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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF MODERN ART

VOLUME 4

Art in an Age of Civil Struggle 1848–1871

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Albert Boime

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actively reformist as the Camphausen government, the Auerswald cabinet sought to maintain solid relations with the constituent assembly in Berlin and mediate between it and an increasingly impatient court. When it admitted inability to resist legislative claims to control over the army, the holiest of all royal prerogatives, it turned in its resignation to a delighted Friedrich Wilhelm IV. On 9 August 1848 the Prussian national assembly asked the minister of war to issue an army order to the effect that officers were expected to demonstrate their support of a constitutional system and that those who held differing political views were expected to quit the army. Schreckenstein, the minister of war, and of old feudal nobility, tried to choke the order, but only forced the assembly to act again on a similar motion on 7 September. Faced with this challenge, the Auerswald cabinet resigned. Marx was highly critical of what he called this "middle class" cabinet acting as a front for the crown and "letting its dirty work out to the feudal bear." He claimed that it failed to recognize that the public welfare was its primary responsibility, even at the risk of coming into conflict with the crown. He also observed that it suffered no qualms about carrying out, through its minister of justice, Herr Märker, old public welfare measures culminating in wholesale arrests of democrats. Indeed, for Marx "the only serious action" of the Auerswald administration was carried out against the revolution; its numerous lawsuits against the press, the introduction of a system of constables or plainclothes police to supplement the regular police for use against popular meetings and demonstrations, and its use of the Civic Guard against unruly workers were all executed for the sake of public welfare. But the same cabinet "carefully refrained from intervening against the counterrevolution in the name of public welfare." This salient failure of the cabinet to back the encroachment of the legislative on the executive power compromised it in the eyes of all the parties.[133]

The resulting isolation of the middle class, the dissolution of the united front that had been formed during the spring uprising, the disintegration of parties, and the contest of cliques is graphically inscribed on Menzel's canvas. The incomplete portion—both in the narrative and material sense—metaphorically points to the failure of the liberals of the parliamentary center to fulfill the work of the revolution. The longing for unity through the mourning rite that brings out the entire populace to venerate the victims of disunity is interrupted by an unbridgeable spatial gap. Yet Menzel could not accept the conclusion that the failure to establish enlightened bourgeois rule in the form of a constitutional monarchy lay with the middle-class fear of the social revolution and the resistance of the feudal aristocracy in alliance with the crown. From Menzel's perspective the reaction was a justifiable consequence of the unruly behavior of the popular classes. What's left are the scattered remnants of society, alone preserving their individual dignity above the din of class struggle.

8 The Second Empire's Official Realism

This chapter outlines a simple theory about a subtle conspiracy organized by the Bonapartist regime to fashion a visual style appropriate to its ideological position. Contrary to most previous studies, which have associated it primarily with outmoded classicism, confused eclecticism, or renewed romanticism, this study suggests that the Second Empire's official taste was predominantly realist. Indeed, the government's predilection for realism promoted the assimilation of this movement into the mainstream of modern French culture. Napoléon III's government was the first to attach to itself an official court photographer. Manet's naturalism and Monet's impressionism would be incomprehensible without the profound investment of government resources in the encouragement of realism during the 1850s and 1860s.[1]

Louis-Napoléon, both as prince-president and as emperor, fostered this official style in several ways. He and his administration won over a younger generation of academically trained painters, encouraged the rise of alternative realist styles to rival the radical tendencies, and, through Salon criticism and high influence, managed to blunt and neutralize the realist style of the Left. The Bonapartist government aimed at a consensus realism, which meant forcing concessions from both the Academy and the painters perceived as leftists. By making academic models conform to new molds and progressive tendencies conform to traditional ones, the administration succeeded in establishing what we may call an "official realism."[2]

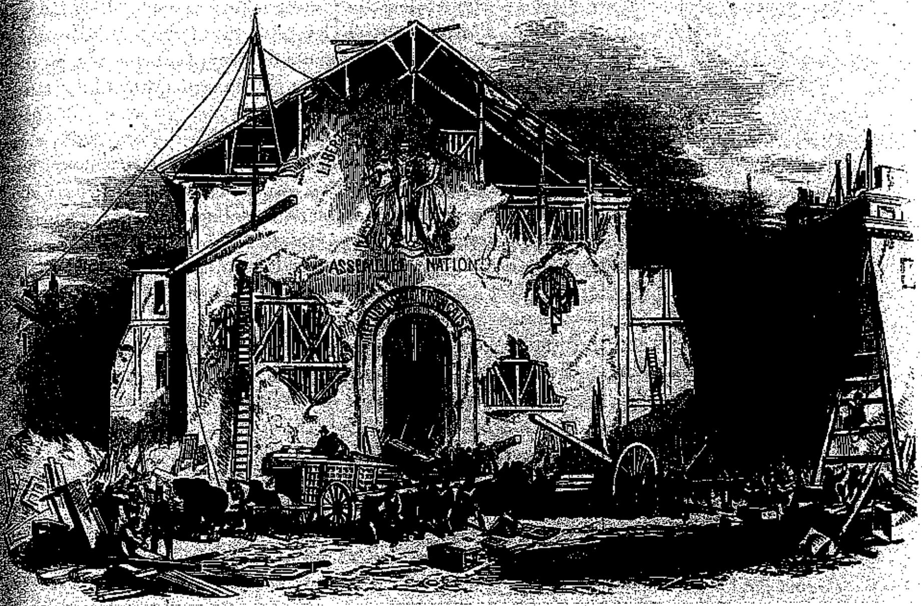
It will become apparent that we must clear the air of stereotypical views of the Second Empire government as an adventurous band of bumblers in the cultural realm. We owe such views largely to conservative scholars unwilling to admit governmental influence in the rise, spread, and success of an avant-garde. Yet thinkers on the Left have also deprecated the imperial regime's involvement in the Beaux-Arts as stupid and ineffectual. Neither Left nor Right has yet understood that the Second Empire comprised a number of creative conservatives who were supremely pragmatic, flexible, and ingenious in dealing with the visual arts, and who left a lasting

imprint. We may not like their methods or the results, but to dismiss their role is to distort historical circumstances. Hardheaded types like the comte de Morny, the duc de Persigny, the comte de Nieuwerkerke, Auguste Romieu, Frédéric de Mercey, and even the emperor himself took active roles in producing an artistic consensus integral to the ideological aspirations of the Second Empire. No artist then working could have avoided the impact of their stewardship.[3]

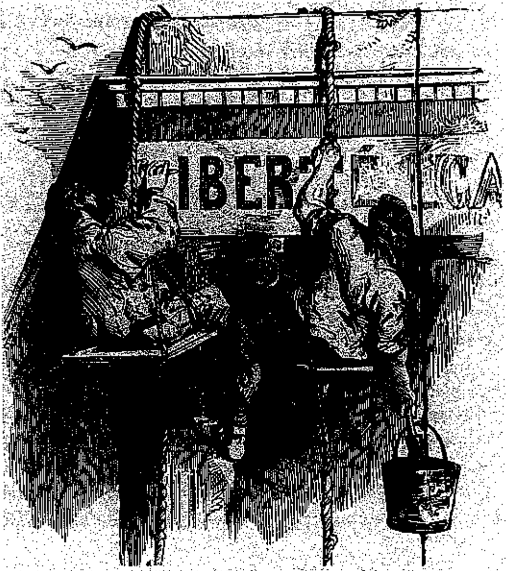
It should not seem surprising that the Second Empire preferred realism. Critics and artists had already begun to regard the alternatives, romanticism and classicism, as old-fashioned. While they persisted under various eclectic guises, their respective leaders, Delacroix and Ingres, were no longer the favorites of the dominant class.[4] At the same time, these two painters were tainted by their identification with the Legitimist and Orleanist parties now antagonistic to the new government. Although both were given pride of place at the Exposition Universelle of 1855 with their own retrospective exhibitions, this honor had more to do with their historical role and international reputations than with their appeal to contemporary taste. If Louis-Napoléon's party could not tolerate for long the early radicalism of Courbet and Millet, the Bonapartists at least respected their talents and encouraged them under certain conditions. The positivist, scientific, and industrialist proclivities of the regime further disposed it to a sympathetic view of innovative realist forms, including photography, the genre-like pictures of the Neo-Greeks, Ernest Meissonier's paintings, and the animal scenes of Rosa Bonheur and Constant Troyon.[5] Above all, since the emperor's professed aim was to communicate with a broad constituency, he needed a direct form of visual communication. Salon pictures of his civil and military exploits were frequently lithographed and engraved for distribution in the provinces, and government placards incorporated illustrations done in the official realist style.[6]

Certainly, this style was not formulated in a "smoke-filled room," nor did it spring forth fully fashioned from the head of Napoléon III. Uppermost in the government's agenda was the purging of the fearful 1848 Republic and the mania for neutralizing the forces behind it (figs. 8.1–8.2). The administration began to define its cultural program, with typical pragmatism, by its practice. Already by the mid-1850s the administration had developed a fairly coherent art policy, which it invoked for overtly propagandistic themes, such as the Crimean War, and major civil events, such as the birth of the prince imperial and the emperor's visits to the flood victims of 1856. Being clearer at first about what it did not want than about what it wanted, the regime expressed this policy in essentially negative terms, but by 1863 it could declare its intentions programmatically.

An intensive campaign to create this realist style was launched during the period between the coup d'état and the Exposition Universelle of 1855 to demonstrate a cultural equivalent to the industrial and agricultural progress of the regime.[7] As soon as the Great Exhibition of London ended in



8.1 *Taking Down the House of the National Assembly*, wood engraving from *Illustrated London News*, 3 January 1852.



8.2 *Removal of the Inscription "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité,"* wood engraving from *Illustrated London News* 17 January 1852.

1851, the government of Louis-Napoléon projected one on a similar scale and planned to add to it a vast display of works of art, a category absent from its predecessor.[8] France's industrial and manufacturing success at the Crystal Palace already was seen as a test of strength against the manufacturing prowess of Great Britain.[9] For the 1855 exposition, which opened on May 15 at the new Palais des Champs-Elysées, the organizers nearly doubled the number of firms exhibiting. The French government, however, was not content with only taking a leadership role in the global economy with its luxury goods and decorative arts but intended to display the full range of its cultural supremacy as well. All the organizers of the 1855 World's Fair proclaimed this innovation in the international exposition and thus attested to the government's desire to see itself glorified through the fine arts as much as through its industrial products.[10] It was clear that Napoléon III hoped to demonstrate in an international arena that he had not only resolved the economic and social crisis attributed to the 1848 revolution but that he had unleashed the creative energies of the entire nation.

Haussmannizing Paris

A secondary interest further related the two categories, as defined by Mercey: "The exposure of our *chefs d'ateliers*, decorators, and industrial artists to the outstanding art productions of each people should incite their imagination, enlighten their taste, stimulate their intelligent activity, and impress their products with that character of originality and seal of nobility and high distinction which doubles their value and glorifies a nation."[11] Mercey had in mind the immense public works projects of demolition and

8.3 *Demolitions for the Rue de Rennes*, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 8 February 1868.

8.4 Charles de Marville, *Rue de ...re (partie de la rue Madame)*, ...umen, ca. 1865. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

reconstruction then underway that would eventually transform the space and visuality of Paris (fig. 8.3).

Under the direction of Georges-Eugène Haussmann, appointed prefect of the Seine on 24 June 1853, the government embarked on a massive program of public works ostensibly to stimulate the French economy—at once providing immediate jobs for thousands of unemployed in town and country—and to improve municipal sanitation and water distribution and create a transportation and market infrastructure capable of sustained growth. The formation of a brand-new network of broad avenues and streets and radiating hubs aimed at facilitating the flow and exchange of goods through the civic center and from one end to the other conformable with the new market forces—a scheme that emerged in the early summer of 1853 when Napoléon III handed Haussmann his legendary plan for modern Paris.[12]

Haussmann's urban renewal, like every other policy of the Second Empire, was dictated in large part by the trauma of the revolutions of 1848. All the principal actors in the redevelopment of Paris, from the emperor on down, lived in terror of a recurrence of social disorder fomented by "Reds"—socialists and radical bourgeois republicans. The concentration of the insurgent working classes in the central and eastern districts of Paris facilitated the construction of the barricade system that exploited the narrow, winding, densely crowded streets of Old Paris (fig. 8.4). Haussmann's memoirs attest to his bitter loathing of the 1848 revolution and the Second Republic—"this so-called regime of liberty"—and all workers and bourgeois prone to "rouge" sympathies. In his *Mémoires*, he boasted of the effects of the completion of the north-south axial boulevard de Sébastopol (inaugurated with great fanfare in April 1858) on the traditional zone of barricades in the *quartier* of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers:

> It meant the gutting of Old Paris, the *quartier* of uprisings, barricades, by a broad central thoroughfare, piercing piece by piece this almost impossible maze, joined by transverse streets, whose continuation had to complete the work thus begun. The subsequent completion of the rue de Turbigo made the rue Transnonain disappear from the map of Paris![13]

This reference to the elimination of a street made infamous by Daumier and long since

associated with insurrection and brutal repression underscores the [illegible] guised politicization of Parisian space. The secretary-general of the pre[illegible] Charles Merruau, discussing the opening of the new rue Réamur, made an almost identical declaration, adding that hacking through this area would "foil the old habits of the entrepreneurs of popular agitation."[14] Although Haussmann denied that the practice of making breaches in working-class quarters was his main priority, it is noteworthy that he did nothing to prevent the spread of new slums in the outer eastern ring of the city and [illegible] behind the new structures in the center. He considered himself the urban démolisseur, the demolition expert who blasted his way through the heart of the old medieval neighborhoods to rout out the last remaining strongholds of the Reds. His violent *percements* (literally "piercings") through the old centers of revolutionary activity constituted a form of revenge on the enemies of law and order. At the same time, the government further justified its urban renewal with another powerful counterrevolutionary argument: the creation of long and broad corridors would permit rapid deployment of the troops and artillery in the case of future insurrection.

All the altruistic goals repeated ad infinitum—about clearing slums, penetrating the congested quarters for more ventilation and light, improving the water supply, and ridding the city of its perennial stench by creating proper drainage through a new network of sewers—overlap with the aim of isolating "undesirable" from "desirable" neighborhoods. For Haussmann urban hygiene included cleansing the dangerous quarters of human pests, and though the cholera epidemic of 1849 provided an added incentive to purify the city of its contaminants, it hardly went unnoticed that the disease mainly struck in the poorer districts.[15] His personal repugnance for squalor and disorder, his mania for system and uniformity converged with the imperial mandate to restore "the tranquility of Paris."[16] Merruau, asserting that Louis-Napoléon's coup of 1851 enjoyed a more favorable outcome than the revolution of 1848, happily seconded Haussmann:

> No longer did bands of insurgents roam the streets but squads of masons, carpenters, and artisans of every type ran to their projects; if paving stones were pulled up it was not to build barricades but to install water and gas lines beneath the street; houses were no longer threatened by cannon or fire but by the rich indemnity of expropriation. . . .[17]

The new Paris envisioned by Haussmann would serve as a diversionary spectacle focused visually and functionally on monumental structures and sculptures that served as termini for the broad axial thoroughfares. The spectacle of a rebuilt Paris was meant to be beheld by spectators who would be duly awed and enchanted on the outside, and not troubled by agitators boring from within. The bourgeoisie traded off democratic institutions for safety and security; the broad open vistas and regimented structures restored their confidence by providing the illusion of panoptical control

over potential mutineers. Marx, exonerating the Communards from torching buildings in their retreat from the Versaillais, claimed that it was "less the vandalism of Haussmann, razing historic Paris to make place for the Paris of the sightseer!"[18] Haussmann's architects and decorators teamed up to deliver the goods: Charles Garnier's Opéra at the end of the avenue de l'Opéra dazzled by its opulence; the domed church of Saint-Augustin occupied the conspicuous site at the crossing of the boulevard Malesherbes and avenue de Friedland; and the northern façade of the new Tribunal de Commerce on the Cité was aligned with the boulevard de Sébastopol (figs. 8.5–6). Not only was an immense quantity of new buildings and housing erected, but the taste for luxurious ornament and decoration marked their

8.5 *Demolitions for the Avenue de l'Opéra*, photograph, ca. 1858–1860. Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Paris.

8.6 *Perspective from the Avenue de l'Opéra*, photograph, ca. late 1860s.

exteriors and interiors, especially in the more affluent sectors of the city. Public places like cafés, theaters, and concert halls jammed their interiors with paintings and gilt, and artists and decorators suddenly were in demand as never before. The government's ambition to shape Paris into the epitome of nineteenth-century urban civilization required the artists' cooperation to produce examples suitable to both its domestic and global reach.

The Second Empire's commercial rivalry with Great Britain led to an increased awareness of the relationship between the fine arts and the industrial arts. It was not sufficient to produce in large quantities, manufacturers and artisans had to produce good designs to compete in the global market. The government respected the arguments of those who claimed that the work of the nation's fine artists served as a role model in a sort of trickle-down cultural formulation. To this end the titular head of the Second Empire's art machine, Comte Nieuwerkerke, tightened Salon regulations and counseled juries to toughen entry standards.[20] Nieuwerkerke was also appointed president of the jury for admissions, and in addition to the usual number of loyal artists and museum officials chosen by the administration, key members of the imperial commission organizing the exhibition—including Prince Jérôme Napoléon, Achille Fould, the comte de Morny, and Baroche—served on this jury. All were powerful members of the emperor's court and instrumental in the attempt at cultural hegemony. That they held some clear idea about what they wanted is demonstrated in the case of young Jules Breton when he brought his *Gleaners* and two other pictures to the barracks provisionally constructed to receive incoming entries for the World's Fair. Alfred Arago, inspector-general of Beaux-Arts and member of the awards committee, spotted them and singled them out for praise: "You will have success, much success!" Later, Breton's guardian friend at the Louvre told him that the jury had been completely won over by his *Gleaners*.[21]

Before analyzing the specifically propagandist use of the visual arts, however, I would like to review in general the Second Empire's exploitation of the media. At the outset of his career, Louis-Napoléon had to seek his allies among opponents of the Orléanist monarchy and outside the domain of conventional party politics. He had to appeal to the masses.[22] Even after his landslide victory in December 1848, and the plebiscite that acclaimed his coup d'état in 1851, he still did not consider his task complete. It was not enough to have the peasantry's support: he wanted to attach himself to the upper classes while yet satisfying "the interests of the most numerous classes." He actually set out to forge a new ruling class from a broad constituency and to indoctrinate a younger generation to replace those who had been "perverted by the revolution of 1848."[23]

Despite his firm hold on France through his army and police, the fear of a republican insurrection and the anxieties of his inexperienced cabinet created a climate of insecurity, which in retrospect appears at odds with the actual state of affairs. His own fears of illegitimacy—both personal

and political—contributed to this insecurity. Obsessed with dynastic succession, the Second Empire aimed much of its cultural propaganda toward identification with the Holy Roman Empire. The need to establish an aura of legitimacy predisposed Louis-Napoléon and his staff to seek control over as many avenues of intellectual and cultural life as possible. The role assigned to propaganda by the regime was fundamental, and the emperor proved to be an able manipulator of public opinion.

He and his administrators regulated the press by direct and indirect pressures until almost the very end of the regime. A directive for the elections of 5 April 1869 shows the degree of governmental influence with respect to the so-called independent paper *Le Petit Journal*, aimed primarily at the working classes and peasantry. The directive noted that while the paper was nonpolitical it had a distribution of 250,000 copies. Millaud, its director,

> in general agreement with our press arrangements, has begun to publish a certain number of informal portraits of the ministers, principal members of the majority. . . . These portraits, very skillfully done, skirt the political question without directly touching upon it. This journal is also preparing the publication of a military novel about the First Empire, conceived in order to counterbalance the political novels of the opposition directed against the army. This novel . . . originates from the Cabinet of the Emperor.

The lithographs of individual government candidates were to be distributed at the cheapest cost by an organized cadre of image peddlers. Finally, "none of the methods of popular propaganda . . . will be neglected. . . ." While this was written near the end of the regime, the report from the prefect of the police to the future emperor in October 1852 essentially states the same thing and in a more urgent tone.[24]

Journalists were hired, papers secretly subsidized, brochures published, speeches written—all to influence public opinion and measure public reaction to government policy. The government accomplished this with the "carrot and stick" approach: it used repression and suppression, cajolery, and bribery—always proceeding pragmatically rather than emotionally or vindictively. While it made effective use of political cartoons for posters in election campaigns, the government suppressed opposition cartoonists like Daumier and forced them to shift from commentary on current political events to social satire. Not coincidentally, Daumier turned increasingly to painting after 1852.

