejection of works by Delacroix and Barye, describing himself as 'indigné et affligé de ce refus.'²³ He found intolerable its rejection of a series of bronzes by the sculptor Barye which had been commissioned as a 'surtout de table' by the duke of Orléans. The previous year the jury had rejected Etex's own marble of the duke of Orléans. The rejection of commissioned works undoubtedly increased Etex's opposition towards the jury. Delacroix had famously been rejected in 1836 and in 1837 it was falsely rumoured that the jury had rejected Delacroix's commission for Versailles, *La Bataille de Taillebourg*. Given the jury's rejection of a work by Delacroix the previous year, such rumours were credible and may have been deliberately used by critics to stir up animosity towards the jury.

Etex repeated the proposals that a more equitable jury (composed of between twelve and twenty members) should be elected each year by artists entering works to the Salon. Mindful of the need to gain support for his point of view, and as a founding

²² [Anon.], 'Salon de 1836', *L'Artiste*, 1st ser., 11 (1836), pp. 61-64 (p. 61).

²³ Antoine Etex, *Les Souvenirs d'un artiste* (Paris: Dentu, 1877), p. 220.

member of the ‘Cercle des Arts’, a private arts club of around five hundred paying members, he decided to address his proposal to his colleagues as a means of gaining support. On 5 March 1837, therefore, he composed a letter to his fellow members in which he stated his opposition to the existing jury: ‘Que des artistes éminents, des hommes qui ont gagné leur réputation par quinze ou vingt années d’études et de travaux, se voient refusés parce qu’ils ne pensent pas sur l’art comme les juges qu’on leur impose, cela ne doit pas durer plus longtemps.’ His letter was published in *L’Artiste* under the title ‘Pétition au Roi pour la réforme du jury des expositions du Louvre’ and *L’Artiste* hoped for a positive outcome, writing: ‘La circonstance est favorable au succès d’une pétition. Nous espérons donc que l’excellente proposition de M. Etex sera accueillie avec empressement par tous les membres du Cercle des Arts, artistes et amateurs.’²⁴ However, Etex appeared to have misjudged his fellow members whose response was unenthusiastic. Some were not interested in his proposition since they saw the ‘Cercle des Arts’ as a place of socialising, external to artistic politics, whilst others simply failed to share his opposition to the Salon jury, as he recorded in his memoirs: ‘Parmi les artistes présents au Cercle, au moment où j’y vins pour soutenir ma proposition, les uns me répondirent; “Moi, je viens ici pour m’amuser”; d’autres: “Moi, je ne crains pas les rigueurs du jury d’admission.”’²⁵ The latter response suggests that, in 1837, it was still predominantly those who had been directly affected by the jury’s rejections, or were closely associated with others who had been, who felt compelled to petition for change. However, the public dimension of these declarations, published in *L’Artiste*, may well have helped to stir up additional opposition to the jury and to generate successively more organised campaigns. We will see that with the continuation of individually controversial rejections, this opposition would evolve to include artists who had never been rejected by the jury.

²⁴ [Anon.], ‘Pétition au Roi pour la réforme du jury des expositions du Louvre’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 13 (1837), pp. 83-84 (p. 83).

²⁵ Etex, p. 222.

Proposal for a Double Exhibition: David d'Angers, 1838

In 1838, the sculptor and academician David d'Angers became the first member of the Academy to criticise the jury publicly by publishing 'Quelques idées sur les expositions' in the *Journal des Artistes*.²⁶ David, an ardent republican, compared the jury to the monarchy of the *ancien régime* to imply that it had no place in the new constitutional monarchy, referring scathingly to 'cet immuable jury [...] qui décide souverainement du sort, de l'avenir des artistes. Les arts dans ce siècle et dans ce pays ont donc aussi leur monarchie de droit divin!'²⁷

In his 'Quelques idées sur les expositions', David was not directly critical of his colleagues, but voiced his ideological objection to the principle of a jury:

On est d'accord sur ce fait que, malgré les lumières incontestables des membres du jury d'admission et l'esprit de justice qui les anime, de bien pénibles erreurs peuvent se glisser dans leurs décisions. Ces erreurs sont la conséquence naturelle de la précipitation que le jury est obligé d'apporter dans le triage de morceaux et de sujets de styles si différents. Pour exprimer ici toute ma pensée, je dirai que, quel que soit son talent reconnu, un artiste ne peut avoir le droit de juger l'ouvrage d'un confrère qui n'est plus sur les bancs de l'école.

For David, the relationship of artist to pupil allowed for criticism since it implied the transfer of a body of knowledge which could be taught and consent on the part of the pupil who chose to enter into this process but no hierarchical relationship of this kind could exist between artists. In a separate statement, apparently written at the time of his resignation from the jury and published in *L'Artiste* in 1847, David was more explicit in his criticism of his colleagues' partiality, writing:

Les membres d'un jury, quels qu'ils soient, forment un tribunal exceptionnel, d'autant plus dangereux qu'ils sont sous l'influence de préjugés d'école et de goût bien souvent passagers. Que l'on consulte les archives des Académies, on verra qu'elles ont trop souvent perpétué des

²⁶ David d'Angers, 'Quelques idées sur les expositions', *Journal des Artistes*, 25 March 1838, pp. 156-158.

²⁷ *David d'Angers, sa vie, son œuvre, ses écrits et ses contemporains*, ed. by Henry Jouin, 2 vols (Paris: E. Plon, 1878), II, p. 391, letter to Charles Blanc, March 1839.

traditions systématiques adoptées suivant les époques; qu'elles ont fait une guerre acharnée aux novateurs que le génie entraînait vers de régions nouvelles.²⁸

David himself admired the work of Delacroix and was closely associated with many innovative artists outside the Academy, including Jean Gigoux and Paul Huet, and certainly opposed their rejections from the Salon.²⁹

David proposed a two exhibition system, where all artists would be able to display work at a permanent exhibition whose exhibits would be changed every six months. The best works, which had received most public attention or been bought by the state, would be shown at a separate exhibition held once every ten years. This proposition addressed a key problematic concerning the identity of the Salon, which had come to serve the two roles of showcase and marketplace, which were perceived to be incompatible.

David's proposals had been raised earlier in the nineteenth century, as Mainardi has discussed.³⁰ For David, the dual exhibition answered his principal concern of making free access to a regular state-run exhibition a right for all artists. He believed that public opinion would act as an effective judge and help control the number of artists exhibiting. This had been Jal's claim in 1827, and David had himself previously voiced it in private correspondence to Victor Hugo in 1835.³¹ Mainardi interpreted David's ten-year exhibition as:

[...] throwing to Academicians a sop in the nature of an 'elevated' show once every ten years. For there can be no doubt that his description of the

²⁸ David d'Angers, 'Le jury', *L'Artiste*, 4th ser., 9 (1847), pp. 92-94 (p. 93).

²⁹ See Léon Cerf, *Souvenirs de David d'Angers sur ses contemporains: extraits de ses carnets de notes autographes* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, [n.d.]), p. 145; Henry Jouin, *Jean Gigoux: artistes et gens de lettres de l'époque romantique* (Paris: Bureaux de l'Artiste, 1895), p. 20; Pierre Miquel, *Paul Huet: de l'aube romantique à l'aube impressionniste, 1803-1869* (Sceaux: Éditions de La Martinelle, 1962), p. 54.

³⁰ See Patricia Mainardi, 'The Double Exhibition in Nineteenth-Century France', *Art Journal*, 48, 1 (1989), 23-28.

³¹ *David d'Angers: nouvelles lettres du maître et de ses contemporains suivies de dernières lettres de l'artiste et de ses correspondants*, ed. by Henry Jouin (Macon: Protat Frères, 1894), pp. 56-61, letter from David d'Angers to Victor Hugo, 9 June 1835.

Décennale in the language of solemnity, of purity, of severity, and of choice works implied a show by and for Academicians.³²

However, David's emphasis on the inclusion in such an exhibition of 'les ouvrages qui auraient particulièrement fixé l'attention du public', suggests that he intended entry to the Décennale to be determined by popular taste, rather than, as Mainardi suggests, for it to be a show 'by and for Academicians.' This intention was more clearly demonstrated in the version of his proposal published in 1847, in which the permanent exhibition would be held every five years:

Pour donner un stimulant aux artistes, pour que le public pût constater les progrès des arts dans notre patrie, tous les cinq ans [...] serait ouverte une exposition solennelle; les ouvrages les plus remarquables pendant ce laps de temps y seraient seuls admis.³³

David's proposals brought no direct changes to the jury or its composition, which is unsurprising since they did not take the form of a petition. However, the outspokenness of an artist of David's stature on these issues may well have encouraged other artists to campaign against the jury. David himself went on to support the two main campaigns organised in the following years and we will see that his suggestion to abolish the jury was repeated in the 1840 petition. I shall discuss below why this proposition would remain unacceptable during the July Monarchy.

Organised Protest: Petition to both Chambers, 1840

Growing dissatisfaction towards the jury led artists to organise a petition in 1840, which gained 132 signatories and was sent to both the *Chambre des Pairs* and the *Chambre des Députés*.³⁴ The petition principally asked that the Salon be regulated by a 'loi spéciale' and that it be placed under the control of the Ministry of the Interior. It

³² Mainardi, 'The Double Exhibition', p. 25.

³³ David d'Angers, 'Le jury', *L'Artiste*, 4th ser., 9 (1847), pp. 92-94 (p. 93).

³⁴ Version sent to the *Chambre des Pairs*, AN, CC460; version sent to the *Chambre des Députés*, AN, C2179, 669. This folder also contains all additional letters which I refer to as accompanying this petition. Further copy AMN, X 1840: 1840 Salon, 'Organisation' folder, 'Note publiée par l'Assemblée des artistes dont les ouvrages n'ont pas été admis à l'exposition de 1840: Pétition adressée aux deux Chambres' (Paris: Bourgone et Martinet, 1840); see Appendix 5 for full transcript.

attempted to strengthen its argument against the current jury by highlighting the fact that several jury members frequently abstained from their duties in protest against the current state of affairs. The petition supported the abolition of the jury, arguing that no jury could ever be impartial. In referring to ‘les jugements par système; la préférence accordée de bonne foi à des ouvrages médiocres sur des ouvrages supérieurs’, the petition seemed to imply that mediocre academic works were accepted over arguably better works created according to a different set of aesthetic values.

The petition was accompanied by several letters advancing its various arguments, written by Charles Dusaulchoy.³⁵ In a letter of 22 May 1840, Dusaulchoy argued, in politically charged language reminiscent of David d’Angers, that the jury was unconstitutional:

En résumé l’état de choses actuel relatif aux artistes français est en dehors du droit commun; ils sont traités comme faisant partie du mobilier de la Liste civile; je ne puis croire que ceux qui ont réorganisé la Société Française, après la révolution de juillet, aient eu la pensée de mettre une classe de citoyens en servage; mais ils se sont trompés, ils ont cru assurer la prospérité des arts et des artistes, en les plaçant sous la main protectrice de Sa Majesté, mais n’ayant pas vu la question dans son ensemble, ils n’ont fait le bien que de quelques uns et ont livré la totalité à l’arbitraire, en un mot ils ont violé le principe fondamental de la Charte Constitutionnelle qui veut que tous les Français jouissent des mêmes droits et soient soumis aux mêmes charges.

Once again, the implication is clear that the decisions taken by the administration in 1831 failed to gauge the mood of the artists, who felt that the new jury had failed to keep the liberal promises of the new regime.

In a letter of 7 April 1840, which accompanied the petition, Dusaulchoy claimed that the management of the arts had failed to improve following the change in regime: ‘Cependant, depuis 1830, toutes les institutions tendent à s’améliorer; comment se fait-il que la direction des arts soit restée dans les mêmes habitudes que sous la

³⁵ Dusaulchoy, an artist with a mixed record at the Salons of the July Monarchy, was one of the organisers of the petition.

Restauration.’ In petitioning the two chambers of parliament, Dusaulchoy ventured that the artists could draw inspiration from a precedent from the time of the Revolution:

[...] nous pensons qu’il nous est permis de communiquer nos idées sur les moyens d’amélioration qui nous semblent les meilleurs. M. [Jacques-Louis] David, de glorieuse mémoire, dont personne ne contestera la compétence en matière d’art, disait à la tribune en 1791 [...]: ‘Qu’il formait des vœux pour que tous les artistes soient également admis à l’exposition qui devait avoir lieu cette année.’

In response to David’s petition and two further petitions from a group of artists and certain other members of the Academy, the *Assemblée Nationale* passed a decree on 22 August 1791 to open the Salon to all artists. Dusaulchoy may have wished to remind the Assemblée of its past intervention in the exhibition in order to encourage it to act. The *Journal des Artistes* also raised this important precedent in 1841, in an article supporting free admission to the Salon, writing: ‘En adoptant ce système, on rentrera dans les termes du décret rendu en 1791 par l’assemblée nationale.’³⁶ The implication from these parties that the jury was behaving like the Academy of the *ancien régime* and thereby failing to live up to the expectations of a constitutional monarchy points to growing dissatisfaction with the regime at the start of the 1840s.

It was the jury’s severity in 1840 which particularly prompted the petition, which was dated 18 March 1840, less than two weeks after the opening of the Salon. The signatories openly admitted this reason for their petition: ‘Nous l’avouons, c’est la rigueur, et vous apprécierez sans doute la mesure de cette expression, c’est la rigueur dont le Jury a cru devoir user cette année qui nous a déterminés à vous adresser cette pétition.’ In 1840, the jury had rejected the largest proportion of artists since the beginning of the regime, admitting just 47% of submissions. There are a number of possible factors for this severity. Firstly, the number of submissions had continued to rise, so that over 300 more works had been submitted in 1840 than in 1839. The jury

³⁶ Jules Baget, ‘Du jury académique et de sa nouvelle organisation’, *Journal des Artistes*, 10 January 1841, pp. 17- 21 (p. 21).

may have felt that admitting significantly fewer works was their only means to curb this trend. Secondly, this was the first year in which the jury judged paintings grouped by genre. This more organised categorising of works would have allowed them to make comparative judgements more easily, thereby facilitating greater severity. This grouping also allowed the jury to see more clearly the number of paintings in each genre, which highlighted the growing number of ‘lower genre’ works. The jury was most severe towards these categories, particularly watercolours, landscapes and marines, genre and interior scenes. Cailleux had regretted the large number of lower genre works in 1839 and may have encouraged this increased severity.³⁷

The painter who organised the petition, Ferdinand Audry, was himself a landscape painter who had a fairly unsuccessful history at the Salon. Of his 35 submissions between 1831 and 1840 just 6 had been accepted and all 5 entries were rejected in 1840. Many of the other signatories had also been rejected in 1840. Of the 132 signatories, 115 were artists, 15 were journalists or writers and 2 caricaturists. Of the 87 who submitted work that year, 72 had some or all of their work rejected. In the case of these 72, 85% of their works were refused in 1840. However, at the 8 previous Salons, only 38% of their works had been refused. This proves that these artists had enjoyed relatively successful careers prior to 1840, when the jury rejected many more of their works than it had done in the past.

Not all the rejected artists were protesting against this increase in the jury’s severity. Among them, 20 had never been accepted to the Salon, including 6 who were submitting for the first time in 1840. One of these artists was the landscape painter Palun, who had been rejected 27 times in the first decade of the July Monarchy. He sent a number of letters of complaint regarding his rejections earlier in the 1830s and his

³⁷ AMN, X 1839: 1839 Salon, ‘Rapport sur l’exposition de 1839’: ‘On voit d’après ce résultat combien sont nombreux les ouvrages des genres qui présentent le plus de facilité, puisque pour 156 tableaux d’histoire on compte près de 500 portraits, près de 800 paysages, intérieurs, marines etc et 462 tableaux ordinairement désignés sous le nom de genre.’

support for the petition suggests he viewed it as another channel by which to complain against his rejection. The group of 20 included a further 3 artists, presumably amateurs, who appear to have had no *maître* and had been rejected on 9 previous occasions.³⁸ We see therefore, that a number of the petition's backers were relatively unknown artists, whose opinion would have carried little weight if it were not for the more high profile artists among the signatories.

The petition was signed by three academicians: Delaroche, Drölling and David d'Angers. Thirteen of the signatories had entirely successful Salon careers and had never been rejected by the jury, including the artist Ary Scheffer, a *chevalier* of the *Légion d'honneur* who had taught the future king's children between 1822 and 1830.³⁹ Sixteen of the signatories, however, were high-profile 'refusés', including Delacroix, whose controversial rejections had been criticised in several publications.

Not all of the signatories agreed with the demand to abolish the jury, which remained an extreme proposition. Both Delaroche and Drölling agreed only with the initial part of the petition calling for a law to regulate the exhibitions. Delaroche signed the report having added the following statement, which was also supported by Drölling and at least four other signatories:

Nous croyons qu'il est à désirer que les droits et les intérêts des artistes soient placés sous la protection d'une loi spéciale. Cela est, selon nous, tout à la fois une nécessité de notre époque et un besoin résultant du développement de l'art. C'est donc de grand cœur que nous nous associons au vœu exprimé à cet égard dans le premier paragraphe de la présente pétition, mais là s'arrête notre adhésion.⁴⁰

Delaroche's reference to the 'développement de l'art' is significant. We may infer from what we know of his stance within the Academy that he felt the current system failed

³⁸ According to the combined research of myself and Dr Alister Mill on Salon submissions and artists' training.

