

PUBLIC EXHIBITIONS OF DRAWING IN PARIS, FRANCE (1860-1890):

A STUDY IN DATA-DRIVEN ART HISTORY

by

Debra J. DeWitte



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Jaclyn Jean Gibney,

May you work hard and dream big.

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by

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Debra J. DeWitte, PhD  
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This project delves into the study of works on paper (pastels, watercolors, charcoals, and drawings) that were exhibited in Paris between 1860 and 1890. The exhibition of drawings during these years has not previously been analyzed from a macro level largely because the resources were not available to do so. Instead, art historians have more often focused on individuals or small groups of artists, and from these findings, have made inferences about the art world as a whole. However, of the thousands of artists who exhibited drawings in the Salon during this period, art historians would be challenged today to recognize even 5% of their names. Through a revelation of the exhibitors of drawings during these years, there is considerable evidence of successful nineteenth-century artists that are not known or studied today. Thus, this project also aims to demonstrate the efficacy of data analysis in the field of art history. Case studies include state-funded exhibitions, such as the World's Fairs held in Paris and the Paris Salon, and exhibitions organized by dealers and artist societies, such as Société des aquarellistes français, Société des pastellistes français, and the Impressionists. By comparing private

exhibitions orchestrated by dealers and artist societies with state-sponsored exhibition strategies, the importance of works on paper as objects to promote artists is better established. This dissertation also continues the conversation among scholars about the degree to which groups like the Impressionists were dissimilar from traditional artists presented at the Salon.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This project aims, through a study of drawings exhibited in nineteenth-century Paris, to highlight the necessity for data analysis in the field of art history. The exhibition of drawings between 1860 and 1890 has not been analyzed from a macro level largely because the resources were not available to do so. Instead, art historians have more often focused on individuals or small groups of artists, and from these findings, they have made inferences about the art world as a whole. However, of the thousands of artists who exhibited drawings in the Salon during this period, art historians would be challenged today to recognize even 5% of their names. Through a revelation of the exhibitors of drawings during these years, there is considerable evidence of successful nineteenth-century artists that are not known or studied today.

One of the most admired artists of the second half of the nineteenth century was Adolph Appian (1818-1898), who exhibited charcoals in the drawing section of the Salon every year from 1863-1881 except 1872. Due to a sticker on the frame of this work, it has been determined that Appian's *Landscape at Sunset* (fig. 1.1) was exhibited in the Salon of 1863.<sup>1</sup> Using traditional methods art historians might consider this work in terms of the artist's oeuvre, analyze Appian's charcoal technique or his preference for landscapes, compare it to Appian's many etchings, or perform a formal analysis of the composition. However, less than 1% of the drawings displayed between 1863 and 1881 have been identified today. So, how does one learn about the more than 10,000 drawings that were exhibited during these years?

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<sup>1</sup> Gabriel Weisberg (owner of the drawing), e-mail message to author, October 1, 2015.



Figure 1.1. Adolphe Appian, *Landscape at Sunset*, 1863, charcoal and stumping on tan paper. Gabriel and Yvonne Weisberg. Courtesy of Yvette and Gabriel Weisberg.

The desire to answer this question has led to a new method, which has been used rarely in art history. Because catalogs for the exhibitions from this period are often the only primary sources that still survive, this project required study of the data from these catalogs, which in turn led to a quantitative analysis of drawings per artist, types of drawing media, and more.

Quantitative analysis is not a twenty first or even twentieth century invention. In the nineteenth century, data analysis was often used to better understand the contemporary art world.

For the 1867 Exposition Universelle (World's Fair), Great Britain made their own catalog, half of which was filled with national statistics showing progress in everything



imaginable since the previous fairs in 1851, 1855, 1862.<sup>2</sup> The press also frequently used data to better understand the art world. For example, the journal *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* sometimes published data about the Salon showing the quantity of different media that were exhibited, the number of male versus female artists, and how many artists submitted to the Salon compared to how many were accepted.<sup>3</sup> Quantitative analysis was also used in 1880 by the feminist Jean Aleson when she addressed a letter to the Salon jury citing the discriminating practices she saw towards women artists. Aleson demonstrated that in the previous five years women had an average of 19 out of 100 works of art exhibited, but only received one award out of every 100.<sup>4</sup> Yet, while the desire existed in the nineteenth century, the possibilities for data analysis of large numbers of works were limited due to time and insufficient technology. Due to the advent of technological tools, which can manage large quantities of data, as well as better access to primary sources because of the internet, scholars are now enabled to include data analysis in their studies in ways nineteenth-century journalists who studied Salon data could have only dreamt.

In recent history, socio-economic studies in art history have been the first to make significant use of data analysis, particularly in the field of Dutch art and commerce. Michael Montias determined the value of different types of paintings in Renaissance and Baroque Delft by studying moveable goods in inventories. The economist Neil de Marchi and the art historian

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<sup>2</sup> Containing information on climate, livestock, land production, religion, and national revenue, the catalog functioned in many ways like an almanac. *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867. Catalog of The British Section containing a List of the Exhibitors of the United Kingdom. Canada, India, Malta, Mauritius, Natal, Nova Scotia.* (London: Spottiswoode and Co. 1867).

<sup>3</sup> See “Expositions” *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, 16 (April 18, 1874), 154.

<sup>4</sup> See this discussion in Tamar Garb, “Revising the Revisionists: The Formation of L’Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs,” *Art Journal*, Vol. 48, no. 1 (Spring, 1989), 65.

Hans J. Van Miegroet argued that art historians in general appreciate Montias' archival finds but have not yet absorbed the importance of his methodology, that of econometric analysis.<sup>5</sup> Marchi and Miegroet continue to advocate relationships between economists and art historians, believing that the study of data analysis through tried economic methods might also serve to better legitimize the field of art history.

Within nineteenth-century art historical studies, scholars are still grappling with Harrison and Cynthia Whites's 1965 seminal study *Canvases and Careers*, which demonstrated the importance of dealers and critics in the study of French painting, thought previously to have been tied solely to the Academy and the Salon.<sup>6</sup> The Whites's arguments have been challenged by scholars Nicholas Green, David Galenson and Robert Jensen.<sup>7</sup> However, at issue here is the Whites's innovative use of data analysis. They highlighted the usefulness of archival data to determine: the popularity (through both exhibition selection and sale) of different nationalities and genres of paintings, the success of painters who won medals, the output of Impressionist painters throughout their career, and Impressionist painters' overall involvement with the Salon.

This analysis of drawing exhibitions considers a wide variety of venues that were available to nineteenth-century artists, from government-sponsored sites, such as the Salon, to those that were instituted by artist societies and dealers. Data pertaining to the drawings displayed at these various venues will be analyzed quantitatively in ways best suited to each case

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<sup>5</sup> N. De Marchi and H.J. Van Miegroet, eds., *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe: 1450-1750* (Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Harrison White and Cynthia White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, (Chicago: 1965). This is demonstrated by the European Society for Nineteenth-Century Art's 2015 conference "Friend or Foe," which asked scholars to respond to the Whites's study by further determining the role of dealers in the nineteenth-century art world.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Green, "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Art History* 10, no. 1 (March, 1987): 59-78. David Galenson and Robert Jensen, "Canvases and Careers: The Rise of the Art Market for Modern Art in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Current Issues in Nineteenth Century Art, Van Gogh Studies*, 1 (2007): 137-66.

study. It will be shown that a comparison between public and private venues dispels the notion that artists who exhibited outside of the Salon were completely unique and revolutionary, at least in terms of the quantity and medium of drawings selected for exhibition.

The topic at hand specifically cries out for such a method. Only one other scholar, Marie Leimbacher, in her thesis at the École du Louvre, has studied drawings in the Salons of the nineteenth century, and she too discovered that deep analysis of the data was the only possible methodological approach.<sup>8</sup> Due to the dearth of information on this subject, Leimbacher's sources, like mine, were often exhibition catalogs and reviews.<sup>9</sup> In Chapter 3 of this dissertation I have gathered different and larger amounts of data than Leimbacher and analyzed them in alternative ways. Leimbacher compiled the totals of certain media with the drawing section of the Salon, which provided data that scholars had never determined before. In the Salon, she chose to focus on seven specific years (1857, 1863, 1864, 1879, 1881, 1885, 1892). This portion of her project was thus a statistical analysis with seven data points. In contrast, I garnered data from all the years between 1863 and 1881 that included media, artist's name, gender, and other qualities of each artist and work of art.<sup>10</sup>

A variety of venues and quantitative approaches are utilized in this dissertation. In Chapter 2, the advent of the exhibition of drawings in government-funded exhibitions will be analyzed. Chapter 3 focuses on the most popular state-sponsored exhibition, the official Salon. Chapter 4 considers the implications of middle class consumers by looking at exhibitions

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<sup>8</sup> "Les arts graphiques dans les Salons parisiens de la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup>: (1863-1892)," Thesis École du Louvre, 2007. I would like to thank Marie Leimbacher for her generosity in sharing her work, her suggestions for finding resources, and her guidance in maneuvering the procedures at different libraries.

<sup>9</sup> Leimbacher studied exhibitions outside of the Salon, as have I. Any discoveries made by Leimbacher that are discussed in this dissertation are credited to her.

<sup>10</sup> For the approach used for collecting the data on the Salon, see Appendix A.

organized by artist societies and dealers. Chapter 5 looks at which drawings were exhibited in the eight Impressionist exhibitions. Chapter 6 focuses specifically on Edgar Degas as a curator of drawings by studying which of his drawings were displayed for the public during his lifetime. The main objective of this project is to configure a history of the exhibition of drawings from the 1860's through 1890, and by extension to better understand the place of drawings within both official and commercial realms in the nineteenth-century art world.

## CHAPTER 2

### EXHIBITIONS OF DRAWINGS ORGANIZED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT:

#### THE LOUVRE AND THE EXPOSITIONS UNIVERSELLE

Beginning with the formation of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in 1648, the French government exerted control over the kinds of art produced by artists. During the nineteenth century, however, a shift occurred in which the government lost much of that control due to the increase in purchasing power of the growing middle class. Also in the nineteenth century, there was a tremendous increase of interest in drawings, at least in part because they were more affordable. This chapter outlines the intersection of this growing interest in drawings with the government's desire to maintain a monopoly on the kind of art exhibited. In order to observe these trends, quantitative analysis has been combined with study of catalogs and journals that relate to these exhibitions.

Two sites for exhibitions in Paris remained under governmental control in the nineteenth century: the Musée de Louvre and three of the Universelle Expositions (World's Fairs) that were held in Paris (1867, 1878, and 1889). This chapter demonstrates that the French began exhibiting drawings at the turn of the century as a means to both promote and enhance their artistic past. This desire continued through the century, yet became blended with a competitive spirit, particularly with Great Britain. Thus, the exhibitions of drawings that were funded by the government all embodied a nationalist agenda.

It should be emphasized that there were several public spaces used for exhibitions, which the French government supported to varying degrees, sometimes just by offering the space and sometimes by paying for the exhibition costs. For example, the French government financed two

exhibitions of Ingres drawings in 1861.<sup>11</sup> The government also often lent public spaces to independent artist groups, such as L'Union des Femmes at the Palais de l'Industrie in 1883 and 1892, and at the Palais des Champs-Élysées in 1884-1888 and 1893-1894.<sup>12</sup> This suggests a more nuanced relationship between independent and academic artists than is often considered.

Académie des Beaux-Arts, the training academy for artists, was given independence from government control in 1863 and acquired the new name: L'École des Beaux-Arts.<sup>13</sup> Although self-managed in many ways, it still conformed in many ways to the restrictions of the state. The exhibitions held at L'École des Beaux-Arts analyzed in this chapter highlight the French artistic heritage, although they were not always funded by the government. In these exhibitions, old master drawings were combined with those of living artists to make a link between contemporary art and respected artists of the past.

### *Drawings in the Louvre*

The first exhibition of drawings documented to have been held in the Louvre was in 1797.<sup>14</sup> The ways drawings were introduced and presented, in both the exhibition space and the catalog, shows how the designers of this exhibition viewed drawings as a way to link the French with the artistic heritage of Italian masters.<sup>15</sup> The first part of the catalog introduced not

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<sup>11</sup> See Émile Galichon, "Description des dessins de M. Ingres exposés au Salon des arts-unis," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, IX (Mars, 1861): 343-362, and Émile Galichon, "Dessins de M. Ingres. Deuxième Série," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XI (July, 1861), 38-49.

<sup>12</sup> Chapter 4 considers these artists societies and their exhibitions.

<sup>13</sup> For studies of this change, see Bonnet Alain, *L'enseignement des arts au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. La réforme de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de 1863 et la fin du modèle académique*, (Rennes: 2006), and Albert Boime, "The Teaching Reforms of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France," *Art Quarterly*, Autumn 1977, 1-39.

<sup>14</sup> The Cabinet des Dessins within the Louvre was formed in 1671 with Louis XIV's purchase of 5,542 drawings from Everhard Jabach.