But not before he produced one of his most brilliant character profiles, the memorable parody of the then prince-president known as *Ratapoil*. Produced both as a gnarly statuette and a caricatured takeoff in a series of lithographs starting from 1850, Ratapoil (literally "rat's hair") acts out the role of *agent provocateur* for the Society of Tenth December—Louis-Napoléon's dedicated followers organized to discredit his critics and to

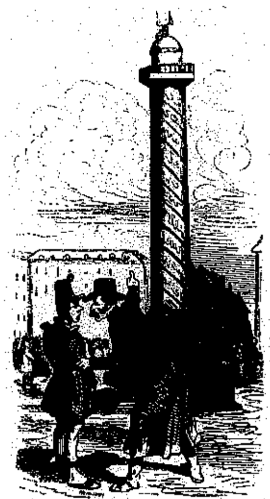
prepare the people for his impending coup (fig. 8.7). It is the bony Ratapoil who cheers the president on his whistle-stop forays into the countryside, whispers sly suggestions to farmers, turns political meetings of opposition leaders into free-for-alls, and propagandizes against republican ideals (figs. 8.8–9). Ratapoil, however—contrary to what many historians have asserted—is no freely translated satire but derives from the prince-president's actual contemporary persona, and was thus an image Daumier shared with other contemporary graphic artists (figs. 8.10–11). One contemporary illustration shows a Bonapartist in an identical guise pointing to the statue atop the Vendôme Column while attempting to convince his audience that Louis-Napoléon is the rightful heir of his uncle (fig. 8.12). It is to Daumier's credit that he managed to seize Louis-Napoléon's salient features—broad moustache (if not yet a goatee), skewed top hat, cane, and lumpy frock coat—while simultaneously converting his persona into a terrifying Robert-Macaire-like swindler and sinister agent of empire.[25]

In addition to his hired ruffians, Louis-Napoléon especially depended on the press to convert the influential, the articulate, the propertied, and the intellectual communities through brochures and articles in daily and weekly political and literary journals.[26] The journals were indispensable for defining the consensus he desired. The regime reorganized the *Moniteur universel*, the official organ, and by reducing its subscription rate substantially increased its circulation and made it a rival of several popular journals. Naturally, the *Moniteur*'s official position limited it as a propaganda weapon, but it was well suited to cultivating the intellectual elite,

8.7 Honoré Daumier, *Ratapoil*, bronze, ca. 1850–1851. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

8.8 Honoré Daumier, *"Fair Lady, Will You Accept My Arm?"* lithograph, 1851.

8.9 Honoré Daumier, *New Toy Launched by Ratapoil*, lithograph, 1851.



8.10 Popular caricature of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte

8.11 Popular caricature of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte

8.12 Popular caricature of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte

so the new editors enlarged its literature and criticism sections and employed outstanding writers like Gautier, Champfleury, Feuillet, Houssaye and Sainte-Beuve. Through one means or another the government gained control of *Le Pays*, *Le Constitutionnel*, and *La Patrie*, which could shape public opinion more directly.[27] Although differing in form and content, they often shared the same pro-Bonapartist personnel. But Napoléon III was not content with a devoted press; he wanted to create a diversity of opinion within a consensus of approval. His remarkable formula provided for an opposition press, where differences in opinion were neither too strident nor too radical. During the period 1850–1851, when the pro-Bonapartist *Constitutionnel* was one of the three largest papers in circulation, the other two, the so-called opposition papers *Le Siècle* and *La Presse*, created the illusion of a democratic press. The comte de Morny (the emperor's half brother and indefatigable champion of the Bonapartist cause) advised several of his friends among the key shareholders of *Le Siècle* about the advantages of government cooperation. Gradually, the tone of *Le Siècle* became moderate and constitutional, as it avoided all direct attacks on the government. It expressed safe, liberal positions, such as praise for the 1789 revolution, rejection of aristocratic pretensions, demands for providing for the needy poor, and (after 1859) anticlericalism. In the end, the government looked upon the paper as its own "republican" voice.[28]

Like the persuasive Morny, who constantly attracted talent to the Bonapartist party, Prince Napoléon actively sought liberal cooperation for the government's projects. He was close to republicans and leftists like Leroux, Reynaud, Lammenais, and even Proudhon, who later felt the need to defend his periodic visits to the prince's residence at the Palais Royal. As deputy from Corsica, Prince Napoléon asked for clemency for the workers arrested after the June Days, and later he even criticized the coup d'état. Nevertheless, he became quickly reconciled to the empire and held a number of key administrative offices, including minister of Algeria and the colonies, member of the Council of State, and president of the Imperial Commission for the Exposition of 1855. The emperor used him as his liaison with the opposition, and through Prince Napoléon's network and friendships many writers of the Left were snared into writing pamphlets for the government.[29]

It is probably hard for us today to appreciate the importance of the pamphlet in indoctrination, but in an age when the main forum of communication was the printed word, it was a favorite weapon in the propaganda arsenal. Pamphleteers, usually recruited from the journalists, formed a major part of the government's "kept band"[30] of writers. Their activities often overlapped with the arts, as in the case of Romieu, the director of Beaux-Arts following the coup d'état, and Edmond About, a popular art critic and author. The son of a general under the First Empire, Romieu devoted his journalistic and literary abilities to attacking the republicans of 1848 and ingratiated himself with Louis-Napoléon. In 1850 he wrote *L'Ère des Césars*, and the following year he published the notorious *Spectre rouge de 1852*, both of which prepared the public psychologically for the coup d'état. The government subsidized both brochures and awarded him the directorship in 1852. About was a fervent Bonapartist attached to the intellectual circles around Achille Fould, Princess Mathilde, and Prince Jérôme Napoléon. He was one of the select French delegation participating in the ceremony for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Through contact with these influential friends, he meddled with politics from 1857 to 1865 and wrote several pamphlets and articles for the *Opinion nationale* in support of the government's policies. One of the most important of these was *The Roman Question*, first serialized in the *Moniteur* and then commissioned as a pamphlet by the emperor himself. Napoléon III, Prince Napoléon, and Morny read the proofs, while Fould and Morny wrote key sections.[31]

Napoléon III's strategic ploys derived from his recognition of the media's success in molding biases, opinions, and stereotypes. Minister of the Interior Persigny expressed the official attitude in 1852: "The evil doctrines spread through the country by anarchic works, and the moral disorder and crimes which are the consequences, call for an energetic intervention on the part of the administration in favor of good social principles. This intervention can best be accomplished by means of publications and pamphlets encouraged and, if need be, financed by the administration."[32] The same year he circulated a letter to the prefects in connection with local elections, emphasizing the importance of undermining the old political foundations and parties and of creating a new party.[33] The cultural analogy to the new party was a fresh style—differing from the traditional forms identified with previous regimes—or at least some revitalization of the older styles, in line with the government's bolder approach to foreign and domestic affairs.

The extortionate plans of the government were not limited to control of the press but extended to the whole of literary production. This astonishing effort was masterminded by no less a personality than Sainte-Beuve. Like Mérimée, he welcomed the coup d'état and energetically supported the Second Empire. While Hugo, his close friend from the romantic movement, went into exile, Sainte-Beuve trafficked with his enemies. The June insurrection unnerved him, and he believed that Louis-Napoléon was the only one who could tame the "ferocious beast." In 1852 he accepted the Légion d'Honneur, which he had twice refused under Louis-Philippe. After the coup he appealed to constitutional monarchists not to sulk but to join the emperor, and he transferred his own popular *Lundi* articles to *Le Moniteur*.

Among the papers discovered at the Tuileries after the debacle was an astonishing memorandum dated 31 March 1856, which Sainte-Beuve submitted to Mocquard, the emperor's confidential secretary.[34] The memorandum was certainly written in response to a request for a systematic strategy from an administration in the process of cultivating a stable of writers

through paternalistic support. Sainte-Beuve advised the emperor to ignore well-known professors and academicians but to aim at the rank and file—what he termed the *presse littéraire*—and treat them as if they were manual workers. He suggested three ways of winning over the general mass of authors: (1) provide relief for indigent writers and raise their self-esteem and gain their loyalty by addressing them in the name of the emperor; (2) establish an organization to award an annual prize for appropriate subjects designated by an imperial commission; (3) provide lodgings at the Louvre for representatives of the new literature and maintain direct links with them through the emperor's office or minister of state. Sainte-Beuve warned against communicating through the Ministry of Public Instruction, which was inevitably wedded to traditional methods. He anticipated administrative concern about democratizing the writers' corps and encouraging the rise of a literary "proletariat," but he emphasized the government's power and secret intelligence "to elevate and organize it."[35] Under previous regimes, writers were motivated by simple greed, and the need to be heard and singled out from the crowd encouraged production of material antagonistic to the public authority. As a result, administrative officials developed the attitude that it was impossible to regulate this type of production. Yet nothing was easier, according to Sainte-Beuve, than to influence it decisively through government resources. Sainte-Beuve stressed the advantages of an imperial prize for both poetry and prose, awarded for "national subjects, actual, neither too curious nor too erudite, but conforming to the life and instincts of modern society."[36]

Sainte-Beuve suggested that the organization to award these prizes be called the Académie du Suffrage Universel, a term intended to confute opponents. His aim, consistent with Napoleonic thought, was "to coordinate . . . literature with the entire institutional ensemble of the Empire, and to insure that it was not left to its own resources or to chance." This encouragement would stimulate a Second Empire style capable of serving warning to entrenched academic bodies. Their institutional constraints and rigidities disposed them to routine and casual public involvement; they would age quickly in the face of progress promoted from above and would eventually be forced to toe the line.

This remarkable document attests to the grandiose schemes of the Second Empire to establish a national style in the arts and letters. Furthermore, the methods for accomplishing this in literature are consistent with those used to subjugate the press. Sainte-Beuve's memorandum points to a consensus based on national themes and grounded in reality, and rejects both the monarchical-minded academies and avant-garde fantasies. Above all, he wanted a realist style for the government and planned to achieve it by promoting an alternative to already existing tendencies, absorbing rival organizations, and neutralizing the potential opposition.[37]

The pattern of cultural hegemony that evolved at this time also manifested itself in the realm of popular culture. For example, the adminis-

tration deemed it necessary to suppress the public singing of what were seen as subversive songs, such as the *Marseillaise* and *Ça ira*. At the same time, it distributed its own tunes like *Le Peuple français à Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte* and *Le Neveu de son oncle* ("Qu'il parle haut à tous les rouges! / D'un mot, qu'il fass' fermer leurs bouges!"). Songs about the first Napoléon were now revived, including the popular *Le Petit caporal* and old favorites by Béranger.[38] The government also censored drama. Thus the ministry blocked an opera about the Fronde scheduled for the Académie de Musique in December 1852 because of its expressions of revolt. It regarded as potentially dangerous any theme that was based on an uprising and used the phrase "aux armes!" Another play at the Opéra-Comique, Sardou's *Capitaine Henriot*, was allowed to proceed after initial reservations had been expressed. Permission had to be granted at the topmost layer of the bureaucracy, which decided that the hero, Henri IV, was less important symbolically for having founded the Bourbon dynasty than for recalling the glorious "heritage of the throne" now occupied by the emperor.[39] A final example was a presentation of twenty-five tableaux summing up the history of France at the Théâtre de la Porte Saint Martin. Here the administration offered its approval on the condition that the director agreed to major revisions. Its stable of writers created a new ending, which the director, over the head of the original author, accepted. The government censors demanded either that the play terminate before the revolution or that the final tableaux be devoted to Napoléon I. The official team systematically eliminated tableaux it found objectionable and then supplied the finale showing *Napoléon I Distributing the Eagles on the Champs-de-Mars*. The commission concluded that the work had been drastically altered in accordance with imperial "conventions," and congratulated the director for his foresight in granting the presentation "a larger and broader interpretation, and a more French character."[40]

The Government Influence in the Beaux-Arts

No one would deny the Second Empire's assertion of command in the realm of the visual arts.[41] But the main proposition here concerns the government's stylistic preference, and a review of the extent and character of this control should help in clarifying that preference. The administration wanted to indoctrinate a new generation of artists; already, in 1853, the minister of public instruction founded a commission to adopt standards for teaching drawing in the *lycées*. The famous report, published in the *Moniteur* early in 1854, was written by Félix Ravaisson, a popular philosopher at the Court of the Second Empire. Enjoying the collaboration of Delacroix and Meissonier, Ravaisson systematically reviewed all the currently employed pedagogic methods and then advised a straightforward empirical approach that could serve as the basis for both the fine and the applied arts. The earliest lessons would stress geometric solids, parts of the human head,

and plants. The report recommended that photographs be used as much as possible for studying the human figure and the cast.[42]

The major institutional vehicle of communication in the arts remained the government-sponsored Salon exhibition, the means by which artistic output was screened and rewarded. It was intimately associated with the press, since it represented a major cultural event regularly reviewed in the newspapers. Often the reviews—which ran serially—were assembled into a pamphlet and sold on the open market. Most of the art critics were talented writers who belonged to that amorphous *presse littéraire* described by Sainte-Beuve. Those who held government jobs or otherwise enjoyed close connections with the regime—such as Houssaye, who wrote generously about the court in *L'Artiste*—included Gautier, About, Chesneau, and Saint-Victor.[43]

By making the Salon from 1850 to 1863 biennial (with the exception of 1853) the government reduced the opportunities of artists by one half. Although the administration allowed artists to elect the jury in 1850, following the coup d'état it began to appropriate this function for itself: in 1852 it appointed half of the jury members, and for the Exposition Universelle of 1855 it named the entire panel. Succeeding juries remained entirely official, with Nieuwerkerke, then director-general of museums, named in perpetuity as ex-officio president. Trying to enlist the support of the younger generation, the administration announced in 1853 that the Medal of Honor, valued at 4,000 francs, would be designated specifically for the encouragement of young talent and exclusive of academicians and members of the Légion d'Honneur.[44]

In 1852 Nieuwerkerke tightened up the regulations by limiting each artist to three admitted works, an innovation he justified at the awards ceremony in July: "The exhibitions held as they are, gratuitously in one of the palaces of the State . . . confer in themselves a fundamental reward upon those admitted to them." Artists "should therefore be received there by one of their most complete works and not by sketches or *ébauches* unworthy of display in a great competition opened by the State." The rule governing exemptions was now modified as well; those who previously won a medal (and heretofore exempt from jury scrutiny) could still be rejected if their work proved unacceptable (almost certainly written with Courbet in mind). The government's direct intervention in the creative process aimed at encouraging its brand of high quality for the Exposition Universelle of 1855. In 1855 the emperor founded a triennial prize of 20,000 francs (made biennial in 1859) to be awarded "to the work best capable of honoring or serving the State."[45]

Speeches at the awards ceremonies following the coup d'état further reveal the intentions of the administration. Nieuwerkerke told his audience on 20 July 1852 that the government had assumed responsibility for rewarding artists "in the name of the country," and for "discouraging false vocations and false talents who obstruct all the avenues open to art." Thus

the opportunity to enter the artistic profession would henceforth be decided by Nieuwerkerke, Baroche, Persigny, Maupas, Morny, Fould, and Prince Napoléon—none of whom, with the possible exception of Nieuwerkerke—could be considered qualified by training and accomplishments to do so.[46]

Persigny took the rostrum after Nieuwerkerke and apologized for the prince-president's absence: Louis-Napoléon had attended an industrial exhibition at Strasbourg and was unavoidably detained. Both events, however, attested to the chief's desire to encourage all activities contributing to the glory and grandeur of the country. As Persigny declared: "If a government, which owes its origin and even its principle to the poetic sentiments of the masses, disdains the cult of the arts for the cult of material things, it will depreciate the very conditions of its existence and fail to recognize the genius of its country." Persigny then affirmed Louis-Napoléon's faith in the union of art and industry and claimed that art had nothing to fear from the growing commercial and industrial expansion of modern civilization. Above all, the power of the government rested on "popular faith" and was independent of "party intrigues" and "factions." When Nieuwerkerke reclaimed the floor, he addressed himself to the question of the jury and affirmed Persigny's remarks. He justified the growing dependence on government appointees for jury duty as a necessity to mediate school rivalries and factions and to overcome the complacencies of confraternity whose entrenched routine vitiated progressive tendencies. Here is the language and approach of Sainte-Beuve's memorandum now transposed to the realm of the fine arts.[47]

The following year Nieuwerkerke announced profound improvement in the quality of work submitted to the Salon and advised the jury to be even more severe than before. Napoléon III's decree of 22 June 1853, establishing the Exposition Universelle of 1855, specifically declared that "perfections in industry are intimately tied to those in the fine arts," and it was clear that the severe regulations were designed to display the government's taste before rival nations. This exhibition was placed under the sponsorship of Prince Napoléon, whose commission included Baroche, now president of the Conseil d'Etat; Jean Dollfus, textile magnate; Le Play, engineer-in-chief of mines; Morny (who was everywhere at once and served on all major juries); Emile Péreire, president of the Conseil d'Administration du Chemin de Fer du Midi; Regnault, administrator of the Imperial Manufactures at Sèvres; Schneider, head of the Le Creusot ironworks; Seillière, banker; Delacroix; and Ingres—fervent Bonapartists all, whose achievements were the backdrop for the technical and artistic display of France at the World's Fair.[48]

At the awards ceremony on 27 July 1853, Achille Fould, minister of state, referring to preparations for the coming Haussmannization, compared the Age of the Second Empire with previous epochs of superior cultural renovation and innovation: the century of Pericles, the century

of Léon X, the centuries of Augustus and of Louis XIV. Although the honor of having a sovereign's name attached to an epoch is rare, Fould dared to imagine what the present epoch would be called in the distant future. He praised the overall improvement in the exhibition, and especially commended the artists for their "tangible progress in the technical side of art, in material imitation." Although he expressed regret that the younger generation did not pursue "le beau idéal" with the same ardor that it brought "to the study of reality," he observed that the administration applauded the results and wanted to do justice to the remarkable productions. Nevertheless, he hoped to see, following the example of the Old Masters, conciliation of the ideal and reality and the union of the Beautiful "with the intelligent study of forms and scenes which the spectacle of nature presents to the eyes." (Fould most certainly had in mind a realism tempered by the ideal, in opposition to the sordid and "ugly" examples of Courbet and Millet.) Next, Fould called attention to the government's extensive patronage of the arts; the vast constructions and rebuilding projects about to transform Paris into a modern metropolis would require an immense army of specialists to carry out the ornamentation and decoration. The government would look to the chiefs of the French school for guidance, but, in addition, "more than one honorable place is reserved for the modest talent who, under the leadership of a sure guide, awaits the proper moment to jump to the first rank." Fould ended by reminding his audience of the coming World's Fair and the need to surpass foreign rivals.[49]

The breakdown of the prizes for that year indicated a great success for the realists and the Barbizon school: of the three Medals of the First Class, one went to Charles-François Daubigny, landscapist; of the six of the Second Class, four were for genre painters, including Gustave Brion and Millet; of the twelve winners in the Third Class category, all but two were genre and landscape painters, including Hamon, Verlat, and a female still-life artist, Octavie Paigné.

The distribution of awards in 1855 took place amid dazzling pomp; nearly forty thousand people assembled in the nave of the Palais de l'Industrie, which was brilliantly adapted by Le Play for the ceremony. Prince Napoléon opened the festivities by linking the spectacle at home with the stunning victories of the French abroad in the Crimea. Commenting on the generous number of awards, he announced that the emperor had proved again that in contemporary France "the only true nobility are the soldiers and workers who distinguish themselves." The prince emphasized the benefits of industrial expansion and the promotion of culture in emancipating society from savagery and drudgery. The World's Fair embodied the emperor's most cherished dreams in demonstrating this progress, displaying before all the nations French perfection in the modern methods and instruments of labor. Agriculture especially received the emperor's generous solicitude, and stood out for its mechanical advances and

potential to emancipate the field worker and the farmer from the "brutal part" of rural labor.

The emperor, flushed with the success of his domestic projects and foreign policy, spoke next. He declared his pacific intentions, emphasizing that French factories, like French art, arts of war and arts of peace, were forged alike for the benefit of all the world. He capped the ceremonies by congratulating Le Play, the commissioner-general who stepped in at a late date to salvage the initially poorly managed exhibition, and whose participation in the final arrangements underlined the regime's intentions to organize a gigantic spectacle.[50] The Exposition Universelle of 1855 constituted a symbolic turning point in the history of Western nations, with Napoléon III using it as a diverting spectacle behind which to carry out a systematic effort at domestic and foreign domination.