³⁹ Hervé Robert, 'Mécène et collectionneur', in *Le Mécénat du Duc d'Orléans, 1830-1843*, ed. by Hervé Robert (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1993), pp. 36-45 (p. 36).

⁴⁰ Etex, Charlet, Husson and Breton all supported Delaroche's amendment.

sufficiently to protect the growing number of artists who were not following the academic career route.

Two further artists, Isabey and Mansson, also opposed the abolition of the jury, but wished to see the jury enlarged by non-academicians.⁴¹ These amendments should encourage us to wonder to what extent the other names on the petition fully supported the proposed changes. For example, of the fifteen writers and journalists on the petition, only Théophile Gautier had ever expressed in print a wish to see the jury abolished.⁴² It seems likely, therefore, that some of those signing the petition were taking advantage of a formal channel to voice their opposition to the jury, without necessarily supporting its abolition.

Provoking an Official Debate: Responses to the Petition

- *Chambre des Pairs*

The *Chambre des Pairs* received the petition and discussed its contents on 6 June 1840.⁴³ We learn from their discussions that they were encouraged to give the petition due consideration because of the reputation of some of its supporters: ‘Les égards que méritent les hommes distingués dont les noms sont inscrits à la suite de cette pétition ont décidé votre comité à donner à son examen et à ce rapport une attention sérieuse et quelque développement.’ It seems clear from this statement that the support of the academicians played an important part in the reception of the petition by the committee of the *Chambre des Pairs*. In exerting this pressure, these academicians challenge the image of a homogeneous and conservative Academy that was frequently represented in

⁴¹ This proposition mirrored one of the proposals in the 1835 *mémoire* which had its antecedents in the 1830/1831 discussions.

⁴² Théophile Gautier, ‘Salon de 1840’, *La Presse*, 11 March 1840: ‘Le jury, institué par Napoléon, ne devait pas avoir d’autres fonctions que celle de la censure.’

⁴³ AN, CC308, Chambre des Pairs, Procès-Verbaux des Séances, Session de 1840. This discussion was reprinted in full in [Anon.], ‘Chambre des Pairs: séance du samedi 6 juin’, *Le Moniteur Universel*, 7 June 1840, pp. 1316-1318 (p. 1317). William Hauptman incorrectly states that ‘no deliberation on its contents is noted in the official reports of the Chambre des Pairs’ proceedings’ in ‘Juries, Protests, and Counter-Exhibitions Before 1850’, *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), 95-109 (p. 101).

the contemporary press. Well-known non-academician signatories such as Delacroix and Ary and Henry Scheffer may have lent the petition further credibility and the co-operation of academicians and non-academicians may have strengthened the campaign.

The petition's 'rapporteur' summarised the details of the annual exhibition for the benefit of the peers, explaining to them that since the Louvre fell within the attributes of the *Liste civile*, it was deemed 'régulier' that the Salon exhibition also be funded and managed by the *Liste civile*. On the basis of the artists' demands, he questioned whether a 'loi réglementaire' was necessary and considered alternative options to the current selection process.

These options included several of the propositions which we have seen were considered in the 1830s. David d'Angers's proposal for a double exhibition in 1838 appears to have made inroads, as a variation of it was taken up by the peers:

Ne devrait-il pas y avoir une double exposition, l'une pour les jeunes artistes qui n'auraient pas encore exposé, l'autre pour les artistes que je nommerai maîtres, et qui, membres de l'Académie, ayant gagné des Prix à Rome ou obtenu des médailles se trouveraient placés hors ligne?

This proposal, however, failed to address the primary question of the jury composition, since it omitted the question of whether a jury was required and, if so, what form it should take.

The peers also considered the implications of an open exhibition. They concluded that a free Salon would engender a greater number of submissions and that superior works would be lost among mediocre entries in this 'monstrueux accouplement.'⁴⁴ Given that an open exhibition would still require a censorship jury they questioned how this would be elected, and claimed that any jury would be susceptible to the same complaints raised against the existing jury, which offered 'toutes les garanties de lumières et d'indépendance que l'on peut désirer.' We remember

⁴⁴ We remember that Fabien Pillet in *Le Moniteur Universel* would in 1847 describe the suggestion for an open exhibition as a 'monstrueuse anarchie' (see above, p. 201, note 8).

that Delaître had described the academicians in similar terms in 1831 when he justified the delegation of the jury to them. Those peers outside of, or unfamiliar with, the artistic community are likely to have shared this view of members of the *Institut* and felt reassured by their qualifications and independent status. These deliberations revealed many of the difficulties posed by a free Salon, though, oddly, without including the spatial and financial implications of a substantial increase in the number of works or the negative impact on the royal patronage of the event.

At the end of its discussion, the *Chambre des Pairs* concluded in favour of abandoning discussions on the grounds that it was not at liberty to judge on this matter which, managed under the aegis of the Civil List, belonged ‘exclusivement à l’Administration.’ Any changes would, it therefore concluded, have to come through those channels. As Director of a key element of this administration, Cailleux had privileged access to these hierarchical superiors, but we will see that he failed to use his influence to support the artists’ campaigns.

- *Chambre des Députés*

The *Chambre des Députés* also responded to the petition, but not until the following year. It seems that the deputies received both the petition sent to the *Chambre des Pairs* and a further petition which was sent on 28 November 1840.⁴⁵ The exact contents of this second petition are unclear, but it appears to have been a development of the earlier one, criticising the partisan nature of the Academy and raising suggestions to introduce exemptions and to prevent the architects from judging painting submissions.⁴⁶ It was

⁴⁵ AMN, X 1840, *Pétition des Artistes contre les abus du jury* (Paris: Ducassois, 1840).

⁴⁶ See [Anon.], ‘Chambre des Députés: séance du vendredi 28 mai’, *Le Moniteur Universel*, 29 May 1841: ‘Choisi exclusivement parmi les membres de l’Académie des beaux-arts qui se recrute elle-même toujours dans le même sens, le jury, disent les pétitionnaires, ne peut être un juge impartial [...] Quelques artistes voudraient qu’il y eût des admissions de droit exemptes de la formalité du jury [...] Beaucoup d’artistes, parmi lesquels des membres de l’Institut et du jury, voudraient que les peintres et les sculpteurs fussent seuls admis à juger les ouvrages de peinture, et les architectes les ouvrages d’architecture.’

organised by Audry and signed by many of the same artists as the previous petition, in addition to a number of others including Horace Vernet.

The *Chambre des Députés*, like the *Chambre des Pairs*, actively investigated the artists' complaints and considered both the petitions together.⁴⁷ Dietrich, the deputy in charge of the committee researching the petition, contacted Cavé, the head of the *Direction des Beaux-Arts* within the *Ministère de l'Intérieur* for information about the Salon jury.⁴⁸ Surprisingly, Cavé was unable to answer whether there was any regulation in place to govern the jury and contacted Cailleux for the relevant information. Cailleux was able to inform Cavé, in a reply on the same day, that the exhibitions were governed by the 1833 regulations passed by the *Intendant général de la Liste civile*.⁴⁹ Cailleux explained these regulations and offered to provide any more assistance necessary, writing: 'Je serai tout à fait à la disposition de M Dietrich s'il veut bien prendre la peine de passer au Musée.' However, two days later Cailleux drafted another letter to Cavé retracting his earlier offer to see Dietrich, writing:

Empressé de répondre, je n'ai pas pensé dans le 1^{er} moment que les renseignements officieux que j'ai déjà donnés dans ma lettre à M Cavé pouvant prendre par la visite de M le rapporteur un caractère officiel, c'était à M l'Intendant Général de la Liste Civile qu'il convenait de s'adresser dans cette circonstance.⁵⁰

The tone of this message suggests that Cailleux may have been instructed by his superiors not to intervene. Unfortunately, we do not know if Cavé subsequently contacted Montalivet or what his response may have been. The commission delivered its report to the chamber on 28 May 1841, where we learn that it had been 'l'objet d'une attention soutenue et une discussion approfondie.' The report concluded, however, as the *Chambre des Pairs* had done, that it was not its place to investigate such matters which belonged to the administration of the Civil list.

⁴⁷ Hauptman, p. 101, confuses these petitions, claiming that the later petition was sent to both chambers, when the 18 March 1840 petition is the one received by both.

⁴⁸ AMN, X 1841: 1841 Salon, letter from Cavé to Cailleux, 17 February 1841.

⁴⁹ Ibid., letter from Cailleux to Cavé, 17 February 1841.

⁵⁰ AMN, X 1841, rough draft of letter from Cailleux to Cavé, 19 February 1841.

A Direct Appeal to the King: Artists' Letter, 1843

In 1843 a group of over 130 artists made a direct appeal to the king to reform the jury. The letter, dated 25 March 1843, asked the king to find ‘un mode d’examen qui puisse mieux remplir vos intentions et ménager d’avantage les destinées de l’art et les intérêts des artistes.’⁵¹ The artists had clearly recognised that neither chamber of parliament could itself bring about a reform, and therefore chose to address the king directly. The jury’s rejection of over half the submissions in 1843 is likely to have prompted this action.

This letter differed greatly from the earlier petitions of 1840. The tone of the letter was respectful and began with almost three pages of praise for the king and his protection of the arts, before making any critical comment. The letter emphasised the jury’s failure to replicate the king’s encouragement of a diverse range of artists in its decisions:

Nous croyons que cette pensée de large hospitalité [of the king] n’a pas toujours été assez libéralement comprise. Les portes du Louvre ont été fermées plusieurs fois à des talents qui avaient reçu de vos mains la plus haute distinction que l’artiste puisse ambitionner; on a frappé d’exclusion, systématiquement peut-être, les jeunes et laborieux artistes, espérance de l’avenir, qu’il était dans l’esprit de l’institution de faire arriver jusqu’à vos regards.

Cette année surtout, des artistes qui avaient reçu de votre munificence la décoration, des médailles, des commandes pour vos musées, qui avaient remporté les Grands Prix de Rome, se sont vus refuser l’admission qu’ils étaient en droit d’espérer, après avoir conquis par de pénibles travaux, une place honorable dans l’estime publique.

This letter is a culmination of issues which had been raised in previous years. We remember that Etex’s campaign was directly prompted by the rejection of the

⁵¹ AMN, X 1843: 1843 Salon, letter addressed to ‘Sa Majesté Louis Philippe, Roi des Français.’ See Appendix 4 for full transcript.

established artists Barye and Delacroix. Suggestions for exemptions had also been raised to try to prevent the rejection of reputable artists.

The letter implied that Louis-Philippe's liberal policy towards the arts, whereby, for example, he awarded commissions to artists outside the Academy, had encouraged an artistic diversity which the jury was no longer in a position to judge fairly:

Aujourd'hui, par le fait de l'impulsion si intelligente et si puissante que vous avez imprimée aux arts, et au développement des diverses écoles, la position des Membres de cette commission ne leur a plus permis de juger avec une parfaite impartialité la multitude d'œuvres qui affluent maintenant chaque année aux portes du Salon.⁵²

The artists who signed this letter were not the same as those who had supported the 1840 petitions. The letter bore the names of many high profile and successful artists, including five members of the Academy (four painters: Abel de Pujol, Delaroche, Drölling and Ingres, along with the sculptor David d'Angers) and 19 members of the *Légion d'honneur*, as well as 27 artists who had been awarded first-class medals in previous Salons. Both Abel de Pujol and Ingres were serving members of the jury, and their support for this petition represented a view from insiders of the jury's limitations and the difficulties it faced.

From the 142 signatures, I have been able to identify 132 artists. Of these, 42 did not submit work in 1843, showing that their support for the letter was not related to their treatment in that year. 45% of the works submitted by the signatories in 1843 were rejected in that year, compared with 74% for the petitioners in 1840, proving that the 1843 letter was less of a reaction to personal rejections. This figure also shows that the signatories were more successful than the average artist in 1843 when 59% of works were rejected. Overall, they were significantly more successful than the 1840 artists, with 80% of submissions in 1843 and earlier years received compared with 65% for the 1840 signatories. 21% of the petitioners in 1843 had never had a work rejected,

⁵² Ibid.

compared with 14% of those in 1840. This petition was, therefore, a measured response to the jury by successful artists, rather than special pleading by the unsuccessful.

Whilst the tone was reverential, the essential message of the letter was indirectly critical of the king, since it found fault with the jury's composition, for which he was responsible. For five members of the Academy to address the king in this way was very significant. They represented the most credible opponents of the jury and it is remarkable that this letter prompted no formal reaction.

A number of newspapers, including *L'Artiste* and *La Presse*, claimed that the king advised the jury to be more lenient in 1844.⁵³ We cannot know whether this was true, but it was an informal response if so. Members of the press began to urge the administration to intervene and, when that failed, started to voice their ideas as to who was to blame for the lack of jury reform.

Changing Attitudes in the Press

Coinciding with the artists' petitions, pro-reform critics began to push for outside intervention, and even previously supportive elements of the press admitted that there was room for improvement within the jury. In the 1830s, the government's official daily, *Le Moniteur Universel*, did not discuss the jury in its reviews of the Salon. In 1843, however, its art critic Fabien Pillet stated his support for a system of exemptions which would help reduce the jury's task:

Il y aurait peut-être un moyen d'alléger la responsabilité malheureuse qui pèse sur ce tribunal, ce serait de considérer comme présentant des garanties suffisantes, tous les artistes qui auraient remporté des grands-prix au concours, ou auxquels des médailles auraient été accordées par le Gouvernement, ou, enfin, dont les ouvrages auraient déjà obtenu plus d'une fois les honneurs du Louvre. En abrégant beaucoup les pénibles opérations du jury, cette réforme préviendrait sans doute de fâcheuses humiliations, et

⁵³ Théophile Gautier, 'Salon de 1844', *La Presse*, 26 March 1844: 'Une haute influence a, dit-on, engagé le jury à être indulgent'; [Anon.], 'Le Salon', *L'Artiste*, 3rd ser., 5 (1844), pp. 161-164 (p. 162): 'Le roi avait recommandé beaucoup d'indulgence.'

j'ai même sujet de croire que les expositions annuelles n'en souffriraient pas.⁵⁴

Pillet did not directly criticise the members of the jury, but acknowledged that they were susceptible to 'des influences presque irrésistibles.' We have seen that several other critics proposed a similar system of exemptions and the support for the idea in the government's official newspaper showed its broad appeal.

In the 1840s, other members of the press began expressing their desire for the administration to intervene in the jury's operations and enact reform. Gautier writing for *La Presse* in 1840 claimed that it was time for a higher authority to intervene: 'Quand finira donc ce scandale? Il est temps qu'une autorité supérieure intervienne.'⁵⁵ In an argument which he alone seems to have made, Prosper Haussard believed that the *Chambre des Députés* would intervene in 1840:

Si le gouvernement (nous ne le pensons pas) ne prenait nul souci de cet état de choses, et persistait à laisser au jury ces attributions exorbitantes, la chambre des députés sans doute userait de son initiative pour y pourvoir: il ne s'agit point là seulement d'une question d'art dans laquelle elle pourrait se déclarer incompétente, ni d'une mesure d'ordre qui appartiendrait plus particulièrement à l'administration, mais il s'agit de la liberté d'une profession et d'un droit de propriété.⁵⁶

Haussard, a republican opponent of the regime, appears to be bringing the same charge of unconstitutionality against the academic jury that we have seen above (p. 212), ie. that it was behaving like an *ancien régime* corporation and that it therefore fell to the *Chambre des Députés* to intervene in the manner of its predecessor, the *Convention Nationale*, which had abolished corporations in the name of free access to the professions.⁵⁷

By 1842, Haussard held the administration and the *Liste civile* responsible for the jury's operations, declaring: '[...] nous sommes résolu cette fois à moins attaquer le

⁵⁴ Fab. P. [Fabien Pillet], 'Salon de 1843', *Le Moniteur Universel*, 17 March 1843.

⁵⁵ Théophile Gautier, 'Salon de 1840', *La Presse*, 11 March 1840.

⁵⁶ Pr. Haussard, 'Salon de 1840', *Le Temps*, 19 April 1840.