<sup>15</sup> *Des Dessins Originaux, Cartons, Gouaches, Pastels, Emaux et Miniatures. Du Musée Central des Arts. Exposés pour la première fois dans la Galerie d'Apollon*. (Paris: Du Musée Central des Arts, 1797.)

drawings, but eight tapestries that were hung in the Grand Salon. Most of these tapestries were made from cartoons by Raphael for the “Acts of the Apostles” tapestries designed in 1515 for the walls of the Sistine Chapel.<sup>16</sup> The catalog explains how the gold and silk tapestries were made in Brussels but the cartoons were preserved in England.<sup>17</sup> Raphael’s ten cartoons (fig. 2.1) have a fascinating history, which the catalog from the 1797 exhibition suggests was common knowledge, and the fact that the Louvre could make itself part of that history validated the importance of the French in the annals of art.<sup>18</sup> In the Louvre exhibition, although they did not have the cartoons by Raphael, the tapestries were promoted as a way to access the Renaissance master through drawings of the tapestries. In this context, the tapestries showcased the value of drawings as much as the talent of the weavers.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>17</sup> Eight of the tapestries were made in Brussels after Raphael’s cartoons. This catalog does not clarify when the tapestries on display were made. So, it is unclear whether these are the same ones made during Raphael’s time for the Sistine Chapel, which is unlikely, or whether they were made in Brussels at some other time. The cartoons were certainly passed around Belgium and England, and used in the making of many tapestries.

<sup>18</sup> Raphael and his workshop made the cartoons, commissioned by Pope Leo X in a little over one year. The cartoons were then shipped to Brussels to be made in the workshop of the master weaver Pieter van Aelst. For the making of the tapestries, the cartoons were cut into one yard strips and passed out individually to the weavers, and the woven strips were later sewn together. The cartoon strips were reassembled in the 1690’s and glued to canvas. The cartoons themselves were passed around workshops in Brussels, and copies of the cartoons were made. Seven of the ten original cartoons were purchased in the seventeenth century by Charles I and they remained in England; today they reside in the Victoria & Albert Museum. Interestingly, the Gobelins factory in France tried over the years to purchase the cartoons, and one of the tapestries on exhibition was made by Gobelins. For a discussion of the attitudes toward tapestry-making, beginning in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when they were seen as mere copies of important paintings rather than having an independent technical and stylistic value, through to the revival of tapestries in the nineteenth century, see Kimberly A. Jones, “Jean-Paul Laurens, the Gobelins Manufactory, and the Tapestry Revival of the Third Republic,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 4 (1996): 2-40.



Figure 2.1. Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* (Cartoon for Sistine Chapel tapestry), 1515-16. Bodycolor over charcoal underdrawing on paper, mounted on canvas. Victoria and Albert Museum, Loan. On loan from HM Queen Elizabeth II, <http://www.vam.ac.uk> (accessed June 30, 2016).

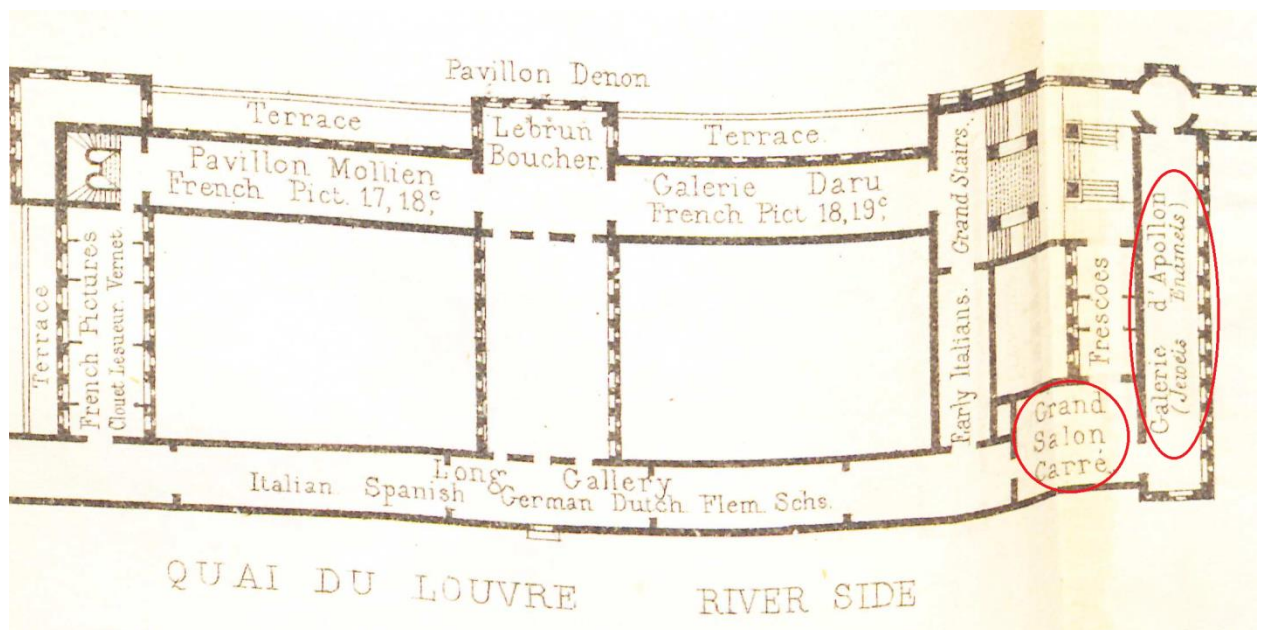


Figure 2.2. Plan of Louvre (with red ovals added to highlight the Grand Salon and Galerie d'Apollon, where the first exhibition of drawings was held), 1874. From: Henry O'Shea, *The Galleries of the Louvre: A Concise Guide and Critical Catalog*, 1888. Front matter.



The main part of the Louvre exhibition, where the drawings hung, was in the newly restored and highly ornate Apollo Gallery, which would have been entered after walking through the Grand Salon, which contained the tapestries (fig. 2.2).<sup>19</sup> The walls and ceiling of the gallery were, and still are, covered with gold and paintings, so the drawings were probably hung on screens and visitors would have been guided through a labyrinth of old master drawings. The first drawings to be discussed in the catalog, and so presumably the first to be shown when visitors entered the exhibition, were large cartoons. This arrangement linked these cartoons to the Raphael cartoons used for the tapestries, and, more broadly, linked the French to the Italian Renaissance. Most of the cartoons were made by Italian artists: eight from Guilio Romano, eight from Pellegrino Tibaldi, three from Domenichino, and twelve from Pierre Mignard, the one Frenchman. The difference in media and technique of these cartoons should be noted. Romano used gouache and so, like Raphael's cartoons, his cartoons would have presumably been quite colorful.<sup>20</sup> Tibaldi's cartoons were in sepia, two of Domenichino's were "aux trois crayons" on blue paper, and one of Domenichino's and all of Mignard's were in black and white pencil on grey paper.<sup>21</sup> For this first public exhibition of drawings in the Louvre, an effort was clearly made to connect drawings to larger projects through the emphasis placed on cartoons. The rest of the drawings in the exhibition were not cartoons, made in a variety of media, and part of the

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<sup>19</sup> Later, within a catalogue of the Louvre's drawings, Conservateur M. Frédéric Reiset wrote of this premiere exhibition of drawings and how it was sparked in part by the acquisition of the Mariette Collection, "En 1775, une occasion tout-à-fait extraordinaire se présenta d'enrichir le cabinet des dessins... L'activité prodigieuse qui s'étendait à toutes les branches de l'administration d'alors, se fit sentir aussi dans le cabinet des dessins. On s'empessa d'examiner les moyens d'en faire une exposition publique, et après diverse délibérations, on choisit à cet effet la salle d'Apollon au Louvre. C'est là que fut ouverte, le 28 thermidor de l'an V (1797), cette exposition, et le livret constate fièrement que c'est pour la première fois que les dessins sont montrés au public." *Notice of Dessins, Cartons, Pastels, Miniatures et Émaux: Musée National du Louvre* (Paris, 1879.), XXXVII-XL.

<sup>20</sup> Raphael's cartoons are distemper, a mixture of pigment, water and animal glue. While colorful, they are dull compared to the tapestries made from them.

<sup>21</sup> "Aux trois crayons" is a phrase used to denote the use of black, white, and sanguine chalk.

museum's collection. They were arranged by nationality and then chronologically: the Italian School was represented by 199 works, the most of which (19) were by Raphael; the Flemish School had 88 drawings; and the French school had 114. The exhibition also had 45 enamel portraits and six marble portraits.

By the second half of the nineteenth century the Louvre was thought to hold one of the finest and most comprehensive drawing collections in the world. In 1848, drawings in the Louvre collection were officially separated into their own curatorial department.<sup>22</sup> Within a month of taking the position as Director of Museums, the Count of Nieuwerkerke put emphasis on the drawing collection at the Louvre in a report to Napoleon III.<sup>23</sup> Nieuwerkerke emphasized the enormous size of the collection (36,000), which included some 1,150 recent and important acquisitions. "C'est sans doute, un accroissement important, cependant je dois dire qu'il a été fait dans l'intérêt de cette collection un travail qui me paraît plus important encore."<sup>24</sup> These acquisitions included three drawings by Michelangelo, one by Hans Memling, five by Raphael, and two hundred by Leonardo da Vinci, demonstrating that a link to the Renaissance masters was still a high priority for the French.<sup>25</sup> Nieuwerkerke also made a point to credit the curator M.F. Reiset for organizing the collection, preserving it, and writing on the collection:

Chacun d'eux a été inventorié, décrit, classé et numéroté. Ce travail considérable, dû à M.F. Reiset, est terminé depuis trois ans déjà... Son étendue est le seul obstacle qui m'ait empêché de le faire imprimer. Il représente la matière de bien des volumes en 8'... Mais

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<sup>22</sup> Several exhibitions took place at the Louvre in the following decades; often the catalogs do not state specific dates, but the following dates are certain: 1811, 1815, 1817, 1827, 1869. The majority of these were also held in the Apollo Gallery.

<sup>23</sup> A discussion of and quotes from this report can be found at Louis Auvray, "Les Musées du Louvre. Sous Napoléon III (series) – Musée des Dessins," *Revue Artistique et Littéraire, Tome Cinquième, Quatrième Année* (1863): 230-234.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 231-232.

<sup>25</sup> Auvray shares the cost of these acquisitions: Michelangelos (2,982 fr. 75 c.); Memling (1,250); Raphaels (27, 517 fr. 25); and Leonardos (40,693). See *Ibid.*, 231-32.

un résumé de cet inventaire sera prochainement rendu public, et l'on pourra, à l'aide de ce résumé, connaître l'état exact de nos richesses en dessins et consulter, lorsqu'il y aura lieu, l'inventaire descriptive manuscrit qui reste dans le cabinet du conservateur.<sup>26</sup>

Two volumes on the Louvre's Italian and French schools were soon published in 1866 and 1869 respectively. Nieuwerkerke also discussed how the artworks were mounted, preserving the original frames when possible, and arranged by school and then chronologically.<sup>27</sup> In a guidebook to the Louvre from 1874, Henry O'Shea described the Galleries of Drawings, Cartoons, Pastels, Miniatures and Enamels. He witnessed that drawings were organized by region, then time, and that two rooms were devoted to French pastels (figs. 2.3 and 2.4):

This Collection, one of the most valuable and extensive of the kind in existence, consists of a series of sixteen rooms, of which fourteen are situated on the first-floor and two on the second story. They comprise 35,544 specimens of the great masters of all School' viz.: 18, 203 belong to the Italian Schools, 87 to the Spanish, 11 to the English, 802 to the German, 3.152 to the Flemish, 1.071 to the Dutch, 11, 378 to the French. There are, besides the Drawings, 191 Enamels and Paintings on porcelain. Two excellent catalogs have recently been published by Mr. Relset, and are sold in the Galleries at 6 frs. These Galleries may be visited daily, except Nos. 15 and 16, on the second floor, which are visible only on Tuesdays from two to four p.m.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>28</sup> Henry O'Shea, *The Galleries of the Louvre: A Concise Guide and Critical Catalog* (Paris: The Galignani Library, 1888, corrected reprint of a 1874 edition), 133. The numbers identifying the rooms do not correlate to a number system used by the Louvre today.

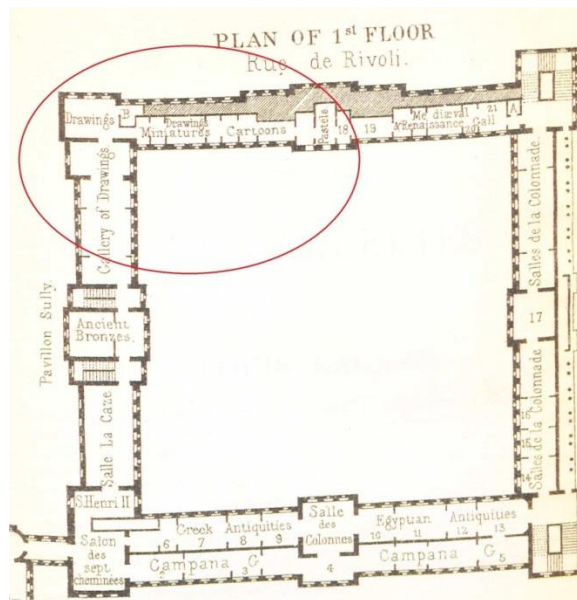


Figure 2.3. Plan of Louvre, 1<sup>st</sup> floor, (with red oval added to show location of drawings), 1874. From: Henry O'Shea, *The Galleries of the Louvre: A Concise Guide and Critical Catalog*, 1888. Front matter.