The bestowing of awards that year was complicated by the presence of a large body of foreign artists who had to be respected, as well as by the Grand Old Men like Ingres and Delacroix, who carried the banner of tradition for the nation and whose international reputations secured for the Fine Arts section of the Universal Exposition a distinguished cachet. But Meissonier won one of the Grand Medals of Honor; Rosa Bonheur, Troyon, Corot, and Français won Medals of the First Class; Isidore Pils, Verlat, and Alfred Stevens were among the Second Class winners; and in the Third Class were Alexandre Antigna, Bonhommé, Breton, Karl Bodmer, Daubigny, Luminais, Octave Tassaert, and Félix Ziem. Realists of other countries—including the English Millais, the American William Morris Hunt, and the Norwegian Tidemand—also did quite well.

Following the 1855 Exposition Universelle there was a loosening of Salon regulations; the limit on admissions was lifted and the government fell back on a more conservative line. At the awards ceremony in 1857 the main speaker was Fould, who applauded the "rising talents." Although expressing reservations about the younger generation pandering to "public taste," he applauded the fact that the preferred themes of art emanated from the contemporary world, crowned by the image of the emperor.[51] As in his previous speech, Fould fully accepted the realist approach but wanted it tempered or softened, in line with administrative ideals.[52]

By the 1860s, the administration had a clear view of what it needed, and began to prepare for the 1867 Exposition Universelle. Count Walewski had replaced Fould as minister of state, Fould's fall signaling a political turn as well.[53] In 1861 Walewski proclaimed that the government embodied the principle of "paternal authority," forever reconciling and protecting "tradition and invention, order and progress, discipline and originality." He commented that the crowds at the exhibition halted before new works—works that were not always irreproachable, mind you, but that revealed the spirit of innovation. This tendency was especially marked in the various landscape attempts: everywhere there was "perfection in all the genres of landscape; the young recruits march in step with seasoned veterans; women rival men

in study; and those who occupied the steps of the throne do not disdain descending into the muddy arena; so many efforts crowned with success and so many skilled practitioners—that I have felt it necessary to increase the number of medals."[54] Here we find not only a taste for Barbizon landscape and its derivatives, but also the intimation of a developing consensus.

Walewski electrified the audience when he mentioned the surprise inspection of the Salon Exhibition by the emperor and empress before it opened to the public. They had spent many hours examining works and complimenting and inquiring about those artists whom they singled out as budding geniuses. Clearly no ruler better understood or protected the arts; he not only purchased objects through official channels but also studied them at close hand and chose for himself. Once again, the conferring of awards proved favorable for all types of realists. Nieuwerkerke awarded the Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur to Jules Breton and Alexandre Antigna, while winners in the genre and landscape categories outnumbered history painters four to three. Pils earned the Medal of Honor; Breton won a *rappel* of the First Class Medal, while *rappels* of the Second Class Medal were awarded to Ange-Tissier, Brion, Courbet, Verlat, and Félix-Hippolyte Lanoue.

The year 1863 was a landmark in the definitive formulation of the government's visual regime and ideology: the renewal of the restriction on admissions, the inauguration of the Salon des Refusés, the reforms of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and the journalistic accounts all pointed to a coherent plan. Much of the regime's thinking on the question had been galvanized by the London exhibition of 1862, which demonstrated that the English had made immense progress in industrial design and now threatened France's lead in the luxury market with cheaper methods of production.[55] At the awards ceremony that year, Vaillant, an old soldier now occupying the post of Ministre de la Maison de l'Empereur et des Beaux-Arts, first gave the usual polite nod to the public taste and then endorsed enthusiastically the concept of originality. He advised all the artists who were willing to take risks for the sake of original ideas that they would find a receptive audience, because in the final analysis, "invention is one of the most precious qualities of art."[56] Vaillant also announced that the Salon would again be annual—a concession made to appease those who complained of the restriction on admissions, but now also a means to afford more frequent opportunities for fresh experiments.

Nieuwerkerke took the floor to clarify Vaillant's remarks. He observed that the administration of the Beaux-Arts was attached to the Maison de l'Empereur, bringing it directly under the aegis of Napoléon III. He boasted that one result of their new orientation was the Salon des Refusés, "an essentially liberal measure" carried out in favor of the wider community of artists and directly owing to the emperor's intervention. The superintendant declared that he was following the emperor's lead in addressing himself to everyone exhibiting, those who were listed in the official catalogue and

those displayed in the rooms set aside for the *refusés*. Next taking up the question of current trends, he began with the lament that the national art was moving away from "la grande peinture," but quickly added that this was nothing to get alarmed about. If, for example, the preferences of a few pushed them irresistibly to the study of landscape, their success should not cause undue anxiety over the future of high art in France. "Each epoch . . . yields to a unique movement, to an extremely dynamic pressure on minds and on taste. What is important is that in all of the directions pursued talented people attain the height of their endeavor." In short, realism was a *fait accompli* and contemporary artists should strive to achieve excellence within this general tendency. He declared himself open to original aptitudes and willing to grant the maximum liberty in the practice and direction of art, but in return artists had to work hard and flee the "à-peu-près" in all genres.[57]

Simultaneously with its attempt to demonstrate impartiality, the government stepped up pressure on the Academy.[58] The Academy was made to order for administrative purposes since it was a national institution. But the Academy had usurped many of its prerogatives and behaved in an autonomous and despotic fashion. Its reluctance to fall in line completely led to a tug-of-war with the administration that was especially striking in the early 1860s. This attack against the Academy was spearheaded by Nieuwerkerke, himself a member of that institution.[59] Hints of government pressure came through the architectural competitions for the Prix de Rome of 1860 and 1862, entitled respectively: "An Imperial Residence in the Town of Nice" and "A Palace for the Governor of Algeria, destined also for the Temporary Residence of the Sovereign"—both, incidentally, pointing to the expansionist and colonialist policies of the regime.[60]

The most dramatic episode in the conflict was the official decree of 13 November 1863 reforming the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.[61] Shocked critics likened it to a "coup d'état" in the cultural domain, and its government partisans proclaimed it the start of a new French Renaissance. Essentially, the decree represented a reaction against the influence of the Academy and the classicism it preached, and its ideological pronouncements invoked the language of the independents. Like the realists, the authors of the decree (mainly Viollet-le-Duc and Nieuwerkerke) challenged the authority of the Academy before the tribunal of sincerity and originality. At the same time, the reforms emphasized the need to unite art and industry, and introduced ateliers and modern workshop techniques into the Ecole's program. As Sainte-Beuve had recommended in regard to the literary establishment, the government moved in aggressively to revitalize a ready-made corporate body and make it more responsive to its ideological imperatives. The government now administered directly the pedagogical program both in Paris and in Rome through its unprecedented Conseil Supérieur d'Enseignement. It installed three of its favorite painters in the newly founded ateliers of the Ecole: Gérôme, Pils, and Cabanel.

The immediate effect of the reforms was to destabilize momentarily the academic system and to displace the Academy from its position as arbiter of French art. The critic Thoré noted early in 1863 that there existed in painting two opposing currents that extended in new terms the old struggle between classics and romantics, or, more generally, "between conservatives and innovators, tradition and originality."[62] The administration clearly had thrown its weight on the side of innovation, a code word for realism in 1863.

The reforms of 13 November exemplified the Second Empire's manipulation of the press. It marshaled its journalists, pamphleteers, and prominent supporters to publicize its position and discredit the Academy's defense. Writing for *La Presse*, Paul de Saint-Victor applauded the reforms and systematically denigrated the opposition.[63] Another ardent champion of the decree was the young art critic and author Ernest Chesneau, whose brochure, published in 1864, is still a key document in the controversy that reached as high as the Corps Législatif in January of the same year.[64] In the course of his arguments, Chesneau singled out two celebrated and vociferous opponents of the decree who he thought made strange bedfellows: the painter Ingres and the art critic Castagnary. The former was a disciple of David and guardian of the classical tradition, while the latter was a disciple of Courbet and supported the extreme realists. How ironic, Chesneau slyly commented, that they should find themselves on the same side of the fence on this issue. He derided both for their suspicions that romanticism had usurped the bureaucratic ideals and mocked Castagnary's reference to Courbet as the "glory of the French school," as well as his description of *Return from the Conference* (the anticlerical painting rejected from both the regular Salon and the Salon des Refusés) as "one of the immortal masterpieces by the artist."[65] By his seeming disdain for romanticism and his hostility to the partisans of extreme classicism and realism, Chesneau unequivocally articulated the ideology behind the reforms.

On 1 July 1863—four months before the November decree—Chesneau published an article in the *Revue des deux mondes* entitled "Le Réalisme et l'esprit français dans l'art."[66] It contended that contemporary realism was no more than a return to the French medieval tradition, which had been diverted from its natural course by the impact of the Italian Renaissance. Chesneau emphasized the importance of the miniatures and the early manuscript illustrations as authentic documents of the life of the period. Realism had remained the key aim of French taste through the centuries, Chesneau argued, and the contemporary movement could very well free art from the stultifying control of what he designated as the "philosophic mentality." This he defined as a celebration of "moral reality" over and against "material reality." At the same time, however, he warned modern realists against going to extremes.

Chesneau's conception of realism was generous compared to the view of most older critics, who fully condemned the doctrine. Nevertheless, he did not recommend the radical approach of Courbet but a materialism tempered by idealism. He took note of Planche's unrelieved critique of realism, and yet at the same time saw that the movement continued to attract new adherents and promised to absorb all the energies of the younger generation. Faced with this contradiction, Chesneau condemned as useless any attempt to attack realism in the name of "sane doctrines"—an outmoded cliché. Since the tide could not be turned, it was wiser to redirect the current by studying it at its source.

He subtitled his article "Les Frères Le Nain," and elsewhere referred to Champfleury's recent publication on the brothers, entitled "Les Peintres du réel sous Louis XIII." He paid homage to the patient research of Champfleury—one of the leaders of the realist movement[67]—but objected to his extravagant praise. His attempt to absolve the Le Nains of technical flaws set a poor example for the new school, which tended to disregard solid technique and reinforced the current decline in art instruction. Sound craftsmanship ultimately took precedence over the choice of theme. Chesneau agreed with Champfleury, however, that the Le Nains were significant because they sought "absolute sincerity," and in this they foreshadowed Chardin and Géricault. His stress on the essential quality of sincerity anticipates one of the leitmotifs of the decree of 13 November.

Chesneau elaborated on his idea of realism as historically essential in expressing the character of an epoch. The older artists furnished an authentic image of their times, but the present epoch would also be history one day: "Shall we therefore leave it to posterity to reveal ourselves, in the domain of art, our customs, costumes, our conventions, our sentiments and our ideas? What will our descendents make of our history if we do not trace our own development, and why should they do it if we are too ashamed to do it for ourselves?" And he lamented that David was unable to complete the *Oath of the Tennis Court* for the historical record; both he and his heir Géricault seized the initiative in painting in a style commensurate with the needs of modern society. Chesneau then called for the Second Empire's type of realism:

> People of the nineteenth century, how many subjects are in us, around us; how many plays, how many facts that entreat, that imperiously demand the brush of the painter, the chisel of the sculptor! Yet painters and sculptors turn aside hesitatingly, trembling, as if they feared ridicule before the reproduction of the beauties in modern life. Those who are master of their craft, who are endowed with an aesthetic sentiment, are afraid to compromise their established position and reputation by making fresh attempts; the others, those who would take the risk or who are taking it, are unable to place at the service of a vulgarity of imagination without parallel more than a capricious talent, one that occasionally and by surprise rises a little above the mediocre—but one never fully in control and master of itself![68]

Chesneau's plea to already established artists to experiment with realism and his attack on hard-core realists again testified to the consensus view of the regime and distinctly underscored the ideology of official realism.

This article's appearance in the conservative *Revue des deux mondes* is significant. The editors of this journal considered the revolution of 1848 a catastrophe and were very much relieved by the coup d'état.[69] Their critics in the interim attacked Courbet mercilessly. Once the danger of social revolution became remote, however, the publication assumed a more liberal tone. Its early bias against realism was reinforced by its politics, and it generally identified realist tendencies with democratic aspiration. It began to make concessions to the realist movement in the mid-fifties and early sixties, now identifying the growth of realism with a rising middle class motivated by practical concerns. Planche, for example, believed that the division of property led to a lowering of the taste for the ideal, since the bourgeoisie possessed neither sufficient leisure nor tradition for its appreciation. In any case, both Champfleury and Buchon published in the *Revue* during the mid-1850s, and conservatives like Montégut admitted that, despite its vulgarity, realism was valid as a reflection of its epoch.

The Second Empire's firm grasp of the ideological potential of realism was implied already in 1856 by a rare document written by Frédéric de Mercey, then director of Beaux-Arts, to Achille Fould, minister of state:

> Not many years have gone by since the Emperor Napoléon III was called to govern France, first as President, then as Emperor, and this short period has been distinguished by many memorable deeds and glorious events. It is for art, as for history, to consecrate its memory in a striking manner. Indeed, the artist may, through the means at his disposal, give an air of reality to the fact which narrative cannot achieve, and historical painting alone may preserve the image of contemporary personages in a precise and certain manner, show them to us actively engaged, indicate the disposition of the locales, the exact style of their clothes, reproduce, in short, the physiognomy of the era whose events it traces.[70]

Except for the specific aim of this program—the apotheosizing of the emperor—this is the language of realism and compares closely to statements made by Duranty and Champfleury in roughly the same period.[71] The allusion to "the exact style" of contemporary costume especially recalls the development of an idea first articulated by Baudelaire. It may be recalled that Courbet's own manifesto stated that he wanted "to be in a position to translate the customs, the ideas, the appearance of my epoch"—language borrowed by Mercey for his proposal to Fould. Courbet's later declaration that "historical art is by nature contemporary" also found confirmation in the official aesthetic.[72]

Mercey further proposed the creation of a museum to house the images commemorating "civil and military deeds." One set would depict the outstanding domestic events of the last eight years of Louis-Napoléon's reign, including the proclamation of the empire, Queen Victoria's visit, the distribution of awards at the 1855 Exposition Universelle, the completion of the Louvre, the marriage of the emperor, and the baptism of the imperial prince. The other set would center on the great victories of the Crimean War and would be exhibited in a special gallery. Mercey evidently responded to a previous exchange with Fould, as he noted that the minister understood that "our epoch must not be neglected," and that there already existed a body of pictures for the new museum, including Ange-Tissier's *Submission of Abd el Kader*, as well as military commissions assigned to people like Yvon and Beaucé (who researched battle locations in Africa and in the Crimea). Mercey added that now that peace reigned, both art and industry could progress, and a new series of pictures might be commissioned. These images could include *The Visit of the Grand Corps de l'Etat to Saint Cloud during the Night of 1 December 1852* by Cabanel, *The Distribution of the Eagles* by Auguste-Barthélemy Glaize, *The Opening of the Exposition Universelle* by Gérôme, *The Visit of the Queen of England* by Charles Jalabert, *The Distribution of Awards at the Closing of the Exposition Universelle* by Félix Jobbé-Duval, and land and sea battles by Pils, Yvon, Théodore Gudin, and Antoine Léon Morel-Fatio. What was unusual in this projection was the presence of so many younger academic disciples, some of whom numbered among the Neo-Greeks.

General Observations on Second Empire History Painting

The generation of military painters emerging during this period manifested a preoccupation with historical accuracy. Although their ultimate task was to aggrandize the emperor, they often overcame this constraint through a close attention to the environment and to particular detail. They also followed Napoléon III's lead in resisting a mythologizing character inconsistent with events, so that often he was shown in informal poses appropriate to the contemporary trend. In fact, his informality made it difficult for artists to deal with him in more idealizing media like coins and medallions (figs. 8.13–14). Chesneau described the military painters in the Exposition Universelle of 1867 in terms reminiscent of the contemporary criticism of the realists: "Today our battle painters are less artists—that is, beings endowed with passion and sensibility—than chroniclers, editors of military bulletins. They report the facts and nothing but the facts."[73]

Another Bonapartist critic, Olivier Merson, devoted a major section of his review of the Salon of 1861 to subjects of contemporary history, commenting that modern dress and ideas were not antipathetic to art and that the "beau idéal" was a relative concept contingent on time and place.[74] The most important category under this heading was military painting, and the work he most admired was Pils's *Battle of Alma* (fig. 8.15). He quoted the description of the event in the Salon catalogue, which provided the exact date and time, the names of the individuals involved, and the type of

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maneuver executed. He complained, however, that the artist translated too literally the official bulletin, that it lacked "the blast of true combats, the bellicose energy."[75] A commonplace criticism of left-wing realism was its lack of discrimination in the selection of details and narrative features. Olivier Merson also uttered this complaint in connection with several of the military pictures at the 1861 exhibition.[76] He preferred Yvon's *Solferino* to all the rest in the category of Solferino pictures, which nevertheless portrayed the emperor on the summit of Mount Fenile, just ahead of his general staff, with "unpardonable vulgarity."[77]

Despite Olivier Merson's professed sympathy for realism, it was evident that he had not entirely outgrown the bombastic military scenes of Louis-Philippe's Galerie des Batailles. The battles of the Second Empire were less a question of hand-to-hand heroics or adventurous warriors on horseback than of complicated logistical problems and long-range artillery. Indeed, the battle of Alma actually centered on a telegraph station. The French had no cavalry troops, and the conflict of the Crimea anticipated the technological character of modern warfare. Then too, the soldier of the Second Empire could no longer be visualized as either classic warrior or delirious conqueror; he was regarded, and even saw himself, as a pawn in a chess match who had been moved into position on orders from a remote headquarters. In his *Salon of 1864* About singled out Meissonier's *Battle of Solferino* as the most distinguished work, praising especially the artist's concentration on the emperor's general staff (fig. 8.16).[78] The emperor himself, posted two steps in front of his general staff, studied the battle "like a

OPPOSITE

8.13 Eugène-André Oudine, *The Accession of Napoléon III to the Empire*, medal, 1852. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

8.14 Edouard Detaille, *Napoléon III Crowned with Laurel and Smoking a Cigarette*, pen drawing, 1860s. Musée National du Château, Compiègne.