⁵⁷ See François Benoit, *L'Art français sous la Révolution et l'Empire* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1975), p. 179.

jury que l'administration qui le tolère, la liste civile qui le nomme et le fait agir sous sa responsabilité.'⁵⁸ Like Gautier and Haussard, the *Journal des Artistes* voiced its astonishment in 1843 that the administration had not intervened:

Il est surprenant que dans un pays comme la France, à une époque où les chefs de l'état ambitionnent le titre de Mécènes et de protecteur des arts, il est surprenant, disons-nous, que ce jury subsiste malgré cette unanimité de voix réprobatrices [...] Pour la dignité des arts, pour la dignité de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, nous voudrions que la liste civile, de qui dépend l'exposition du Louvre, et le ministre de l'instruction publique, qui régit l'Institut, s'entendissent et prissent une mesure pour régler convenablement les admissions au Salon.'⁵⁹

That same year, following the artists' direct petition to the king, Peisse identified where the responsibility lay, declaring: 'la solution est entre les mains de la sagesse royale.'⁶⁰

In 1847, the *Journal des Artistes* alleged that Cailleux's control over the jury was the main obstacle to change.⁶¹ Describing him as 'Directeur occulte' who 'tient le fil de ses marionnettes et les fait agir à sa guise', it went on to say:

Il faut bien qu'on le sache: si le jury existe encore comme il est constitué avec ses errements homicides, la faute en est à M. le Directeur des musées, seul [...] Seul, il alimente le fléau par un machiavélisme qui n'est plus de notre siècle. Qu'on ne nous réponde pas que M. le Directeur des musées n'est en cela que l'exécuteur de hautes volontés [...] Or, est-il possible de supposer que le roi, qui a toujours eu un fonds de bienveillance pour les artistes, se refuserait au rappel d'une institution désastreuse, si l'homme chargé de sa confiance osait lui exprimer avec franchise les vices, les abus, nous dirons presque les crimes du jury.'⁶²

It seems unlikely that the *Journal des Artistes* actually believed that Cailleux exercised such Machiavellian control over the jury and it may well have chosen to target him on account of his unpopularity within the artistic community. It was, however, right to suggest that he failed to convey the criticisms of the jury to the king and we shall now

⁵⁸ Pr. Haussard, 'Salon de 1842', *Le Temps*, 13 March 1842.

⁵⁹ H. [Etienne Huard], 'Salon de 1843', *Journal des Artistes*, 26 February 1843, pp. 129-132 (p. 130).

⁶⁰ Louis Peisse, 'Le Salon', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 2 (1843), pp. 85-109 (p. 103).

⁶¹ [Anon.], 'De l'Académie Royale des Beaux-Arts et du jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 24 January 1847, pp. 37-38 (p. 37).

⁶² [Anon.], 'Du jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 17 January 1847, p. 25.

consider the ways in which he minimised the appearance of this opposition in his correspondence with Montalivet.

The Obstructive Role of de Cailleux

The *Directeur des Musées* played down the opposition to the jury wherever possible. In his report on the 1841 Salon for the *Intendant Général* he was purposefully dismissive of the petitions to the two chambers of parliament. He belittled the motivation for such a campaign, explaining: ‘la malveillance qui ne laisse jamais échapper une occasion de scandale, ne manque pas de chercher à en tirer parti, en dirigeant les plaintes: des pétitions furent adressées aux Chambres.’⁶³ He dismissed the support which the petitions had received by emphasising the small number of signatories in comparison with the number of artists who had submitted work to the Salon. Moreover, he underplayed the number of reputable artists who had supported the petition and failed to discuss the implication that five members of the Academy had taken part in these campaigns. He also claimed that the petitions were thrown out ‘sans discussion’, when we are aware that both chambers investigated and discussed them at some length. Both chambers deferred to the *Intendant général*, who was the one official who could answer the artists’ complaints. Since Cailleux failed to give Montalivet an accurate account of the petitions, it could be argued that he was the greater obstruction to reform. However, Cailleux’s response to Dietrich in 1841 suggested his deference to Montalivet. We should, therefore consider the possibility that Cailleux acted subordinately, anticipating how Montalivet would respond.

In 1843, Cailleux was once again extremely dismissive of the artists’ campaign, which may have influenced the king’s decision not to react, at least not in an official manner. He claimed that the petition was predominantly supported by the same artists

⁶³ AMN, X 1841, ‘Salon de 1841: Rapport à M l’Intendant Général.’

who had supported the unsuccessful 1840 petition.⁶⁴ Yet 99 of the 132 signatories, including many of the most famous names, had not supported the earlier petition, which Cailleux ought to have, and is most likely to have, known. He also wilfully misrepresented the calibre of the artists involved, referring to ‘un grand nombre d’élèves et quelques noms étrangers aux arts’ (ibid.), and belittled their number amongst the 2000 artists submitting to the exhibition each year. He failed to acknowledge the status of the artists involved as among the most renowned in France at that time and greatly underplayed the significance of their protest in his report to Montalivet.

Cailleux also attempted to diminish and disguise the opposition towards the jury within the Academy. We have seen (above, pp. 76-77) that in 1843 he most likely suppressed the Academy’s discussions of jury reform. That same year, he also tried to limit the appearance of opposition to the jury by concealing the instances of abstention in his report to Montalivet, claiming ‘MM. Horace Vernet et Schnetz sont absents de France, le premier est en Russie, le second à Rome’ (ibid.). Horace Vernet had resigned from the jury along with Delaroche in 1836 and Cailleux would have been fully aware that he would not have participated in the jury had he been in Paris. He employed the same ruse the following year with regard to Delaroche, reporting: ‘MM. Schnetz et Delaroche, peintres, en ont été éloignés pour cause d’absence: le premier, Directeur de l’École de France à Rome, en exercice, est à Rome, et le second, voyage en Italie.’⁶⁵

In 1843, as a reluctant response to the artists’ campaign, Cailleux hesitantly suggested introducing exemptions for artists who had exhibited a certain number of times.⁶⁶ This proposition was presented unenthusiastically as a final option which was never instigated: ‘s’il était reconnu utile de ne pas rejeter absolument les réclamations adressées au Roi.’ Following the internal conflicts within the jury in 1845, Cailleux

⁶⁴ AMN, X 1843, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général de la Liste Civile sur l’Exposition de 1843.’

⁶⁵ AMN, X 1844: 1844 Salon, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général sur l’Exposition des Arts de 1844.’

⁶⁶ AMN, X 1843, ‘Rapport à Monsieur l’Intendant Général de la Liste Civile sur l’Exposition de 1843.’

again debated whether a reform was necessary in his report to Montalivet. He initially claimed ‘On ne propose pas après délibération de changement au règlement.’ However, he went on to raise once again the possibility of introducing exemptions for artists who had exhibited at nine or ten Salons, with the works being subject only to observance of the censorship laws:

Comme les discussions s’élèvent principalement à l’occasion des artistes dont les ouvrages ont été reçus à plusieurs expositions précédentes, peut-être parviendrait-on à satisfaire aux exigences, en exemptant du jury (si ce n’est pour le convenance du sujet), les artistes qui compteraient un nombre déterminé d’expositions au Salon, nombre qu’on pourrait limiter à neuf ou dix.⁶⁷

The qualification of nine or ten Salons was extremely high and would have been of no assistance to artists trying to begin their career. Other proposals for exemptions had suggested a qualification of two or three previous exhibitions (see above, p. 203, note 14). The suggestion was not adopted, perhaps as a result of the indifferent way in which Cailleux again presented it. However, it may also indicate that Montalivet failed to approve of the idea and promote it to the king.

Cailleux also rejected an alternative suggestion which the painters on the jury proposed in 1845 for the jurors to judge only their own discipline:

MM les Peintres, membres du Jury, demandent qu’à l’avenir il soit procédé à l’examen des ouvrages par classe, c’est-à-dire par spécialité: que les peintres soient seuls appelés à juger de la peinture, les sculpteurs de la sculpture, et ainsi de suite.⁶⁸

Cailleux found the current system to be preferable, as it had the advantage of already having been tried and tested, writing: ‘La marche suivie jusqu’à ce jour, quels qu’en soient les inconvénients apparents, est une des moins insuffisantes, elle a pour elle la sanction du temps et de l’expérience, on doit s’en écarter le moins possible.’ We remember that this proposal had been raised by Delaroche in 1836 and, in *L’Artiste* in

⁶⁷ AMN, X 1845: 1845 Salon, 1845 Salon report, untitled 27 page document beginning ‘Le nombre des ouvrages’, p. 8.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

1847, Clément de Ris returned to it: ‘Ce sur quoi l’on ne saurait trop insister, ce qui est urgent, nécessaire, indispensable, c’est que les artistes soient jugés par leurs pairs, c’est-à-dire les peintres par les peintres, les sculpteurs par les sculpteurs, etc., etc.’⁶⁹ Cailleux’s lack of support for the proposal underlines his failure to act as an intermediary between the artists and the royal administration in the way in which his predecessor Forbin had done. We will see that this manner of organising the jury would be enacted in 1849, following the change of regime, when Cailleux had been removed from his post.

The Effects of Abstention

As the longed-for reforms failed to materialise, certain critics altered their opinion over the members of the Academy who chose to abstain from the jury. Initially the art press had praised the abstaining members for campaigning for reform and standing against the system.⁷⁰ Yet when it began to seem clear that the administration was unwilling to reform the jury, a wave of criticism rose up against the abstainers. The critics argued that these members’ voices within the jury could have saved many worthy works from being rejected. The actions of Delaroche, Vernet and Ingres were represented as selfish and vainglorious across the press, from arts journals to daily newspapers. *L’Artiste* began in 1842 to debate the difference which these members could make:

Encore si les artistes avaient des protecteurs dans l’Institut! si, dans un vain désir de popularité, la plupart de ceux que l’opinion publique entoure de respects et de sympathie ne s’abstenaient pas de prendre part à une exécution qu’ils regardent comme immorale et anti-artistique. Mais non, M. Horace Vernet, M. Delaroche, M. Drölling, M. David, se retirent de leurs collègues, et préfèrent laisser retomber sur eux le coup des réprobations dont ils détournent leurs épaules.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Clément de Ris, ‘Salon de 1847 - le jury’, *L’Artiste*, 4th ser., 9 (1847), pp. 17-18 (p. 18).

⁷⁰ [Anon.], ‘Salon de 1836’, *L’Artiste*, 1st ser., 11 (1836), pp. 61-64 (p. 62): ‘nous aimons à citer MM. Paul Delaroche et Horace Vernet, dont la retraite et la protestation honorent le caractère et flétrissent les jugemens de leurs collègues’; Pr. Haussard, ‘Salon de 1840’, *Le Temps*, 19 April 1840: ‘Mettons à part MM. David d’Angers, Paul Delaroche, HV et Drolling, qui font un schisme honorable dans le jury.’

⁷¹ [Anon.], ‘Le Salon avant le jury’, *L’Artiste*, 3rd ser., 1 (1842), pp. 145-148 (p. 148).

The same publication repeated this argument the following year: ‘Si MM. David d’Angers, P. Delaroche, Drölling, Hersent, Ingres et Horace Vernet; si toute la partie intelligente et vivace de l’Institut avait assisté aux séances du jury, nous n’aurions pas à déplorer tant d’iniques résolutions.’⁷²

It was not only press favourable to the romantics which criticised the missing academicians in this way. In 1845, the *Journal des Artistes* likewise commented:

Ceux qui n’y assistent jamais se faisaient encore remarquer par leur absence. Est-ce donc un parti pris de la part d’hommes qui devraient commencer par prêcher l’exemple en suivant assidûment des réunions où leur opinion, dans quelques circonstances, aurait une grande force.⁷³

Such criticisms were published the same year by Théophile Gautier in *La Presse*:

Pourquoi MM. Vernet, Delaroche, Ingres, David, laissent-ils le soin de juger de la peinture à ces inconnus? à qui persuaderont-ils qu’ils sont indignés de ces exécutions à mort, quand ils se retirent philosophiquement du jury, sous prétexte qu’ils ne peuvent supporter de pareilles abominations? Certes, cela est beaucoup plus commode.⁷⁴

However, the most severe judgement came from *L’Artiste*, which in 1846 placed the blame in no uncertain terms on the abstainers:

Nous savons bien que l’Académie des Beaux-Arts compte dans son sein trois ou quatre artistes d’une certaine valeur; mais, depuis long-temps révoltés des façons d’agir de leurs collègues, ils s’abstiennent chaque année de prendre part à leurs délibérations. Qu’ils en soient hautement blâmés! Une grande part de responsabilité retombe sur eux. En intervenant, ils pourraient sans doute opposer une digue aux caprices par trop excessifs du jury.⁷⁵

Such hostile reactions failed to convince these academicians to return to the jury. These impassioned condemnations reveal the frustration of members of the press who for many years had supported a reform of the jury which the administration failed to enact.

⁷² [Anon.], ‘Salon de 1843’, *L’Artiste*, 3rd ser., 3 (1843), pp. 193-196 (p. 193).

⁷³ [Anon.], ‘Actualités – Souvenirs’, *Journal des Artistes*, 23 February 1845, pp. 71-72 (p. 72).

⁷⁴ Théophile Gautier, ‘Salon de 1845: le jury – tableaux refusés’, *La Presse*, 11 March 1845.

⁷⁵ [Anon.], ‘Le jury: les tableaux refusés’, *L’Artiste*, 4th ser., 6 (1846), pp. 29-30 (p. 30).

Calls to Action

As artists and critics seemed to resign themselves to the administration's lack of response, a number of calls to action encouraged artists to force a reform. In 1847, as hostility towards the July Monarchy became more widespread, the republican critic Thoré called for an artist-led rebellion against the jury: 'Le jury sera renversé [...] quand la majorité des artistes, ou de moins les hommes de talent, protesteront noblement par leur volontaire retraite, et organiseront une publicité libérale en dehors de toute influence étrangère.'⁷⁶

Also in 1847, a critic for *L'Artiste*, Clément de Ris, published a pamphlet entitled *De l'Oppression dans les arts et de la composition d'un jury d'examen pour les ouvrages présentés au Salon de 1847* in which he expressed his hope for a new jury consisting of an equal number of academicians and exhibiting artists, elected by the artists themselves.⁷⁷ This paper was published before the 1847 Salon and was aimed at achieving reform before the exhibition. In 1848, he co-authored a work *De l'Exposition et du jury* with the artist Boissard de Boisdenier and engraver Villot which developed and reiterated these suggestions, in the form of 'a frank appeal to artists.'⁷⁸ In his article on this work, Robert L. Herbert was no doubt correct to associate the element of public appeal with the pre-revolutionary climate:

The chapter ends with short statements that recapitulate all the demands made in the brochure. They are followed by a paragraph on its own, final page, that encapsulates not only the authors' work, but the mood of Paris on the eve of revolution: '[...] We appeal directly to the public's common sense, the ultimate arbiter in whose care we leave the decision.' Its last sentence reflects the mood of the moment, because instead of appealing to the royal government, the only body that could effect the desired changes, it relies on pressure from the public.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Thoré, *Le Salon de 1847* (Paris: Alliance des Arts, 1847), p. 20.

⁷⁷ Clément de Ris, *De l'Oppression dans les arts et de la composition d'un jury d'examen pour les ouvrages présentés au Salon de 1847* (Paris: Paul Masgana, 1847).

⁷⁸ For a detailed discussion of this work see Robert L. Herbert, 'A Pre-Revolutionary Proposal for Reforming the Salon Jury, 1848', *Oxford Art Journal*, 25, 2 (2002), 31-40.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

However, that Clément de Ris did not appeal to the government also reflected the artistic community's disenchantment with those in authority, who had consistently failed to respond to campaigns for reform during the 1840s.

The Jury's Assimilation of Criticism

There are certain indications that in the final years of the July Monarchy, the jury had begun to assimilate messages from outside. There is reason to believe that the members of the Academy themselves may have petitioned for jury reform in 1847. This intention was first reported by Théophile Gautier in *La Presse* in March 1847:

On dit qu'effrayés des clameurs qu'ils soulèvent et de la réprobation publique dont ils sont poursuivis, ces inquisiteurs de l'art [...] ont pris, à la fin, leur triste besogne en aversion [...] ils vont, à ce que l'on assure, adresser une pétition au roi pour le supplier de les débarrasser de ces fonctions d'exécuteurs des basses œuvres.⁸⁰

On 24 October 1847, it was reported in the *Journal des Artistes* that the members of the Academy had officially written to Montalivet to request a reform of the jury:

L'Académie des Beaux-Arts vient enfin de prendre un parti qui doit, même quand il ne serait pas couronné de succès, comme il y a tout lieu de le craindre, faire naître en sa faveur de nombreuses et chaudes sympathies. Elle a rédigé et adressé à M. l'intendant-général de la Liste Civile une demande pour la réforme du jury.⁸¹

The *Journal des Artistes* defended this claim the following week, after many artists apparently doubted its truth:

Beaucoup d'artistes doutent encore, malgré notre article de dimanche dernier, de la réalité de la lettre, demande ou pétition, comme on voudra l'appeler, adressée par les membres de l'Académie à M. l'intendant de la Liste Civile. Le fait est cependant positif.⁸²

Since the academicians were generally portrayed as enjoying the power their position gave them over which works were displayed at the Salon, many artists were evidently

⁸⁰ Théophile Gautier, 'Exposition de 1847', *La Presse*, 31 March 1847.

⁸¹ [Anon.], 'De l'Académie des Beaux-Arts et du jury', *Journal des Artistes*, 24 October 1847, p. 137.