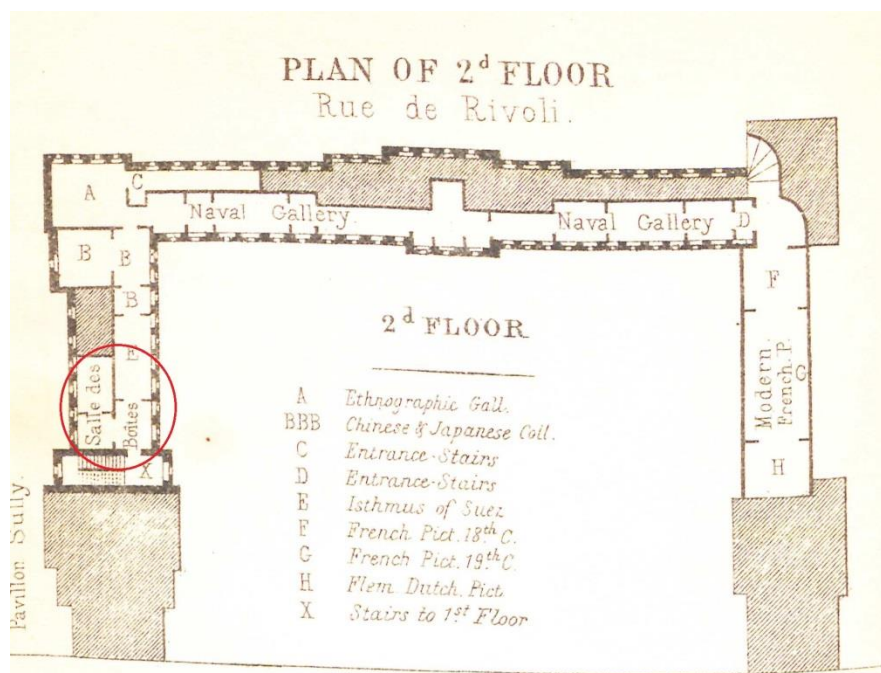


Figure 2.4. Plan of Louvre, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, (with red oval added to indicate the Salle des Boîtes), 1874. From: Henry O'Shea, *The Galleries of the Louvre: A Concise Guide and Critical Catalog*, 1888. Front matter.

Later the author explained that rooms 15 and 16 held fragile drawings and were placed in hermetically sealed boxes, hence the name given to the rooms, “Salles des Boîtes.”<sup>29</sup>

Nieuwerkerke had noted in 1863 that conservation efforts were sorely needed because some of the drawings had been in full sunlight for over twenty years.<sup>30</sup> By 1866, the press was already remarking on these conservation efforts,

La Conservation des dessins, au Louvre, vient de consacrer à l'exhibition de ses plus précieux dessins, et sous le nom de *Salle des boîtes*, l'ancienne salle du musée Sauvageot, qui sert, pendant la semaine, pour l'étude, aux artistes qui demandent à ce qu'on retire pour eux certains objets des vitrines. Ces précieux chefs-d'œuvre sont renfermés hermétiquement, à l'abri de la lumière et des variations de la température, dans des boîtes en chêne qui s'ouvrent pour le public, le samedi de 2 heures à 4.<sup>31</sup>

The number of drawings exhibited at the Louvre in the nineteenth century stands out in large contrast to the number exhibited at the Louvre today. This is, of course, due largely to the greater awareness of the fragility of drawings, particularly when exposed to light. Today the Louvre does not allow the same drawings to be exhibited for more than three months in a row, and only a handful of rooms are reserved for drawings.<sup>32</sup>

In the nineteenth century, drawings hanging at the Louvre were not just for public appreciation, but were utilized as training tools; artists would acquire cards allowing them to copy artworks in the Louvre. Per academic training, artists would not copy paintings before copying drawings, making the drawings within the Louvre an essential component to artistic development.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 147. The drawings in this room included several by Michelangelo, Raphael, and Poussin, and a few by Romano, Perugino, da Vinci, and Dürer. O'Shea contradicted himself here by saying that these rooms are only viewable on Saturday, whereas earlier he said Tuesday. Saturday is the day mentioned in all other sources.

<sup>30</sup> Auvray “Les Musées du Louvre,” 233.

<sup>31</sup> “Nouvelles” *Chronique des arts et de la curiosité* 150 (July 10, 1866): 190-91.

<sup>32</sup> Today the Louvre owns, counted twice for those with a verso, over 150,000 drawings.  
<http://www.louvre.fr/en/departments/prints-and-drawings>

This exhibition at the Louvre reflected the values and training methods of the French Art Academy. At the Académie des Beaux-Arts (later L'École des Beaux-Arts), artists were taught to draw for several years before they were trained in painting. Thus it was emphasized that mastering the skills for drawing was a necessary stepping stone towards being a successful painter. By viewing drawings from famous painters, visitors and students were seeing earlier stages of a creative process that led to successful projects, in turn inviting students to appreciate the importance and creative potential of drawing. Renaissance artists provided particularly potent examples, as the French saw themselves as both descendants of and superior to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian artists.

The selection of which drawings to exhibit in the nineteenth century, and the way they were exhibited by those at the Louvre shows a very conservative desire to link France with the artistic traditions of the past, and reflects the values of the French Academy. Notably, all of the drawings exhibited at the Louvre were by old masters and not by contemporary artists. Contemporary artists, as is well known, struggled to find balance between academic pressures and financial or artistic desires. Much of this struggle took place in the exhibition controlled by the Academy, the Salon, which will be discussed in depth in Chapter 2.

### *The Écoles des Beaux-Arts and exhibitions of drawings*

When he became Director of Beaux-Arts in 1871, Charles Blanc championed for a Musée des Copies, designed to house copies of important artworks found throughout Europe; these

copies, in Blanc's mind, would form a great library for artists to study the masters.<sup>33</sup> Although the government already owned copies of famous works, many of which came from Prix de Rome winners, Blanc commissioned numerous reproductions to fill the new Musée des Copies. Blanc's extravagant use of funds caused significant controversy among Beaux-Arts members. In January 1874, Charles-Philippe de Chenevières replaced Blanc as Director and dismantled the museum, sending the works to the École des Beaux-Arts. Boime argued that, "the dismissal of Blanc was inextricably linked to the destruction of the museum."<sup>34</sup> Although a catalog was never made, it appears that many of the commissioned copies were meant to be true reproductions; thus, it is likely that most of those were paintings rather than drawings.

In 1879, the École des Beaux-Arts held an exhibition of old master drawings. The *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* reviewed the exhibition in a series of five articles written by the Marquis de Chennévières, who was, after being curator at the Louvre, Director of the École des Beaux-Arts.<sup>35</sup> He was also a connoisseur of drawings and personally collected nearly 4,000.<sup>36</sup> In his first article, he began with "Après vous, messieurs les Anglais!" and discussed that while the English seemed to have beaten the French in having a large exhibition of old master drawings first, the French have better collectors and would present them with more class:<sup>37</sup> "L'initiative de telles expositions eût bien dû pourtant appartenir à la France. Notre pays est certainement celui où,

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<sup>33</sup> This idea had originally been proposed in 1834 by Adolphe Thiers, someone Blanc greatly admired. As Minister of the Interior, Thiers formed a Musée des Etudes in L'École des Beaux-Arts to support teachings on classical and Renaissance art. Albert Boime, "Musée des Copies," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (October 1964): 237-8.

<sup>34</sup> Boime, "Musée des Copies," 239.

<sup>35</sup> This series of articles from 1879 (June 1, 505-535; July 1, 5-34; August 1, 121-134; September 1, 185-211; October 1, 297-308) in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* were all written by Marquis de Chennévières.

<sup>36</sup> Chennévières collected drawings created between 1500 and 1860, which was the subject of an exhibition at the Louvre in 2007. Louis-Antoine Prat, *La Collection Chennévières* (Paris: Louvre, 2007)

<sup>37</sup> In referring to an exhibition of old master drawings at the Grosvenor Gallery: "Nos voisins ont vraiment le large sens de ces belles fêtes nationales et internationales de l'art, de cette généreuse communication de leurs trésors individuels, et nous voyous aujourd'hui MM. Malcolm et Mitchell préférer à notre exposition française le concours de leurs plus rares merveilles." Chennévières, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (June 1, 1879): 506.

deux siècles durant, se sont accumulées le plus de richesses en ce genre.”<sup>38</sup> The article then discussed the strong collection of drawing at the Louvre before discussing the 1879 exhibition, which was curated by Charles Euphrussi and Gustave Dreyfuss. Chennévières pointed out that, unlike the English, this exhibition contained many true masters that created a complete history, and included a rich catalog with details for each work. The catalog did include a brief visual description, medium, size, and owner of each drawing. The exhibition was organized by country, with the largest sections being the Italian Schools and then the French Schools (fig. 2.5).<sup>39</sup>

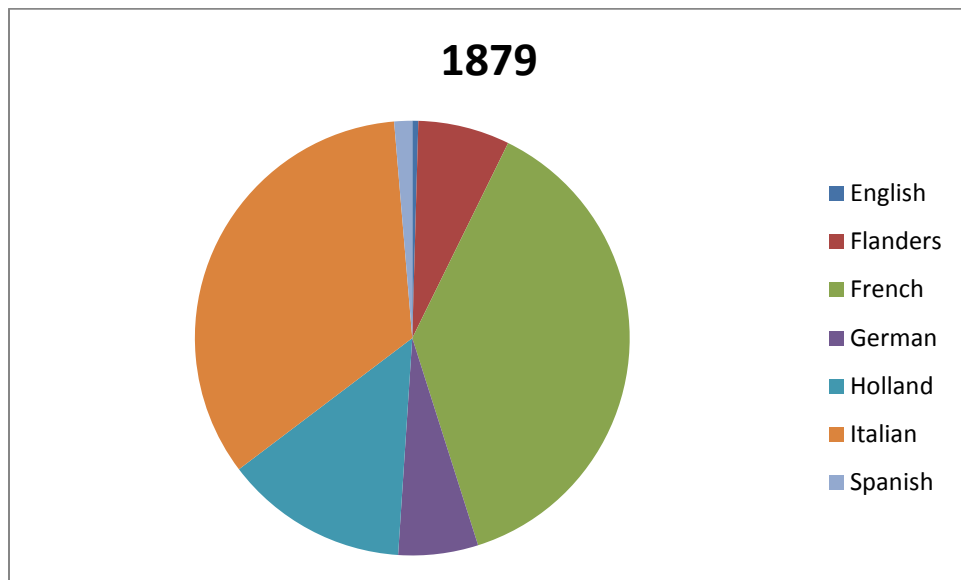


Figure 2.5 Differentiates national schools in 1879 exhibition *dessins de maîtres anciens* held at L'École des Beaux-Arts and highlights dominance of French and Italian schools.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> *Catalogue Descriptif des Dessins de Maîtres Anciens Exposés à L'École des Beaux-Arts*, Paris: L'École des Beaux-Arts, 1879.



The artists believed to have made the drawings in the exhibition truly were a who's who in the history of art (Table 2.1). The 674 drawings represented 192 artists; 128 artists showed fewer than two drawings.

Table 2.1. Artists who exhibited nine or more drawings in 1879's *dessins de maitres anciens*.

Artist	# of Drawings
Durer	27
Prud'hon	25
Rembrandt	23
Fragonard	22
Raphael	21
Poussin	16
Saint-Aubin	15
Van Dyck	15
Watteau	15
Michelangelo	13
da Vinci	13
Boucher	12
Titian	11
Rubens	10
Vannucci	10
Claude	9
Greuze	9
Moreau	9
Verrocchio	9

It was common for exhibitions at the École des Beaux Arts to be held to raise money for a cause. The profits from the 1879 exhibition went to poor art students to shorten their military service. In 1884, the École des Beaux-Arts held an exhibition of just drawings to raise money for artists and their families who had financial needs. In the catalog, it states,

Mais, quelle que soit l'importance de ces chiffres, le nombre des artistes infirmes ou malheureux, celui des veuves et des orphelins que l'Association a la devoir de secourir, s'accroît chaque année; et l'exposition des dessins d'École modern, ouverte aujourd'hui à l'École des Beaux-Arts, a pour but d'augmenter les ressources de l'Association et de venir en aide à de nouvelles et cruelles infortunes qu'elle a mission de soulager.<sup>40</sup>

The money was presumably raised by admission fees catalog sales (one franc) as none of the drawings were for sale. In fact, the catalog highlighted who owned the artworks and in this way would have intrigued the public to see artworks that were normally in homes of the wealthy, rather than those that were always available for viewing at the Louvre. Just fewer than 1,000 drawings were donated for this exhibition, which demonstrated an incredible amount of charity and organization. Drawings were borrowed from dozens of collectors and family members, but some names stand out: the art critic Phippe Burty, the Goncourt brothers, the artists Eudoxe Marcille and Léon Bonnat, and the dealers Georges Petit and both Alpert and Adolphe Goupil.