8.15 Isidore Pils, *The Battle of Alma*, Salon of 1861. Musée National du Château, Versailles.

BOTTOM RIGHT

8.16 Ernest Meissonier, *The Emperor Napoléon III at the Battle of Solferino*, Salon of 1864. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

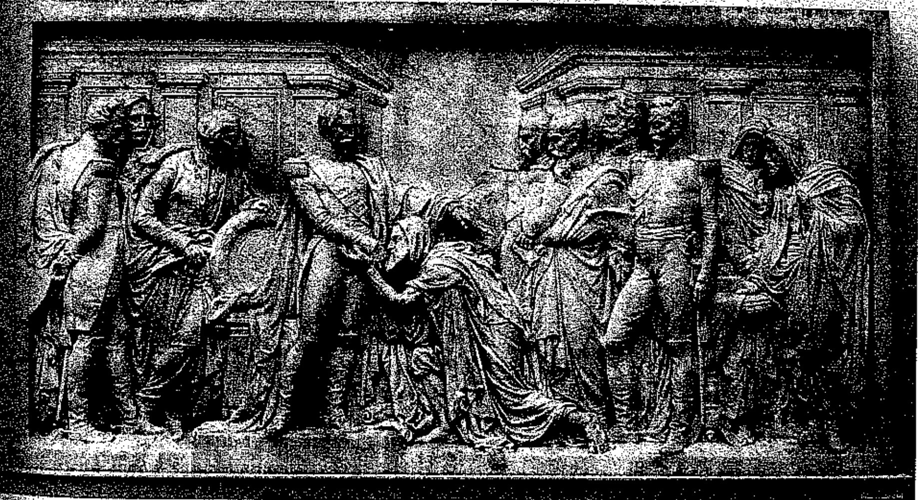
cold-blooded player studies his chessboard."[79] Although occupying a central role, his position was not at all heroic: he was a safe distance from the battle, whose outcome was as yet unclear. Meissonier was actually present at the battle in northern Italy (he depicted himself in the picture), and his focus on the general staff to which he was attached was revealing of Second Empire realism both in its ideological and aesthetic structure.[80]

Besides battle painters, the emperor's stable of artists included an emerging group of Orientalists who recorded his colonialist aspirations in North Africa, the Near East, and Southeast Asia. Unlike the July Monarchy phantasms of Delacroix, Ingres, and Vernet, these recent bouts with Orientalism were executed with photographic accuracy and reflected the growing influence of ethnographical studies and contemporary travel accounts. Mercey's report mentioned Ange-Tissier's overtly propagandistic *Submission of Abd el Kader*, a work also shown at the 1861 Salon (fig. 8.17). Ange-Tissier's vast canvas depicts the moment at the Château d'Amboise when the emperor granted the Algerian chieftain his freedom. Napoléon III has entered the room of detention, where Abd el Kader is surrounded by his family and servants. The emir's elderly mother advances and leans over to kiss the hand of his imperial benefactor, who is accompanied by the Maréchal Saint-Arnaud, Baroche, and the generals Goyon and Roguet. In the center of the composition are two Arab children who stare at the emperor "avec une surprise naïve," while here and there other Arabs and blacks are scattered in the Gothic enclosure. Napoléon III stressed the civilizing influence of the empire on the Algerian peoples, and during his regime the image of Abd el Kader underwent a profound transformation.[81] As long as he resisted the French forces he was demonized as a ferocious militant leader, while during the Second Empire he came to be seen as a benign, almost saintly figure. This evolution in the French public perception corresponded to his political neutralization, which was the real subject of Ange-Tissier's picture. The Arab entourage is represented submitting to a new crusade under the aegis of a vaulted medieval chapel. The ceremony was dominated by the emperor and his military advisers; Saint-Arnaud, who was Morny's strong right arm during the coup d'état, had earned his reputation in Algeria fighting Abd el Kader. This humbling of the Arab leader is crowned by the grateful mother greeting the emperor as the savior of her son and, by extension, of the Arab peoples.[82]

The importance of visually recording the imperial ascendance in Franco-Algerian relations is seen in a similar composition by the then aspiring young sculptor Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (fig. 8.18). Carpeaux's arrived at his theme in a deliberate attempt to gain government recognition, and went to considerable length to sketch the protagonists from life. He scurried to the Opéra to catch a glimpse of the Algerian chieftain and attended reviews of the troops and official ceremonies like the wedding of the emperor and future empress at Notre-Dame. As in the case of Ange-Tissier, he shows the emir humbling himself before the emperor, kneeling to kiss his hand in the presence of the military officers who defeated him on the field of battle. The sculptor emphasizes the authority and prestige of the emperor at the expense of the abased North African hero who had made France's Algerian

OPPOSITE

8.17 Ange-Tissier, *The Submission of Abd el Kader*, Salon of 1861. Musée National du Château, Versailles.



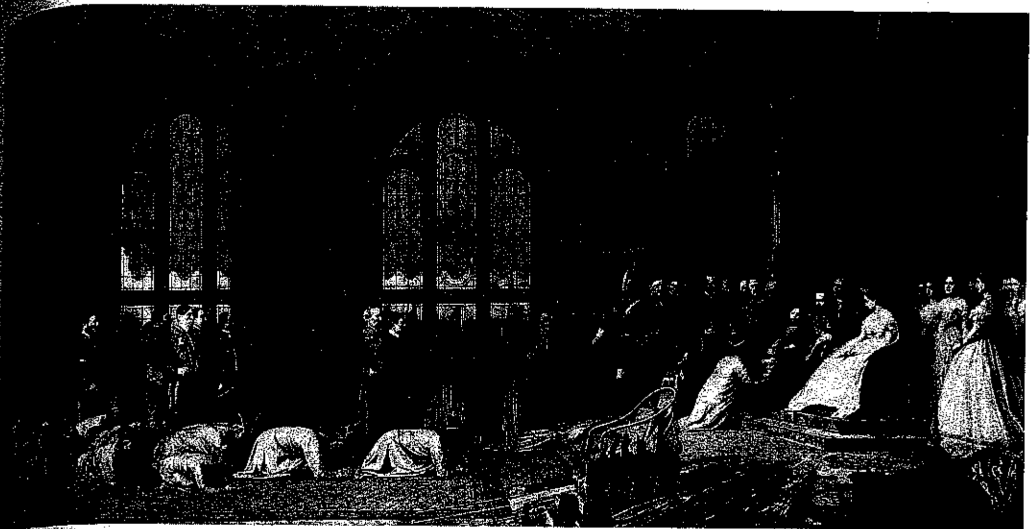
BOTTOM

8.18 Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, *Napoléon III Receiving Abd el Kader at Saint-Cloud*, marble bas-relief, 1853. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes.

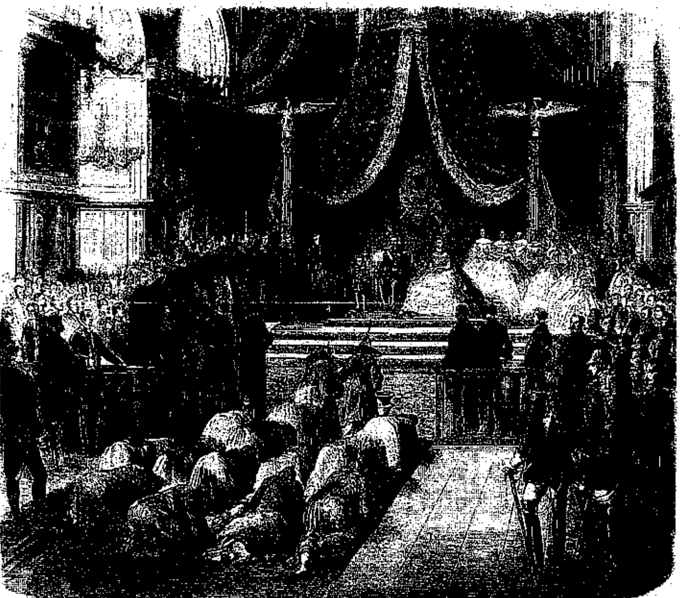
conquest such a prolonged process. Henceforth, French colonization of Algeria would proceed with a free hand, and Napoléon III could boast that he was as much the emperor of the Arabs as he was of the French.

The star of the Orientalists, Jean-Léon Gérôme, who made regular trips to the Near East, Egypt, and Asia Minor, was chosen by the administration for one of the new faculty positions at the Ecole.[83] His *Reception of the Siamese Ambassadors by Napoléon III and the Empress Eugénie at Fontainebleau, 27 June 1861*, executed during the period 1861–1864, further exemplified the Second Empire's craving for overseas markets (fig. 8.19). The painter perceived the powerful Siamese delegation as a group of servile primitives overwhelmed by the pomp and splendor of an advanced European culture and the venerable presence of their august hosts. There were other visual alternatives to his presentation, and though the delegates indeed genuflected in the emperor's presence, Gérôme's version creates a cookie-cutter pattern that heightens their abasement (fig. 8.20). Gérôme's commission commemorated the visit of the diplomatic mission from Phra Maha Mongkut (Phrachomklao or Rama IV), emperor of Siam, to the emperor and empress of France, who received them in the Salon d'Hercule, Château de Fontainebleau, in 1861. This meeting highlighted a broad trading and political treaty signed by both France and Siam on 15 August 1856, negotiated by the French ambassador to Siam, Charles de Montigny, who appears in the picture at the head of the Siamese delegation together with the abbé Lanardie, Catholic missionary and interpreter. Mongkut, awed by Napoléon's success in the Crimean War, permitted the French navy and merchant community more privileged access than that extended to Great Britain and the United States. As a trade-off, he hoped that the French presence would serve as a bulwark against his enemies in Cochin China.[84]

This work typifies one crucial aspect of the official realism, what I wish to term *myopic realism*, verisimilar in its painstaking detail but ringing false in the whole. It is a complex picture, revealing a thorough knowledge of traditional ceremonial and processional events, yet comparable in some ways to Courbet's radical *Funeral at Ornans*; both represent official rites, are based on portrait studies, convey the indifference and even boredom of certain participants, and studiously avoid artful groupings and a central thematic and psychological focus. Courbet's picture, nevertheless, may be termed an example of *hypermetropic realism*, less veridical than Gérôme's when viewed closely but more convincing as a whole in its capacity to obtrude itself on immediate reality. Naturally, the two artists conveyed their understanding of reality from opposing ideological perspectives, but Gérôme met the demands of a dominant elite projecting absolute power, while Courbet analyzed the structure of authority in the countryside and pointed to class differentiation.[85] The former did not question the structure of control with which he identified; the latter did. It is known that Gérôme nearly went mad trying to satisfy the demands of various officials who wanted to be placed as close as possible to the locus of power, the imperial



8.19 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Reception of the Siamese Ambassadors by Napoléon III and the Empress Eugénie at Fontainebleau, 27 June 1861*. Musée National du Château, Versailles.



8.20 *Reception of the Siamese Ambassadors by the Emperor of the French at the Palace of Fontainebleau*, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 6 July 1861.

throne. And while there is no central psychological focus, the kneeling delegates and their offerings are ingeniously orchestrated to direct attention to Napoléon III and Eugénie, at the far right. Indeed, Gérôme clearly lavished his energy on the gifts, which later entered the empress's collection of foreign curios and objets d'art. Although Mongkut and Lanardie hoped that the gifts would give the court a representative sample of Siamese crafts and culture, Gérôme presents them as quaint objects within the dazzling setting of Fontainebleau. Thus even the scrupulously painted accessories actually betray the artist's imperialist vision.[86]

Gérôme's progress from a Neo-Greek phase to official realism was already marked at the 1855 World's Fair, for which he designed allegorical personifications of important maritime towns for a lighthouse exhibit and at the same time exhibited his colossal *Age of Augustus*, based on a passage in Bossuet's universal history (fig. 8.21).[87] The passage recounts the stages of Roman hegemony over the peoples of North Africa, the Near East, and Asia and notes that the Germanic tribes were checked and that universal peace was assured: "The entire universe lives in peace under his power and Jesus Christ enters the world." Clearly Augustus stood for the French emperor's persona, an identification that was common in official propaganda. Napoléon III's embellishments of the capital were often compared to the precedent set by the Roman emperor. As early as 1842, he wrote from prison that he wanted "to be a second Augustus, because Augustus . . . made Rome a city of marble."[88] When we further recall Napoléon III's words at Bordeaux, "The empire is peace," and his close identification with the church in this period, the correspondence becomes even more striking. Gérôme here equated the Second Empire with the Age of Augustus and alluded to the dynastic and imperialistic designs of the new regime. Not surprisingly, the date of the commission, 30 October 1852, foreshadows by little more than a month the actual coronation of the emperor.[89] (Significantly, the director of fine arts noted in the margin of the *arrêt* commissioning the picture to leave "the amount of payment open," a sign of the administration's attempt to win the full adherence of Gérôme—a previously eager contestant in the competition for the symbolic figure of the Republic.[90])

OPPOSITE
8.21 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Age of Augustus*, Salon of 1855, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 14 July 1855.

Gérôme was one of the original members of the Neo-Greek movement, which inadvertently contributed to Second Empire realism and to the regime's campaign to neutralize the radicals. The Neo-Greeks, inspired by Charles Gleyre and who included Hamon, Picou, Aubert, and Toulmouche, extended history painting into new areas by depicting the ancients in their daily life as if they were Parisian middle-class types. This captivated a bourgeois audience unable to relate comfortably to erudite classical subjects by appealing to their vanity. In addition, the Neo-Greeks often painted their subjects with a tongue-in-cheek attitude, somewhat akin to Meissonier, with whose eighteenth-century scenes they had much in common. It would seem that the Second Empire's sense of insecurity and illegitimacy was marked on the one hand by strenuous attempts to identify itself with the great dynasties of the past, and on the other by the mocking of established convention. It required as one part of its cultural program a mechanism for ridiculing the erudite, the aristocratic, and the classical—another subtext of its realist preference.[91]

The member of the court who promoted this style was Prince Jérôme, the so-called liberal of the Second Empire hierarchy, who went so far as to commission a mansion on the avenue Montaigne in the Pompeiian, or Neo-Greek, style.[92] Gustave Boulanger's *Rehearsal of "The Flute Player" in the Atrium of H.I.H. the Prince Napoléon* shows how the prince lived out his fantasy in everyday life (fig. 8.22). The subject is a play about antiquity, in which the roles are enacted by the prince and his friends, including the art critic and novelist Gautier, the dramatist Augier, and well-known professional actors. Gautier's central position in this work attests to his actual participation in the Neo-Greek movement. He posed as their ardent champion and almost always had unqualified praise for Gérôme, whose *Age of Augustus* he claimed merited the painter "the number one position among the new generation."[93] A noted critic of the *Moniteur* and a favorite at the imperial court, Gautier was the linchpin in the government sponsorship of the young Neo-Greeks.

Next in standing to Gérôme in this school, Hamon was admired by Gautier as its "purest" representative. Starting in 1852 government patronage enabled Hamon to devote himself full-time to the fine arts.[94] His famous Salon work of 1853, *My Sister Is Not at Home*, was bought by the

8.22 Gustave Boulanger, *Rehearsal of "The Flute Player" in the Atrium of H.I.H. the Prince Napoléon*, 1861. Musée National du Château, Versailles.

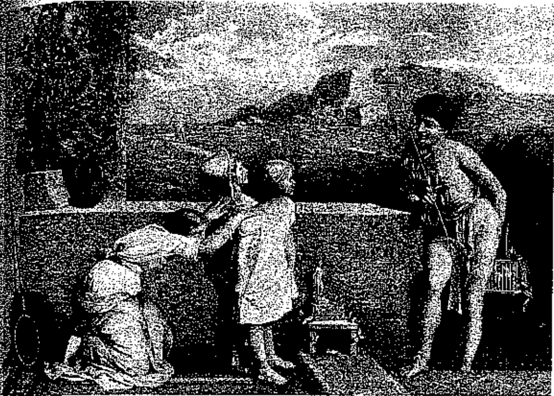
OPPOSITE

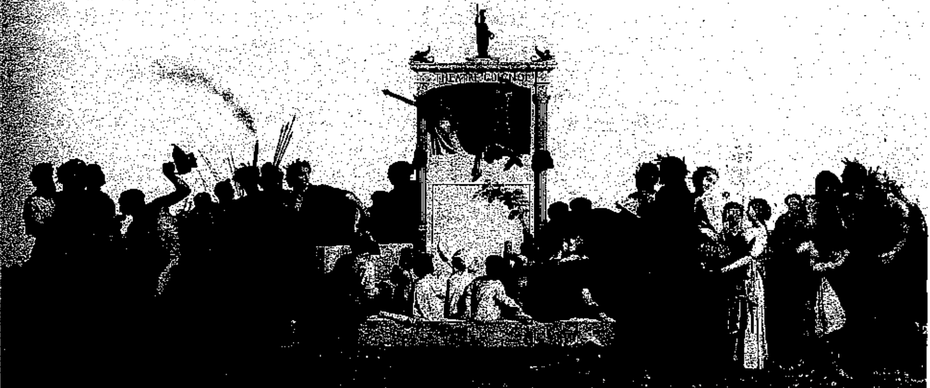
8.23 Jean-Louis Hamon, *My Sister Is Not at Home*, Salon of 1853. Present whereabouts unknown.

8.24 Jean-Louis Hamon, *The Human Comedy*, 1852. Musée National du Château, Compiègne.

8.25 Eugène Guérard, *Théâtre de Guignol (Champs-Elysées)*, lithograph, 1856. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

empress to decorate her apartments at Saint-Cloud (fig. 8.23). Although it represents an innocuous situation involving adolescents, Gautier went into raptures over it, lauding its grace, simplicity, and poetry while pointing to its sense of actuality.[95] Another work by Hamon, *The Human Comedy*, was purchased by the government: first shown in 1851 and exhibited again at the 1855 World's Fair, it enjoyed a popular success despite its somewhat puzzling subject (fig. 8.24). Hamon set his scene in the mythical Elysian Fields, the realm of the blessed heroes of the past, and invited his Salon audience to join the populace in contemplation of a diverting spectacle where "Love is hanged, Bacchus is thrashed, and Minerva, who eternally settles everyone's accounts, provides plenty of amusement for the curious passersby in the ideal abode. . . ." The picture's focus is an outdoor puppet show entitled Théâtre Guignol, the name of a real marionette show located on the Champs-Elysées, which inspired Hamon's pun on the Elysian Fields. Like the Italian comedy (and the Balzacian concept as well), the outdoor entertainment was often referred to as a "petite comédie humaine," where a few primal characters summed up the whole of human experience. A print of 1856 depicts the actual Théâtre Guignol, with its repertoire of the Commissary of Police, the Devil, and Punchinello (fig. 8.25). Aimed primarily at children, it evidently fascinated adults as well. This justifies the mixed audience in Hamon's scene, with the exception that here the adults comprise illustrious types such as Homer, Dante, Diogenes, Alexander, Socrates, and Aeschylus. A parody of Ingres's *Apotheosis of Homer*, it mocks erudite classicism by reducing the eminent protagonists to the level of frivolous juveniles entranced by popular culture. At the same time, it gives a





familiar scene antique trappings; Gautier, who adored the work, wondered about the anachronistic appearance of the flower girl and the woman passing the collection plate, who came straight off the boulevard des Italiens. This interfacing of actuality and anachronism points to the administration's requirement for an alternative realism and its sponsorship of a revival of popular culture and folk art in this period.[98]

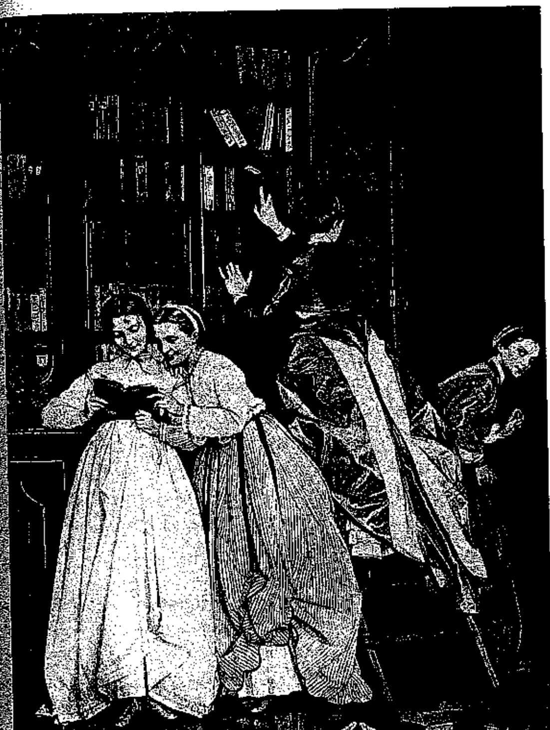
A few years later Hamon displayed his *Conjuror*, which also enjoyed an enthusiastic reception (fig. 8.26). Like *The Human Comedy*, it built on anachronisms, but its contemporary features were more readily recognizable. Hamon depicted the mixed reactions of various social types to the street charlatan performing his tricks. Schoolmasters and philosophers speculate on the mysteries occasioned by the conjuror's confidence game, while an astronomer with his telescope gazes at the heavens. All of these are conjurors in their own right and are ridiculed by the artist. Olivier Merson, who was thoroughly captivated by this picture, noted that the entire scene had a familiar ring: "Haven't we seen this pot, this charlatan, this inscription ['Mort aux rats'], and these hanging animal skins at the Place de la Bastille?"[99] Except for the Athenian clothing, he declared, this could be contemporary Paris with its crowds of saltimbanques and costermongers.