⁸² [Anon.], 'De la demande de l'Académie à la Liste Civile', *Journal des Artistes*, 31 October 1847, p. 145.

unaware of any internal disputes within the jury, or any reasons the members might have had for wishing to relinquish their position

According to the *Journal des Artistes*, Jacques-Édouard Gatteaux, a member of the engraving section, elected in 1845, who we know took an interest in questions of arts administration,⁸³ approached Montalivet informally to discuss the need for a reform and, when these attempts failed, drew up a formal petition with the full support of the Academy.⁸⁴ ‘M. Gatteaux, de son propre mouvement, avait eu recours a une démarche officieuse auprès de M. le comte de Montalivet [...] cette première démarche [...] a été repoussée.’⁸⁵

L’Artiste repeated claims in November 1847 that the members of the Academy had petitioned for a reform of the jury, which may strengthen their credibility:

On fait grand bruit dans quelques ateliers d’une belle résolution que l’Académie des Beaux-Arts aurait prise tout récemment. Il s’agit de la réforme du jury. Traquée de toutes parts par la presse, le public et les artistes, l’Académie s’est décidée à agir. Elle a adressé une pétition à la Liste civile.⁸⁶

We cannot assume that this information was accurate, for it was not uncommon for these publications to publish false rumours as fact. On the other hand, Gautier and the *Journal des Artistes* were generally well informed. There is no reference to this letter in the minutes of the Academy, yet this is not surprising given what we have learnt about their decision in 1843 no longer to discuss jury matters in their official meetings (see above, p. 78). Any discussion of this sort is likely to have taken place in an unofficial meeting of the jury. If the members of the Academy did formally petition Montalivet to reform the jury this would be the clearest indication that, in 1847, the academicians no longer wished to fulfil the role delegated to them. It would reveal that far from enjoying this powerful position, they actively wished to relinquish it, which would prove the

⁸³ See Henri Delaborde, *Funérailles de M. Gatteaux membre de l’Académie* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881).

⁸⁴ Ingres was said not to have signed the petition as he was not in Paris at the time.

⁸⁵ [Anon.], ‘De la demande de l’Académie à la Liste Civile’, *Journal des Artistes*, 31 October 1847, p. 145.

⁸⁶ Ferdinand Sartorius, ‘Revue de la semaine’, *L’Artiste*, 4th ser., 11 (1847-1848), p. 15.

extent of the internal conflicts and the effects of the external criticism upon the jury. Without the petition we cannot know the extent of the reforms it supported. However, if it existed, it would at least show that the members of the jury were prepared to reduce their hold on the Salon. The academicians may also have begun to recognise the fragility of the regime and acted through an instinct for self-preservation, fearing for the future of the Academy were the regime to fall.

The 1848 Salon

If the Academy did make such a petition, it had no effect on the 1848 Salon. *L'Artiste* reported that many of the academicians intended to boycott the jury, perhaps as a result of the failed petition:

A l'heure qu'il est, et si rien de nouveau ne se produit d'ici à l'ouverture du Salon, les tableaux seront jugés par quatre architectes, deux sculpteurs et deux peintres, ou, pour mieux dire, par un seul. Les deux peintres, en effet, sur lesquels on croyait pouvoir compter étaient MM. Granet et Couder. Or, M. Granet est retenu à Aix par la maladie et par l'hiver.⁸⁷

However, many more academicians attended than *L'Artiste* had claimed and attendance levels were only slightly lower than average throughout the period. On the one hand, this inaccurate report may suggest that the earlier report of the Academy's petition was also a false rumour or, on the other hand, it may show that the majority of members were not prepared to retire from the jury without official approval, or an established alternative. Non-attendance would have effectively sabotaged the exhibition if they failed to reach the quorum of nine.

The jury began its work on 21 February and held three sessions before the start of the revolution put an end to the Salon preparations. Eighteen members attended the first session, and sixteen the second. Only ten attended the third session which was held on 23 February. The low turn-out that day would have been a result of the revolutionary

⁸⁷ [Anon.], 'Revue de la semaine', *L'Artiste*, 4th ser., 11 (1847-1848), p. 207.

violence, which had already started the day before. During these three sessions, the jury was very liberal in its decisions. Of the 1192 works judged, 825 or 69% were admitted. In the previous year, just 48% of works had been received. If the jury had continued to judge with this level of liberality it would have received over 3700 of the 5361 works submitted, compared to just 2361 admissions in 1847, which would have resulted in the largest exhibition of the July Monarchy.

We are able to make even more exact comparisons according to the genre of works judged by the jury. The 1848 jury had time to judge all the submissions of genre paintings and accepted 71% of them compared with just 44% in 1847. It is clear from these results that the jury had decided to accept more works than usual in 1848. The most recent year in which they had received such a high percentage of genre paintings was in 1844, when there were only 596 submissions in this category, compared with 963 in 1848. Overall, the jury had not been so liberal since 1839, when significantly fewer works were submitted and their actions would not have resulted in such a large exhibition. In the third week of February 1848, the jury no doubt recognised that the political situation had become critical. By adopting a broader admissions policy at this time, they displayed an understanding of the political necessities but did so too late to have any hope of surviving the collapse of the regime.

The evidence cited above reveals the accumulation of opposition towards the jury which built up over the course of the July Monarchy. Demands for specific reforms, many of which had their roots in the discussions which took place at the start of the period, were frequently reiterated as the academicians continued to exercise their role in the form delegated to them in 1831. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the jury did not

systematically reject innovative artists, but the limited number of controversial rejections was sufficient to fuel the opposition against it. The July Monarchy failed to provide sufficient conditions for change, as we have seen in Cailleux and Montalivet's combined force of obstruction and the king's evident unwillingness to relinquish control of the Salon. Louis-Philippe was badly served by a sycophantic and bureaucratic *Directeur des musées* who failed to act as an honest intermediary between the artistic community and the king and played down the level of hostility towards the jury. By the latter years of the 1840s, when the opposition to the jury became more apparent, particularly if rumours of the Academy's own attempted resignation were true, the Salon issues were likely to have fallen down the list of the king's priorities, given more pressing and more threatening political matters. We shall see in the following chapter that the revolution of February 1848 provided the forces necessary for change and brought an end to the campaigns against the academic jury.

6. REVOLUTION AND REFORM

Since preparations for the Salon were already well underway when the revolution of February 1848 brought an end to the July Monarchy, the new regime was forced to make urgent decisions regarding the exhibition. No sooner was the provisional government founded on the evening of 24 February 1848 than its newly appointed Interior Minister, Ledru-Rollin, announced a reform of the Salon jury, published in *Le Moniteur Universel* the following day, declaring:

Tout ce qui concerne la Direction des Beaux-Arts et des Musées, autrefois dans les attributions de la Liste civile, constituera une Division du Ministère de l'Intérieur.

Le Jury chargé de recevoir les tableaux aux Expositions annuelles sera nommé par élection.

Les Artistes seront convoqués à cet effet par un prochain Arrêté.

Le Salon sera ouvert le 15 mars.¹

This announcement aimed to satisfy the demands from those opposed to the jury under the July Monarchy that the Salon be put on a legal footing and be subject to democratic control.² Ledru-Rollin was aware that the artists would be concerned to know the new government's intentions for the exhibition, given that by the deadline of 20 February they had already submitted their entries to the Salon, which was due to open in under a month. This immediate announcement was a reassurance to the artists that the exhibition would take place as planned and that the former jury was *de facto* abolished. The republican art critic Thoré, who, as we have seen, had been an opponent of the

¹ Ledru-Rollin, [untitled announcement], *Le Moniteur Universel*, 25 February 1848; This announcement was also published in the 1848 Salon *livret*, *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, architecture, gravure et lithographie des artistes vivants, exposés au Musée national du Louvre le 15 mars 1848* (Paris: Vinchon, 1848).

² The 1840 'Pétition adressée aux deux Chambres' had begun with the demand: 'Permettez-nous de demander que les expositions des Beaux-Arts soient réglementées par une loi spéciale et placées dans les attributions du ministre de l'intérieur.'

former jury, is said to have played an instrumental role in drawing up this statement on the night of the revolution.³ The notable position of a number of high-profile members of the artistic community in the revolution, such as Thoré, David d'Angers, Jeanron and Charles Blanc, helped to ensure that artistic matters featured prominently on the new Republic's agenda.

Temporary Abolition of the Jury

The abolition of the jury in 1848 was a temporary measure. On 29 February, Jeanron, who had replaced Cailleux as the *Directeur des Musées Nationaux*, submitted a proposal to Ledru-Rollin that all of the works which had been submitted to the 1848 Salon by the published deadline of 20 February should be admitted and that a committee elected by the artists should arrange the placement of the works and choose which artists should be rewarded with medals, commissions and acquisitions.⁴ Ledru-Rollin approved this proposal the same day in an announcement which appeared in full in the Salon *livret*:

Le citoyen Ministre de l'Intérieur charge le Directeur du Musée National du Louvre d'ouvrir l'Exposition de 1848 sous le délai de quinze jours.
Tous les ouvrages envoyés cette année seront reçus sans exception.
Tous les artistes sont convoqués à l'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, le 5 mars 1848, à midi, pour nommer une Commission de 40 membres, savoir: 15 peintres, 11 sculpteurs, 5 graveurs, 5 architectes et 4 lithographes, chargés, avec le concours de l'Administration du Musée National, du placement des ouvrages à exposer.
Paris, le 29 février 1848.
Ledru-Rollin.

The decision to receive all submissions was interpreted by some parties as a republican liberation of the Salon. The long-standing republican and opponent of the

³ Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, '1848: "La République des Arts"', trans. by Neil McWilliam, *Oxford Art Journal*, 10, 1 (1987), 59-70 (p. 60). See also Madeleine Rousseau, *La Vie et l'œuvre de Philippe-Auguste Jeanron* (Paris: RMN, 2000).

⁴ AMN, *AA28, p. 2, 'Rapport au Citoyen Ministre de l'Intérieur', 29 February 1848.

jury David d'Angers had fought on the barricades in 1848 and described the jury reform in characteristically political language:

J'ai assisté au plus grand, au plus noble spectacle qu'il soit donné à l'honneur de voir, pendant les trois journées révolutionnaires. Nuit et jour je n'ai pas quitté les barricades [...] J'ai gagné le procès de la liberté des salons avec l'aide de coup de fusil. Vive la République!⁵

James Kearns has shown how Gautier also attempted to present the removal of the jury as 'an expression of the republic's defining values':

Abolition was, he said, republican in its commitment to liberty ('Point de jury, sous quelque nom que ce soit! Liberté pleine et entière, liberté à tous, aux jeunes comme aux vieux, aux inconnus comme aux illustres, aux habiles comme aux maladroits, aux sublimes comme aux ridicules!'), in its extension of the franchise ('laissez le peuple juger par lui-même'), and even in its abolition of capital punishment for political crimes ('les bourreaux de l'esprit ne sont-ils pas aussi coupables que les bourreaux des corps, et le meurtre d'une idée n'est-il pas le plus grand des crimes?')⁶

L'Artiste presented the decision in similar terms, implying that the republican ideal of liberty had governed the decision: 'Le génie de la Liberté a ravivé les flammes éternelles de l'art. Il n'y a plus d'oppression, il n'y a plus de jury.'⁷ However, it is apparent that this was no more than a pragmatic decision, driven by expediency and the urgency of holding an exhibition for which the preparations were already fully under way. Not only had all submissions been received, but the galleries of the Louvre would also have been made ready for the works to be displayed. Ledru-Rollin's initial announcement on 24 February revealed his intention to put in place an elected jury and implied that the abolition of the jury was not a permanent decision. In his report of 15 March 1848, Jeanron made this intention explicit, stating:

En présence de l'opposition véhémente que l'ancien jury avait soulevée pendant quinze ans et des opinions contradictoires qui s'étaient produites sur la grave question de l'admission, on pense qu'il serait trop difficile dans

⁵ *David d'Angers et ses relations littéraires*, ed. by Henry Jouin (Paris: Plon, 1890), letter CCXXXVI from David to Victor Pavie, Paris 15 March 1848, pp. 277-279.

⁶ James Kearns, *Théophile Gautier, Orator to the Artists* (London: Legenda, 2007), p. 40 quoting Théophile Gautier, 'Salon de 1848', *La Presse*, 21/22 April 1848.

⁷ [Anon.], [untitled article], *L'Artiste*, 5th ser., 1 (1848), p. 3.

le délai indiqué de pourvoir à la formation d'un jury nouveau et d'attendre de lui dans le peu de jours qui restaient un examen scrupuleux qui répondit à la légitime attente de tous [...] Ainsi, il doit être entendu que, pour les institutions ultérieures qui devront diriger les arts dans notre pays régénéré, rien n'est encore préjugé.⁸

Jeanron's reference to 'dans le délai indiqué' is a clear indication that he wished the Salon to open on 15 March as usual and that this was the method which best enabled this to be achieved.

Further evidence that this decision was not driven by a politically motivated desire for a free Salon, is that the 1848 Salon was not an open exhibition.⁹ Works which had been submitted to the Salon during the allocated period prior to the revolution were freely admitted, including all those rejected in the three sessions held by the former jury. However, no additional works were allowed to be entered. In other words, all of the works displayed at the 1848 exhibition had been submitted under the assumption that they would be judged by a jury. The minutes of the jury sessions held before the revolution confirm that this was the case. A painting by Oscar Gué registered as the 5356th submission was amongst the works judged by the jury, proving that this number of works had already been entered before the revolution.¹⁰ This number of submissions, a 476 increase on 1847, was in line with the growing number of entries each year. An open Salon would certainly have attracted a far greater number of submissions, if artists had known earlier that they were guaranteed entry.

⁸ AMN, X 1848: 1848 Salon, 'Rapport du Directeur au Citoyen Ministre de l'Intérieur', 15 March 1848.

⁹ Many commentators have been mistaken on this point, believing that artists were able to submit work in the days following the revolution. See Chantal Georgel, *1848: la République et l'art vivant* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1998), p. 21: 'On imagine aisément, en lisant le livret de ce salon, ce qui se passa. L'annonce de la liberté d'exposition fit accourir au Louvre, venus de Paris et du fin fond de la province, une foule d'artistes (1878 contre 1059 pour l'année précédente), dont beaucoup n'ayant jamais eu l'occasion d'exposer, arrivèrent les bras chargés de cinq, sept, neuf, voire douze ou treize toiles.'; William Hauptman, 'Juries, Protests, and Counter-Exhibitions Before 1850', *The Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), 95-109 (p. 107) also inaccurately referred to it as 'the first fully open Salon of the century'; historians of landscape artists have also misinterpreted the significance of the exhibition, believing that Rousseau could have submitted work after the revolution, see Robert L. Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited* (New York: Clarke and Way, 1962), p. 174: '[Rousseau] returned to the Salon in 1849 (he could have exhibited the previous year but had nothing ready)'; Rolande Miquel and Pierre Miquel, *Théodore Rousseau: 1812-1867* (Paris: Somogy, 2010), p. 103.

¹⁰ AMN, X 1848, 'Organisation' folder.

It is clear that the new administration was keen to meet artists' aspirations and wanted to make amends for what it saw as the mistreatment of certain artists under the former regime. Jeanron felt a personal responsibility towards a number of artists who had abstained from the 1848 Salon. He himself had actively opposed the July Monarchy jury and was closely associated with some of the well-known artists whom the jury had rejected. In April 1847, he was part of a group of artists who had decided collectively that they would no longer submit work to the Salon.¹¹ This group included the landscape painters Dupré and Rousseau, who had not submitted work to the Salon since 1839 and 1841 respectively, on account of the jury's rejections of their works. Barye, Ary Scheffer, Decamps, Jacque, Daumier, Delacroix and Jeanron also pledged not to send works after 1847.¹²

Jeanron's report to Ledru-Rollin made his sympathy for these abstaining artists clear:

L'Administration nouvelle a aussi informé l'autorité supérieure qu'un certain nombre d'artistes d'un talent considérable ayant été froissés dans leur dignité par l'ancien jury s'étaient abstenus d'envoyer leurs ouvrages et qu'il serait très regrettable que l'Exposition fut privée de leurs concours. Mais comme il eut été évidemment abusif de donner à quelques uns un nouveau délai sans l'accorder à tous, ce qui eut infailliblement augmenté l'Exposition dans une proportion qui n'aurait pas été en rapport avec le local, l'administration a dû se résigner à cette lacune.¹³

The commission of a landscape by Rousseau for the generous sum of 4000 francs seems to have been a particular acknowledgement of this artist's struggles under the July Monarchy and was perhaps also intended as a consolation for preventing him from exhibiting at the first Salon of the new regime.¹⁴

¹¹ Rolande Miquel and Pierre Miquel, p. 95: 'le 15 avril chez Barye, Scheffer, Decamps, Dupré, Delacroix, Rousseau, Barye, Jacque, Jeanron et Daumier – par un acte devant notaire solidarisant ces artistes – décident de ne plus exposer au Salon royal.'

¹² Delacroix and Jeanron went back on this pledge and both submitted works in 1848.

¹³ AMN, X 1848, 'Organisation' folder, 'Rapport du Directeur au Citoyen Ministre de l'Intérieur', 15 March 1848.

¹⁴ Rolande Miquel and Pierre Miquel, p. 103.