The exhibition was divided into two parts: one for eighteenth and nineteenth century masters and one for living artists. In part one, a spectacular range of drawings were on display from 112 artists, many of whom were some of the most well-known draftsman of from their time; and the quantity by these masters exhibited was impressive (Table 2.2).<sup>41</sup> Eighteenth-century masters such as Maurice Quentin de La Tour (11) and Jean-Honoré Fragonard (14) and even the Spaniard Goya (9) were substantially represented. The most drawings exhibited were by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (55), followed by Delacroix (40) and Ingres (39), shown almost equally, then Auguste Raffet (38), known for his lithography, and Ingres's student David (36). Realist painters were also represented such as Theodore Rousseau, Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, and Jean François Millet.

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<sup>40</sup> *Catalog des dessins de l'école modern exposés à L'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts au profit de la caisse de secours de l'Association* (Paris: L'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Feb., 1884).

<sup>41</sup> For a list of all artists and quantity of drawings exhibited in Part I, see Appendix B.

Table 2.2. Deceased Artists (Part 1) from 1884 exhibition *dessins de the Écoles modern*, who were represented by nine or more drawings.

Artist	Count
Prud'hon	55
Delacroix	40
Ingres	39
Raffet	38
David	36
Delaroche	34
Millet, J-F.	32
Gericault	31
Bellange	18
Viollet-le-Duc	18
Gleyre	16
Regnault	16
Rousseau, T.	16
Fragonard	14
Duplessis-Bertaux	13
Fromentin	13
Gavarni	13
Barye	12
Vernet, H.	12
Charlet	11
Flandrin	11
Latour, M-Q	11
Corot	9
Goya	9
Pils	9

The catalog was very precise on descriptions of medium; 164 of the 756 drawings in Part 1 contained more than one medium, and in half of those white highlights were specified. Table 2.3 shows the breakdown of media used by these artists.<sup>42</sup> The breakdown of each media leads to a repeat of certain drawings that were multi-media, which is why there are a total of 956 media

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<sup>42</sup> See Appendix B for a list of the specific media used by artists in Part 1.

for 756 works. As an example to clarify, a drawing called *The Illusionist* by Honoré Daumier was made with both aquarelle and gouache, and so was counted in the total of each medium in Table 2.3. Similarly, a study for Lord Stafford by Paul Delaroche is listed as using three materials – *mine de plomb* (lead pencil), *crayon noir* (black chalk), and highlights in white – all of which were tallied individually in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Medium used in works by Old Masters of 1884 exhibition *dessins de the École modern*.

Medium	Count
charcoal	3
crayon	180
dessin	51
fusain	27
gouache	21
ink	109
ink wash	44
mine de plomb	168
pastel	35
sanguine	18
sepia	68
watercolor	160
white	72
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>956</b>

The second part of the exhibition presented 343 drawings by 84 living artists. The highest quantity of works shown was by Meissonier; these 37 drawings were made from a wide range of materials. Nine artists showed eleven drawings or more each (including Meissonier) (Table 2.4); 19 artists showed between four and seven drawings; the rest showed three or fewer.<sup>43</sup> Of the

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<sup>43</sup> See Appendix B for a list of all the artists and the number of drawings exhibited in Part II.

living artists, 71 used mixed-media, and 20 stated that they used white for highlights (Table 2.5).<sup>44</sup>

Table 2.4. Artists in Second Part (Living Artists) of 1884's *dessins de the l'Écoles modern*, who were represented by more than 10 drawings.

Artist	Count
Meissonier	37
Galland	20
Baudry	15
Delaunay	13
Giacomelli	13
Cabat	12
Bouguereau	11
Cabanel	11
Puvis de Chavannes	11

Table 2.5. Medium used in works by Living Artists in 1884 exhibition *dessins de l'Écoles modern*.

Medium	Count
charcoal	1
cartoons	2
crayon	88
dessin	67
fusain	30
gouache	14
ink	46
ink wash	30
mine de plomb	37
pastel	9
sanguine	36
sepia	12
watercolor	31
white	20
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>423</b>

<sup>44</sup> The medium used to create white highlights is never specified. Appendix B shows media used by each artist.

The diversity of media in this exhibition represents the various modes of drawing; some drawings were more preparatory in nature while some were quite finished. Table 2.6 (and fig. 2.6) break down how much each medium was shown as a percentage of the total media. *Crayon* (chalk-usually black) was represented the most in this exhibition at just under 20 percent. Within the total of black chalk drawings, two-thirds were by old masters and one third were by living artists. Although twice as many old master drawings were shown, an equal percentage of both parts represented black chalk.

Table 2.6. Comparison use of media for Living Artists and Old Masters at 1884's *dessins de l'Écoles modern* exhibition.

Medium	Living Artists	Old Masters	Total
white	4.73%	7.53%	6.67%
watercolor	7.33%	16.74%	13.85%
sepia	2.84%	7.11%	5.80%
sanguine	8.51%	1.88%	3.92%
pastel	2.13%	3.66%	3.19%
mine de plomb	8.75%	17.57%	14.87%
ink wash	7.09%	4.60%	5.37%
ink	10.87%	11.40%	11.24%
gouache	3.31%	2.20%	2.54%
fusain	7.09%	2.82%	4.13%
dessin	15.84%	5.33%	8.56%
crayon	20.80%	18.83%	19.43%
cartoons	0.47%	0.00%	0.15%
charcoal	0.24%	0.31%	0.29%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

It is striking that living artists did not present a larger portion of watercolors and pastels than the old masters. As the data from the Salon and private exhibitions will show, these media were very popular with artists in the 1870's and 1880's;<sup>45</sup> perhaps this suggests that such media

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<sup>45</sup> See Chapters 4 & 5.

were not considered as appropriate for an academic exhibition. In the chart, “dessin” simply means that the medium was not identified in the catalog; it appears living artists did not define the specific medium as much as it was clarified by owners of drawing in Part 1, which may simply reveal that collectors of drawings of old master drawings felt it was important to mention the techniques of the artworks they owned. *Fusain* (charcoal) was more common in the works of the living artists with it making up 7% of their total as compared to just under 3% of the total of old masters. *Mine de plomb* (lead pencil) was used more by the old masters than the younger artists (17.57% to 8.75%). There was also a higher preference for white highlights with the older group.

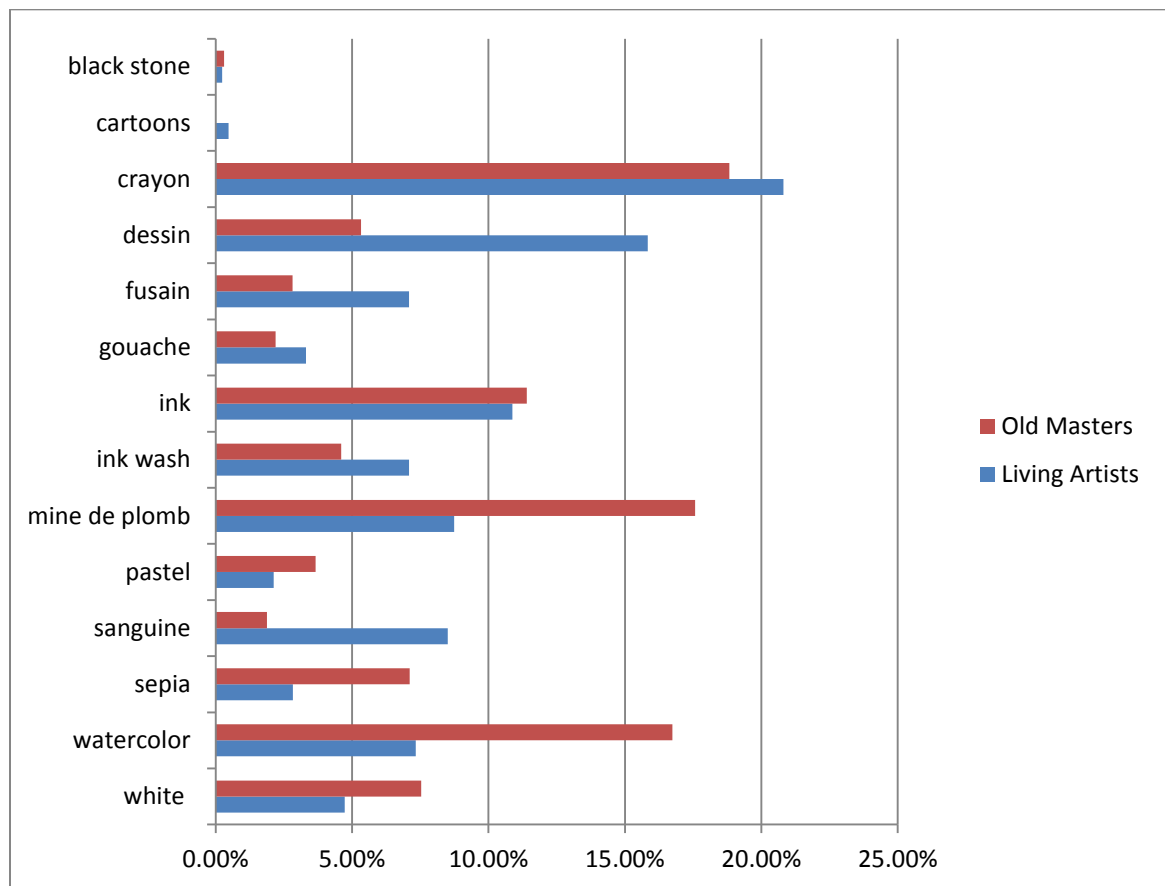


Figure 2.6. Comparison use of media for Living Artists and Old Masters at 1884’s *dessins de the Écoles modern* exhibition

## *Expositions Universelle*

The degree to which drawings were included in the Expositions Universelle in Paris depended on what each country chose to present. In the catalogs of these World Fairs, drawings were classified with the decorative arts, but separated from paintings.<sup>46</sup> Data has been taken from the catalog to determine the number of drawings presented by each country; there may have been more drawings that were not labeled as such. Interestingly, several artists made it clear that their works were for sale by placing a price in the catalog; in contrast, the French did not do this but instead listed the owner of each artwork and whether it had been in the Salon.

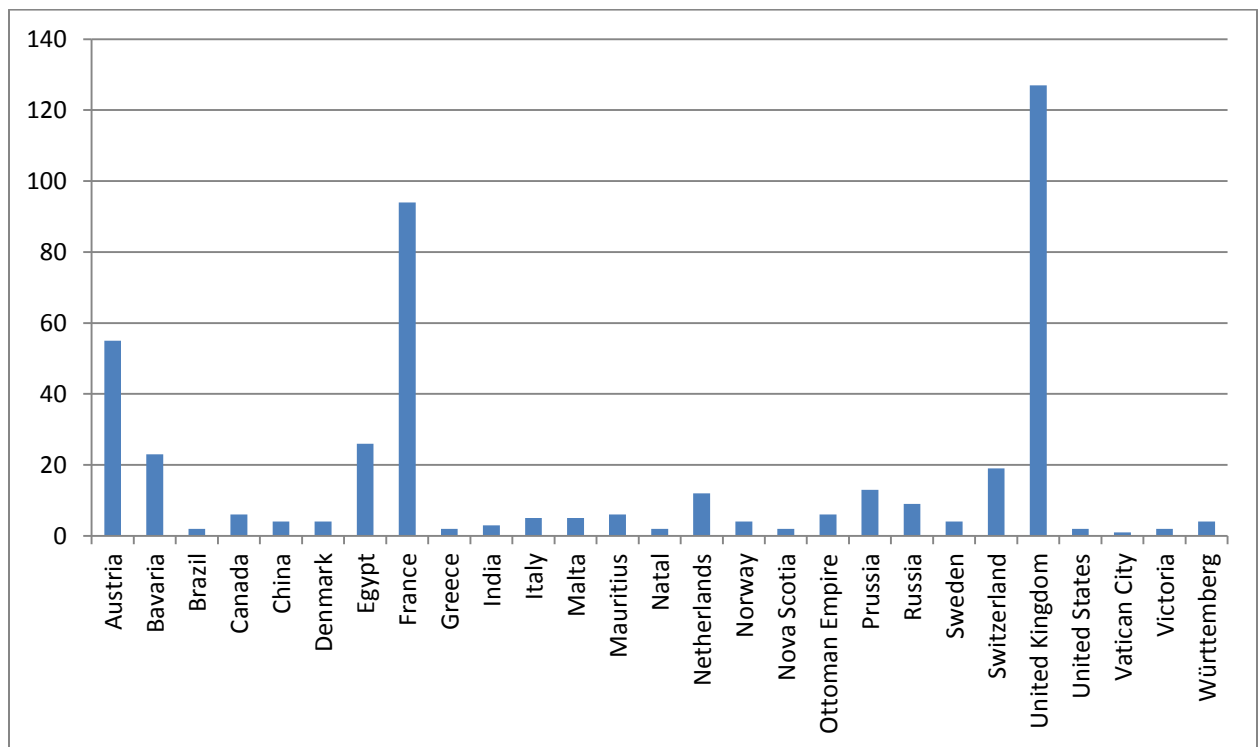


Figure 2.7. Drawings Exhibited at Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867, arranged by Country, showing dominance of United Kingdom and France.