Merson's recognition of the motif meshes with the prints and texts of the Second Empire that attest to the multitude of street hawkers, peddlers, organ grinders, jugglers, magicians, and saltimbanques on the streets of the major cities. They constituted a *lumpen* group, which often menaced the regime with their subversive potential.[100] Hamon defused this threat but also pointed to a deeper level of the regime's fears concerning its legitimacy. Marx wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that on 2 December

8.26 Jean-Louis Hamon, *Conjuror*, Salon of 1861. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

the February revolution was "conjured away by a cardsharper's trick," and that Bonapartists of dubious origin depended for their success on "vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, *lazzaroni*, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, pimps, brothel keepers, porters, *literati*, organ-grinders, ragpickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term *la bohème*."[101]

Hamon's Neo-Greek realism, however, was consciously exploited by the administration to counterbalance the radicals. In 1861, the year of Boulanger's picture of Prince Napoléon's Pompeiian house, Merson lumped the Neo-Greeks and the realists together, noting their common preoccupation with exactitude and minutiae.[102] But he endorsed the Neo-Greek approach, claiming that it would merit a prominent place in the history of Second Empire art because it arrived just in time to neutralize the impact of the radical realists. Like Gautier, he emphasized the repugnance of the Neo-Greeks for extravagance, vulgarity, and the more flawed aspects of nature; as a result of their tastes, they found writers to glorify them and recommend them to an adoring crowd. He concluded: "It is incontestable . . . that their diversion has been very useful and their part in the victory merits a title too honorable to ever let them be forgotten or ignored." This candid statement makes understandable the government's protection of this style; not unexpectedly, Merson found that Jules Breton had much in common with the Neo-Greeks, suggesting an even more direct relationship with the government-sponsored realists.[103]



8.27 Auguste Toulmouche, *Forbidden Fruit*, Salon of 1865. Present whereabouts unknown.

The critic also referred to Auguste Toulmouche in this context, an ex-Neo-Greek now painting contemporary subjects; but if he was no longer at Corinth or at Pompeii, his Neo-Greek background kept him from being submerged "amid . . . modern pressures."[104] Toulmouche's *Forbidden Fruit*, exhibited in 1865, reflected the transition to modernity while keeping the artificial character and upper-middle-class pretensions of the Neo-Greek style (fig. 8.27). When we recall, moreover, that Toulmouche advised his cousin Claude

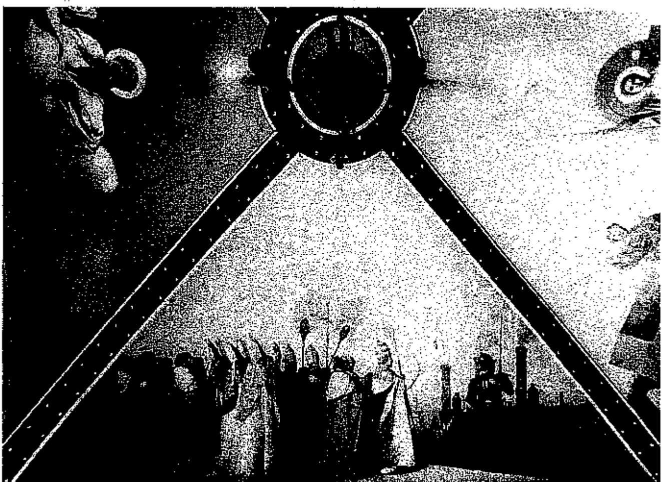
Monet to study with his master Gleyre, then we cannot ignore the role of the movement in early impressionism (which often depicted fashionably dressed women in moments of leisure) or, more importantly, the ultimate impact of the Second Empire patronage on the second- and third-generation realists.

A Curious Collaboration

The curious alliance of Gérôme and Millet for the decoration of a special railway wagon presented to Pope Pius IX by the French government is still another example of the government's strategy.[105] French engineers were commissioned to build the carriage in 1857, and the main task of construction and ornamentation was subcontracted to Emile Trélat, professor of architecture and engineering at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.[106] Froment-Meurice, the emperor's silversmith, ornamented the interior, and Trélat assigned Gérôme to decorate the throne room with a frieze of the Apostles and to execute two designs for the vaults of the carriage showing the Pope blessing steamships and locomotives.[107] He then charged Millet to do a painting of the Immaculate Conception for the oratory of the wagon, a subject of topical concern since Pius IX had promulgated the controversial doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 (figs. 8.28–29).[108] Although the papal response to Millet's work seems to have been lukewarm, the conjoining of these two artists in the semi-official commission further expands on the novel art policies of the Second Empire. On the one hand the enterprise encouraged the academic painter to portray modern subjects, and on the other, it lured a radical painter into doing traditional and even conservative themes.

The railway boom affected almost everyone in this era.[109] The government stimulated railway speculation and subsidized railroad entrepreneurs. Railroad expansion stimulated the rapid growth of the iron industry with enormous orders for rails, bridge framework, railway stations, locomotives, and rolling stock. Various artists such as Thomas Couture and his pupil Edouard Manet seriously considered the railroad as a subject for contemporary painting. But perhaps the most impressive testimony to the cultural and commercial proclivities of the state regarding the railroad comes from the inevitable Sainte-Beuve, the government's propagandist in the realm of literature. In a letter of 22 April 1862 to the writer Charles Duveyrier he wrote:

> I was talking the other day to Courbet; he is a solid, energetic fellow who also has ideas, including what is I think the important one of creating a monumental form of painting in tune with modern society. . . . His idea is to turn the big railway stations into churches for the painter's benefit: those great walls could be covered by all kinds of highly suitable subjects, such as previews of the main sites through which the traveller will pass; portraits of great men associated



8.28 Jean-François Millet, *Immaculate Conception*, 1858. Present whereabouts unknown.

8.29 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Pope Pius IX Blessing Locomotives*, 1858. Musei di Roma, Rome.

> with cities in the line of route, picturesque and moral themes, industry and metallurgy—in short all the "saints and miracles" of modern times.[110]

Sainte-Beuve hoped that Duveyrier could mediate between Courbet and the Péreire brothers—railway and credit tycoons—to translate this concept into reality. Sainte-Beuve flattered Duveyrier, calling him a maternity doctor for men and ideas, and urged him to help develop and clarify Courbet's ideas. "In short, aid him so that he can aid you."

This letter is especially intriguing when we recognize that Duveyrier was one of the pamphleteers for the Second Empire and a member of the Société des Gens de Lettres—the organization through which Sainte-Beuve advised the emperor to gain control of the literary establishment.[111] His pioneering work in advertising and promotion brought him to the attention of Prince Napoléon, who introduced him to the emperor. The ex-Saint-Simonist Duveyrier was commissioned to do several pamphlets, including *L'Avenir et les Bonaparte*, which prepared the public for a "liberal" empire.[112]

The Salon

The Second Empire skillfully manipulated a combination of press, Salon reviews, and imagery. One of Napoléon III's favorite propaganda devices was the "whistle stop" tour throughout the countryside.[113] It was a novel idea made possible by the railway expansion; during the *ancien régime* the kings had visited towns hard hit by natural disasters, but no previous ruler had used the tour so systematically or made such a planned effort to develop personal contacts with his subjects. Louis-Napoléon often employed this type of propaganda in areas where leftist opposition was strong or where there was a previous history of radical opposition. The local officials, notified of his trips in advance, curtailed potential protest, organized groups, prepared gala celebrations and fireworks, reviewed the troops, and even distributed government-subsidized gifts to the poor.

Reports of the local *procureurs généraux* and the prefects frequently commented upon the favorable impression created by these visits. During the floods of 1856, the *procureur général* of Douai reported that the emperor's visits "have had a great effect here; they have resulted in new conquests, particularly among the popular classes." The propaganda value of these tours was not confined to the towns and regions visited by the emperor and empress. Newspapers, pamphlets, and placards throughout France reported their movements in detail; they emphasized the enthusiastic crowds and the gifts that the emperor gave to workers along his route.[114]

Napoléon III used the "official" realists to publicize these events. The 1857 Salon was especially rich in Second Empire realism; in addition to the innumerable battle pictures commemorating the victories in the Crimea, there were a number of works depicting domestic events such as

the emperor's visits to the various regions hard hit by the flooding of the Rhône and Loire rivers in the summer of 1856. The portrayal of the emperor amid combat and domestic crisis revealed him as a compassionate ruler at home as well as a victorious leader abroad. To this end the administration exploited the Prix de Rome laureates and the semi-independent artists such as Antigna, Janet-Lange, Emile Lassalle, and Louis Moullin, as well as a number of others who painted subjects on their own initiative when they sensed a sure sale.[115]

Perhaps the most unexpected example of Second Empire realism is by William Bouguereau, whose *Entrance of the Emperor at Tarascon, 14 June 1856* perfectly manifested the taste of the regime (fig. 8.30). The painter's letter of introduction to the prefect of the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône charged him to furnish Bouguereau with all the facilities he required.[116] Bouguereau visited the flood site, sketched the mayor and others who were present, and made drawings of the surrounding landscape. Newspaper reports were also used, which noted how the emperor reached Tarascon and was conducted in a boat guided by two oarsmen, accompanied by Rouher, minister of public works, and generals Niel and Fleury.[117] Despite the ruinous conditions, every house was decorated, and people shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" while extending their arms in blessing.

Bouguereau faithfully reported the details of the scene, including the man on the rooftops lifting his hat to salute the chief of state, and such homespun accessories as the old mattresses. From the *myopic* point of view everything is rendered convincingly and accurately, but the emperor domi-

8.30 William-Adolphe Bouguereau, *Entrance of the Emperor at Tarascon, 14 June 1856*, Salon of 1857. Mairie de Tarascon, Tarascon.

nates the scene, and, as in the Gérôme, one senses the ideological manipulation of those who greet Napoléon III. The flood victims run to him as savior, and his Christlike role is accentuated by the spire of the Tarascon cathedral that Bouguereau has sited just above his head. Still, in terms of verisimilitude, it is an advance over earlier portrayals of royal almsgiving, such as Hersent's *Louis XVI Distributing Alms to the Poor during the Rigorous Winter of 1788* (1817), discussed in volume 3.[118] Playing on the traditional images of Christian charity, Hersent managed to give the king a "sacred" position directly in the center, isolated from the rest. Bouguereau's ruler, on the other hand, is off-center and in close touch with the oarsmen and the crowd of victims. He assumes a more informal pose, with one foot poised on the rim of the boat, and his dress is a field uniform rather than ceremonial garb. Although both pictures show moments of real hardship for a rural population, Bouguereau's emerges as a more authentic image of crisis conditions.

Finally, however, the implications of charity-giving are similar in the two cases. Both protagonists are shown taking money from a purse and distributing it to an adoring populace, who reveal their social status by bowing reverently. Charity had traditionally substituted for equitable social programs, but it made sense only when it appeared in the guise of a special favor and under special conditions. The dispensation of benevolence was most effective during natural catastrophes, when even able-bodied workers could be deprived of their livelihood. Both the emperor and the empress were great believers in almsgiving and paternalistic gestures in return for submission at the work site. Since relief was a favor, it was best to have it administered under the aegis of the church by the Sisters of Charity, or in the secure presence of high-ranking military and civil officials.

The emperor's visit to Tarascon was also consistent with the strategy of the tours; the town represented a major agricultural market with a strong leftist tradition.[119] In the elections of May 1849 over 30 percent of the electors voted for radical slates. Although Tarascon voted overwhelmingly for the empire in 1852, there was always a potential for an organized group that could be called upon in a moment of crisis. This was particularly true for Trélazé, near Angers in the department of Maine-et-Loire. Two of the seven works depicting the tour to the floodlands showed the emperor visiting the slate quarries of Trélazé, one by Moullin and the other by Antigna. Moullin's picture is presently lost, but the Salon catalogue carried a lengthy description. The painting depicted a vast lake formed by the floodwaters; the ridges of the slate quarries were barely glimpsed. The emperor arrived after his visit to Angers; he advanced alone in the middle of a crowd of slate workers, who received him "with an immense and prolonged cheer." In appreciation of his visit, four slate splitters demonstrated their skill by laying open a thick block and dressing a piece of slate. Duly impressed, the emperor smiled and handed out a large amount of money to the laborers.[120]

Significantly, the only major insurrection against the Second Empire occurred in this region in the previous year—1855. During the period 1853–1855 the population of Trélazé suffered dearly from low wages and the high cost of bread, which was maintained at artificial price levels by a monopoly of local grain merchants. The slate workers were particularly affected, since their average daily wage of 2.58 francs—well below the average of the Parisian laborer—could not keep pace with inflation. They were ill organized in contrast with the owners and the managers of the slate quarries, who often owned the farmland as well. The conditions in 1855 did not permit the slate worker to live on his salary, and in desperation a number of socialists, republicans, and dissatisfied Bonapartists organized a branch of the secret society known as the *Marianne*. During the night of August 26 and 27, a body of six to seven hundred workers, mainly from the slate quarries, staged a coup against the arsenal of Trélazé and then attempted to take over the town hall at Angers. The coup failed and bitter repression followed: many of those arrested were deported to Cayenne and to several fortified prisons, where they eventually died.[121]

The insurrection convulsed the government, which tried to blame the uprising on a gang of socialist hoodlums bent on no other aim than simple robbery. Meanwhile, newspapers reported that the government was striking successfully at the organization of the Marianne.[122] That the emperor's trip to this region was carefully orchestrated in conjunction with this event is demonstrated in a *Moniteur* article of 13 June 1856:

> No sooner had he arrived at Angers than the Emperor crossed by boat over the various flood areas and immediately made for the slate quarries, where an immense crowd of workers, their wives and children assembled on the heights to greet him. At the sight of His Majesty, the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* let loose from all their mouths with an enthusiasm that cannot be described: these workers, *formerly led astray*, recognize and acclaim as their best friend he who has braved the danger to aid them and console them. After having left the token of his munificence . . . the Emperor departed amid universal blessings.[123]

Antigna labored to translate the official fantasy in accordance with the need for realism in detail, but, understandably, he could not resolve all the complexities (fig. 8.31). The emperor is situated slightly off-center, and this time one of the generals distributes money to the crowd. Napoléon III stands as if in a contrite position, while before him are a group of slate workers reacting with contrasting gestures of enthusiasm, inquiry, and defiance. Behind him are the faithful: his retinue of military and civil officers, the Archbishop of Angers, and several local officials. In contrast to the Bouguereau, there is a striking sense of ambivalence in the presentation, directly owing to the actual circumstances in the area.

One clue to Antigna's dilemma is the image of the wounded veteran of the Crimean campaign in the center middle ground. His downward cast makes him conspicuous amid the fervent swarm around him. At the trial of the Mariannistes at Trélazé, one of the defendants equated the

8.31 Alexandre Antigna, *The Visit of the Emperor to the Slate Quarry Workers of Angers during the Floods of 1856*, Salon of 1857. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Angers.

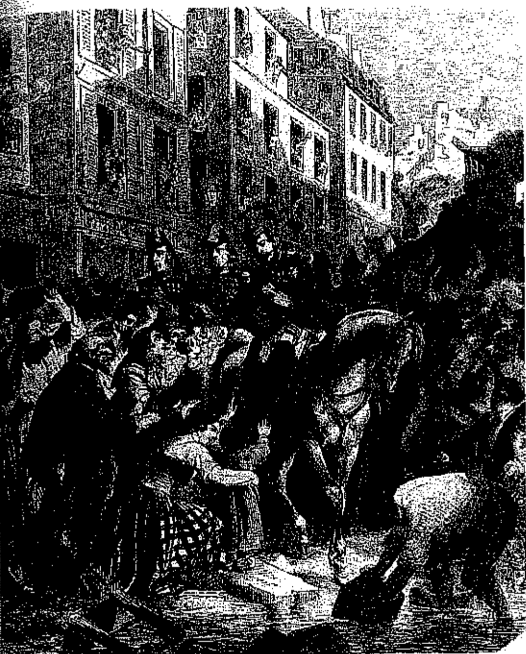
OPPOSITE

8.32 Ange-Louis Janet-Lange, *Napoléon III Distributing Alms to the Flood Victims of Lyon in June 1856*, Salon of 1857, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 1857.

revolutionaries with the heroic victors at Sebastopol, which so infuriated the presiding magistrate that he imposed strict silence on the court.[124] Antigna evidently had difficulty juggling his imagery to satisfy the tension between imperialism abroad and repression at home. He extended official realism in the direction of radical realism, setting the scene in a lugubrious landscape relatively unaffected by the hierarchy of social rank. It may be recalled that critics hostile to the radical realists positioned Antigna, along with Rosa Bonheur and Jules Breton, as a viable alternative to them. Although it would seem that in this particular instance he was influenced by Courbet's *Funeral at Ornans*, Gautier could comment that Antigna "does not systematically seek out ugliness like M. Courbet, but he does not flee from it when he meets it."[125]

The emperor moved south on his tours, visiting Lyons, Arles, and Avignon—areas of traditionally strong radical activity. His trip to Lyons especially was widely publicized, with the local accounts converging with the official realist combination of observed detail and blatant propaganda.[126] Janet-Lange's scene in Lyons was described in the catalogue with an extract of an article published in the *Moniteur* (fig. 8.32):

> [The Emperor] contemplated all these disasters with a look of profound sadness and appeared visibly moved; nothing can explain what passed between the



> sovereign of France and this poor people. . . . The Emperor was without guards and almost without retinue in the midst of this multitude of workers. . . . Poor women, poor children pressed around his steed; the Emperor halted with an extreme gentleness and benevolence, and appeared to gravitate by choice to the weakest. He had a leather sack attached to his saddle in which he plunged each instant, distributing his bounty himself. The population, electrified by their encounter with the sovereign in the midst of their misfortune, regarded him as a consoling angel; it burst out in enthusiastic acclamation much easier to understand than to describe.[127]

Other Examples of Second Empire Visual Intervention

This final section presents other individual cases of cultural intervention to demonstrate the widespread government control. It has already been shown in the chapter on the radical realists to what lengths the administration was willing to go to convert Millet and Courbet to its visual regime, and in this closing section I wish to review some additional dramatic case studies.

It may be recalled that Thomas Couture was working on the Second Republic's major commission, *The Enrollment of the Volunteers*, when the coup d'état broke out. Shortly afterwards, he received a visit from the duc de Persigny, who condemned the work as a "tableau de démagogues." Couture subsequently negotiated with the regime to soften the effect and efface the image of Liberty; in return, he was promised, but never received, a commission to decorate the Pavilion Denon in the Louvre with large-scale paintings glorifying the Second Empire. The centerpiece of the cycle would have shown the *Empire Relying on the Church and the Army to Suppress Anarchy*. The scheme also made a place for the emasculated *Enrollment*, which would have been decorated on the borders with imperial eagles. The government did award him the commission for *The Baptism of the Prince Imperial*, a major event heralding the continuation of the Napoleonic dynasty and signaling closer ties with the papacy in the mid-1850s (fig. 8.33). The work typified consensus realism in its photographic depiction of the sovereigns, members of the court, military personnel, and the papal envoy, but added the allegorical complement of Napoléon I occupying a lofty place

8.33 Thomas Couture, *The Baptism of the Prince Imperial*, 1856–1879. Musée National du Château, Compiègne.

OPPOSITE

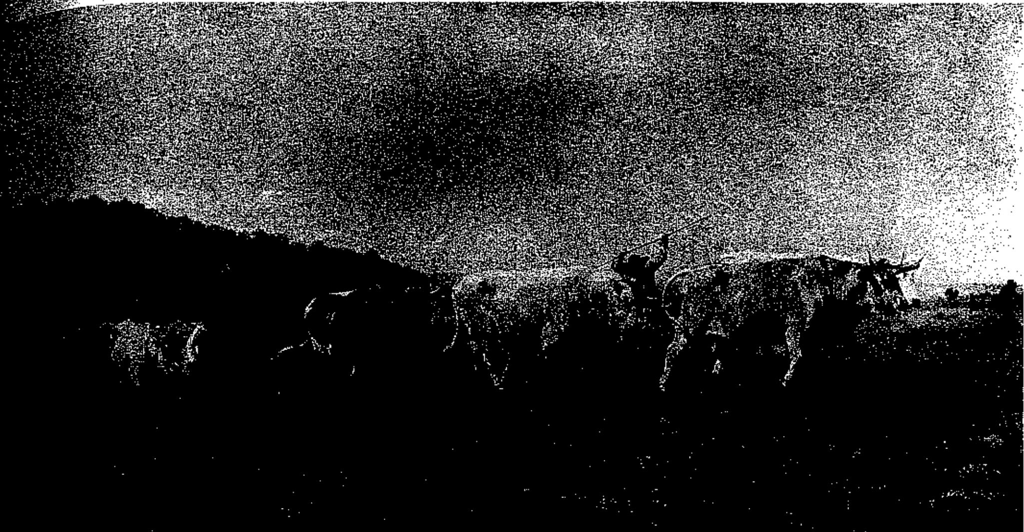
8.34 Rosa Bonheur, *Ploughing in the Nivernais*, 1849. Musée National du Château, Fontainebleau.