The 1848 Salon: The Artists Elect their Representatives

The new regime recognised the importance of allowing the artists to elect their own representatives on the Salon's committees. Whilst there was no admissions jury in 1848, the artists were asked to elect a hanging committee, which was the first indication of the elective principle which would serve as a model for the jury the following year. The artists were asked to meet for this purpose at the *École des Beaux-Arts* on 5 March 1848 when representatives were elected by discipline. The hanging committee which resulted was felt to represent the artistic diversity of the time. As we have seen, one of the principal complaints against the former jury, raised in both the press and the artists' petitions, was its alleged partiality towards academic production and failure to represent the range of contemporary artists. Requests under the July Monarchy for both an artist-elected jury or the addition of artists to the jury from outside the Academy had been aimed at widening its composition. This result seemed to have been achieved in 1848. Houssaye in *L'Artiste* was satisfied that 'toutes les écoles étaient représentées' and Thoré equally declared the committee an 'assez juste expression de tous les talents et de toutes les écoles.'¹⁵

Amongst the fifteen elected painters were four academicians, Ingres, Vernet, Delaroche and Drölling.¹⁶ Each of these members had been well-known for their opposition to the former jury. The voting artists seemed to have rejected the academicians associated with the previous jury and welcomed those whom they had felt would be more equitable in their judgements. Abel de Pujol, whose support for non-academic artists had been acknowledged in the press, was also voted to the reserve list. So too was the landscape artist and animal painter Brascassat, who had been elected to the Academy only in 1846 and whom artists are unlikely to have associated with the former jury. The artists also chose to elect a number of painters who had been among

¹⁵ Arsène Houssaye, 'Salon de 1848', *L'Artiste*, 5th ser., 1 (1848), pp. 17-20 (p. 17); T. Thoré, 'Salon de 1848', *Le Constitutionnel*, 17 March 1848.

¹⁶ See Appendix 6 for votes recorded for members of the painting section of the 1848 hanging committee.

the jury's high-profile 'refusés', including Delacroix, Corot and Dupré. Léon Cogniet, who had a large atelier, received the most votes, as many of his pupils are likely to have supported him.

The sculpture section elected to the hanging committee was also representative of a broad range of artists, including the previously rejected sculptors Rude, Barye and Maindron and the academicians David d'Angers, Pradier and Petitot. As we have seen, David was a long-standing opponent of the jury. Pradier only participated in the jury infrequently, and we have reason to suspect that Petitot was among its more open-minded members. As in the painting section, artists seemed to have deliberately elected members of the Academy who were dissociated from the July Monarchy jury's controversial decisions. However, both Dumont and Nanteuil, who adhered more closely to academic principles, were also elected to the reserve list, showing the range of support from amongst the voting artists. Given what we know about the collective behaviour of the architects on the jury, it is interesting to note that Fontaine was not elected to the committee and only one of their number was amongst the five architects chosen.

Of the 34 academicians invited by the king to serve on the admissions jury in 1847, only eight were elected by their peers the following year to serve on the new hanging committee. Previously, some artists had voiced their support for academicians to form part of the jury, both during the artists' discussions in 1830 and particularly within the *Société libre des beaux-arts* in 1831, and that is indeed what happened in 1848. Yet the small number of academicians elected to the placement jury that year suggests that their actions as jury damaged their reputation among the artistic community. Bonnet has commented on the detrimental effect of the jury on the public perception of the Academy, claiming: 'Il est certain que le jugement exclusif des Salons

avait plus pesé dans le discredit grandissant de l'Académie que le contrôle qu'elle exerçait sur l'enseignement artistique.¹⁷

Reception of the 1848 Salon

We have seen that the abolition of the jury had been raised as a serious consideration by its opponents under the previous regime. However, many also feared the resultant size of such an exhibition and the abundance of mediocre works. This balance between ideologically motivated support and pragmatically driven opposition governed responses to the 1848 Salon. The critic Jan recognised this tension in 1848, commenting on the jury: 'Cependant, chose étrange: son renversement a causé moins de joie que son despotisme ne soulevait de fureurs.'¹⁸

With 5361 works on display, the exhibition had 3000 more exhibits than the 1847 salon and was more than double its size. It was larger than the two previous salons combined and outnumbered the largest exhibition of the July Monarchy, held in 1833, by over 2000 works. Critics and other visitors were totally unaccustomed to such viewing conditions and many visitors found the exhibition chaotic. Arsène Houssaye in *L'Artiste* declared the Salon a 'tohu-bohu.'¹⁹ Schnetz, a member of the former jury, lamented the large number of poor works: 'L'exposition où tout avait été admis présentait un triste spectacle de misères.'²⁰

The 1848 Salon was seen by many as proof that a jury was a practical necessity. As we have seen, this was not the fully open Salon, as in 1791, for which the artists had petitioned in 1840. The scale of such an exhibition would undoubtedly have caused it to be more chaotic still. For de Mercey, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, there was only one

¹⁷ Alain Bonnet, *L'Enseignement des arts au XIX^e siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006), p. 152.

¹⁸ Laurent Jan, 'Salon de 1848', *Le Siècle*, 18 March 1848.

¹⁹ Arsène Houssaye, 'Salon de 1848', *L'Artiste*, 5th ser., 1 (1848), pp. 17-20 (p. 17).

²⁰ Jean-Victor Schnetz, *Lettres inédites de Jean-Victor Schnetz à François-Joseph Navez* (Flers: Flers, 2000), p. 153, letter dated 10 May 1848.

explanation for the poor quality of the exhibition: ‘le mauvais surabonde, la médiocrité déborde [...] Quoi qu’il en soit, l’épreuve a été décisive.’²¹ Clément de Ris drew the same conclusion on 26 March: ‘Nous pensons que la nécessité d’un jury sérieux demeure suffisamment démontrée aujourd’hui à quelques esprits qui admettaient en principe la mesure expéditive que la nécessité a forcé de prendre cette année.’²² Louis Peisse, who we remember had previously been in favour of abolishing the jury,²³ reverted from his former position, writing in 1849: ‘Mais sans jury, que devient l’exposition? Ce qu’on a vu en 1848, un ignominieux bazar, un chaos inextricable et insupportable.’²⁴

A minority of critics, however, did not let the 1848 Salon shake their desire to see the jury permanently abolished. Gautier was foremost in maintaining his long-standing opposition to a Salon jury, claiming that the result in 1848 was little different from previous years:

Le Salon offre-t-il beaucoup de différence avec les Salons des années précédentes qui avaient subi l’épuration préalable? Nullement. L’aspect général en est le même, à part quelques toiles barbares ou risibles dont le nombre ne dépasse pas une douzaine.²⁵

Gautier’s reasons for wanting an open Salon, however, were at least in part self-serving. Without a jury making a preliminary and apparently authoritative selection for the public, Gautier, as critic, enjoyed a much more influential position:

The definitive abolition of the jury in favour of a sovereign public [...] would have reinforced the role of the press as a *contre-pouvoir* in the cultural sphere, by removing an obstacle to the art journalist’s assumption of the rights and privileges that came with being the sole intermediary of authority between artist and public.²⁶

²¹ F. de Lagenevais [Frédéric de Mercey], ‘Le Salon de 1848’, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, new ser., 22 (1848), pp. 282-299 (p. 282).

²² Clément de Ris, ‘Salon de 1848’, *L’Artiste*, 5th ser., 1 (1848), pp. 35-36 (p. 35).

²³ See above, p. 200.

²⁴ L. Peisse, ‘Salon de 1849’, *Le Constitutionnel*, 24 June 1849.

²⁵ Théophile Gautier, ‘Salon de 1848’, *La Presse*, 21/22 April 1848.

²⁶ Kearns, p. 40.

Other critics failed to consider the 1848 Salon to be decisive evidence that a jury should be reinstated. Prosper Haussard continued to support an open exhibition, writing: ‘Il ne faut pas reculer devant ce nombre de 5,180 ouvrages, reçus sans examen.’²⁷ In March 1848, Thoré remained unconvinced that a jury was necessary, claiming: ‘Pour ma part, malgré la bouffonnerie du Salon actuel, je ne suis pas absolument édifié sur la nécessité d’un jury quelconque, si ce n’est pour le rangement.’²⁸ The critic Champfleury had hoped that the jury’s abolition was a permanent measure, writing in 1849 ‘Quant au jury, il est honteux que la République rétablisse cette triste invention: sous aucune forme le jury n’est possible.’²⁹

New Regulations for an Artist-Elected Jury

The question of the jury remained a divisive issue following the 1848 Salon. The *Commission Permanente des Beaux-Arts*, established in order to discuss important issues relating to the arts, struggled to reach a consensus on the question of the jury. The commission, founded on 29 October 1848, consisted of artists, representatives of the public and administrators.³⁰ Since an announcement would have to be made in December if the Salon was to be held in March 1849, the commission prioritised its discussion of the next exhibition: ‘Une des premières préoccupations de la commission des Beaux-Arts fut de rechercher, pour répondre à la demande du ministre, dans quelles conditions aurait lieu la prochaine exposition.’³¹

²⁷ Pr. H. [Prosper Haussard], ‘Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1848’, *Le National*, 23 March 1848.

²⁸ T. Thoré, ‘Salon de 1848’, *Le Constitutionnel*, 17 March 1848.

²⁹ *Œuvres posthumes de Champfleury: Salons 1846-1851*, ed. by Jules Troubat (Paris: Alphonse Lemerre, 1894), p. 148.

³⁰ The commission included Albert de Luynes, Rivet, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Allier, Bavoux – representatives of the public; Ingres, Delaroche – members of the Insitut; Delacroix – painter; de Nieuwerkerke, sculptor; de Trémont, Duban, Alphonse Gisors – architects; Henriquel-Dupont, engraver; Gouin ‘sous-directeur à l’Administration des Postes’; Jeanron – ‘Directeur des Musées nationaux.’

³¹ Jean-Louis Fouché, ‘L’opinion d’Ingres sur le Salon: procès-verbaux de la Commission Permanente des Beaux-Arts (1848-1849)’, *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 14 March 1908, pp. 98-99 (p. 98). Fouché’s article appears to be the only surviving record of the commission’s meetings.

Ingres played a dominant part in these discussions, to which he contributed a number of unorthodox propositions. He himself had not exhibited work at the Salon since 1834 and had refused to attend jury sessions since 1844. He was amongst the artists who had petitioned the king for reform in 1843 and by 1848 had rejected all connections with the Salon. He not only wished to see the jury abolished, but even the Salon itself, declaring that the administration should encourage only monumental art.³² Such radical suggestions were ‘déplorable’ to most artists at this time, for whom it still went without saying that the Salon remained an essential event.³³

We learn that a member of the commission proposed a permanent contemporary exhibition, as David d’Angers had suggested in 1838: ‘Quelqu’un ayant proposé l’institution d’une exposition permanente où les œuvres seraient admises par voie de roulement, Delacroix combat cette idée, au contraire, Ingres se rallie.’³⁴ Although David had been invited to be a member of the commission, we are told that he declined. However, it seems very likely that whoever proposed this permanent exhibition was influenced by David’s earlier proposition. The commission rejected the idea, which appears still to have been regarded as too radical a change to the existing system.

A sub-committee consisting of Delacroix, Jeanron and Charles Blanc, nominated to examine the question of exhibitions, presented a proposal for the Salon jury regulations. Whilst Ingres maintained his opposition to the jury, the commission voted to instate a ‘jury électif’, chosen by artists submitting work to the Salon. The eleven articles of the regulations which were adopted by the government, were as follows:

³² According to Delaborde, Ingres had already voiced this opinion in 1840. See Henri Delaborde, *Ingres, sa vie, ses travaux et sa doctrine* (Paris: Plon, 1870), p. 370, note 1: ‘M Henriquel, membre de l’Institut, a bien voulu nous communiquer une note prise, en 1840, par un membre de sa famille, à la suite d’une conversation avec Ingres sur les Salons [...] “Monsieur, disait Ingres, le Salon est la perte de l’art: il faut fermer le Salon.”’

³³ Lord Pilgrim, ‘Mouvement des arts’, *L’Artiste*, 5th ser., 2 (1848-1849), pp. 125-127 (p. 127): ‘un académicien de la section de peinture, avait proposé sérieusement de supprimer les expositions [...] Il n’en fallait pas davantage pour inquiéter à un haut degré tous les artistes qui trouvent chaque printemps au Salon un peu de publicité pour leur œuvre, et pour leur nom un peu de bruit.’ Quoted in Kearns, p. 98.

³⁴ Fouché, p. 98.

Article premier. – A chaque exposition, il sera formé un jury spécial pour statuer sur l'admission des ouvrages présentés.

Art. 2. – Ce jury sera nommé à l'élection par les artistes exposants.

Art. 3. – Chaque artiste, en présentant les ouvrages qu'il destine à l'exposition, sera admis à déposer, dans une urne préparée à cet effet, un bulletin contenant les noms des jurés qu'il aura choisis.

Il y aura trois urnes une pour les peintres, graveurs et lithographes; une pour les sculpteurs et graveurs en médailles; une pour les architectes.

Chaque artiste, peintre, graveur, lithographe, devra porter quinze noms sur son bulletin, chaque sculpteur et graveur en médailles portera neuf, chaque architecte cinq.

Des noms d'amateurs pourront être compris dans ces listes.

Art. 4. – Le lendemain de la clôture des admissions, les urnes seront ouvertes par le directeur des Beaux-Arts, en présence du président de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, du président de la Commission des Beaux-Arts et du directeur des Musées.

Les jurés seront nommés à la majorité relative.

Art. 5. – Il sera formé trois jurys spéciaux correspondant aux trois sections indiquées ci-dessus.

Feront partie du premier jury les douze peintres ou amateurs, les deux graveurs et le lithographe qui auront obtenu le plus grand nombre de voix au scrutin correspondant à cette section.

Feront partie du deuxième jury les sept sculpteurs ou amateurs et les deux graveurs en médailles qui auront réuni le plus de suffrages dans la deuxième section.

Feront partie du troisième jury les cinq architectes ou amateurs qui auront obtenu le plus de voix.

Art. 6. – La section de peinture jugera les peintres, graveurs et lithographes, la section de sculpteur jugera les sculpteurs et graveurs en médailles, et le jury d'architecture les architectes.

Art. 7. – La présence de neuf au moins dans le jury de peinture, de cinq dans le jury de sculpture et de trois dans celui d'architecture sera nécessaire pour la validité des opérations.

Art. 8. – Les décisions du jury seront prises à la majorité absolue des membres présents. En cas de partage, l'admission sera prononcée.

Art. 9. – Seront reçues, sans examen, les œuvres présentées par les membres de l'Institut, par les grands prix de Rome, par les artistes décorés pour leurs

œuvres et par ceux auxquels auront été décernées des médailles ou récompenses de 1^{re} et 2^e classe.

Art. 10. – Le placement des ouvrages sera fait sous la présidence du directeur des Beaux-Arts par le jury d'admission.³⁵

Art. 11. – Les récompenses à décerner à la suite de l'exposition seront distribuées dans une séance solennelle, à laquelle seront appelés tous les artistes exposants.³⁶

Through these regulations, the new regime met the principal demand which, as we have seen (see above, p. 34), the artists had raised in 1830/1831 that they be allowed to elect their own jury. This proposition was included in the 'Adresse au roi' which came out of the artist meetings held during the autumn of 1830, as recorded in the *Journal des Artistes*.³⁷ It was also an essential element of Forbin's proposal to Delaître, on 23 February 1831: 'Le jury chargé de l'examen des ouvrages présentés pour l'exposition sera choisi par les exposans.'³⁸ In this key aspect, therefore, the 1849 regulations approved the demands made by artists at the start of the previous regime.

As we have seen in chapter 5, these demands had been reiterated on numerous occasions under the July Monarchy as opposition to the jury grew. Most recently, they had been raised in the 1848 work *De l'Exposition et du jury*. Since Jeanron had initially been intended to write the chapter on the jury for this project alongside Clément de Ris, Villot and Boissard, it seems probable that he played an important role in proposing these reforms within the commission. In his article on *De l'Exposition et du jury*, Herbert revealed that Jeanron's influence on the commission's proposals was

³⁵ This role which had fallen to the *Directeur des Musées* under the July Monarchy became the responsibility of the *Directeur des Beaux-Arts* (Charles Blanc) rather than Jeanron, in accordance with the decree of 7 April 1848 which split the unified administration created by Napoleon in 1802 into three separate sections, whose effect was to remove the Salon from the *Direction des Musées*.

³⁶ Jean-Louis Fouché, 'L'opinion d'Ingres sur le Salon: procès-verbaux de la Commission Permanente des Beaux-Arts (1848-1849)', *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, 4 April 1908, pp. 129-130 (p. 129).

³⁷ [Anon.], 'Assemblée générale des artistes', *Journal des Artistes*, 3 October 1830.

³⁸ AMN, *AA21, letter from Forbin to Delaître, 23 February 1831 (see above, p. 38).

acknowledged at the time by *L'Artiste* in an anonymous article most likely authored by Clément de Ris.³⁹

The new regime removed the former stumbling block of the king's patronage of the exhibition and the new republic provided the forces necessary for change. The former officials who had obstructed jury reform, such as Cailleux and Montalivet, were removed with the change in regime. The new administration was able to relinquish its authority over the Salon jury without the implications such a decision would have had for Louis-Philippe, who saw patronage of the arts as fundamental to his idea of kingship. Chaudonneret describes the ease with which the new regime deferred this authority to the artists: 'The election of artists' representatives to the Salon jury had been easily won, since such a claim in no way compromised state power, involving as it did only the selection and display of exhibits.'⁴⁰ The republican state was thereby able to gain prestige among the artists that the July Monarchy had lost over this issue. The introduction of universal male suffrage in March 1848 represented a defining political value of the Second Republic, which we see here applied in the artistic context of the Salon, in which female artists also had the right to vote.