<sup>46</sup> This structure is similar to how artworks were handled in the Salon, which is discussed in Chapter 3. Architectural drawings were placed with architectural models and are not included in this study.



In the World's Fair of 1867, at least 442 drawings were exhibited from 27 countries (fig. 2.7).<sup>47</sup> A large gallery within the Palais du Champs de Mars surrounded the central garden of the fair, separated only by a section devoted to the history of labor, where all works of art – sculpture, prints, drawings, paintings, decorative arts – from all countries were exhibited together. One-quarter of the total drawings were by the French, but there was an even higher representation from the United Kingdom, who exhibited at least 127 drawings.

Within the French section, 94 drawings were made by 24 living artists (Table 2.7); however, two artists made up 45% of these. Alexander Bida exhibited 30 drawings, most of which were for an edition of works by Alfred de Musset. Pierre Chabal-Dussurgey exhibited 14 drawings of fruits and flowers. If one were to remove these two artists, Austria exhibited more drawings than France, and Egypt and Switzerland about half as many. Table 10 shows that 66% of the drawings listed in the catalog did not identify a specific medium, but were listed as just “dessin.” Excluding those drawings for which the medium was not identified, watercolor was the most used drawing medium in the 1867 World's Fair. 84 watercolors were exhibited with France (20), Austria (12) and Switzerland (11) being the highest contributors.

The British chose to make their own catalog and, signifying the importance of watercolor to them, identified the drawing section as “Water-colour Paintings and Drawings”.<sup>48</sup> Within this section, there were a handful of times when an artwork was labeled as enamel. All other works have been presumed to be drawings, and it is likely that a large percentage of those were

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<sup>47</sup> This data was taken from the *Catalog Général for the Exposition Universelle de 1867 a Paris*. Exhibitions are organized by country and then class. Drawings are under Classe 2 - Peintures Diverses et Dessins, which also includes miniature paintings, earthenware, porcelain, etc. Usually the type of artwork was listed after the artist and the artwork's title; but, when it was not, there is no way of knowing whether the artwork was a drawing or a decorative arts object. Therefore, there were likely more drawings than the data here shows.

<sup>48</sup> *Paris Exhibition Universelle of 1867. Catalog of The British Section containing a List of the Exhibitors of the United Kingdom. Canada, India, Malta, Mauritius, Natal, Nova Scotia*. (London: Spottiswoode and Co. 1867).

watercolors as, by the 1860's, the British already favored that medium. If two-thirds of the drawings from the United Kingdom were watercolors, which is likely, than the total number of watercolors at the 1867 art exhibition would double (see Table 2.8).

Table 2.7. Drawings Exhibited by French Artists at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867. 1 out of the 24 artists was a woman, that 16 drawings from the previous Salon were included in this exhibition, and the total number of drawings by each artist.

Artist	Female	Drawing in Salon	Total Drawings
Becq de Fouquieres	1	1	1
Bida		2	31
Brandon		1	1
Brown			1
Carrier			1
Cassagne			4
Chabal-Sussurgey		1	15
Clement		1	1
Dubois			6
Felon			3
Flandrin, J-H.			3
Flandrin, J-P			3
Forget		1	1
Galbrund		1	3
Herst			1
Jeanmet		1	2
Lami		1	2
Ouvrie		1	3
Pils			5
Pipard		1	1
Rudder		1	1
Saintin		1	2
Tourny		2	2
Vetter			1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>94</b>

Table 2.8. Drawings Exhibited at Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867,  
arranged by Media within Country.

Country/Medium	cartoon	dessin	fan	fusain	pastel	watercolor	Total
Austria	18	12		13		12	55
Bavaria	8	15					23
Brazil		2					2
Canada	2	4					6
China						4	4
Denmark		4					4
Egypt		26					26
France		69			5	20	94
Greece						2	2
India		3					3
Italy						5	5
Malta		3				2	5
Mauritius						6	6
Natal						2	2
Netherlands		10	2				12
Norway						4	4
Nova Scotia		2					2
Ottoman Empire		2				4	6
Prussia	7	1				5	13
Russia	2	2		2		3	9
Sweden						4	4
Switzerland		2			6	11	19
U. K.		127					127
U.S.					2		2
Vatican City		1					1
Victoria		2					2
Württemberg		4					4
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>291</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>442</b>

Art in the 1878 Exposition Universelle was again placed within the Palais du Champs de Mars. The same number of drawings were exhibited as in 1867– 494 instead of 442 – but this time by only 14 countries, half of the number represented in 1867. In 1878, France and Great Britain were tight competitors in terms of the quantity of drawings each exhibited (fig. 2.8);

France displayed 201 while Great Britain displayed 198.<sup>49</sup> In the beginning of the French drawings section of the catalog, France boasted about the achievements of their artists, Delacroix in particular, in the medium of drawing: “Le Palais des Champs-Élysées accueille chaque année environ 1500 dessins, cartons, aquarelles, pastels, porcelains ou miniatures qui ne sont que les specimens choisis d’une production considerable qui s’adresse directement soit aux amateurs, soit au commerce.”<sup>50</sup> The efforts by the French to defend their artistic strength in the media of drawings was directly related to a competitive spirit with the British, which became more pronounced during World’s Fairs.

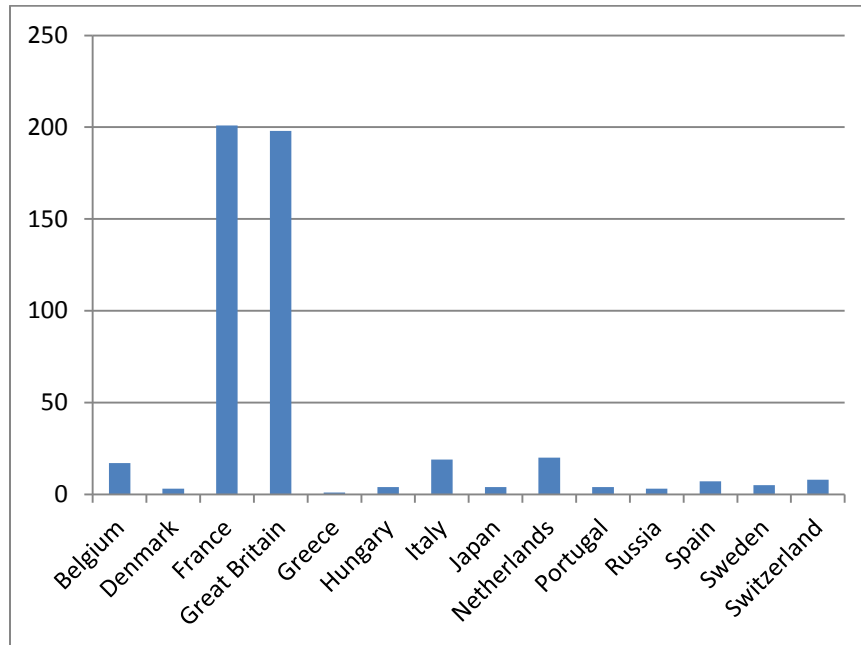


Figure 2.8. Drawings Exhibited at Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1878, by Country, showing dominance of Great Britain and France.

<sup>49</sup> Again, as with the 1867 World’s Fair catalog, the quantities reflected here are of the minimum number of drawings that were exhibited; at times it was unclear within the catalog whether an artwork was a drawing or another media.

<sup>50</sup> *Catalogue officiel: Exposition universelle internationale de 1878 à Paris*. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), 67. See in Chapter 2 for a study of the display of drawings at the Salon.

In 1878, Great Britain listed separate sections for watercolors and drawings within the official French catalog; this unique separation of watercolors was not done by any other country and highlights the British captivation with the medium. 81% of the drawings exhibited by the British were watercolors; 62% of the drawings exhibited by the French were watercolors; and 69% of the total drawings exhibited at the World's Fair of 1889 were watercolors (Table 2.9).

Table 2.9. Drawings at Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1878, arranged by media within country.

Country	aqua	cartoon	crayon	dessin	fusain	gouache	lavis	pastel	plume	sepia	Total
Belgium	9			7		1					17
Denmark				3							3
France	125	7		23	12	5	1	25	3		201
U.K.	162			36							198
Greece	1										1
Hungary	1								3		4
Italy	14		4			1					19
Japan				4							4
Netherlands	19	1									20
Portugal	2								2		4
Russia				2						1	3
Spain	4			3							7
Sweden	3		1		1						5
Switzerland	1			3	1	1		2			8
<b>Total</b>	<b>341</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>494</b>

The number of drawings exhibited at the 1889 Exposition Universelle increased dramatically from the two prior ones held in Paris (1867 and 1878); 24 countries were represented by 724 drawings (Table 2.10 and fig. 2.9).<sup>51</sup> Once again, watercolors were the most popular type of drawing with Great Britain exhibiting 125, France 62, the Netherlands 34 and Italy, Russia, Spain, and Sweden all exhibiting 10 or more.<sup>52</sup> Although France had fewer watercolors than Great Britain in the main art exhibition, The Society of French Watercolorists

<sup>51</sup> Belgium exhibited separately in 1889. The United States did not list medium next to their works, so there is no differentiation between drawings and the decorative arts. Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> In the British section, they identified the artists who were members of the Royal Society of Watercolorists. Ibid., 181-190.

held a separate exhibition in their own pavilion, which coincided with the World's Fair and was funded by the state.<sup>53</sup> 463 watercolors were displayed in the Watercolor Society's exhibition, which, added to the main exhibition, makes the number of watercolors exhibited by France at the 1889 World's Fair four times that of Great Britain.

Table 2.10. Drawings Exhibited at Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889,  
arranged by Media within Country.

Row Labels	w.c.	cartoon	crayon	dessin	fusain	gouache	ink	pastel	Total
Algeria					2				2
Aus.Hungary				1	1	1		11	14
Denmark	3			6				3	12
El Salvador								1	1
Equador								1	1
Ex. Int.					2			4	6
Finland	2								2
France	62	2	2	48	13		4	70	201
F. Colonies	3			2					5
Germany	1			7		15	16		39
Great Britain	125			68				3	196
Guatamala			1	1					2
Italy	14							16	30
Netherlands	34					4		6	44
Norway	2			1				3	6
Romania	2			1			1		4
Russia	14	1		6	1		1	4	27
Spain	10			59		6		11	86
Sweden	15							19	34
Switzerland	7			2				2	11
Uruguay									1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>724</b>

<sup>53</sup>The Society of French Pastel Artists also had its own pavilion. For more on these two exhibitions see Chapter 4.

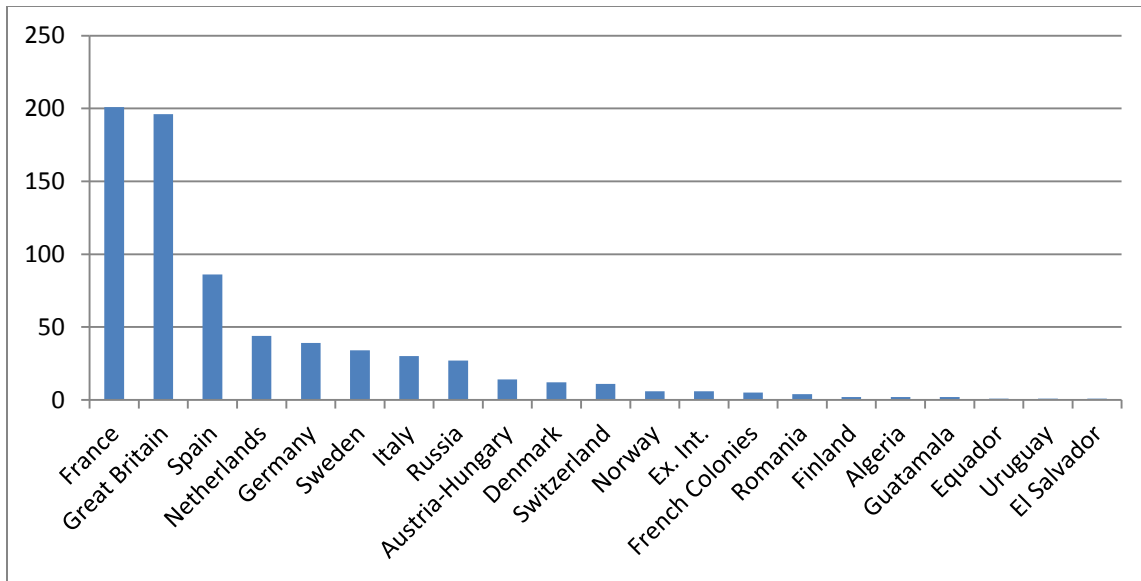


Figure 2.9. Drawings Exhibited at Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889, by Country showing dominance of France and Great Britain.