8.35 Rosa Bonheur, *The Horse Fair*, 1853. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

in the transept of Notre Dame. Objections were raised by the emp
own entourage that this motif suggested the ruler's inability to stand
his own two feet. Nevertheless, the work attempted a synthesis of Se
Empire ideology in celebrating its awesome diplomatic and military
tige in 1856.[128]

Even Rosa Bonheur's animal imagery was affected by the changing
litical conditions. She painted a forceful Barbizon-like picture for the
publican government, *Ploughing in the Nivernais* (fig. 8.34). While based
the lyrical opening chapter of George Sand's bucolic *La Mare au diable*
showed an image of enormous power concentrated in the oxen work
the land.[129] As in the majority of her works, animals dominate the
man;[130] but in *Nivernais* the oxen move in accordance with a specific
here accentuated by the processional character of the action. The Niver
nais region was not particularly fertile, but its animal husbandry was
known throughout France. Bonheur appropriately centered her depic
of labor on the driving team of the celebrated breed of Morvan oxen.
glorification of labor also coincided with a region with a well-organ
Left, one of the few rural areas that courageously took up arms against
coup d'état.

By 1853 Bonheur exhibited her panoramic *Horse Fair* together with
Vaches et Moutons, which was purchased by the duc de Morny (fig. 8.35).
The Horse Fair was in many ways an homage to the horse fanciers of
Second Empire; Morny, for example, was an expert on horses, belong
to the fashionable Jockey Club, and cut quite a figure at the race track.
animals in this work were again a specific type, *la percheronne*, the



French breed from Normandy. The *percheronne* was identified with a highly conservative region and carried national and traditional associations. Napoléon III was especially fond of the breed; the imperial stable was filled with them, and they were employed to draw coaches and the imperial posting service, which supplemented the railway in some parts of the country. Brigades of the posting service always followed the court to Compiègne, Fontainebleau, and other parts of the provinces. Indeed, the government demand for these horses raised their market price. *The Horse Fair* thus glorified the Second Empire, just as the earlier work manifested sympathy for the young republican regime.[132]

At this moment, conservative critics positioned Bonheur as an alternative to the coarser realists: Delaborde, who refused even to mention the dreaded Courbet, noted that Bonheur's picture was set in a specific time and place and drew for its substance on actuality, yet retained its authenticity as a work of art. It was not simply an affair of horses or working people in blouses, but a scene where the elements of nature were ennobled.[133] Delaborde's downgrading of the workers' role also converged with Bonheur's typical subordination of the male figure to her animals. Here the animals do not work as in the Nivernais, but are paraded on display for the benefit of buyers and spectators. They functioned as adjuncts to the razzle-dazzle of the imperial court. Significantly, the imperial regime conferred upon Bonheur the first Légion d'Honneur ever awarded a French woman.

The career of Jules Breton is a singular example of the influence of the government's program on the younger generation. A key role model for the administration's preferred realism, Breton had been identified with the revolution of 1848 and early focused his attention on the plight of the poor.[134] He exhibited *Misery and Despair* at the 1849 Salon and *Hunger* at the Salon of 1851, where Millet's *Sower* and Courbet's *Stonebreakers* were also shown. By 1852 he was in touch with the Neo-Greeks Gérôme and Toulmouche. His outlook gradually changed in this period as he turned with loathing from lugubrious subjects. While still in touch with his radical friend Ernest Delalleau, he completed a *Return from the Harvest*—a transitional work whose "skying" in the Salon of 1853 severely shamed him. This prompted him to see the comte de Morny, to whom Breton's representative in the Chamber of Deputies had recommended him. Breton prepared his *Gleaners* for the Exposition Universelle of 1855; it was spotted prior to the opening by Alfred Arago, inspector of Beaux-Arts, who assured him of a positive reception (fig. 8.36). Breton, whose reminiscences published near the end of his life treated the peasants from his village condescendingly, softened the theme of rural labor, which Millet and Courbet sought to expose in all its drudgery. He based his work partly on the master of the Neo-Greeks, Gleyre, whose *Ruth and Boaz* furnished a biblical setting for field work (fig. 8.37). In addition, Breton designed his composition to emphasize the presence of the *garde-champêtre*, the rural policeman supervising the gleaners. Although the artist drew nostalgically upon his native village

8.36 Jules Breton, *The Gleaners*, 1854. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.

8.37 Charles Gleyre, *Ruth and Boaz*, 1851–1854. Present whereabouts unknown.

8.38 Evariste Luminais, *The Fair Grounds*, Salon of 1861, wood engraving from *L'Illustration*, 17 August 1861.

of Courrières for inspiration, the *garde-champêtre*—benevolent as he may appear—embodied state authority in preserving the principle of private property and guarding the imperial forests. His friendly looking expression puts a benign front on authority, while at the same time assuring the bourgeois Salon audience that rural life is subject to control. Gautier especially admired Breton's work, enjoying the fact that the gleaners were regimented, "these poor Ruths who will probably not find their Boaz at the end of the day."[135] This was no unique feature in Second Empire painting: in 1861 Evariste Luminais exhibited *Champ de Foire* (an image of a horse fair strongly influenced by Rosa Bonheur), where a rural *gendarme* at the far left maintains the public order (fig. 8.38). According to one reviewer, "The *gendarme*, no less peaceable than a peace-maker, dominates the gathering and the silver braids of his respected tricorn [*sic*] appear resplendent in the eyes of the reassured public."[136]

Breton made one very revealing confession about his career: he was astonished that success came so quickly to him; that the greatest art critics of the time said the most extravagant things about his pictures. They kept seeing Virgil, Ruth, and Theocritus in his work where he had not intended them, but in turn he made up his mind to live up to their claims. He noted that the art critic Paul de Saint-Victor especially admired him and that he was fortunate that Saint-Victor often served on Salon juries. Saint-Victor, a fervent Bonapartist, is perhaps most remembered for his vicious attacks on Millet: his enthusiasm for Breton says a great deal. Breton's personal position coincided with the government's artistic policy: he criticized both Courbet and Millet for their extremism. Other government critics like Gautier and Chesneau contrasted Breton and Millet as the chiefs of opposing camps, praising the former unreservedly and citing the vulgarity of the latter. Chesneau saw in Breton the true artist who exacted from his models "a nobility of gesture, an elegance of contour, a majesty of line," embellishing nature and making rural life more sympathetic and appealing to a city audience for whom the peasant often had a frightening aspect."[138]

Since the Second Empire actively encouraged industrial expansion there were cultural producers who openly propagandized the achievements of the regime and the energy of the new entrepreneurs. One of these artists was François Bonhommé, a middle-of-the-road painter who opposed the June insurrection, as suggested by the images he created at the time of the 1848 revolution. Examples are his popular lithograph exhibited in 1849 showing the invasion of the National Assembly by the radicals Blanqui, Barbès, and Huber—part of the prelude to June, and the attack of Cavaignac on the barricade of Canal Saint-Martin (fig. 8.39). At one time, Bonhommé wanted to publish a series of worker images under the title of *Soldiers of Industry*, in which he concentrated on the individual character of factory or mine workers. With his republican ties undermined by the events of the period, Bonhommé disappeared from public visibility

OPPOSITE

8.39 François Bonhommé, *The Barricade of Canal Saint-Martin, 23 June 1848*, 1850, lithograph. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

8.40 François Bonhommé, *Diploma for a Mutual Aid Society*, pen design, 1852. Musée de l'Histoire du Fer, Jarville.

between 1849 and 1851, only to reappear at the Salon of 1852 as an advocate of the prince-president.[139]

In 1852 Bonhommé received the commission for the mutual aid society diplomas showing the prince-president in the center of improvident workers, women, and children—paternalistic images like the examples of the

encouraged and subsidized by the regime, Bonhommé tempered his liberalism to become the official painter of the newly industrialized economy. He urged the administration—including the emperor himself—to retain him on the order of the military painters so that he could document the imperial industrial triumphs and the life of the veterans of the Crimean and Italian campaigns as they reentered the labor force.[141] He flattered the emperor, claiming that the ruler's encouragement of industrial progress and regard for the working classes inspired his aesthetic concern for "technical truth." Bonhommé declared that French artists must portray the working classes for the sake of "the posterity and history of the imperial reign, on the battlefield and in the camps, and also in industrial life, on the terrain of pacific conquests where imperial France hosts the nations."

As Gabriel Weisberg notes, Bonhommé served Schneider as the official painter of the industrial complex at Le Creusot.[142] He did his first studies of Le Creusot in the mid-1850s and continued through most of the next decade. In 1867 he exhibited two watercolors at the World's Fair showing views of the Schneider manufactory about ten years apart, thus documenting not only the incredible growth of the enterprise but also the remarkable industrial expansion of the Second Empire. At Le Creusot Bonhommé concentrated on recording machinery and factory structures; he no longer painted close-ups of individual workers but showed them either swallowed up in the vast expanse of industrial terrain or as insignificant appendages to the mechanical apparatus of the factory interior.[143]

We may conclude this section with Meissonier, yet another painter who established close ties with the Second Empire. Already established by the end of the July Monarchy through the patronage of the haute bourgeoisie, he manifested profound realist tendencies in *Souvenir of Civil War*, exhibited at the Salon of 1850–1851. He subsequently received regular visits from Morny, who purchased at least three of his six Meissoniers between 1852 and 1854.[144] *Une rixe* (A Brawl), a genre scene set in the seventeenth century, was a hit at the 1855 World's Fair and was purchased by the emperor for the unprecedented sum of 25,000 francs. By decade's end, the emperor was inviting Meissonier to join his military campaign in Italy to gather material for painting *The Battle of Solferino*. At the same time, Meissonier projected a series illustrating the momentous events of the First Empire.[145]

Thus the Meissonier of the *Souvenir* was a potential threat to the Second Empire ideology and had to be brought into the fold; accordingly, we find Morny once again entering the scene during the pivotal years 1852–1854. Morny purchased *Les Bravi*, which hung at the Salon of 1852; *Young Man Reading while Dining*, on exhibit in 1853; and *Amateur Studying Drawings*, which was purchased the following year. These revert to Meissonier's earlier style, which now again received the official stamp of approval, although even here the critical events of the period affected his themes.

8.41 Ernest Meissonier, *Les Bravi*, Salon of 1852. Wallace Collection, London.

ried an allusion of the real threat of assassination in the wake of the coup d'état (fig. 8.41). Members of the Left were systematically hounded, and in turn Bonapartists feared reprisals against the prince-president. Several such attempts were made in 1852, including bogus ones designed to shore up sympathy for Louis-Napoléon. Meissonier's picture, while set in the time of Henri III, conveyed specific hints of the heated aftermath of 2 December.[146]

According to the *Economist* of 29 November 1851, the stock exchanges of Europe regarded Louis-Napoléon as "the sentinel of order"; Meissonier's many single figures of guards, musketeers, sentinels, and even off-duty soldiers served as efficient reminders that the imperial army—whose barracks were everywhere—was continually present to suppress the "hydra-headed monster of anarchy." While his single guardsmen wear the costume of earlier epochs, he was ultimately pressed into the service of contemporary official realism. Saint-Victor and other Bonapartist critics went after him in the 1850s for his limited repertoire, then praised him

enthusiastically for his *Battle of Solferino* when it was exhibited in 1864. About's remarks recalled somewhat the effect of the *Souvenir*; he commented that the dead Austrian troops had been "reduced to the state of scrap." But now the stark realism served the ideals of the Second Empire: the emperor observes from atop the hill the impending defeat of the enemy. At the same Salon, Meissonier exhibited, as a kind of pendant to *Solferino*, *The Retreat of 1814*, where Napoléon I is shown retreating after his setback in Laon in March of that year. *Solferino* was thus the antithesis of this work and pointed up Napoléon's legacy of military genius to his triumphal nephew. The *Solferino* commission actually grew out of an earlier (1849) government assignment to do a typical *Reader*, but the artist kept delaying the project to get a higher price, and in this the later administration seems to have acquiesced. By 1856 Meissonier received a commitment of 20,000 francs and now aspired to greater things; Napoléon III invited him to Solferino and he abandoned his old genre style in favor of a modern battle picture. This transition marked an advanced stage in the government's manipulation.[147]

Even in the case of the two most dominant realists of the period—Millet and Courbet—the power and influence of the Second Empire managed to affect the way they worked and their choice of theme and style. Although the methods employed by the regime varied, and are certainly not unique by standards of other periods or centuries, the fact that such a systematic control of the arts was at work just when the seeds of modernism were being sown is worth examining in detail. The government managed to blunt and neutralize the political potential of the radical realists, while at the same time elevating its own realist approach on the basis of the innovations of their regime. The regime rightly saw that the only way that it could remain in power was to cultivate popular support; to accomplish this meant manipulating the press and the visual arts to convey a clear message to the populace. To this end they spared no expense to create a propaganda milieu that shaped public opinion. By establishing their own brand of realism, they furthered a mode of contemporaneity that was closely tied to the technological and expansionist policies of the regime and ultimately glorified the French nation—features that would be assimilated by the avant-garde during the Third Republic. Finally, the Second Empire established a precedent for pervasive control of the media, which became the hallmark of authoritarian regimes in the twentieth century.

The regime's policies stimulated an economic boom in the 1850s and it continued to promote economic development more systematically than any other government of the period. The French state fostered this growth through a combination of tax incentives and laws encouraging investment. The creation of the Crédit Mobilier for awarding special investment funds launched a tidal wave of entrepreneurialism that facilitated manufacture, railway expansion, and the grand public works projects

including the elaborate rebuilding of the Paris infrastructure and the city's great boulevards and parks.

These vast undertakings in city planning were done in true imperial style as slums and working-class quarters were cleared and their unruly inhabitants displaced, boulevards widened and elongated to facilitate traffic and hamper insurrection, and Paris redesigned as the transportation hub of the nation. The court of Napoléon III and Eugénie dazzled by its splendor, but the tradeoff was an authoritarian government and regimented society. Holding the reins of domestic power ever so tightly, Napoléon III felt free to engage in ambitious foreign ventures and colonial expeditions. The conquest of Indochina was initiated in this period, the French grip on Algeria was strengthened, and trade negotiations from a position of power were carried out with Japan and Siam. Finally, Napoléon III even took the risk of gaining a foothold in the New World by intervening in the politics of Mexico and imposing the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico in 1864. Unexpected Mexican resistance and American opposition forced the French to withdraw, but Maximilian, who bravely refused to abandon his post, was defeated and executed in 1867.

The Second Empire ushered in the modern colonial enterprise. Its defeat by Prussia in 1870 allowed the Prussian ruler to claim the title of emperor, and the ensuing era not only witnessed the emergence of a full-blown colonialism but also an international array of rulers who governed or pretended to govern one form of empire or another. Although Hobsbawm dates the Age of Empire from the last quarter of the century, it is clear that the diplomatic and colonial practices of the Second Empire nurtured those of the Third Republic that vastly extended them. The transformation of Paris and imperial expansionism proceeded in tandem, stimulating the imaginations of creative minds everywhere and totally revamping culture. We can imagine a kind of internal urban theme park waiting to be strip-mined by modernists and an external fantasy realm holding out infinite possibilities for novel experiments. The modern metropolis organized sensations to cope with the institutionalized labyrinth, while the world without offered the appeal of individual daring and dramatic action not possible within the urban setting. These will be the central themes of the next volume, *Art in an Age of Empire*, where I explore the relationships of urban renewal and colonization to new forms of visualizing concepts of leisure, gain, conquest, and glory.

thereby deepening my feelings and practical knowledge." This statement would seem to me to exemplify his remoteness and distance from the actual human cost of revolution. *Briefe*, p. 133.

115. A number of the key events during the March days centered on the balcony of the palace. See H. Jessen, ed., *Die deutsche Revolution 1848/49 in Augenzeugenberichten* (Düsseldorf, 1969), p. 91.

116. *Briefe*, pp. 103–104. Menzel apologists for this remark usually point to his curious letter of 7 April 1848 to Puhlmann (*Briefe*, p. 132) that begins: "Bist du gleich garde—und ich durchaus plebejisch-gesinnt," which may be roughly translated as, "If you have the mindset of the Civic Guard—and I am thoroughly proletarian-minded . . ." But this phrase, taken out of context, has little meaning and loses the ironic signification it was intended to convey. The fuller statement runs: "Bist du gleich garde—und ich durchaus plebejisch-gesinnt welches Erstere ich hiermit ferner getadelt haben will; so will ich Dir doch wenig verhalten wie ich gestern bei Drake dem Bildmacher draussen gewesen, und habe seine Venus besichtiget . . ." This passage cannot be translated literally, but it negates the self-deprecating prose and turns it against Puhlmann as a form of reverse snobbery. The general sense is this: "If you insist on assuming a military posture I will be deeply critical of you because I am thoroughly plebeian; moreover, I will not hide from you the fact that yesterday I went to see Drake's naked Venus . . ." In this roundabout form of humorous, flowery language known as "Blödelei," Menzel puts down Puhlmann for being a stuffed shirt and insists that he is just "plain folks." Menzel's letters to Puhlmann (whom he calls "Kriegsgurgel," or "Old Warhorse") are almost always written in this satirical vein (see in particular I. Wirth, *Mit Adolph Menzel in Berlin* [Munich, 1965], p. 81). One letter starts out: "Der Niegesehene an den Niegesehenen" (roughly, "The never-seen to the never-seen"), probably implying that Puhlmann does not visit Menzel often enough or does not invite him frequently enough (*Briefe*, p. 174). In any case, the remark in the letter of 7 April 1848 cannot be used to support a position of sympathy for the popular classes. At the top of this letter he drew two cartoon figures corresponding to his polar categories: a member of the bourgeois Civic Guard and a regimental guard, suggesting his affiliation with the moderate Berlin *Bürgerwehr*. Forster-Hahn mentions ("Adolph Menzel's 'Daguerreoptypical' Image," p. 261) that Menzel did a study of a *Red Proletarian* that he sent to a friend in Paris, but not knowing what the image looks like we have no way of knowing how the subject was portrayed. We do have his chalk drawing of a *Volksredner* of ca. 1850, a stereotypical "Communist" of the period with ragged coat and scruffy beard—a decidedly unsympathetic representation akin to Daumier's contemporary caricatures of *Ratapoil*, the quintessential *agent provocateur*. For the reigning governments in Germany the "Volksredner" constituted a menace: "Volksredner gruppieren das Volk um sich." See Jessen, *Die deutsche Revolution*, p. 54.

117. *Briefe*, p. 133, letter to Arnold, 3 May 1848.

118. With, "Adolph von Menzel," p. 117.

119. Forster-Hahn, "'Die Aufbahrung der Märzgefallenen,'" p. 230.

120. Quoted in Paret, *Art as History*, p. 101.

121. Keisch and Riemann-Reyher, *Adolph Menzel*, p. 43.

122. K. Scheffler, *Adolph Menzel* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 18.

123. K. Scheffler, *Adolph Menzel, Der Mensch/Das Werk* (Berlin, 1929), pp. 101–102.

124. With, "Adolph von Menzel," pp. 31–32.

125. Formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, DDR, *Nationalgalerie Gemälde, Zeichnungen Ausstellung* (Adolph Menzel, 1980), pp. 332–333, nos. 114, 116.

126. P. Meyerheim, *Adolph von Menzel, Erinnerungen von Paul Meyerheim* (Berlin, 1906), p. 38; Hofmann, *Menzel—der Beobachter*, p. 87, no. 432. Some of this argument has been stimulated by M. Fried, *Realism, Writing, Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 39–41.

127. See G. Bartoschek, "Zur Entstehung des Krönungsbilde," *Nationalgalerie Gemälde, Zeichnungen Ausstellung*, p. 55.

128. With, "Adolph von Menzel," p. 255.

129. Ibid., p. 99.

130. K. Scheffler, *Adolph Menzel, Der Mensch/Das Werk*, p. 26.

131. Forster-Hahn presents evidence that Menzel did not disapprove of the work nor conceal it from the public, but the fact remains—as she herself agrees—that the memories of the past conjured up by the picture continued to fester in his consciousness. See Forster-Hahn, "'Die Aufbahrung der Märzgefallenen,'" p. 229.

132. G. Pauli, ed., *Alfred Lichtwark: Reisebriefe. Briefe an die Kommission für die Verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1924), 1:30–31.

133. Marx and Engels, *Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, pp. 123–126, 190–191, 194–195 (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 14 September and 31 December 1848). Much of Marx's invective here relates to the powerful role of David Hansemann as minister of finance in the Auerswald cabinet.

CHAPTER 8

1. To cite only one critical example: the Salon des Refusés. See A. Boime, "The Salon des Refusés and the Evolution of Modern Art," *Art Quarterly* 32 (1969): 411ff. Reflecting the Second Empire's sympathy for realism, the Salon des Refusés encouraged the aspirations of the second-generation realists. This chapter is a reprise of my earlier essay, "The Second Empire's Official Realism," in *The European Realist Tradition*, ed. G. P. Weisberg (Bloomington, 1982), pp. 31–52, 85–123.