Several other articles of the new regulations responded to opposition raised against the jury under the July Monarchy. Article 6 stated that submissions would be judged by members of the same discipline. We have seen that this suggestion had earlier been put forth by the painters within the Academy in 1845 and was seen as a security against non-painters rejecting works by non-academic painters, as had often happened under the July Monarchy. We remember that Delaroche, in particular would have supported this proposal, since he had resigned from the jury in 1836 after the Academy rejected his proposition for works to be judged by discipline (see above, p. 72). We may

³⁹ Robert L. Herbert, 'A Pre-Revolutionary Proposal for Reforming the Salon Jury, 1848', *Oxford Art Journal*, 25, 2 (2002), 31-40 (p. 38); [Anon.], 'Mouvement des arts', *L'Artiste*, 5th ser., 2 (1848-1849), pp. 188-190.

⁴⁰ Chaudonneret, '1848: "La République des Arts"', p. 62.

also again witness the influence of *De l'Exposition et du jury* which had suggested this jury structure.

The new regulations introduced exemptions for members of the Institut, winners of the *Prix de Rome*, members of the *Légion d'honneur* and winners of first-class or second-class medals. Artists could not qualify for exemption on the basis of a history of exhibiting at former exhibitions, as had been proposed several times under the July Monarchy. However, the inclusion of second-class medal-winners certainly opened up exemptions to a wide range of artists. These exemptions prevented the rejection of established artists and would have prevented a number of controversial rejections under the July Monarchy.

Some critics supported this introduction of exemptions, including Louis Peisse, writing in *Le Constitutionnel*:

Ce privilège [*sic*] d'admission sans examen n'est pas une faveur arbitraire, mais un droit acquis par des épreuves antérieures, et les conditions auxquelles on l'acquiert sont les mêmes pour tous les artistes. Cette mesure, ou d'autres analogues, avaient été plus d'une fois proposées sous le règne de l'ancien jury.⁴¹

However, Peisse noted that there had been a mixed reaction to the regulation, explaining: 'Cette mesure a été diversement jugée. On a cru y voir une atteinte portée à la liberté et à l'égalité, la consécration d'un privilège [*sic*].'

Prosper Haussard was amongst those critics who did not support exemptions, which he found to be an 'anachronisme', which had only been suggested under the previous regime to curb the former jury's decisions:

Il était bon tout au plus à invoquer jadis, à opposer comme une limite quelconque à l'omnipotence du jury royal qui frappait et décimait à tort et à travers [...] Mais aujourd'hui, que signifierait contre le jury élu cette restriction, cette suspicion injurieuse? Si c'est une garantie pour quelques-

⁴¹ L. Peisse, 'Salon de 1849', *Le Constitutionnel*, 24 June 1849.

uns à l'égard d'injustices ou d'erreurs possibles, il faut qu'elle soit donnée et étendue à tous.⁴²

Exemptions, therefore, remained a divisive issue, which were seen by some in the wake of the former jury as a guarantee of fair admissions, but regarded by others as maintaining unfair privileges.⁴³

The Salons of the Second Republic: 1849 and 1850/51⁴⁴

The juries elected by the artists for the 1849 and 1850/51 Salons were representative of the range of artistic production. We have seen that the artists elected a widely representative hanging committee the previous year, and there was very little difference between this committee and the juries elected in 1849 and 1850. Eleven of the twelve painters elected to the jury in 1849 and 1850 were exactly the same. Five members of the Academy were elected in 1849 and six in 1850, when Léon Cogniet, whom we remember had secured the most votes to the placement committee in March 1848, had joined their number.

The artists seemed satisfied with the new 'jury électif' which allowed their opinions to be represented. Critics commented on the broader representation provided by the elected jury, which, it was hoped, would guarantee more impartial decisions. Gautier thought that the balance of artists within the jury would prevent unfair

⁴² Pr. H. [Prosper Haussard], 'La direction des beaux-arts depuis la révolution de février', *Le National*, 29 May 1849.

⁴³ We remember that Fontaine had also voiced his concern of how exemptions would be perceived in a post-revolutionary period in which hierarchical orders were unpopular. See Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Journal 1799-1853*, 2 vols (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1987), II, p. 888: diary entry for 5 April 1831: 'parler de privilèges quand la société les repousse [...] c'est rappeler le sujet d'une discussion sur laquelle on croit important de garder le silence.'

⁴⁴ The exhibitions of the Second Republic broke with several traditions. The Salon no longer took place in the Louvre, but was held in the Palais des Tuileries, in 1849 and the Palais-National in 1850. In 1849, the preparations needed to organise the exhibition in its new locale meant that it did not start until 15 June, three months after the traditional opening date of 15 March. Extended by two weeks, it closed on 31 August and a special exhibition of the works purchased by the government was displayed in mid-September. This extension of the 1849 Salon meant that an exhibition was not planned for spring 1850, but delayed until December. Opening on 30 December 1850, the exhibition filled the role of both 1850 and 1851 Salon. For the history and details of these decisions see James Kearns, 'Pas de Salon sans Louvre? L'exposition quitte le musée en 1848' in 'Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène': *Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791-1890*, ed. by James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2010), pp. 45-71.

exclusions: ‘La tradition et le mouvement s’y trouvent représentés avec des garanties suffisantes.’⁴⁵ Peisse also found greater impartiality within the new jury: ‘Ce système [...] ne garantit pas les résultats du jugement, mais seulement l’indépendance, l’impartialité, et, jusqu’à un certain point, les lumières des juges.’⁴⁶ Haussard also recognised the influence of the new composition on the jury’s operations: ‘nous sommes loin de prétendre qu’il y ait eu même esprit et même façon de procéder, mêmes énormités d’erreur ou d’injustice. Le jury de peinture notamment avait les meilleures intentions du monde.’⁴⁷ Critics continued to support the artist-elected jury in 1850, seen by Clément de Ris at that time as ‘la plus importante mesure du nouveau règlement.’⁴⁸

An Inconclusive Outcome

The new composition of the jury no doubt reduced the number of controversial decisions in 1849 and 1850. The reform of the former jury meant that the academic architects were no longer able to reject innovative works. A more representative jury was thought to support a wider range of artists working according to different aesthetic values. However, it was the exemption policy which most contributed towards the liberal aspect of the 1849 Salon. The majority of artists whose rejections under the July Monarchy had been criticised in the press were protected by the introduction of these exemptions. Corot, for example, a second-class medal-winner in 1833, knowing he was exempt, chose to exhibit an oil sketch. Anti-academic social realist scenes by Tassaert and Antigna were admitted without judgement.⁴⁹ This result indicates that the former jury could have avoided significant opposition if the administration had been willing to introduce such an exemption policy.

⁴⁵ Théophile Gautier, ‘Salon de 1849’, *La Presse*, 26 July 1849.

⁴⁶ L. Peisse, ‘Salon de 1849’, *Le Constitutionnel*, 24 June 1849.

⁴⁷ Pr. H. [Prosper Haussard], ‘Salon de 1849’, *Le National*, 26 June 1849.

⁴⁸ L. Clément de Ris, ‘Le Salon’, *L’Artiste*, 5th ser., 5 (1850), pp. 225-226 (p. 226).

⁴⁹ Tassaert had been awarded a second-class medal in 1838 and Antigna in 1848.

One of the side effects of this policy, however, was the number of works submitted by exempt artists to the 1850 Salon. 1272 works, over a fifth of all submissions, were automatically admitted to the Salon, suggesting that exempt artists took advantage of their position to submit more works than usual.⁵⁰ Whilst the policy certainly protected successful artists from rejection, it added to the growing problem of the Salon's size.

The Salons of the Second Republic answered many of the calls for reform which had arisen under the July Monarchy and the new jury was generally found to be an improvement over the former system. The reforms finally satisfied the artists' desire to elect their own jury, which they had expressed in 1830. The system of exemptions, however, remained a controversial issue. Whilst guaranteeing greater impartiality, it had an adverse effect on the size of the Salon and was seen by some to maintain outdated privileges.

Whilst the reform put an end to the campaigns against the academic jury, the abolition of this jury failed to be the panacea some may have expected. Certain critics continued to voice their suggestions for reform. One proposition which recurred during this period attempted to reconcile the ideological desire for an open Salon, which could serve as a marketplace for all artists, with the practical desire to maintain the showcase aspect of the exhibition and prevent the superior works being lost amongst the profusion of mediocre works. Haussard suggested admitting all works and using placement to signal the best exhibits.⁵¹ This idea expanded on the use previously made of the Louvre's Salon Carré to display the best works. Peisse also favoured this system which he saw as an answer to the practical inconveniences of abolishing the jury.⁵²

⁵⁰ Exempt artists submitted at least one more work than average to the 1850 Salon.

⁵¹ Pr. H [Prosper Haussard], 'La direction des beaux-arts depuis la révolution de février', *Le National*, 29 May 1849: 'Classer en première ligne des ouvrages marquans, graduer à la suite les meilleurs, séparer les mauvais, telle doit être l'unique et grande attribution du jury élu.'

⁵² L. Peisse, 'Salon de 1849', *Le Constitutionnel*, 24 June 1849.

Mais sans jury, que devient l'exposition? ce qu'on a vu en 1848, un ignominieux bazar, un chaos inextricable et insupportable. Comment donc faire, si l'on ne peut ni tout accepter sans tomber dans la confusion, ni choisir sans tomber dans l'arbitraire? [...] En deux mots, il faudrait transformer ce jury d'admission en un simple jury de placement: tout recevoir, mais tout classer dans l'ordre le plus rigoureux.

This proposal had its roots in earlier discussions, demonstrating the enduring efforts to improve the means of selection to the Salon. In 1833, Farcy had recognised the limitations of this system which still relied on a judgement process of sorts and which 'aurait à l'égard des artistes les mêmes résultats, ou à peu près, que l'exclusion de l'exposition; nul ne consentirait à être placé dans les salles de second choix.'⁵³ In 1848, Haussard recognised the further difficulty of expecting a jury to undertake this more complex system of judging: 'On dira sans doute que les artistes vont se récrier plus encore et qu'ils préféreraient l'exclusion au classement critique; que c'est imposer au nouveau jury une tâche, une responsabilité trop scabreuse, et lui demander trop d'indépendance et de courage.'⁵⁴

We have seen in this chapter that questions relating to the Salon jury were not fully resolved under the Second Republic. Opposition towards the July Monarchy jury had accumulated throughout the 1840s when the revolution occurred in February 1848 as preparations for the Salon were underway. This timing forced the new regime to make an immediate decision as to whether to maintain the exact composition of the jury. The abolition of the jury, undertaken at a revolutionary moment, was itself more pragmatic than revolutionary, and represented a temporary measure governed by questions of expedience. The subsequent Salon was so overrun with works that it reassured many of

⁵³ F. [Charles Farcy], 'De l'institution et de l'application du jury pour l'exposition au Louvre', *Journal des Artistes*, 7 April 1833, pp. 233-240 (p. 239).

⁵⁴ Haussard, 'La direction des beaux-arts depuis la révolution de février.'

the need for some form of jury, however a minority of critics remained in favour of permanent abolition, showing that the jury still remained a divisive issue, albeit on a reduced scale. The 1848 hanging committee, elected by artists, demonstrated the new regime's concern for democratic principles. The establishment of an artist-elected admissions jury in 1849 marked a significant reform and finally satisfied the long-standing demands voiced after the previous revolution in 1830. The new regime and the end of the monarchy provided the forces necessary for reform, as the republican government could allow artists to elect their own jury without the implications this concession of authority had held for the king, who saw artistic patronage as a key part of his role as monarch. Only those members of the Academy who had disassociated themselves with the former jury were elected to the jury under the Second Republic, confirming how damaging the role had been for the Academy's reputation. The resultant reduction in criticisms of the jury reflected a general level of satisfaction with the new format. However, we have seen that due to the implementation of broad exemptions few established artists had to submit work to the jury, which meant the potential for controversial decisions was greatly diminished. The introduction of exemptions, frequently debated under the July Monarchy, represented as significant a reform as the change in the mode of election and composition of the jury. As far as the Salon jury was concerned, the reforms of the new regime greatly reduced the direct opposition and campaigns whose rise had marked the July Monarchy. However the suggestions for further changes which continued to be raised under the Second Republic proved that the jury remained a contentious issue and prefigured a recurrence of opposition and calls for further reform under the Second Empire.

CONCLUSION

This thesis is the first detailed study of the jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon under the July Monarchy and Second Republic. It begins by examining the reasons for the king's delegation of the jury role to the members of the first four sections of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, the composition of that body and its response to the role. Secondly, it analyses the context of their task and the nature of their decisions, questioning the extent to which the jury can be seen to have defended its own interests. Lastly, it examines the growth of opposition to the jury within the wider artistic community during the course of the July Monarchy, culminating in its abolition in 1848, and the details of its replacement under the Second Republic. This has required the systematic study of the available archival sources, from which has been created a database listing every work of art submitted to the Salon during this period and the response of the jury in each case. This archival research has in turn been supplemented by analysis of published sources in the form of the art journalism of the period, and the correspondence and diaries of artists and art administrators.

This research has shown that, in deciding to delegate the jury role in the way they did, the king and his advisors appear not to have considered the opposition that this decision might arouse and which would grow throughout the regime. It has also identified a significant disjuncture between the decisions taken by the academic jury and the representation of these decisions at the time and since. We have seen that these academicians did not constitute a homogeneous, inflexible group and have identified the internal dissensions which the role of jury created among them. However, it has also emerged that those members of the Academy who were most sympathetic towards

innovative artists failed or refused to take part in the jury, which gave greater impact to the choices made by its more traditionalist members. In this respect we have particularly identified the closely-knit architecture section which formed an influential conservative phalanx within the jury, and have found that, in contrast, it was the members of the painting section who proved most receptive towards innovative artists, in opposition to the modernist narrative which promoted the notion of a backward-looking rearguard of painters obstructing the advance of more progressive members of their own discipline.

In terms of the jury's decisions, it is clear that it was not insensitive or indifferent to contextual pressures, such as those coming from the wider political sphere, in 1831 and 1848 for example, or from the arts administration, concerned at the large quantities of mediocre work, yet we have also identified a significant degree of autonomy in their individual decisions. Louis-Philippe's decision to make the Salon an annual event, although derived partly from a desire to reduce the number of submissions per Salon, actually contributed to the exhibition's growth throughout this period. A fundamental part of the jury's task, therefore, was its attempt to control the constant increase in production by judging submissions more severely, but our research reveals that these attempts became increasingly ineffective in the 1840s. Whilst there was a degree of academic bias in the jury's decisions, they also reveal substantial levels of compromise. Although it did seek to protect its own value system by receiving a significantly higher proportion of history paintings than of other genres, its reception of painting submissions reveals considerable efforts to adapt to the range of artistic production. The rejection of academically trained, high-profile pupils of Ingres also attests to the complex motivations at work within the Academy's first four sections as it grappled with the struggle for supremacy from within the neo-classical group of painters while attempting also to guide the future direction of French art.

My examination of the opposition towards the jury has shown how it originated in the administration's initial delegation to the Academy, a decision which many artists felt had failed to recognise their aspirations, and was fuelled by the jury's controversial rejections of established artists. The extent of the opposition has not previously been acknowledged, particularly the direct petition to the king in 1843, which was supported by numerous high-profile artists, including members of the Academy. Our findings have identified the range of alternatives to the existing jury system suggested under the July Monarchy, which further indicates the complex nature of the question of admissions to the Salon.

Finally, this study has shown how in 1848 the new regime of the Second Republic provided the conditions necessary for change. We have seen that the admission of all entries to the 1848 Salon was a pragmatic rather than ideological decision and the experience of that year was generally taken to prove the necessity of an admissions jury of some sort to reduce the large quantity of mediocre work. The introduction in 1849 of an artist-elected jury satisfied the long-standing demands of the artistic community and stilled opposition, temporarily at least. The consequences of the reintroduction of exemptions proved as significant as the direct changes made to the composition of the jury, in preventing the types of controversial rejections which had so damaged the reputation of the jury under the July Monarchy.

The findings of this study indicate that the previous accounts of the jury during this period are too reductive. Its decisions, far from being driven by a neo-classical orthodoxy hostile to innovation, were subject to a variety of pressures. The academicians on the jury were caught in the middle of a struggle between the artists and the royal arts administration for 'ownership' of the Salon at a time of increasing artistic diversity and of rapid growth in art journalism, which was making its own claims to act as Salon jury on the public's behalf. In this situation it would not be surprising if, as the

rumours we have discovered suggest, the academicians did reach the point of attempting to relinquish their jury role altogether. With the change in regime in February 1848 and despite the temporary cessation of protests against the jury under the Second Republic, the complexity of the question of admissions to the Salon remained unresolved and would recur under the Second Empire, in the form of repeated changes to the jury's composition, means of election and systems of exemption.

The present study aims to provide a new understanding of the history of the jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon by virtue of a detailed analysis of its decisions as a whole rather than a partial examination of its most controversial rejections. The database created for this purpose will be available online in the near future and should in this way continue to help qualify or correct the misrepresentations which have hitherto impeded a more accurate assessment of the performance of the Salon jury during the July Monarchy.