With everything they displayed at the World's Fairs, France, like the other countries, wanted to promote the *crème de la crème*. As interest in drawings increased between 1867 and 1889, so did the quantity of artists who displayed such works on paper: in 1867, 24 artists exhibited a total of 94 drawings; in 1878, 51 artists exhibited 201 drawings; and in 1889, 73 artists exhibited 202 drawings, or many more if one includes the coinciding watercolor and pastel exhibitions.

### *Conclusion*

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Parisian art world was witnessing a shift in aesthetics, and the changing conception of drawings was part of that sea change. This can be seen when comparing the role of drawings in their first exhibition at the Louvre, which focused largely on drawings as cartoons and preparatory tools, with the World's Fair of 1889, in

which watercolors, considered completed works rather than preparatory, were the type of drawing the French most exhibited. The drawings selected for the first Louvre exhibition, the Musée des Copies, and the 1884 exhibition at the École des Beaux-Arts demonstrate the profound importance for the French to link themselves to past artistic traditions. Yet the French institutions that supported the arts struggled with an ambivalence between tradition and creativity, an ambivalence that was pronounced in the media of drawing. The Salon exhibition was the primary space in which the French traditionally played out their artistic struggles. Interestingly, many of the artists who exhibited drawings in the World's Fair had hung those same drawings in previous Salons; 66% of the artists in 1867, 27% in 1878, and 50% in 1889 displayed Salon drawings at the World's Fairs. Thus, before exploring private exhibitions, it is necessary to consider the nucleus of the Parisian public exhibition space: the Salon, which is the focus of the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE EXHIBITION OF DRAWINGS WITHIN THE OFFICIAL SALON IN THE

1860's AND 1870's

Quantitative analysis of the Salon catalogs from 1863 to 1881 reveals that over 1,600 artists used the important Parisian venue to display their drawings. Of the 10,979 drawings exhibited in the Salons from 1863-1881, fewer than 100 are accounted for today. Therefore, to learn more about these drawings, rather than analysis of specific drawings, data retrieved from the Salon catalogs has been analyzed for the purpose of studying aspects such as quantity, subject matter, media, and gender. During this eighteen-year period, the Salon became a laboratory for exemplifying traditional values while balancing this with a desire to accommodate more modern esthetics. Drawing became the nucleus of this tension, in part, because of newly instituted teaching reforms, which promoted alternative ways of sketching that were imposed on L'École des Beaux-Arts.

#### *Placement of Drawings in the Salon*

Les aquarelles sont exposés comme l'année dernière dans une salle spéciale dont l'arrangement implique une idée de sélection vaguement aristocratique et dans la longue galerie, toujours un peu déserte, qui forme le pourtour de la nef centrale. La charité chrétienne protest contre ce système de classement qui semble dire au public: le choix est fait; ne perdez pas votre peine; nous avons mis à part tous les chefs-d'œuvre. Par une préférence singulière, cette séparation entre les bons et les méchants n'est appliquée

qu'aux aquarellistes et aux dessinateurs: les peintres, les statuaires, les graveurs voient leurs ouvrages réunis et exposés dans les mêmes conditions de publicité et de lumière.<sup>54</sup>

- Paul Mantz

In a review of the Salon of 1878, the critic Paul Mantz sarcastically highlighted how drawings were separated from other media in the Salon, relegated to dark spaces where few admirers were expected. While Mantz remarked that fewer visitors would go to the areas where the drawings hung, and thought of it as dreary and substandard, one critic perceived their location as quite appropriate, “as a place where only artists and true lovers of art ventured, a place whose intimacy could be measured by the absence of history or anecdotal painting.”<sup>55</sup> The introduction to the drawings and decorative arts section catalog for the Universelle Exposition of 1878 also boasted about how the French inaugurated a separate room for drawings in the 1877 Salon.<sup>56</sup>

During the 1860's and 1870's, the Salon was held within the Palais d'Industrie and all paintings were hung first by category, then alphabetically. Drawings, however, were further subdivided by medium and hung separately from oil paintings.<sup>57</sup> The Salon Catalog of 1880 was the first to include a plan (fig. 3.1), which mapped the arrangement of artworks in the Salon; pastels and watercolors were in rooms 30 and 32, near rooms with engraving, lithography, and

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<sup>54</sup> Paul Mantz, “Le Salon”, *Feuilleton du Temps* (July 22, 1878): pages unknown. Jane Mayo Roos has noted that, “smaller works (drawings, pastels, enamels, and miniatures) had a room of their own on the east end of the building.” Jane Mayo Roos, *Early Impressionism and the French State (1866-1874)* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 42-43.

<sup>55</sup> Ward's description of the review by Raoul dos Santos, “Un Coin du Salon: Aquarelles et pastels,” *Moniteur des arts* (May 16, 1884).

<sup>56</sup> “L'ouverture d'un salon special, l'Exposition de 1877, consacré aux dessins, aux pastels et à l'aquarelle, a été accueillie par les artistes et par les amateurs avec une satisfaction marquée.” *Catalogue officiel: Exposition universelle internationale de 1878 à Paris*. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1878), 67.

<sup>57</sup> There is no evidence to indicate whether the drawings were placed in alphabetical order as well, although it would seem likely.

painting. The other drawings were placed in room 38, which is not identified on the plan.<sup>58</sup> Plans included in the catalogs for the Salons of 1881 and 1882 (figs. 3.2 & 3.3) also show that drawings were placed around the edges of the central garden as well as in small rooms near the rooms displaying prints. Notably, in the 1880 plan, pastels and watercolors share a room and are differentiated from other drawings.



Figure 3.1. Plan of Salon (red oval added to highlight location of drawings), 1880.  
From Salon Catalog

<sup>58</sup> One review notes that the decorative arts were placed with the drawings: “Avant de descendre au jardin où la sculpture nous attend, il faut parcourir d’un pas rapide la salle à l’aspect souriant et le corridor mélancolique où sont places les dessins, les aquarelles, les pastels, les émaux, les porcelains décorées. Quand on s’aventure dans la longue galerie qui forme le pourtour du palais, on voit très bien que le jury, qu’on avait accusé de sévérité, a été tout à fait paternel.” “Le Salon VII” *Feuilleton du Temps* (June 19, 1881).

[illegible]

## SALON DE 1882



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One photograph of the Salon of 1881 shows drawings hanging upstairs surrounding the sculpture garden (fig. 3.4).<sup>59</sup> One can see from this photograph that drawings were framed using the *passé-partout* method; that is, a large white mat placed between the drawing and the frame.<sup>60</sup> Drawings were a variety of sizes and even shapes; for example, there is one fan-shaped mat on the far right of the photograph. The drawings were hung above one another, as were paintings in the Salon, at least two or three high.

### *The Functioning of the Salon*

1863 is an appropriate year from which to begin a study of Salon drawings for several reasons. The selection of artworks made by the jury of 1863 upset so many artists that some signed a petition leading Napoleon III to create the Salon des Refusés, where artworks denied by the jury would be shown. The Salon des Refusés was in the Palais d'Industrie adjacent to the regular Salon, giving visitors the opportunity to critique the jury's selections and rejections. The École des Beaux-Arts also underwent reform beginning in November of 1863; significantly, control of the Academy, its training practices, and the running of the Salon were turned over to the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique.<sup>61</sup> The teaching reforms altered the role of drawing in the training of artists; in particular, rather than just teaching anatomy and perspective, alternate types of drawing were taught such as drawing from memory and observation of nature.

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<sup>59</sup> Other photographs show architectural drawings surrounding the courtyard. In the Salon, architectural drawings were never categorized with other drawings and are therefore not considered in this study.

<sup>60</sup> Photographs by Michelez show some of these drawings and their framing.

<sup>61</sup> For an insightful discussion of the causes and effects of the reform, see Alain Bonnet, "La Réforme de l'École des Beaux-Arts de 1863, problèmes de l'enseignement artistique en France XIX siècle" Third Cycle Thesis, Nanterre, 1993.



Figure 3.4. Charles Michelez, Central sculpture garden showing drawings above, Salon of 1881.

This analysis of drawings in the Salon ends in 1881, when the government relinquished control of the Salon over to artists. By the 1880's, there had been such discontent with the Paris Salon regarding admission rules, jury decisions, and hanging arrangements, that the French government passed the sponsorship and administration of the Salon over the Société des Artistes Français. Yet it is important to emphasize that they did so with the belief that it would fuel originality in artists. The government understood the need for changes to exhibition practices and even provided space for many of the exhibitions organized by artist societies.<sup>62</sup> Thus, the 18 years (1863-1881) encompassed in this study of the Salon is a period when official forces were both enforcing and responding to a growing interest in drawings.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>63</sup> In 1884, the Société des indépendants was founded by artists frustrated with the antiquated practices of the Salon; this new society created an annual springtime exhibition that eliminated both a jury and an award system. For a fee of 10 francs, it initially allowed artists to exhibit up to four works. In 1890, when some suggested changes were proposed to the official Salon, such as the notion that the jury should remove preferences for previous award winners, several artists divorced themselves from the official Salon by creating the Société Nationale des Beaux-



### *Sum of Drawings in the Salon*

Within the Salon catalogs, drawings were always grouped in the section *Dessin*, which included the “lesser” decorative arts, such as enamels, porcelain and stained glass, and miniature paintings.<sup>64</sup> Prior to 1864, however, drawings had been subsumed within the painting section of the Salon catalog.<sup>65</sup> Beginning in 1864, the *Dessin* category, while still sometimes a subsection of painting, was listed separately.

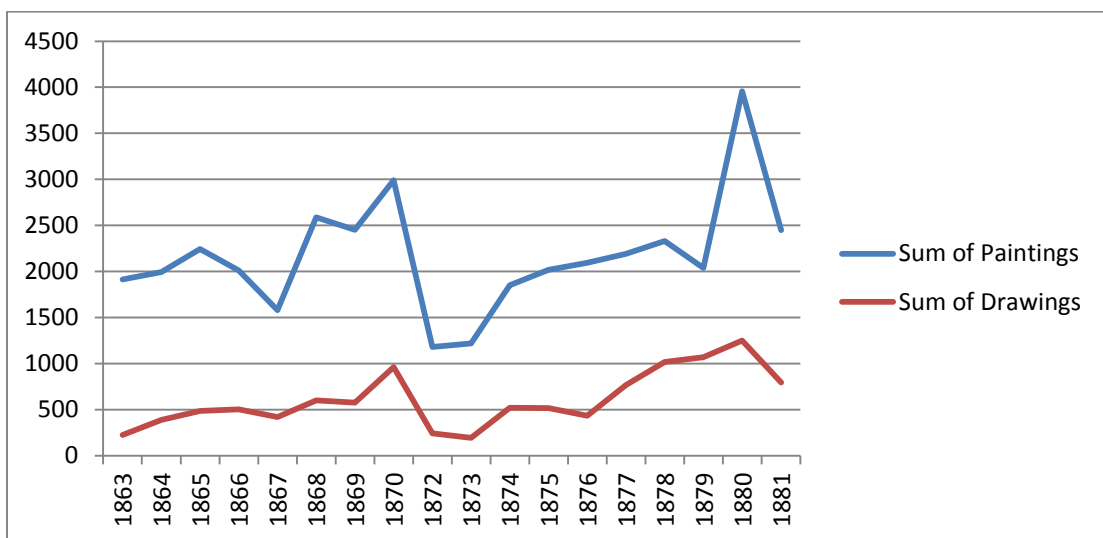


Figure 3.5. Chart of quantity of paintings and drawings exhibited in the Salons (1863-1881) showing similar general trends.

Overall, data from the catalog reveals similar trends in increases and decreases of quantity of paintings and drawings exhibited at the Salon throughout this eighteen year period (fig. 3.5); for example, both drawings and paintings increased during 1870 and 1880. However,

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Arts, which held its own exhibition. These disparate organizations created an environment in which there was no longer a single dominant establishment that artists were required to appease in order to make a living.

<sup>64</sup> Note that any *esquisse*, an oil sketch made in planning a composition, was placed along with paintings and not in the drawing section.

<sup>65</sup> During the years 1872 and 1873, the drawings were temporarily mixed back in with the paintings.

the degree to which the percentage of drawings compared to paintings changed each year reveals much about the statutes in the Salon and how they affected drawings submissions.