2. G. Weisberg, "The Realist Tradition: Critical Theory and the Evolution of Social Themes," in *The Realist Tradition: French Painting and Drawing, 1830–1900*, Cleveland Museum of Art (1981), p. 14. For the relative character of realism and its application to specific historical epochs, see N. Hadjinicolaou, "L'Exigence de réalisme au Salon de 1831," in "Les Réalismes et l'histoire de l'art," ed. M. Estrella, special issue, *Histoire et critique des arts*, nos. 4/5 (May 1978): 21ff. The close connection between the government and the arts is seen in one critic's comment that Nieuwerkerke's salon had as many generals and deputies (MPs) as artists. See E. Gebaüer, *Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1855* (Paris, 1855), p. 114, discussing François Biard's picture (Catalogue du Salon, no. 2561). See also L. Nochlin, "New York, Brooklyn Museum: The Realist Tradition," *Burlington Magazine* 122 (1980): 263ff.

3. J. M. Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State* (New York, 1996), pp. 1–17. See also R. King, *The Judgement of Paris: Manet, Meissonier and an Artistic Revolution* (London, 2006).

4. C. Baroche, *Second Empire: Notes et souvenirs* (Paris, 1921), pp. 356–357; H. de Viel-Castel, *Mémoires*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1942), 1:238–239. This attitude coincided with that of the champion of the realists, Castagnary. See J. Castagnary, *Salons, 1857–1879*, 2 vols. (Paris 1892), 1:105–106.

5. D. G. Charlton, *Positivist Thought in France during the Second Empire, 1852–1870* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 5ff.; R. C. Binkley, *Realism and Nationalism, 1852–1871* (New York and London, 1935), pp. 41ff. For the interest in photography, see *The Second Empire: Art in France under Napoleon III*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (1978), pp. 401ff. The court had its official photographer, Comte Olympe Aguado.

6. D. I. Kulstein, *Napoleon III and the Working Class: A Study of Government Propaganda under the Second Empire* (San Jose, 1969), p. 78. Realism, of course, was not the exclusive concern of the Beaux-Arts program but rather constituted a major component of the official Salon style. Members of the imperial family privately relished eighteenth-century imagery, as well as the erotic pictures of a Cabanel or a Galimard. Galimard's *Léda*, purchased by the emperor from the Salon of 1857, provoked a lively scandal (Catalogue du Salon de 1857, no. 1092, "La Séduction de Léda"). Proudhon, Courbet's friend, was shocked by it and does not even bother to mention the name of the painter. See P.-J. Proudhon, *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination*

sociale (Paris, 1865), p. 262. The imperial family also stimulated the medieval fantasies of Viollet-le-Duc, but this reflected their desire to secure legitimacy through identification with the great dynasties of the past. Second Empire medievalism was mainly expressed through architecture, but there was a conservative type of religious painting tied to the government's renewed links with the church. The eighteenth-century taste—even when translated by a Chaplin—was related to the old decor of the imperial palaces and the personal preference of the empress. See E. A. Vizetelly, *The Court of the Tuileries, 1852–1870* (London, 1912), pp. 159–163; S. O. Simches, *Le Romantisme et le goût esthétique du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1964), p. 3; Charleton, *Positivist Thought in France*, pp. 12, 14, 67–70; A. Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (London and New Haven, 1980), pp. 266–271, 298.

7. For the Second Empire's universal expositions, see P. Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London, 1987).
8. M. Z. Brooke, *Le Play: Engineer and Social Scientist* (London, 1970), p. 60.
9. W. Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992).
10. Archives Nationales, F21.519, Mercey's draft for a report; *Exposition Universelle de 1855*, Catalogue du Salon de 1855, Prince Jérôme Napoléon's speech of 29 December 1853, p. xiii.
11. F. B. de Mercey, *Etudes sur les Beaux-Arts*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1855–1857), 3:192–93.
12. For Haussmann see D. H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, 1972); D. P. Jordan, *Transforming Paris: The Life and Labors of Baron Haussmann* (New York, 1995); T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (New York, 1985), pp. 23–78; M. Carmona, *Haussmann: His Life and Times, and the Making of Modern Paris* (Chicago, 2002).
13. G.-E. Haussmann, *Mémoires*, intro. F. Choay (Paris, 2000), p. 825.
14. C. Merruau, *Souvenirs de l'Hôtel de Ville de Paris 1848–1852* (Paris, 1875), p. 188.
15. The pioneer scholar of prostitution in Paris, Parent-Duchâtelet, wrote: "Prostitutes are as inevitable in a great urban center as are sewers, roads, and rubbish dumps. The attitude of the authorities should be the same in regard to the former as to the latter." Quoted in V. Rounding, *Grandes Horizontales* (London, 2003), pp. 9–10.
16. Haussmann, *Mémoires*, p. 825.
17. Merruau, *Souvenirs*, p. 496.
18. K. Marx and V. I. Lenin, *The Civil War in France: The Paris Commune* (New York, 1988), p. 78.
19. D. J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art* (New Haven and London, 1986), pp. 43–44.
20. Catalogue du Salon de 1853 (Paris, 1853), pp. 9ff.
21. J. Breton, *La Vie d'un artiste* (Paris, 1890), pp. 226–227.
22. P. de La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1899–1905), 1:53, 2:106ff.; T. Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III* (London, 1958), p. 5.
23. B. A. Granier de Cassagnac, *Souvenirs du Second Empire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1879–1882), 2:84–85.
24. *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1870), 1:27ff. See also the report from the prefect of police to the soon-to-be emperor in October 1852 (ibid., 3:283): "The Empire is accomplished, it will be proclaimed, but it is necessary that it be done soon, that it be done tomorrow; for the sake of everyone concerned it must be done to put a halt to the rumors and threats of criminal assault, to close the door forever on ambitious types who conspire in the shadows, to bring home the doubtful, convince the indifferent persons, and to seal forever the attachments which are certainly sincere but which may still anticipate the possibility of a change in regime. Finally, it must be done to perpetuate the great enterprise of the Emperor. . . ."
25. A. Lireux, *Assemblée Nationale Comique* (Paris, 1850), pp. 219, 360–362.
26. Kulstein, *Napoleon III and the Working Class*, pp. 38ff.; also the excellent study by N. Isser, *The Second Empire and the Press* (The Hague, 1974). See also I. Collins, *The Government and the*

Newspaper Press in France, 1814–1881 (Oxford, 1959), chapters 10 and 11, pp. 115ff., 136ff.

27. Kulstein, *Napoleon III*, pp. 45ff.; Isser, *The Second Empire*, pp. 19ff.
28. La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, 2:82–83; Kulstein, *Napoleon III*, pp. 58ff.; Isser, *The Second Empire*, pp. 25ff.
29. La Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, 1:118; Kulstein, *Napoleon III*, pp. 125ff.; Isser, *The Second Empire*, pp. 27–28.
30. Kulstein, *Napoleon III*, pp. 80ff.; Isser, *The Second Empire*, pp. 15ff. I am using Professor Robert Herbert's happy turn of phrase here.
31. Isser, *The Second Empire*, pp. 86ff. As an illustration of press manipulation in connection with the brochures, we may note that *Le Siècle*, informed by About, claimed that the pamphlet was authorized by the government, while *Le Pays* denounced this claim as erroneous, declaring that the government did all it could to prevent the pamphlet (which had been published in Brussels) from being circulated in France. Later, About wrote *La Prusse en 1860* in collaboration with Fould and Napoléon III, yet at the meeting with the German princes at Baden-Baden in June 1860, the emperor attacked About's views and lamented its publication.
32. Ibid., pp. 15–16.
33. Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III*, pp. 16–17. Persigny early signaled to the prefects the need to gain support of the masses in favor of Bonapartist candidates. A draft of his letter of 1852 for local elections sums up the government's policy: "It matters little that a few notorious enemies should be elected to the *conseil général*, what matters is that there should be no canton where the hand of the government has not at least sapped the foundations on which the old influences rested. . . . Overthrow the hold of the old influences on the minds of the people. . . . Do not fear to fight against old parties . . . our business above all is to create a [new] party."
34. *Papiers et correspondance de la famille impériale*, 1:257ff.
35. A. Poulet-Malassis, *Papiers secrets et correspondance du Second Empire* (Paris, 1877), pp. 315, 345.
36. Sainte-Beuve observed that most working writers already belonged to the Société des Gens de Lettres, an organization that, for modest dues, admitted all authors who published at least one volume. Its leadership, however, was weak, and the steering committee scarcely had the opportunity to consider the material interests of hard-up colleagues. The Société des Auteurs Dramatiques was somewhat more specialized but differed from the other in name only, and the two could be easily fused. The emperor, with his ample skills of persuasion, would win them over handily, as shown in the case of other kinds of laborers.
37. Sainte-Beuve's plans for organizing writers also included close contacts with artists. His secretary, Jules Troubat, knew Champfleury intimately, and through him Max Buchon—both intimate friends of Courbet's. In fact, Champfleury was a protégé of Sainte-Beuve's, and it was he who persuaded Sainte-Beuve to hire Troubat. Champfleury was also a member of the Société des Gens de Lettres, and Troubat claimed that through him Sainte-Beuve mediated between the apostles of realism and the critics. J. Troubat, *Une amitié à la D'Arthez* (Paris, 1900), pp. 31ff., 270, 153ff., et passim.
38. Isser, *The Second Empire*, p. 11; P. Barbier and F. Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1957–1959), 8:74–75, 76–78, 88, 127–130; Poulet-Malassis, *Papiers secrets*, pp. 200ff. The administration's obsession with popular songs and its peculiar approach to culture is seen again later on, when during the so-called Liberal Empire the problem of the *Marseillaise* came up. The El Dorado, a popular café-concert, asked for permission to allow its performers to sing the national anthem. The bureaucrat who prepared the report noted that there were two opinions on the case within the government ranks. One faction thought that the government should give a positive authorization and thereby eliminate the rebellious potential of the song. The opposing government faction advanced the opinion that, given the present state of mind, the proliferation of performances of the *Marseillaise* in public places "would be a new and dangerous source of stimulation. Its exclusively revolutionary character is only too well known and accepted to hope that the generosity of the government

would neutralize its impact" (Poulet-Malassis, *Papiers secrets*, pp. 200–202). It was the latter view that ultimately prevailed.

39. Poulet-Malassis, *Papiers secrets*, pp. 202–207.
40. Ibid., p. 205.
41. E. P. Spencer, "The Academic Point of View in the Second Empire," in *Courbet and the Naturalistic Movement*, ed. G. Boas (New York, 1967), pp. 64ff.; P. de Chennevières, "Le Comte de Nieuwerkerke," in *Souvenirs d'un directeur des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1883–1889), 2nd part, pp. 92ff.
42. F. Ravaisson, "De l'enseignement du dessin dans les lycées," *Le Moniteur universel*, 18–19 January 1854.
43. J. C. Sloane, *French Painting between the Past and the Present* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 24ff.; H. C. and C. A. White, *Canvases and Careers* (New York, 1965), pp. 95–96.
44. C. H. Stranahan, *A History of French Painting* (New York, 1888), p. 265.
45. Catalogue du Salon de 1853, pp. 10–11; Catalogue du Salon de 1857, p. xxxiii. For views of the government at the Salons, see Sloane, *French Painting*, pp. 44ff. The emperor's attempt that year to win over the artistic community is shown by the 40 Légion d'honneur decorations, 240 medals and 222 honorable mentions.
46. Catalogue du Salon de 1853, p. 11.
47. Ibid., pp. 7–9, 11.
48. Exposition Universelle de 1855, Catalogue du Salon de 1855, pp. vii ff.
49. Ibid., pp. xlv ff.
50. Catalogue du Salon de 1857, pp. xxx ff., xxxviii; Brooke, *Le Play*, pp. 60–61. Le Play was an engineer who taught at the Ecole des Mines and later became a sociologist who did pioneering fieldwork among the Parisian and foreign working classes and peasant populations. His work was biased by his desire to find the "ideal," morally upright working-class and peasant family and to elevate this type to the norm under the Second Empire. His "consensus" type characterized still another example of Second Empire propaganda and its influence on contemporary social science.
51. Catalogue du Salon de 1859, pp. viii ff.
52. Ibid., p. ix. By 1857 the government assumed a negative stance to bring the younger generation into line with its view of realism. Fould was gratified in 1859 to find that while no great genius had yet emerged, there was an absence of those "presumptuous singularities which a false taste inspires." There was more study, less haste; fewer *ébauches* were presented as serious efforts. The return to sane conditions reflected the emperor's solicitude and the administration's policy and merited the praise of the "enlightened public." That year Daubigny, an imperial favorite, earned a *rappel* of the first-class medal, and Breton and Armand Leleux received *rappels* of the second-class medal.
53. Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III*, p. 104.
54. Catalogue du Salon de 1863, pp. viii ff.
55. Archives Nationales, F21.486, draft for a report to the minister of state (1862) outlining the progress of the English: "The International Exhibition at London demonstrates a quite remarkable progress in the taste of English manufacturers. Those English products which are based on design, if they have not yet surpassed our analogous manufactures, are making giant strides toward them. . . ." See also A. de Beaumont, "Les Arts industriels en France et l'exposition de 1863," *Revue des deux mondes*, 2e pér., t. 47 (September–October 1863): 986–1001; A. Boime, "The Teaching Reforms of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France," *Art Quarterly* 1 (1977): 5, 9.
56. Catalogue du Salon de 1864, pp. viii, x.
57. Ibid., pp. xiii–xiv.
58. Already in 1854 Auguste Couder, member of the Academy and government partisan, proposed at one of the Academy's weekly meetings the following topics for the Prix Bordin:

"On the Influence of the Graphic Arts on Industry" and "On the Influence of Journalism on the Fine Arts." Both themes showed the major preoccupations of the government in its desire to direct the course of the arts. See Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Académie des Beaux-Arts, *Procès-Verbaux, January 1851–December 1855*, Séance of 19 August 1854. The final selection, "De l'influence des arts du dessin sur l'industrie," was announced in 1856. See L'Institut: Académie des Beaux-Arts, *Séances publiques* 13 (1854–1858), Programme . . . (7 October 1854): 13ff. The conditions stipulated that essays had first to analyze those qualities which distinguished the products of French industry and to seek out their roots; then to indicate the advantages resulting from these qualities both for the honor of the nation and for its resources; and finally to propose suggestions for helping preserve France's high place in industry, for strengthening it, and for encouraging fine artists to inspire with their example the industrial sector of the economy that contributes to industrial expansion. Clearly, this was an unusual project for the Academy and especially for the launching of a new prize.

59. Boime, "The Teaching Reforms," pp. 2–3, 27 (notes 15–16); "An Unpublished Petition Exemplifying the Oneness of the Community of Nineteenth Century French Artists," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 345ff.
60. J. Guiffrey and M. J. Barthélemy, *Liste des pensionnaires, 1663–1907* (Paris, 1908), pp. 121, 124.
61. Boime, "The Teaching Reforms," pp. 1ff.; M. Ivens, "La Liberté guidant l'artiste," *Les Révoltés logiques*, no. 11 (Winter 1979–1980): pp. 48ff.
62. T. Thoré, *Salons de W. Bürger*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1870), 2:375–376.
63. P. de Saint-Victor, "L'Académie des Beaux-Arts et les réformes," *La Presse* 8–9 (January 1864). Saint-Victor was a confirmed Bonapartist and was later made inspector-general in the Ministry of Fine Arts. See Sloane, *French Painting*, p. 225.
64. E. Chesneau, *Le Décret du 13 novembre et l'Académie des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1864). Chesneau, a protégé of Nieuwerkerke and of Saint-Victor, worked at the Louvre and wrote for *Le Constitutionnel* starting in 1863. He collaborated with Duveyrier—one of the other government pamphleteers—on the *Grande Encyclopédie* and wrote an essay on Morny's collection as well as on a luxury edition of the imperial collection at Compiègne. In 1869 he was appointed an inspector of fine arts. Chesneau dedicated his book on Carpeaux to Nieuwerkerke, drawing attention to their more than twenty years of "constante amitié." See Chesneau, *Le Statuaire J.-B. Carpeaux, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1880), pp. i–ii. Also Sloane, *French Painting*, pp. 49, 219.
65. Chesneau, *Le Décret*, pp. 14ff.
66. Chesneau, "Le Réalisme et l'esprit français dans l'art," *Revue des deux mondes*, 2e pér., t. 46 (1 July 1863): 218ff.
67. Ibid., pp. 229ff. My understanding of Champfleury's brand of realism has been greatly enhanced by T. J. Clark, *Image of the People* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973), pp. 53ff.
68. Chesneau, "Le Réalisme," p. 237. Still further indication of a concerted effort on the part of the government-inspired hacks to prepare the public for the reforms is Sainte-Beuve's article on Champfleury in the *Moniteur* on 5 January 1863. Anticipating several of the arguments of Chesneau, Sainte-Beuve insisted on the charm of realism for serious minds but emphasized that it needed to be "refreshed" by "style" and feeling. Further: "You (i.e., realism) also need . . . a certain something which fulfills and completes you, which corrects without falsifying you, which elevates you without making you lose contact with the earth, which gives you all the spirit possible without ceasing for a moment to appear natural, which leaves you still recognizable to all, but more luminous, more adorable and more beautiful than ordinarily in life—in short, that which is called the *ideal*." See C.-A. Sainte-Beuve, "Les Frères Le Nain: Peintres sous Louis XIII par M. Champfleury," in *Nouveaux lundis*, 13 vols. (Paris, 1864–1878), 4:137–38.
69. T. E. Duval, Jr., *The Subject of Realism in the "Revue des deux mondes," 1831–1865* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 46ff.
70. Archives Nationales, F21.487, "Rapport à Son Excellence le Ministre d'Etat" [1856].

71. Champfleury, *Le Réalisme* (Paris, 1857), p. 275; E. Duranty, "Notes sur l'art," *Réalisme*, 10 July 1856; "Esquisse de la méthode des travaux," *Réalisme*, 15 November 1856; "M. Max Buchon et le réalisme," *Réalisme*, 15 December 1856.

72. G. Riat, *Gustave Courbet, peintre* (Paris, 1906), p. 133; *Courbet raconté par lui-meme et par ses amis*, ed. P. Courthion, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1948–1950), 2:205.

73. E. Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales dans l'art* (Paris, 1868), pp. 224–225.

74. O. Merson, *La Peinture en France* (Paris, 1861), pp. 63ff.

75. Ibid., p. 81.

76. Ibid., pp. 66, 69ff.

77. Ibid., p. 87.

78. E. About, *Salon de 1864* (Paris, 1864), pp. 74ff.

79. See the excellent study by C. C. Hungerford, "Ernest Meissonier's First Military Paintings: 1: 'The Emperor Napoleon III at the Battle of Solferino,'" *Arts Magazine* 54 (January 1980): 89ff. Also A. Boime, "New Light on Manet's *Execution of Maximilian*," *Art Quarterly* 36 (1973): 178.

80. O. Gréard, *Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, ses souvenirs, ses entretiens* (Paris, 1897), pp. 39ff., 242, 260, 262.

81. Merson, *La Peinture en France*, pp. 66ff.; D. Bernasconi, "Mythologie d'Abd-el-Kader dans l'iconographie française au XIXe siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., t. 77 (1971): 51ff. (Bernasconi erroneously attributes the painting to Horace Vernet [ibid., p. 56, fig. 10].)

82. Naturally, the civilizing influence of the colonists converts the "heathen," and thus it is that French Christians could ask for and receive the protection of Abd el Kader during the massacres in Damascus in July 1860.

83. For Gérôme, see G. M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, with a Catalogue Raisonné* (London, 1986), pp. 44–77, 78–83.

84. M. Etienne-Gallois, *L'Ambassade de Siam au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1862), pp. 181ff.; C. Meyniard, *Le Second Empire en Indo-Chine* (Paris, 1891), pp. 228ff., 262ff., 265n, 403ff., 443ff.; G. M. Ackerman, *Jean-Léon Gérôme*, Dayton Art Institute (1972), pp. 54–55; Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire*, pp. 307–308; Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme*, pp. 214–215.

85. No mention of the political implications of Courbet's work in the Salon of 1850–1851 can omit reference to T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973).