A further study which examined the question of the jury's response to sculpture submissions would also be welcome. Several sculptors, including most notably Auguste Prévault and Antoine-Louis Barye, were among the artists whose rejections were deemed controversial by supportive members of the press. A separate examination of the jury's reception of all sculptural works could aim to identify parallels and differences with its reception of painting and thereby enhance our overall understanding of the jury role.

The current study has shown that the hitherto reductive account of the Salon and its jury is a significant misrepresentation which undermines the complex nature of the interrelationship of the artists, the administration and the Salon of the July Monarchy. The enhanced understanding of the Salon jury provides a new perspective on the history of art of a period of which much is still to be discovered.

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APPENDIX 1

Letter from Forbin to Delaître, 23 February 1831 (AMN *AA21)

L'ordonnance du 22 juillet 1816 avait créé près de la Direction du Musée un conseil honoraire dont les principales fonctions consistaient dans l'examen des ouvrages présentés pour les expositions. Les membres en étaient nommés par le Roi. Les opérations de ce Jury ont souvent donné lieu à de nombreuses réclamations de la part des exposans et l'on a même été jusqu'à demander que les expositions eussent lieu sans jury. Cette dernière marche présenterait de graves difficultés et je ne crois pas qu'il soit possible de faire une exposition sans un jury; mais en même tems, je pense qu'il serait nécessaire d'apporter des modifications dans la formation du conseil chargé de prononcer sur l'admission ou le rejet des ouvrages présentés pour l'exposition; en conséquence j'ai l'honneur de vous proposer les dispositions suivantes:

Le jury chargé de l'examen des ouvrages présentés pour l'exposition sera choisi par les exposans composé d'artistes et d'amateurs ou hommes de lettres. Les membres de ce jury dont les fonctions seront gratuites, seront au nombre de 30 repartis ainsi qu'il suit de manière que chaque branche des arts se trouve proportionnellement représentée

12 Peintres

6 Sculpteurs

4 Graveurs et dessinateurs lithographes

3 Architectes

5 Amateurs et hommes de lettres

Les membres du jury seront choisis parmi les artistes exposans ou non exposans.

Dix membres de ce jury choisis de préférence parmi les non exposans, seront chargés du placement des ouvrages.

Les travaux auxquels les séances du jury donneront lieu seront faits par les employés de l'administration du Musée.

Tous les artistes exposans qui auront été inscrits avant le 10 mars pour la formation du livret, se réuniront à une heure indiquée dans une des salles du Louvre pour procéder à la nomination du jury.

Il sera formé d'abord un bureau provisoire composé d'un président doyen d'âge, de deux secrétaires et de deux scrutateurs choisis parmi les plus jeunes. On s'occupera séance tenante de la nomination du bureau définitif. Les membres de ce bureau correspondront par l'organ du Président avec le Directeur du Musée qui fera connaître à l'Intendance de la Liste civile le résultat des opérations.

Aussitôt que le jury sera constitué, on s'occupera de l'examen des ouvrages.

Les séances du jury seront tenues secrètes jusqu'à l'ouverture de l'exposition.

Les membres du Jury chargés du placement des ouvrages pourront seuls entrer dans les salles avant l'ouverture.

La durée de l'exposition sera de deux mois.

Il ne sera admis aucun ouvrage pendant toute la durée du Salon.

APPENDIX 2

Biographies of the members of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*¹

- *Painters*

ABEL DE PUJOL Alexandre-Denis, 1785-1861

Attended 100 jury sessions (66% attendance).

Elected to Academy in 1835, following the death of Baron Gros.

Trained at the *Académie de Valenciennes*, the *École des Beaux-Arts*, and in the studio of David. Won the *Prix de Rome* in 1811.

BIDAULD Jean-Joseph-Xavier, 1758-1846

Attended 166 jury sessions (91% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1823, following the death of Prud'hon.

First landscape painter to be elected member of the Academy.

BLONDEL Merry-Joseph, 1781-1853

Attended 148 jury sessions (80% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1832, following the death of Lethière.

Pupil of Regnault, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1803.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts* 1832-1853.

BRASCASSAT Jacques-Raimond, 1804-1867

Attended 15 jury sessions (94% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1846, following the death of Bidauld.

Animal painter, studied in Rome, having placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1825.

COUDER Louis-Charles-Auguste, 1790-1873

Attended 104 jury sessions (94% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1839, following the death of Langlois.

A pupil of Regnault and David.

¹ Sources used: Charles Franqueville, *Le Premier siècle de l'Institut de France* (Paris: J. Rothschild, 1895); Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle*, 17 vols (Paris: Slatkine, 1982); *From David to Ingres: Early 19th-Century French Artists*, ed. by Jane Turner (New York: Grove Art, 2000).

DELAROCHE Hippolyte dit Paul, 1797-1856

Attended no jury sessions.

Elected to the Academy in 1832, following the death of Meynier.

Studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts* from 1816 and with Gros from 1818.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1833-1856.

DRÖLLING Michel, 1786-1851

Attended 57 jury sessions, all pre-1840 (33% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1833, following the death of Baron Guérin.

Pupil of David. Won the *Prix de Rome* in 1810.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1837-1851.

GARNIER Étienne-Barthélemy, 1759-1849

Attended 144 jury sessions (72% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1816, following the death of Ménageot.

Won the *Prix de Rome* in 1788.

GÉRARD François-Pascal-Simon, 1770-1837

Attended no jury sessions.

Elected member of the Class of Fine Arts in 1812. Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

Pupil of David, placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1789.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1811-1837.

Named *Premier peintre du Roi* in 1817.

GRANET François-Marius, 1775-1849.

Attended 134 jury sessions (67% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1830, following the death of Taunay.

Trained in Aix-en-Provence alongside Auguste de Forbin, briefly a pupil of David in 1798.

Appointed *Conservateur des tableaux du Louvre* in 1830.

GROS Antoine-Jean, 1771-1835

Attended 37 jury sessions (79%).

Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

Pupil of David from 1785, studied in Italy.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1816-1835.

GUÉRIN Pierre-Narcisse, 1774-1833

Attended 10 jury sessions (37% attendance).

Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

Pupil of Regnault, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1797.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1816-1833.

Director of the French Academy in Rome, 1822-1828.

HEIM François-Joseph, 1787-1865

Attended 90 jury sessions (45% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1829, following the death of Regnault.
 Pupil of Vincent, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1807.
 Professor at *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1832-1863.

HERSENT Louis, 1777-1860

Attended 94 jury sessions (47% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1822, following the death of Van Spaendock.
 Pupil of Regnault, placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1797.
 Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1825-1860.

INGRES Jean-Auguste Dominique, 1780-1867

Attended 26 jury sessions (13% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1825, following the death of Denon.
 Pupil of David from 1797, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1801.
 Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1829-1864.
 Director of the French Academy in Rome, 1834-1840.

LANGLOIS Jérôme-Martin, 1779-1838

Attended no jury sessions. Dies during first year as academician.
 Elected to the Academy in 1838, following the death of Thévenin.
 Won *Prix de Rome* in 1809.

LETHIÈRE Guillaume GUILLON, 1760-1832

Attended 14 jury sessions (93% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1818, following the death of Visconti.
 Pupil of Doyen, placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1786.
 Director of the French Academy in Rome, 1808-1816.
 Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1809-1832.

MEYNIER Charles, 1768-1832

Attended 10 jury sessions (67% attendance)
 Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.
 Pupil of Vincent, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1789.
 Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1819-1832.

PICOT Édouard-François, 1786-1868

Attended 128 jury sessions (93% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1836, following the death of Carle Vernet.
 Pupil of Vincent and David, placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1811.

SCHNETZ Jean-Victor, 1787-1870

Attended 28 jury sessions (20% attendance)

Elected to the Academy in 1837, following the death of Gérard.

Pupil of David, Regnault, Gros and Gérard.

Director of the French Academy in Rome, 1841-1847 and 1852-1865.

THÉVENIN Charles, 1764-1838

Attended 74 jury sessions (84% attendance)

Elected to the Academy in 1825, following the death of Girodet

Pupil of Vincent, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1791.

Director of the French Academy in Rome, 1817-1822.

VERNET Antoine-Charles-Horace, dit Carle, 1758-1836

Attended 1 jury session (2% attendance).

Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

Won the *Prix de Rome* in 1782.

VERNET Jean-Émile-Horace, 1789-1863

Attended 4 jury sessions (2% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1826, following the death of Le Barbier.

Pupil of Vincent.

Director of the French Academy in Rome, 1828-1834.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1835-1863.

- *Sculptors*

BOSIO François-Joseph, 1768-1845

Attended 50 jury sessions (29% attendance).

Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

Pupil of Pajou.

Named *Premier sculpteur du Roi* in 1816.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1817-1845.

CORTOT Jean-Pierre, 1787-1843

Attended 127 jury sessions (86% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1825, following the death of Dupaty.

Pupil of Bridan, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1809.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1826-1843.

DAVID D'ANGERS Pierre-Jean, 1789-1856

Attended 21 jury sessions (11% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1826, following the death of Stouf.

Pupil of Roland, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1811.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1826-1856.

DUMONT Augustin-Alexandre, 1801-1884

Attended 101 jury sessions (91% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1838, following the death of Ramey père.

Studied at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1823.

Professor at *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1852-1863.

DURET Francisque-Joseph, 1804-1865

Attended 48 jury sessions (92% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1843, following the death of Cortot.

Pupil of Bosio, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1823.

Professor at *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1852-1863.

LEMAIRE Philippe-Joseph-Henri, 1798-1880

Attended 27 jury sessions (93% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1845, following the death of Bosio.

Pupil of Cartellier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1821.

Professor at *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1856-1880.

NANTEUIL Charles-François LEBŒUF, 1792-1865

Attended 177 jury sessions (96% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1831, following the death of Cartellier.

Pupil of Cartellier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1817.

Professor at *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1843-1863.

PETITOT Louis-Messidor-Lebon, 1794-1862

Attended 122 jury sessions (80% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1835, following the death of Roman.

Pupil of Cartellier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1814.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1845-1862.

PRADIER Jean-Jacques, 1792-1853

Attended 59 jury sessions (30% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1827, following the death of Lemot.

Pupil of Lemot, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1813.

Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1828-1852.

RAMEY père Claude, 1754-1838

Attended 23 jury sessions (26% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1816, following the death of Roland.

Pupil of Gois, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1782.

RAMEY fils Étienne-Jules, 1796-1852

Attended 127 jury sessions (64% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1828, following the death of Houdon.

Trained at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1815.

ROMAN Jean-Baptiste-Louis, 1792-1835

Attended 7 jury sessions (15% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1831, following the death of Lesueur.

Won the *Prix de Rome* in 1816.

- *Architects*

CARISTIE Augustin-Nicolas, 1783-1862

Attended 56 jury sessions (64% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1840, following the death of Huyot.

Pupil of Percier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1813.

DEBRET François, 1777-1850

Attended 181 jury sessions (91% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1825, following the death of Poyet.

Pupil of Percier and Fontaine.

FONTAINE Pierre-François-Léonard, 1762-1853

Attended 158 jury sessions (79% attendance).

Elected member of the Class of Fine Arts in 1811. Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

Pupil of Peyre, placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1785.

Named *Premier architecte de l'Empereur* in 1812.

Premier architecte du Roi, 1815-1848.

GAUTHIER Martin-Pierre, 1790-1855

Attended 63 jury sessions (98% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1842, following the death of Guénépin.

Pupil of Percier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1810.

GUÉNEPIN Auguste-Jean-Marie, 1780-1842

Attended 72 jury sessions (67% attendance).

Elected to the Academy in 1833, following the death of Labarre.

Pupil of Peyre, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1805.

HUVÉ Jean-Jacques-Marie, 1783-1852

Attended 109 jury sessions (98% attendance).
Elected to the Academy in 1838, following the death of Percier.
Pupil of Percier.

HUYOT Jean-Nicolas, 1780-1840

Attended 81 jury sessions (73% attendance).
Elected to the Academy in 1822, following the death of Heurtier.
Pupil of Peyre, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1807.
Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1819-1840.

LABARRE Étienne-Éloi, 1764-1833

Attended no jury sessions.
Elected to the Academy in 1826, following the death of Thibault.
Pupil of Raymond.

LEBAS Louis-Hippolyte, 1782-1867

Attended 171 jury sessions (86% attendance).
Elected to the Academy in 1825, following the death of Delespine.
Pupil of Vaudoyer, Percier and Fontaine, placed second in the *Prix de Rome* in 1806.
Professor at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1840-1854.

LECLÈRE Achille-François-René, 1785-1853

Attended 146 jury sessions (73% attendance).
Elected to the Academy in 1831, following the death of Molinos.
Pupil of Percier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1808.

LESUEUR Jean-Baptiste-Cicéron, 1794-1883

Attended 11 jury sessions (69% attendance).
Elected to the Academy in 1846, following the death of Vaudoyer.
Pupil of Percier, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1819.
Professor at *École des Beaux-Arts*, 1853-1863.

PERCIER Charles, 1764-1838

Attended 34 jury sessions (39% attendance)
Elected member of the Class of Fine Arts in 1811. Named member of the Academy
by royal decree in 1816.
Pupil of Peyre, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1786.

VAUDOYER Antoine-Laurent-Thomas, 1756-1846

Attended 120 jury sessions (66% attendance).
Elected to the Academy in 1823, following the death of Peyre.
Pupil of Peyre, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1783.

- *Engravers*

DESNOYERS Auguste-Gaspard-Louis, BOUCHER, 1779-1857

Attended 76 jury sessions (38% attendance).
 Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.
 Pupil of Lethière.
 Named *Premier graveur du Roi* in 1825.

FORSTER François, 1790-1872

Attended 23 jury sessions (56% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1844, following the death of Tardieu.
 Pupil of Langlois, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1814.

GALLE André, 1761-1844

Attended 142 jury sessions (90% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1819, following the death of Duvivier.

GATTEAUX Jacques-Édouard, 1788-1881

Attended 41 jury sessions (100% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1845, following the death of Galle.
 Pupil of his father, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1809.

RICHOMME Joseph-Théodore, 1785-1849

Attended 88 jury sessions, all before 1842 (44% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1826, following the death of Jeuffroy.
 Pupil of Coigny, won the *Prix de Rome* in 1806.

TARDIEU Pierre-Alexandre, 1756-1844

Attended 112 jury sessions (71% attendance).
 Elected to the Academy in 1822, following the death of Bervic.
 Pupil of Jacques-Nicolas Tardieu.

- *Musicians*

BERTON Henri, 1767-1844

Attended all 11 sessions in 1833 as President of the Academy and jury.
 Elected member of Class of Fine Arts in 1815. Named member of the Academy by royal decree in 1816.