Beginning in 1863, 11.75% as many drawings as paintings were exhibited (Table 3.1); that is, one drawing was exhibited for every 8.5 paintings. This increased steadily during the 1860's so that by 1870 there were 32% as many drawings as paintings; a 1 to 3 ratio. After the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune in 1871, the Salon reopened again in 1872, but with a decrease in the percentage of drawings, as compared to paintings, down to a little over 20% (1 to 5).

Table 3.1. Table comparing number of paintings and drawings exhibited in the Salons (1863-1881), and percentage difference between the two.

<b>Salon</b>	<b>Paintings</b>	<b>Drawings</b>	<b>% of drawing to painting</b>
1863	1915	225	11.75%
1864	1995	388	19.45%
1865	2243	487	21.71%
1866	2010	503	25.02%
1867	1581	419	26.50%
1868	2587	600	23.19%
1869	2452	578	23.57%
1870	2991	963	32.20%
1872	1181	243	20.58%
1873	1221	195	15.97%
1874	1852	521	28.13%
1875	2019	518	25.66%
1876	2095	436	20.81%
1877	2192	769	35.08%
1878	2330	1018	43.69%
1879	2040	1071	52.50%
1880	3957	1250	31.59%
1881	2448	795	32.48%
<b>Total</b>	39109	10979	28.07%



Some fluctuation continued to occur as the comparison between the number of drawings to the number of paintings went down to just under 16% (1 to 6) in 1873, back up to just over 28% (1 to 3.5) in 1874, slightly down to 25.5% (1 to 4) in 1875, and around 21% (1 to 5) in 1876. Through the rest of the decade the average is much higher although there are still great fluctuations: 35% (1 to 3) in 1877; 43.7% (2 to 2.3) in 1878; 52.5% (1 to 2) in 1879; 31.59% (1 to 3) in 1880; and 32.5% (1 to 3) in 1881.

The reasons behind some of these variations may be found in the regulations on submission to the Salon (Table 3.2). In 1863 artists were allowed to submit up to three artworks in each category (Peinture, Dessin, Sculpture, etc.) to be considered by the Salon jury.<sup>66</sup> For the purposes of submission, drawing was placed in the same category as painting. Therefore, fewer artists would have wanted to submit drawings when to do so would have subtracted from the number of paintings (or other media) they could submit.<sup>67</sup>

In 1864, artists were permitted to submit a maximum of two artworks from each category. However, paintings and drawings were no longer grouped together; therefore, artists were only allowed two paintings (as opposed to three the year prior), but they could also submit two drawings.<sup>68</sup> This helps to explain the increase in the number of drawings accepted as compared to paintings from 1863 to 1864.

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<sup>66</sup> The number of artworks permitted in each Salon can be found in the beginning of each Salon catalog under Regulations, Article 2, except in the case of 1872.

<sup>67</sup> While only 11.75% of drawings were accepted in the Salon of 1863, as compared to paintings that year, few artists chose to exhibit drawings in the Salon des Refusés; only twenty-seven drawings were in the exhibition, or fewer than 4% of all the works shown. Out of a total of 687 artworks in the 1863 Salon des Refusés, 604 were paintings.

<sup>68</sup> Marie Leimbacher suggests that this may be one of the reasons why drawings were placed in a separate category than paintings in 1864, "L'Administration et des 'conte-pétitions' justifiaient ces nouvelles restrictions par la mise

Table 3.2. Regulations on submissions to the Salon, showing the differentiation on number of drawings artists could submit each year.

Year	Category	Drawings	Total (P&D)
1863	X	3	3
1864		2	4
1865		2	4
1866		2	4
1867		2	2
1868		2	2
1869		2	2
1870		2	2
1872	X	2	2
1873	X	2	2
1874		3	6
1875		3	6
1876		2	4
1877		2	4
1878		2	4
1879		2	4
1880		2	4

**Category** = Painting and drawing were in the same submission category that year.

**Drawings** = Number of drawings possible to submit that year.

**Total (P&D)** = Total number of drawings and paintings possible to submit that year.

1867 saw a significant drop in the number of paintings shown at the Salon (but not so in drawings), possibly due to the coinciding Exposition Universelle of 1867. A lower percentage of drawings in 1872 and 1873 reflects how drawings were again subsumed within the painting section category in the submission regulations; during these years artists could only submit two artworks total, so artists would again have to choose between painting and drawing. In a report to the Ministre of the Fine Arts, Charles Blanc explained that these regulations were determined

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en place de l'annualité du Salon à partir de 1863: il paraissait peu vraisemblable qu'en un an de production un artiste puisse présenter davantage d'œuvres de qualité. L'apparition de cette nouvelle section des dessins permettait sans doute de compenser cette mesure et donc de limiter les plaintes des artistes." 25.

based on concerns that there was limited space for the works in the Salon and that, regardless, many artists should limit their submissions to more superior work so as not to tire the jury:

Article 2...Quatre genres...Les artistes ne pourraient exposer que deux ouvrages de chacun des 4 genres.

L'ancien règlement (trouvé un peu rigoureux par quelques uns) admettait sept genres, et laissait aux artistes la faculté d'exposer deux ouvrages de chaque genre – par exemple 2 tableaux et 2 dessins (ce qui est le cas le plus fréquent)

Ce dernier cas ne pourra plus se produire avec notre système (puisque les tableaux et les dessins sont compris dans le même genre)

Le même artiste ne pourrait pas, non plus (comme cela se voyait autrefois) exposer 2 gravures et 2 lithographies.

Donc vous ferez les mécontents, - sans avantage pour personne.

La limitation n'a véritablement d'intérêt que pour les tableaux qui couvrent une assez grande surface ...

Il est vrai que, pour remédier aux inconvénients de votre système, vous adoptez un correctif aussi peu démocratique que possible: "Le jury aura le pouvoir discrétionnaire de recevoir un plus grand nombre d'ouvrages des artistes qu'il jugerait, par exception dignes de cet honneur..."<sup>69</sup>

In 1874, Charles Blanc was replaced by Phillipe de Chennevières as Director of the Fine Arts. Chennevières again separated drawings from paintings and allowed three submissions from each category, leading to a continual increase in the number of drawings over the following years. To clarify, in 1872 and 1873 an artist could only submit two drawings, and only if they did not submit paintings, while in 1874 and 1875 artists could submit three drawings in addition to three paintings. While there are not records from this period documenting how many artists submitted to the Salon, one journal printed the submission numbers in 1874.<sup>70</sup> That year, more drawings were submitted than any other media, outside of painting: 1,494 drawings were

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<sup>69</sup> Found in Marie Leimbacher, 27-28. See National Archives, Paris, F21/533

<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately, records of the jury's decisions do not survive from the time the Salon was held at the *Palais d'Industrie* (1857-1897). For submission records and jury decisions for the years 1827-1850, see the Harriet Griffiths and Alister Mill, Database of Salon Artists: <http://humanities-research.exeter.ac.uk/salonartists/works>

submitted; 126 were automatically accepted; 644 were accepted after examination; and 727 were refused.<sup>71</sup>

From 1876 to 1880, paintings and drawings continued to stay in separated categories; however, each category was limited to two submissions. In 1881, when the Salon was no longer headed by the government, a limit was put on the number of drawings and paintings (although not on any of the other categories) that would be accepted; the regulations stated that the jury would not consider more than 2,500 paintings and 1,200 drawings.<sup>72</sup> However, the catalog did not clarify a limit on how many works each artist could submit.

Table 3.3. Sum of drawings exhibited in the Salon, Sum of Artists who exhibited them and average number of drawings per artist.

Salon	Drawings	Artists	Avg./Artist
1863	225	131	1.72
1864	388	257	1.51
1865	487	323	1.51
1866	503	341	1.48
1867	419	287	1.46
1868	600	419	1.43
1869	578	404	1.43
1870	963	634	1.52
1872	243	187	1.30
1873	195	160	1.22
1874	521	316	1.65
1875	518	313	1.65
1876	436	310	1.41
1877	769	526	1.46
1878	1018	715	1.42
1879	1071	766	1.40
1880	1250	877	1.43
1881	795	581	1.37
<b>Ave.</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>1.46</b>

<sup>71</sup> “Expositions” *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, 154. Vol. 16 (April 18, 1874)

<sup>72</sup> In 1881, the jury accepted 2448 paintings and 795 drawings.

Table 3.4 compares the number of drawings with the number of artists that exhibited them. On average, artists exhibited about one and a half drawings (1.46). The decrease in the number of drawings exhibited per artists, in 1872 and 1873, corresponds to the grouping of painting and drawing into the same category, and the rule that artists could only submit a total of two artworks from that group.

Table 3.4. Total artists in each Salon who exhibited drawings and portion of those who also exhibited in other media.

Year	Other Media	Total Artist	percentage
1863	33	131	25.19%
1864	82	257	31.91%
1865	120	323	37.15%
1866	118	341	34.60%
1867	97	287	33.80%
1868	181	419	43.20%
1869	177	404	43.81%
1870	259	634	40.85%
1872	31	187	16.58%
1873	26	160	16.25%
1874	95	316	30.06%
1875	99	313	31.63%
1876	83	310	26.77%
1877	155	526	29.47%
1878	181	715	25.31%
1879	195	766	25.46%
1880	11	877	1.25%
1881	9	581	1.55%
<b>Average</b>			<b>22.21%</b>

### *Artists, Drawings and other Media at the Salon*

It is intriguing to consider whether many of the artists who exhibited drawings were known as artists in other media (painting, sculpture, etc.). One can hypothesize about this by examining whether artists exhibited under other categories in the Salon. Table 3.4 shows the total number of artists that exhibited drawings each year, the quantity of those that also exhibited in another media, and the percentage of those who exhibited in the drawing section and elsewhere out of the total exhibiting in the drawing section. Figure 3.6 graphs the number of artists who exhibited drawings (red) and, of those, who exhibited both in drawing and in another media (blue).

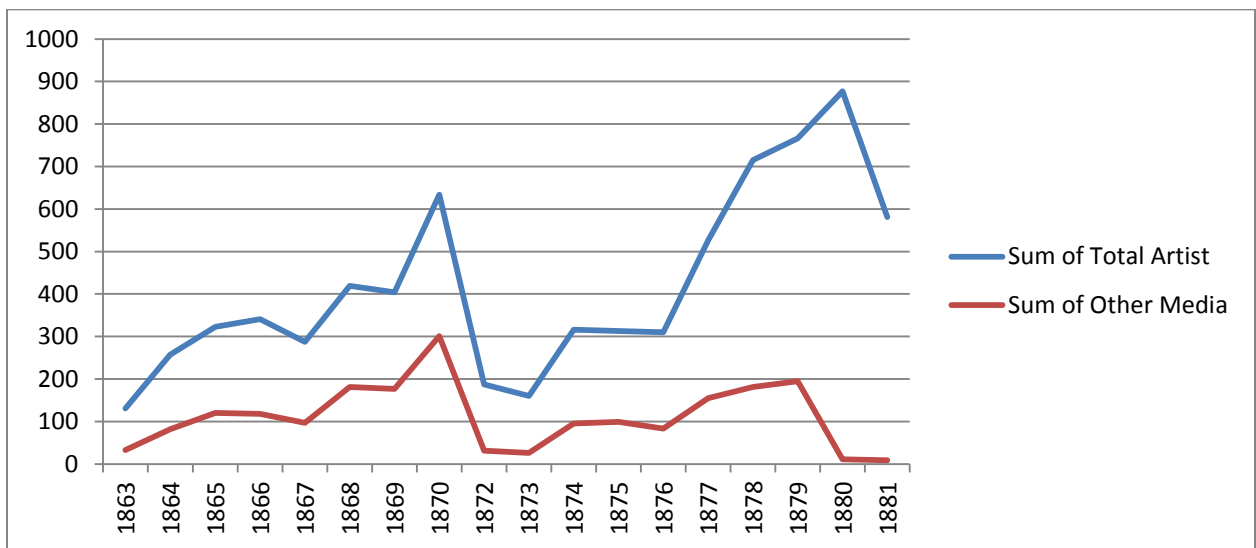


Figure 3.6. Artists who exhibited drawings in the Salon (blue) compared with number of those artists exhibited in the drawing section in addition to another section in the Salon (red).

The data shows that from 1863 through 1869 there was a fairly consistent increase in the percentage of artists who exhibited in media (painting, sculpture, prints) in addition to drawing; there was a steady climb from 25% to almost 44%. From 1863 to 1864 there was a 6% increase. This may relate to the fact that drawings were considered separately from painting that year,

making it possible for artists to submit a total of four artworks rather than three. From 1868 through 1870, over 40% of the artists who hung drawings in the Salon also exhibited in another media. In 1871, there was no Salon.