86. See Meyniard, *Le Second Empire en Indo-Chine*, pp. 316ff., 319–320, for the implications of the gifts from the perspective of the Siamese (although actual reference is to 1856 rather than to 1861). Gérôme, of course, was the paradigm of the younger generation of academic painters carefully cultivated by the regime. During 1848 he was a moderate republican, participating in the contest for an image of the Republic but also serving in the National Guard during the June Days. The commission for the Siamese delegation opened the doors to him at Compiègne, where he often designed charades and staged *tableaux vivants* for the court. While working on the commission he married the daughter of Goupil, the famous art dealer and print publisher who also happened to be a fanatical Bonapartist. Gérôme developed a reputation for depicting ethnic types, but it should be noted that he sometimes ran diplomatic errands during his voyages to the Near East. Napoléon III made concerted efforts to maintain and increase the French influence in this area, and Gérôme's photographic approach suited the more modern colonizing techniques of the emperor than the blushingly romantic and exotic images of Delacroix.

87. C. Moreau-Vauthier, *Gérôme, peintre et sculpteur* (Paris, 1906), pp. 100ff.; T. Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–1856), 1:218ff.

88. Quoted in Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris*, p. 3.

89. Archives Nationales, F21.83, dossier "M. Gérôme, tableau: Le Siècle d'Auguste, 30 8bre 1852, 20,000 francs."

90. The final price, 20,000 francs, would have represented a small fortune for the twenty-eight-year-old artist.

91. Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 2:35ff.; P. Petroz, *L'Art et la critique en France depuis 1822* (Paris, 1875), pp. 164–166. One of their favorite targets for satire was Ingres; see Moreau-Vauthier, *Gérôme*, p. 100 and 100n.

92. Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire*, pp. 63–64, 259–260; Merson, *La Peinture en France*, pp. 23ff.

93. Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 1:218.

94. Hamon's first job was at the Sèvres manufactory, where he worked as a potter and a decorator during the years 1848–1852. In 1852 the government's purchase of *The Human Comedy* freed him to work full time as a Salon artist. See E. Hoffmann, *Jean-Louis Hamon, peintre (1821–1874)*, with a preface by Gérôme (Paris, 1903), pp. 58ff., 64–65. But he continued to work independently on porcelain in the shop of Deck and later moved in the circle of Bracquemond. This would suggest that the taste for "Japonisme" is related to the decorative aims of the Neo-Greek movement and forges another link between Gleyre's first-generation disciples and the second, who became known as the impressionists.

95. Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 2:42.

96. J. Breton, *La Vie d'un artiste* (Paris, 1890), pp. 257–258; Hoffmann, *Jean-Louis Hamon*, pp. 70ff., 89, 92; Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Second Empire*, pp. 313–314.

97. Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 2:44.

98. M. Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (1941): 175–76; R. Ponton, "Les Images de la paysannerie dans le roman rural à la fin du 19e siècle," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 17/18 (November 1977): 62 and 62n.

99. Merson, *La Peinture en France*, pp. 198–199.

100. T. J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* (Greenwich, Conn., 1973), pp. 120–121; G. Duby and A. Wallon, *Histoire de la France rurale*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1976), vol. 3, *Apogée et crise de la civilisation paysanne, 1789–1914*, p. 360.

101. K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (New York, 1969), pp. 18, 75.

102. Merson, *La Peinture en France*, pp. 183ff.

103. Ibid., pp. 188–189.

104. Ibid., pp. 190–191.

105. For the background on this project, see the excellent piece by G. M. Ackerman, "Three Drawings by Gérôme in the Yale Collection," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 36 (Fall 1976): 8ff.

106. E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Millet raconté par lui-meme*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1921), 2:47–54.

107. Gautier, who saw the designs in 1858, wrote: "The pope, a railway carriage!—Strange juxtaposition of terms, which sum up so well the present epoch: the old spirit and the modern spirit, the immutable tradition blessing infinite progress." See Gautier, "A travers les ateliers," *L'Artiste*, nouv. sér., t. 4 (1858): 18. Strange juxtaposition indeed! The Pope, Pius IX, was the same reactionary who promulgated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and the Syllabus of Errors, who condemned material progress and the open society. The original order for the wagon came down from the Società Pio-Latino that built a railroad from Rome to Frascati within the Papal States. The pope only permitted a few short lines in papal territory for fear that larger lines would contribute to political unification of Italy. That his concerns were related to events in France is certain: the following year Napoléon III assisted the *Risorgimento* by combating the Austrians at Solferino and Magenta, and his approval of the annexation of part of the papal territory to the new Kingdom of Italy unleashed a violent campaign against him on the part of conservative Catholics at home and abroad. Pius IX's benediction on industrial progress and the cooperation of the French in the production of his special gift wagon must have been seen by both sides as a gesture of friendly persuasion.

At the very least, it represented a major concession on the part of Pius IX to the industrial expansion promoted by Napoléon III.

108. Baunard, *Un siècle de église de France, 1800–1900* (Paris, 1901), pp. 160, 228–229.

109. G. P. Palmade, *French Capitalism in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. G. M. Holmes (Newton Abbot, Devon, 1972), pp. 122ff., 155.

110. Arts Council of Great Britain, *Gustave Courbet, 1819–1877* (London, 1978), p. 36; Courthion, *Courbet raconté par lui-meme*, 1:163–164.

111. Isser, *The Second Empire*, pp. 34ff., 61–62, 123ff.

112. C. Duveyrier, *L'Avenir et les Bonaparte* (Paris, 1864).

113. Kulstein, *Napoleon III*, pp. 69ff.

114. Ibid., pp. 72–73.

115. Archives Nationales, F21.83, dossier "M. Génod, peinture. Inondations de Lyon, 17 8bre 1857, 2000 francs. Musée de Lyon (Rhône)." Génod wrote to the minister of state on 9 October 1857 to persuade the administration to purchase his *Une scène des inondations des Brotteaux*, which he referred to as "Cette oeuvre toute gouvernementale," and further reminded the minister that he was a professor at the Ecole Impériale des Beaux-Arts at Lyons. A second letter, dated 10 October, proved to be the clincher: "As professor of an imperial school, I wish only to have the honor to show Lyons as well as my students that the Emperor's government knows how to appreciate the works of a Lyonnais master."

116. Archives Nationales, F21.66, dossier "M. Bouguereau, peinture. Entrée de l'Empereur à Tarascon, 14 juin 1856, 5000 francs (Musée de Tarascon, Bouches-du-Rhône)," rough draft of a letter dated 14 June 1856 to the prefect of the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône. See also M. Vachon, *W. Bouguereau* (Paris, 1900), pp. 85–86.

117. See the Salon catalogue entry under Lassalle, Catalogue du Salon de 1857, no. 1585. Also E. F. Fleury, *Souvenirs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1897), 1:345ff.

118. See R. Rosenblum's discussion in *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution*, Réunion des Musées Nationaux (1975), pp. 492–93.

119. L. A. Loubère, *Radicalism in Mediterranean France* (Albany, 1974), p. 52.

120. "Partie non officielle," *Le Moniteur universel*, 10 June 1856; Catalogue du Salon de 1857, nos. 58 and 1976; Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, *Jean-Pierre Antigna* (Orléans, 1978), no. 18.

121. For the insurrection at Trélazé and the Marianne, see the following: "Faits divers," *La Presse*, 2 September 1855; "Tribunal de police: Correctionnelle d'Angers; Affaire dite des carrières," *Le Constitutionnel*, 23 September 1855; F. Attibert, *Quatre ans à Cayenne*, ed. L. Watteau (Brussels, 1859), pp. xxv, 5ff.; H. Chabanne, *Evasion de L'île du Guiane (Guyane française)*, Paris, 1862; *Guerre à l'ignorance* (Pouilly-sur-Loire [Nièvre], 1867); F. Remi, *La Marianne dans les campagnes* (Auxerre, 1881), p. 53; F. Simon, *La Marianne, société secrète au pays d'Anjou* (Angers, 1939), pp. 41 and 41n, 46, 49ff., 79ff., 83ff., 101ff., 118; J. Maitron, *Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1964–1966), 1:116–17, 166–67; 2:372–73; 3:77, 396; M. Agulhon, *Marianne au combat: L'Imagerie et la symbolique républiçaine de 1789 à 1880* (Paris, 1979), p. 17. For a government-subsidized, arch-conservative view of the Marianne, see the anonymously published *La Marianne; ou La Jacquerie de toutes les époques* (Paris, 1856).

122. "Cours et tribunaux—Société secrète.—Ramifications de la Marianne dans La Nièvre.—Onze prévenus," *La Presse*, 31 August 1855; "Tribunaux," *Le Siècle*, 31 August 1855; "Tribunal de police: Correctionnelle d'Angers; Affaire dite des carrières," *Le Constitutionnel*, 23 September 1855.

123. "Partie non officielle," *Le Moniteur universel*, 13 June 1856. Emphasis mine.

124. *La Marianne; ou La Jacquerie*, p. xi.

125. Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 2:102.

126. Quoted in "Faits divers," *Le Moniteur universel*, 6 June 1856: "It is literally impossible to say how enthusiastic the reception was for His Majesty on the entire route of his itinerary: the

cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* resounded from everywhere . . . the entire population has made a point of thanking the sovereign for the happy thought which brought him to us, bearing consolations and hope. . . . At each step, the Emperor encountered the suffering victims ruined by the flood, who beseeched him for aid; His Majesty was accompanied by General Niel, his aide-de-camp, who held a sack of gold, and he plunged an open hand into it and gave to all the unfortunates a first aid destined to sweeten their present afflictions."

127. Catalogue du Salon de 1857, no. 1424.

128. Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision*, pp. 225, 263ff.

129. Paris, Archives Nationales, F21.16, dossier "Mlle R. Bonheur, peinture. Animaux dans un pâturage, 2 juillet 1848, 3000 francs." The work was completed in 1849. In his report to the minister on 18 April 1849, Inspector of Fine Arts Garraud called the painter number one in the animal field and emphasized that the animals in her picture "are treated in a very remarkable style and the entire work expressed a genuine feeling for nature."

130. As I have shown elsewhere, her foregrounding of animals, subordination of the male human in comparison, cross-dressing, and championing of women's rights are related to her same-sex inclinations: animals allowed her to get beyond the compartmentalized gender roles of the period. See A. Boime, "The Case of Rosa Bonheur: Why Can't a Woman Be More Like a Man?" *Art History* 4 (December 1981): 384–409.

131. *The Horse Fair* was involved in controversy over its original destination: Bonheur claimed that that she presented it to the state for purchase but Morny turned it down, while others claimed that the state offered to purchase it but she went elsewhere for a better offer. Either way, there is no question that Bonheur painted it with the Second Empire taste in mind. For a summary of the issues, see G. P. Weisberg, "Rosa Bonheur's Reception in England and America: The Popularization of a Legend and the Celebration of a Myth," in *Rosa Bonheur: All Nature's Children*, Dahesh Museum (New York, 1998), p. 1, n. 2.

132. E. A. Vizetelly, *The Court of the Tuileries, 1852–1870* (London, 1912), pp. 300ff., 304–305, 309–310.

133. H. Delaborde, "Salon de 1853," in *Mélanges sur l'art contemporain* (Paris, 1866), pp. 81–83.

134. Breton, *La Vie d'un artiste*, pp. 194, 197, 199, 206; A. B. Lacouture, *Jules Breton: Painter of Peasant Life* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 59–77.

135. Breton, *La Vie d'un artiste*, pp. 214–15, 226–27; Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition*, pp. 82ff.; Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts*, 2:62. Breton felt proud of the fact that he had eliminated the traditional biblical reference from his work—that he did the first modern picture of gleaners. Yet he certainly idealized rural chores. He preferred crepuscular moments when figures could be silhouetted and the effects of labor diluted. Discussing his *Weeders*, he recalled the original twilight scene that inspired it: "It was like a natural transfiguration of the humblest of labors." He added further that never before did he understand so clearly "that work is a prayer." See Breton, *Un peintre paysan* (Paris, 1896), p. 111.

136. A. M., "Salon de 1861," *L'Illustration* 38 (31 August 1861): 136.

137. Breton, *Un peintre paysan*, p. 281.

138. Chesneau, *Les Nations rivales dans l'art*, p. 300. The different attitudes of Breton and Millet on the question of work is related to their class backgrounds. Although both came from conservative well-to-do families, Millet's father was a farmer who worked the land, while Breton's father managed estates and workers for an aristocratic landowner. (For Breton's family and background, see Lacouture, *Jules Breton*, pp. 21–36.) Breton's discomfort in the presence of poor people and indigents is revealed in his childhood memories of a trip he made with his father to collect payment from woodcutters and lumber merchants. See Breton, *La Vie d'un artiste*, pp. 93ff., 98.

139. G. P. Weisberg, "François Bonhommé and Early Realist Images of Industrialization, 1830–1870," *Arts Magazine* 50 (April 1980): 133–34.

140. Weisberg, "François Bonhommé," p. 133; Kulstein, *Napoleon III*, pp. 85–87.

141. Archives Nationales, F21.65, 120; J. F. Schnerb, "François Bonhommé," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 4e sér., t. 9 (January 1913): 11ff.; ibid. (February 1913): 132ff.; K. Janke and M. Wagner, "Das Verhältnis von Arbeiter und Maschinerie im Industriebild: Rekonstruktion einer Bilderfolge zur Schwerindustrie von François Bonhommé," *Kritische Berichte* 5–6 (1976): 5ff.; L. Nochlin, *Gustave Courbet: A Study of Style and Society* (New York, 1977), pp. 111ff.; P. Le Nouëne, "Les Soldats de l'industrie de François Bonhomme: L'Idéologie d'un projet," in "Les Réalismes et l'histoire de l'art," ed. M. Estrella, special issue, *Histoire et critique des arts*, nos. 4/5 (May 1978): 35ff.; Weisberg, "Bonhommé," pp. 132ff.; Weisberg, *The Realist Tradition*, pp. 71ff.

142. Weisberg, "Bonhommé," pp. 134–135. For the relationship between Schneider's position in society and his taste, see A. Boime, "Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century France*, ed. E. C. Carter II, R. Forster, and J. N. Moody (Baltimore and London, 1976), pp. 139, 141. Schneider typifies the new breed cultivated by the Second Empire; the son of a notary, he served his apprenticeship in a bank and as manager of a local ironworks. Then with his brother as the financier and negotiator, he laid the foundations of the great complex at Le Creusot, which became the leading producers of locomotives, steel rails, machinery, and armaments in France. He represented Le Creusot in the Legislative Assembly during the period 1852–1870 and held the appointed offices of minister of agriculture, commerce, and public works (during the presidency of Louis-Napoléon), and later, president of the legislature. The government named him to committees for the organization of the World's Fairs and revered him as the founder of an immense industrial complex.

143. This approach is expressed in his own descriptions of pictures of Le Creusot prepared for the Ecole des Mines: "1er tableau: le marteau pilon, machines et figures; 2ème tableau: vue générale du Creusot, exploitation figures; 3ème tableau: forge de laminoirs à rails, figures." See Archives Nationales, F21.65, letter from Bonhommé to Tournois, 16 June 1857, and the accompanying sketches.

144. Morny started buying Meissonier's work in 1852: see C. C. Hungerford, "The Art of Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier: A Study of the Critical Years 1834 to 1855" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1977), pp. 312–14, nos. 43–44, 46, 50. For Morny's direct contact with the painter (although at a later date), see Gréard, *Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier*, p. 287. Three of the seven works Meissonier exhibited in the World's Fair of 1855 belonged to Morny.

145. C. C. Hungerford, "Ernest Meissonier's First Military Paintings: II: '1814, The Campaign of France,'" *Arts Magazine* 54 (January 1980): 98ff.

146. M. de Maupas, *Mémoires sur le Second Empire* (Paris, 1884), pp. 526, 530–531; I. de Saint-Amand, *Napoleon III and His Court* (New York, 1898), pp. 55ff. *Une rixe*, also unusual in its tumult, enjoyed a great success at the 1855 World's Fair. It shows two men putting an end to a fight in a cabaret. The central character, who steps in between the two rowdies and disarms the one at the right, bears a distinct resemblance to the emperor himself. We may recall that at this moment he was not only insuring peace at home by suppressing all factionalism but also waging war in the Crimea and intervening between Turkey and Russia. No wonder that he and Prince Albert—his ally in the Crimea—loved this work; the emperor bought it for 25,000 francs—astronomical for a genre picture—and then presented it to Albert as a gift.

147. Naturally, the relationship between the first Napoléon and his nephew was earnestly advertised at the outset of the Bonapartist campaign, but it was gradually modified to demonstrate that Napoléon III could stand on his own two feet. The meaning of the pendants by Meissonier is anticipated in the following statement by a Bonapartist apologist: "Un jour viendra peut-être où, au point de vue des intérêts de l'humanité, le plus beau titre de gloire de Napoléon Ier, ce sera d'avoir été le précurseur de Napoléon III." In C. Sosthène-Berthellot, *Essai sur le caractère et les tendances de l'Empereur Napoléon III* (Paris, 1858), p. 339. For the Solferino commission and its background, see Hungerford, "Ernest Meissonier's First Military Paintings: I: 'The Emperor Napoleon III at the Battle of Solferino,'" *Arts Magazine* 54 (January 1980): 89–90; Hungerford, *Ernest Meissonier: Master in His Genre* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 115–121; M. J. Gotlieb, *The Plight of Emulation: Ernest Meissonier and French Salon Painting* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 150–151.

CHAPTER 9

1. Manet's close friend, the poet and critic Zacharie Astruc, wrote in an 1860 exhibition review: "Tradition is only a pale principle of teaching; romanticism, a soul without a body, a curiosity of the library that cannot be of the slightest general practical usage. The future therefore entirely belongs to the young generation. They love the truth and devote all their ardor to it. The things made directly after nature have neithere time or place. They will never go out of date and will remain beautiful!" Z. Astruc, *Le Salon intime: Exposition au boulevard des Italiens* (Paris, 1860), p. 108.
2. I am using E. Zola, *The Experimental Novel and Other Essays*, trans. B M. Sherman (New York, 1964), pp. 1–54.
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. Toché's notes were published in A. Vollard, *Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux* (Paris, 1937), pp.170–180. See also B. A. Brombert, *Edouard Manet: Rebel in a Frock Coat* (Boston and New York, 1996), for partial translation, pp. 370–371.
5. Quoted in Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, p. 376.
6. J. Baudot, *Renoir, ses amis, ses modèles* (Paris, 1949), p. 53.
7. E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926), 1:12–13; *Manet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, ed. P. Courthion and P. Cailler, 2 vols. (Lausanne, 1953), 1:43.
8. Moreau-Nélaton, *Manet raconté par lui-même*, 1:16.
9. This idea was inspired by Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, chapter 3 et passim.
10. Ibid., 2:102–103.
11. N. Locke, *Manet and the Family Romance* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001), pp. 116–118. This possibility is contested by Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, pp. 98–100.
12. A. Proust, "Edouard Manet: Souvenirs," *La Revue blanche*, February–May 1897, p. 168. In the expanded version of 1913, Proust left out this particular recollection.
13. M. J. Brisset, "Le Pêcheur des bords du Seine," *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1840–1842), 2:116.
14. Brombert, *Edouard Manet*, p. 211.
15. A. Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (London and New Haven, 1980), pp. 458–473.
16. A. Boime and A. Kossolapov, "Manet's Lost Infanta," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 42 (2003): 407–418. The precise picture he copied has not been documented, but most Manet specialists agree that he painted *The Infanta* when he registered in 1859 to copy.
17. A. C. Hanson, *Manet and the Modern Tradition* (New Haven, 1977), pp. 155–156 and n. 108.
18. T. Reff, "Copyists in the Louvre, 1850–1870," *Art Bulletin* 46 (December 1964): 556; J. S. Boggs, "Degas Notebooks at the Bibliothèque Nationale II: Group B (1858–1861)," *Burlington Magazine* 100 (June 1958): 196, 200.
19. Boime, *Thomas Couture*, pp. 408, 410–414, 417–424, 468–469, 478–479. See also D. Rouart and D. Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet: Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols. (Lausanne and Paris, 1975), vol. 2, no. 453 (hereafter referenced as "RW" and the number of the illustration.
20. RW21, RW418–419, RW423, RW428–431, RW441–442, RW513. In the case of *The Infanta*, Manet's skillful cropping adapted an off-center figure to his favorite centering mode. This tendency to compositional centrality and symmetry in his early portraiture and copying practice has been analyzed by Andrew Brainerd in what he describes as the "Manet Matrix" (A. Brainerd, *The Infanta Adventure and the Lost Manet* [Michigan City, Ind., 1988], pp. 41–65). Another conspicuous trademark of the copy is the radiographic evidence of scraping in sev-