	1831 [15]	1833 [12]	1834 [8]	1835 [12]	1836 [15]	1837 [13]	1838 [13]	1839 [11]	1840 [12]	1841 [12]	1842 [12]	1843 [12]	1844 [11]	1845 [12]	1846 [13]	1847 [13]	1848 [3]	Total	%	1834-1848 Total	%
PAINTING																					
1 VERNET Jean-Émile-Horace	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2%	3	2%
2 HERSENT Louis	0	1	5	7	12	10	10	10	11	11	11	11	8	8	0	6	0	94	47%	93	54%
3 GARNIER Étienne-Barthélemy	13	9	7	9	14	1	6	6	12	10	10	12	8	8	10	12	0	144	72%	122	71%
4 BIDAUD Jean-Joseph-Xavier	9	3	8	12	15	13	12	10	12	12	12	12	11	12	13	-	-	166	91%	154	90%
BRASCASSAT Jacques-Raimond	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	94%	15	94%
5 HEIM François-Joseph	8	0	8	8	8	5	3	3	3	1	3	9	11	0	13	12	1	90	45%	82	48%
6 GRANET François-Marius	10	7	6	8	15	0	11	11	11	3	12	11	0	3	13	13	0	134	67%	117	68%
7 INGRES Jean-Auguste Dominique	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	9	0	0	0	26	13%	17	10%	
8 LETHÈRE, Guillaume GUILLON	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	93%	-	-
BLONDEL, Mierry-Joseph	-	11	8	11	11	2	13	10	12	5	12	12	10	9	13	9	0	148	80%	137	80%
9 GÉRARD, François-Pascal-Simon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
SCHNETZ Jean-Victor	-	-	-	-	-	0	13	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	28	20%	28	20%
10 GUÉRIN Pierre-Narcisse, baron	10	0	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	37%	57	33%
DROLLING Michel	-	-	8	11	14	0	13	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	33%	57	33%
11 MEYNIER Charles	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	67%	0	0%
DELAROCHE, Hippolyte, dit Paul	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2%	0	0%
12 VERNET, Carlé	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
PICOT, Édouard-François	-	-	-	-	-	13	13	5	12	12	12	12	10	12	13	13	1	128	93%	128	93%
13 THÉVENIN, Charles	14	11	8	12	15	13	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	84%	49	80%
LANGLOIS, Jérôme-Martin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0%	0	0%
COUDER, Louis-Charles-Auguste	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	12	12	12	12	10	12	12	13	3	104	94%	104	94%
14 GROS, Antoine-Jean, baron	10	7	8	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	79%	20	100%
ABEL DE PUJOL, Alexandre-Denis	-	-	-	-	12	13	8	5	3	10	10	9	4	6	11	8	1	100	66%	100	66%
15 PRADIER Jean-Jacques	1	2	0	0	2	12	4	0	11	0	7	0	11	0	10	10	0	59	30%	56	33%
16 RAMEY fils, Étienne-Jules	9	0	7	8	11	4	9	4	10	12	12	9	11	0	6	13	2	127	64%	118	69%
17 CARTELLIER, Pierre	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0%	-	-
NANTEUIL, Charles-François LEBCEUF	-	8	8	12	15	13	13	11	12	11	12	12	11	11	13	13	2	177	96%	169	98%
18 DAVID D'ANGERS, Pierre-Jean	6	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	11%	15	9%
19 RAMEY père, Claude	14	0	8	1	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	26%	9	15%
DUMONT, Augustin-Alexandre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	12	12	12	12	1	12	13	13	3	101	91%	101	91%
20 ROMAN, Jean-Baptiste-Louis	1	6	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	15%	0	0%
PETTIT, Messidor LEBON	2	0	0	0	2	12	13	9	10	9	11	8	10	12	13	13	0	122	80%	122	80%
21 BOSIO, François-Joseph, baron	2	0	0	0	0	11	13	0	5	0	0	10	8	1	-	-	-	50	29%	48	31%
LEMAIRE, Philippe-Henri	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	93%	27	93%
22 CORTOT, Jean-Pierre	11	11	8	12	15	12	2	11	12	12	9	12	-	-	-	-	-	127	86%	105	88%
DURET, François-Joseph	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48	92%	48	92%
23 LEBAS, Louis-Hippolyte	8	2	8	10	15	13	13	11	12	10	12	12	10	12	8	12	3	171	86%	161	94%
24 VAUDOYER, Antoine-Laurent-Thomas	8	2	5	12	15	10	12	5	5	12	0	5	10	6	13	-	-	120	66%	110	71%
LESUEUR, Jean-Baptiste-Cicéron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	69%	11	69%
25 FONTAINE, Pierre-François-Léonard	4	9	6	12	14	11	10	11	8	8	7	11	6	12	13	13	3	158	79%	145	84%
26 LABARRE, Étienne-Éloi	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0%	-	-
GUÉNEPIN, Auguste-Jean-Marie	-	-	8	11	7	10	13	11	5	7	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	72	67%	72	67%
GAUTHIER, Martin-Pierre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	98%	63	98%
27 PERCIER, Charles	2	0	7	10	0	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	39%	32	52%
HUVÉ, Jean-Jacques-Marie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	12	12	12	11	10	12	13	13	3	109	98%	109	98%
28 HUYOT, Jean-Nicolas	5	8	7	10	11	12	11	11	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81	73%	68	81%
CARISTE, Augustin-Nicolas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	8	8	9	9	10	10	0	1	56	64%	56	64%
29 LECLÈRE, Achille-François-René	3	10	8	6	12	9	9	9	6	9	12	11	10	10	10	10	2	146	73%	133	77%
30 DEBRET, François	10	9	8	11	14	13	12	10	12	11	12	11	12	11	12	13	2	181	91%	162	94%
31 TARDIEU, Pierre-Alexandre	10	9	8	12	15	12	12	11	12	11	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	112	71%	93	71%
FORSTER, François	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	56%	23	56%
32 GALLE, André	8	10	8	9	14	10	13	11	12	12	12	12	11	-	-	-	-	142	90%	124	95%
GATTEAUX, Jacques-Édouard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	100%	41	100%
33 RICHOWME, Joseph-Théodore	7	8	8	11	15	13	0	8	6	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88	44%	73	42%
34 DESNOYERS, Auguste-Gaspard-Louis	2	0	0	11	0	0	1	5	10	12	12	12	11	0	0	0	0	76	38%	74	43%
BOUCHER																					

Signifies academicien not yet been

Signifies academicien has died

Appendix 3. Annual jury attendance of individual Academy members

APPENDIX 4

Artists' Petition to the king, 1843 (AMN, X 1843: 1843 Salon)

À sa Majesté Louis Philippe

Roi des Français

Sire,

Votre règne a été grand par la protection éclairée, par l'impulsion généreuse que vous avez su donner aux arts. Les artistes déposent à vos pieds le témoignage de leur vive reconnaissance.

Votre Majesté a voulu fonder la gloire de sa Dynastie sur les créations fécondes de la paix. Vous avez construit ou achevé, en douze années, l'Arc de Triomphe, le Palais Bourbon, la Madeleine, Notre Dame de Lorette, St Vincent de Paule, le Palais du quai d'Orsay, le Jardin des Plantes, le Luxembourg, le Palais des Beaux Arts, et l'Hotel de Ville. Vous avez couvert les places de fontaines et de statues. Vous avez envoyé chercher de l'autre côté des Pyrenées, les œuvres de l'Ecole Espagnole et dans les ruines de l'Asie Mineure, les débris de la sculpture ancienne. Vous avez érigé l'Obélisque, la Colonne de la Bastille. Vous avez couronné la colonne Vendôme, et en ce moment vous faites préparer une Tombe Monumentale au grand génie guerrier de Napoléon.

Sire, vous avez désiré faire de votre capitale la capitale des Beaux Arts. Vous avez élevé dans un de vos Palais un Panthéon National où vous avez pieusement recueilli et illustré par la Peinture, par la Sculpture, tous les Souvenirs historiques et toutes les gloires de notre pays.

Votre Majesté n'a pas voulu donner seule l'exemple de ce profond amour pour les arts. Elle a encore transmis les traditions aux Princes ses Enfants. Nous ne devons pas réveiller ici d'augustes et paternelles douleurs; mais dans le deuil de la nation entière, si le noble Prince qui nous a laissé le souvenir de ses grandes qualités, prophéties d'un beau vigne, a été pleuré dans les camps, par les soldats dont il partageait les périls et la gloire, il l'a été surtout parmi nous, qui nous rappelons ses sympathies si intelligentes, si éclairées et ses inépuisables bontés pour les artistes.

Sire, vous avez voulu encourager particulièrement les artistes, développer tous les germes de talent par l'émulation et par l'espoir des récompenses. Dans cette intention, vous avez institué une grande fête annuelle de l'art. Vous avez convoqué dans la plus vaste galerie de votre Palais toutes les Ecoles Françaises et toutes les Ecoles Etrangères, afin que la France devint la patrie commune de tous les mérites. Vous avez voulu constater ainsi année par année, les efforts, les progrès de l'art sous l'influence de votre direction.

Sire, vous avez songé à faire l'éducation continuelle du public et celle des artistes. Vous avez ouvert un concours et vous y avez appelé tous les architectes, tous les peintres, tous les sculpteurs, tous les graveurs, vous réservant de désigner vous-même ceux qui avaient mérité vos augustes suffrages.

De la sphère élevée, où vous dirigez les destinées de la France, vous n'avez pas voulu qu'aucun talent pût rester ignoré, trop éloigné de vous; vous avez voulu faire comparaître devant votre Juridiction Royale toutes les œuvres dignes d'une récompense, nous vous remercions de votre bienveillante pensée.

Cependant, Sire, nous croyons que cette pensée de large hospitalité, n'a pas toujours été assez libéralement comprise. Les portes du Louvre ont été fermées plusieurs fois à des talents qui avaient reçu de vos mains la plus haute distinction que l'artiste puisse ambitionner; on a frappé d'exclusion, systématiquement peut-être, les

jeunes et laborieux artistes, espérance de l'avenir, qu'il était dans l'esprit de l'institution de faire arriver jusqu'à vos regards.

Cette année surtout, des artistes qui avaient reçu de votre munificence la décoration, des médailles, des commandes pour vos musées, qui avaient remporté les Grands Prix de Rome, se sont vus refuser l'admission qu'ils étaient en droit d'espérer, après avoir conquis par de pénibles travaux, une place honorable dans l'estime publique.

Ces exclusions ont été nombreuses. Elles peuvent faire craindre que les hommes d'une véritable valeur ne se retirent devant des chances d'élimination qu'ils ne méritent pas, et que les jeunes talents, redoutant de ne pouvoir parvenir jusqu'à votre jugement éclairé, ne se découragent et ne renoncent à se présenter aux expositions.

Les éventualités de refus, dont les causes rationnelles ne s'expliquent pas toujours suffisamment, troublent l'inspiration de l'artiste. Elles le préoccupent au milieu de ses travaux, et lui enlèvent cette spontanéité, cette confiance en son art et en lui-même, qui est la première condition de toutes les œuvres sérieuses.

Sire, nous ne dirons pas en vain à votre âme généreuse, à votre cœur paternel, que les exclusions qui frappent les jeunes artistes, atteignent souvent de vieux parents dans leur existence, enlèvent à des malheureux le pain nécessaire et plongent des familles entières dans la désespoir.

La commission que votre Majesté avait nommée pour recevoir les œuvres d'art au Musée du Louvre suffisait à exécuter dignement sa volonté, à l'origine des Expositions annuelles. Mais aujourd'hui, par le fait de l'impulsion si intelligente et si puissante que vous avez imprimée aux arts, et au développement des diverses écoles, la position des Membres de cette commission ne leur a plus permis de juger avec une parfaite impartialité la multitude d'œuvres qui affluent maintenant chaque année aux portes du Salon. Il est résulté du mode actuel d'examen de tels inconveniens que les

membres les plus illustres du tribunal d'admission ont cru devoir, dans la sincérité de leur conscience, repousser toute solidarité dans l'œuvre de la commission.

Sire, confians dans votre haute sagesse, nous pensons que vous trouverez dans les inspirations de votre Royale sollicitude pour les arts, un mode d'examen qui puisse mieux remplir vos intentions, et ménager d'avantage les destinés de l'art et les intérêts des artistes.

Sire, remplis de déférence et de gratitude pour votre Royale personne pour les innombrables faveurs que vous avez accordées à nos travaux, nous déposons à vos pieds ce vœu unanime et respectueux des artistes. Nous savons trop bien apprécier les gloires pacifiques de votre Règne, nous desirons trop vivement, ouvriers plus ou moins obscurs, plus ou moins heureux des grandes conquêtes de l'art, gagner nos grades sous vos yeux, et recevoir de vos mains la rémunération de nos efforts, pour ne pas nous adresser en cette circonstance à vos sentiments de bienveillance et de justice.

Nous avons l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect

Sire de votre majesté

Les très humbles et très obeissants serviteurs.

Le 25 mars 1843.

APPENDIX 5

Petition addressed to the *Chambre des Pairs* and the *Chambre des Députés*, 18 March 1840 (AN CC460 / AN C2179)

A Messieurs les Membres de la Chambre des Pairs / A Messieurs les Membres de la
Chambre des Députés

Permettez-nous de demander que les expositions des Beaux-Arts soient
réglementées par une loi spéciale et placées dans les attributions de Monsieur le
Ministre de l'Intérieur.

Actuellement, le Jury qui exclut ou admet les ouvrages présentés, et qui
prononce par là même sur la considération, la fortune et l'avenir des artistes, ne tient ses
pouvoirs d'aucune loi; de sorte que les artistes repoussés du Louvre pourraient dire, en
s'appliquant une parole historique, qu'ils n'ont pas été condamnés par justice, mais par
commission.

Plusieurs membres du Jury protestent contre cet état de choses, en s'abstenant
constamment d'exercer leurs fonctions.

Nous exprimons le vœu que la loi à intervenir n'institue pas un Jury d'examen
préalable, et que tous les ouvrages présentés soient admis, sans autre exception que pour
les cas d'offense aux lois ou aux mœurs. Plus de faveurs alors; plus de jugements
influencés par des idées systématiques ou par des rivalités d'écoles; plus d'erreurs.

Quelle que soit la constitution d'un Jury, plusieurs de ses membres seront
toujours accessibles aux considérations personnelles: de là les admissions par faveur.

Il n'en est point des œuvres d'art comme d'une vérité scientifique; ce n'est point d'après des règles positives et certaines que l'on peut les juger; c'est une affaire de sentiment plus encore que de raison. Or un juré ne peut pas faire abstraction de sa manière individuelle de sentir; il ne le doit même pas pour rester consciencieux: de là les jugements par système; la préférence accordée de bonne foi à des ouvrages médiocres sur des ouvrages supérieurs.

Quant aux rivalités d'écoles, on sait que, de tout temps, elles ont été fort ardentes dans les différentes branches des Beaux-arts; la peinture en offre aujourd'hui des exemples frappants. L'artiste qui a adopté tel maître pour chef de file est à peu près certain de n'avoir pas le suffrage des jurés qui suivent une autre bannière.

Ces éléments inévitables d'injustice n'existeraient pas qu'il y aurait encore des erreurs, car il est impossible à un jury de faire une comparaison exacte, de juger, entre trois ou quatre mille objets d'art qui passent successivement sous ses yeux; la capacité de l'esprit humain ne va pas jusques là.

Craindrait-on d'encourager les médiocrités, en admettant, sous la réserve que nous avons indiquée, tous les ouvrages présentés? Mais, sans parler de l'artiste admis, qui se croit toujours un talent, l'artiste refusé, refusé sans qu'on lui dise pour quels défauts, se croit toujours victime d'une injustice; le sentiment de l'injuste l'exalte et l'irrite, au lieu de l'abattre et de le décourager; il persiste pendant plusieurs années à poursuivre une carrière pour laquelle il n'a qu'une fausse et trompeuse vocation, et quand il finit par connaître sa médiocrité, il est trop tard pour entreprendre une autre carrière. Tout au contraire, si dès ses premiers ouvrages il comparaisait devant le public, ce juge que l'on ne saurait récuser, le dédain, les rires moqueurs, les sarcasmes à brûle-pourpoint lui feraient connaître sa vraie valeur; son amour-propre n'aurait plus de retraite, et bientôt il abandonnerait les Beaux-arts pour une autre profession.

On objecte aussi contre les expositions générales l'insuffisance du local. Nous ferons observer que le nombre des ouvrages admis à plusieurs des expositions dernières approchait du nombre des ouvrages présentés en 1840, que cependant jamais plus de la moitié de la grande galerie du Louvre n'a été affectée à l'exposition; qu'au reste on pourrait limiter le nombre des ouvrages que chaque artiste aurait le droit de présenter, le borner, par exemple, à deux ou trois, sauf les exceptions qui seraient déterminées. D'ailleurs, la question du local est accessoire; et si elle devait faire naître, sous d'autres rapports encore, des difficultés sérieuses, s'opposer par exemple à ce que l'exposition des Beaux-arts rentrât dans le domaine de la loi, vous n'hésiteriez pas sans doute, Messieurs les Pairs / Messieurs les Députés, à affecter à cette exposition une localité spéciale.

Nous l'avouons, c'est la rigueur, et vous apprécierez sans doute la mesure de cette expression, c'est la rigueur dont le Jury a cru devoir user cette année qui nous a déterminés à vous adresser cette pétition. Nous osons espérer qu'elle sera accueillie favorablement, malgré ce qu'il peut y avoir de personnel dans ses motifs, car nous demandons ce qu'on ne refuse à aucune autre classe de citoyens; nous demandons que nos intérêts et notre honneur soient placés sous l'égide des lois.

Nous sommes avec un profond respect,

Messieurs les Pairs / Messieurs les Députés

Vos très-humbles et très-obéissants serviteurs.

18 March 1840.

APPENDIX 6

Votes recorded for the members of the painting section of the 1848 hanging committee

Léon Cogniet	573
Ingres	551
E. Delacroix	546
H. Vernet	544
Decamps	541
Robert Fleury	539
Ary Scheffer	510
Meissonnier	416
Corot	353
P. Delaroche	324
J. Dupré	322
E. Isabey	306
Drölling	289
H. Flandrin	258
Roqueplan	245
‘Cinq membres supplémentaires’	
Isabey père	228
Brascassat	224
Théodore Rousseau	208
Couture	174
Abel de Pujol	110

APPENDIX 7

Dear Harriet Griffiths,

With this letter we give permission to reproduce a digital image of the following item in the collection of The State Hermitage Museum in the online publication of your PhD thesis *The Jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon, 1831-1852* in the University of Exeter's online repository (<https://eric.exeter.ac.uk/repository/>):

Rousseau, Theodore. *View on the Outskirts of Granville*. Oil on canvas. 85x165 cm. France. 1833. Inv. No. GE-3951.

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Yours sincerely,

Dr. Vladimir Matveyev
Deputy Director General
The State Hermitage Museum

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TEL : 04.73.16.11.30 – FAX : 04.73.16.11.31



www.ville-clermont-ferrand.fr - e.mail : musee.art@ville-clermont-ferrand.fr

AUTHORISATION FOR COPY

Contact : Harriet Griffiths, University of Exeter, England

Dear Madame,

I have the pleasure to inform you that you can use the image of the following work :

- RIESENER Louis (1808-1878), *Portrait de Marilhat*, 1840, huile sur toile

to illustrate the electronic version of your doctoral thesis,

Moreover, I would like to remind you that you have to indicate the following mention : "Ville de Clermont-Ferrand, Musée d'art Roger-Quilliot [MARQ]"

By wishing you a good reception of this document,

Sincerely yours,

In Clermont-Ferrand,
February 11th, 2014

Christelle Meyer,
Chargée des collections

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