1872 and 1873 are both years where only 16% of the artists who exhibited drawings also exhibited elsewhere in the Salon; this correlates to the fact that drawings again became a subsection of painting in these years. In 1874 and 1875, when drawings were again their own category and artists could submit three artworks in each category, there is an increase to about 30% of artists who exhibited elsewhere in the Salon. From 1876 through 1879, 25% to 30% of artists who exhibit drawings exhibited in other media. Then, in 1880 and 1881, years when the Salon jury became overwhelmed with the large number of submissions and was therefore much more particular in its selections, a significant drop occurred to less than two% of draftsman exhibiting elsewhere in the Salon. This may reflect that the jury selected a limited number of artworks from each artist, rather than that artists submitted fewer drawings.

The great majority of artists who exhibited in both the drawings section and other areas at the same time were exhibiting paintings. Figure 3.7 shows where artists who hung drawings were also exhibiting within the Salon: the blue line tracks the number of artists in the painting section; the red line tracks sculpture; the green line tracks engraving; the purple line tracks lithography. Notably, the few artists who exhibited at the same time in both printmaking and drawings; however, those that did usually exhibited charcoal drawings, which demonstrated the many of the same skills needed for printmaking (chiaroscuro, hatching, etc.).

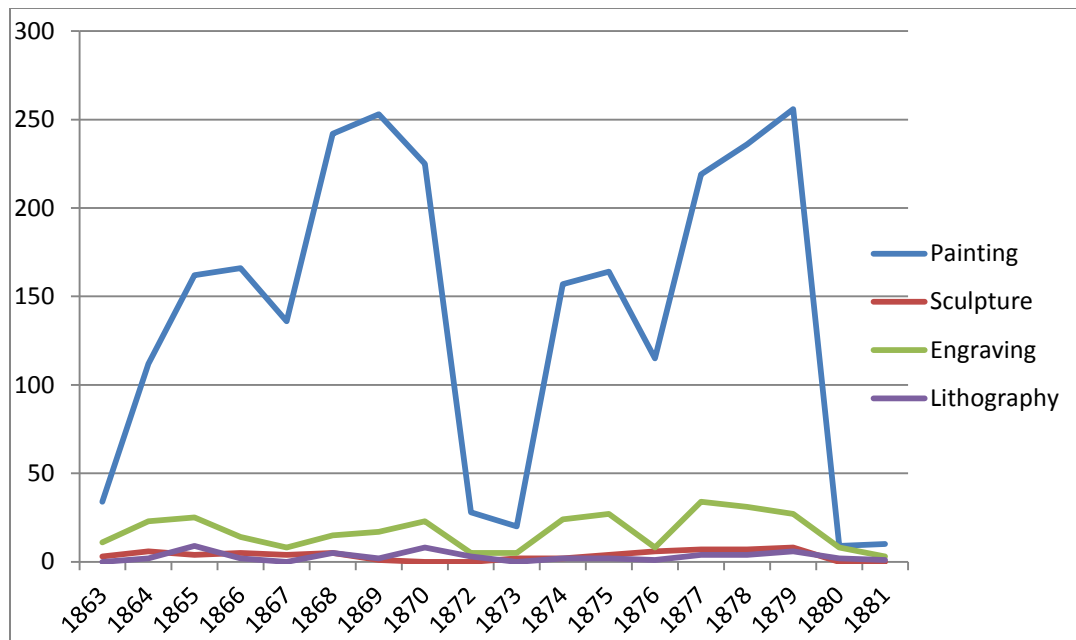


Figure 3.7. Other media in which artists who exhibited drawings also exhibited showing the popularity of painters to also exhibit drawings.

Although painting was the largest “other” category, the degree to which painting dominated fluctuated dramatically. There was a continual rise from 1863 to 1865, a negligible increase in 1866, and then a drop in 1867. Then a remarkable increase occurred in 1868 and stayed in 1869. After the absence of mixed-media in 1870, very few artists exhibited both paintings and drawings in 1872 and 1873. Then, a huge increase occurred again in 1874, flattened out in 1875, and dropped in 1876. Once again, dramatic increases occurred until 1880. The enormous drop in 1881 reflects the limited acceptance of artworks by the jury of 1881. Sculpture, although to a much smaller degree, mimics the pattern of the painting section.



## *Copies*

Copying ancient and Renaissance artworks was an integral part of training in the Academy and private workshops, and artists were frequently prompted to make copies of works from these cultures at the Louvre. Albert Boime described the Academy's goals:

The Academy's having placed a premium upon patient and diligent labour makes the copy's high place in its instruction understandable. The calculated procedure involved, as well as preparation and application of traditional methods, were consistent with the Academy's aims. The copy represented the fruit of long attention and analysis...it lacked all pretense of originality and spontaneity, and indeed negated these qualities.<sup>73</sup>

The role of drawn copies was an issue of debate within academic circles on the role of a copy.

While originally copies were promoted for their enhancement of technical skills, they were now being seen as a way for artists to explore their own originality. Boime also explained this alternate point of view:

The artist, in making a sketch-copy, wished to regenerate the 'original impression' of the old master; he ignored details of finish for the general effect, thereby recapitulating the thought of his predecessor. The copyist now attempted to penetrate the very inception of the creative act. By virtue of the generative copy's spontaneity, the artist was enabled to absorb the inventions of the old master and at the same time to find the appropriate means for arriving at personal solutions.<sup>74</sup>

Copies that were created in the media of drawing were inherently altered from the state of the original. Indeed, the copy was at the core of trying to find a balance between individual creation and traditional imitation and integral to the new teaching methods instituted with the reforms of 1863.

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<sup>73</sup> Albert Boime's *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 122-23.

<sup>74</sup> Boime, *The Academy*, 129.

Table 3.5 and fig. 3.8 show the number of drawings in the Salon that were defined as copies in the Salon catalog. On average 6.46% of exhibited drawings between 1863 and 1881 were copies.<sup>75</sup> In 1863 and 1866, over 10% of the drawings were copies. Copies were frequently made after great masters especially Peter Paul Rubens, Leonardo da Vinci, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun, a particular favorite of female portraitists. A large majority of the copies were of artworks hanging in the Louvre.

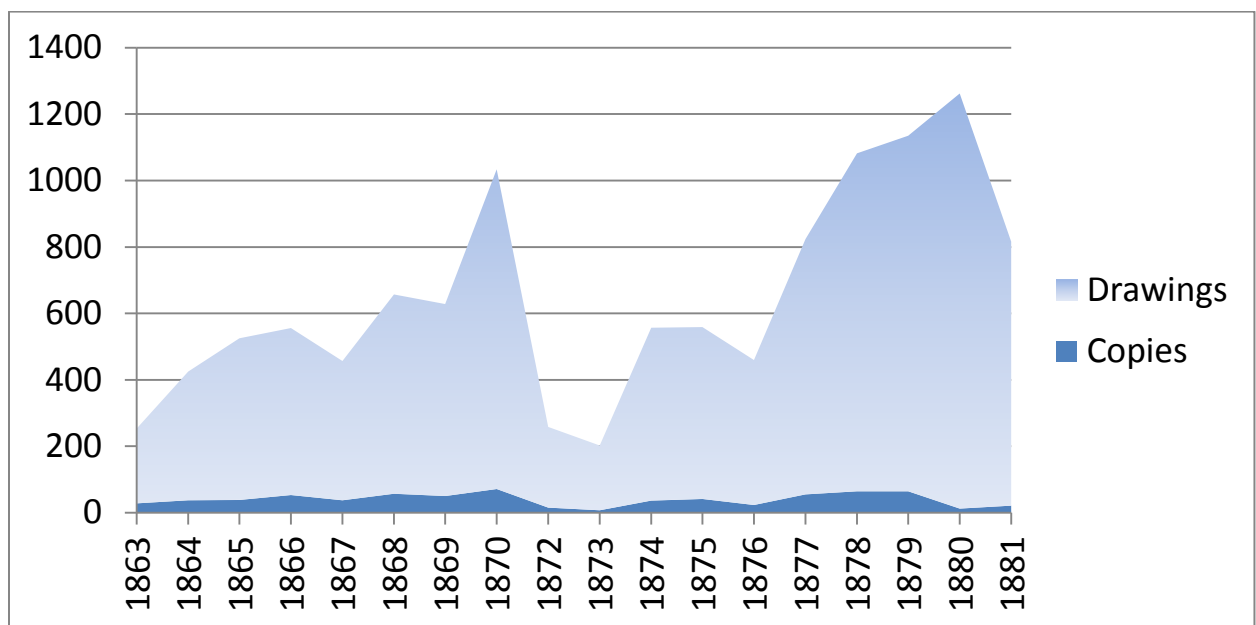


Figure 3.8. Total number of drawings (light blue) and portion of those that were copies (dark blue).

The support by official circles of copies is even higher. Of the artists who received medals for drawings in the Salon, over half of them one awards for copies.<sup>76</sup> This esteem for drawings reflects academic doctrine; however, it is an important distinction that these copies were not identical to their models, because they were drawings, as opposed to the painted copies

<sup>75</sup> The number of copies is probably slightly higher than this because sometimes copies were not identified as such in the catalogs.

<sup>76</sup> 7 out of the 13 awarded artists exhibited copies the years they won. Some of the artists exhibited more than one drawing the year they were awarded a medal; so 7 of the 24 drawings that were considered award winning (30%) were copies.

championed by Charles Blanc and other academicians.<sup>77</sup> In fact, the Salon regulated that copies were only allowed in a different medium than the original artwork, making the drawing section an ideal place to show one's ability to imitate the masters.<sup>78</sup> Interestingly, in 1880, all copies were forbidden in the Salon.<sup>79,80</sup>

Table 3.5 Total number of drawings, portion and percentage that were copies.

<b>Salon Year</b>	<b>Copies</b>	<b>Drawings</b>	<b>percentage</b>
1863	28	225	12.44%
1864	37	388	9.54%
1865	38	487	7.80%
1866	53	503	10.54%
1867	37	419	8.83%
1868	57	600	9.50%
1869	50	578	8.65%
1870	71	963	7.37%
1872	15	243	6.17%
1873	7	195	3.59%
1874	36	521	6.91%
1875	41	518	7.92%
1876	23	436	5.28%
1877	55	769	7.15%
1878	64	1018	6.29%
1879	64	1071	5.98%
1880	12	1250	0.96%
1881	21	795	2.64%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>709</b>	<b>10979</b>	<b>6.46%</b>

<sup>77</sup> See discussion of Charles Blanc's Musée des Copies in Chapter 2.

<sup>78</sup> The rules regarding copies can be found in each Salon Catalog under the regulations: Article 3. For a fascinating discussion of copies in the Salon (including prints, painting, and three-dimensional objects) see Dominique Lobstein, "Copies, transpositions et interprétations sur les cimaises officielles (1864-1870)," *Les cahiers d'histoire de l'art* 8 (2010), 111-130.

<sup>79</sup> See Article 3 of the Regulations in the 1880 Salon Catalog. Still, a few artists exhibited drawn copies these years: 12 in 1880 and 21 in 1881.

<sup>80</sup> Also, all copies, even if they were in a different medium, were forbidden at the Exposition Universelle of 1867. See *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: Supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts* 149 (June 20, 1866), 178.

### *Award Winners and the Jury*

Drawings were judged and awarded by the same jury that evaluated paintings, even when they were separated in the catalog.<sup>81</sup> Thus, drawings were selected by jurors who were likely fatigued from considering thousands of paintings. In addition, any awards given to drawings were rare, at least in part, because they would be subtracted from the total allotted for painting. From the years 1863 to 1881, only 13 awards were given to drawings, and three-quarters of those were in 1863 (Table 3.6).<sup>82</sup>

Table 3.6. Artists who won awards for their drawings in the Salons (1863-1881).

<b>Salon</b>	<b>Artist</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Award</b>	<b>Medium</b>
1863	Bodmer	M	2nd class medal	watercolor
1863	Tourney	M	3rd class medal	watercolor
1863	Alcide	M	Hon. Mention	dessin
1863	Chaplain	M	Hon. Mention	dessin
1863	Thevenin	M	Hon. Mention	watercolor
1863	Delangle	M	Hon. Mention	dessin
1863	Desvachez	M	Hon. Mention	dessin
1863	Princess Mathilde	F	Hon. Mention	watercolor
1863	Comtesse de Nadaillac	F	Hon. Mention	watercolor
1876	Joris	M	Hon. Mention	watercolor
1880	Morlot	M	Hon. Mention	watercolor
1881	Katow	M	Hon. Mention	watercolor
1881	Ferrari	M	Hon. Mention	watercolor

It is odd that so many medals were given to artists for drawings exhibited in 1863; perhaps this was affected by the extremely small amount of artworks that were accepted into the

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<sup>81</sup> For all Jury Regulations see Salon catalogs, Regulations, Article 3.

<sup>82</sup> The list of medal winners was taken from Marie Leimbacher, *Les arts graphiques dans les Salons parisiens de la deuxième moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Thesis, École du Louvre, 2007) Vol. 2, 21. I have taken this list, found the specific titles, and tracked down some of the specific works. A list of Salon medal winners was also sometimes listed in *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à Gazette des beaux-arts*, although drawing and painting were not distinguished.

Salon at all that year. Out of the awards for drawings during those 18 years, one was a 2<sup>nd</sup> class medal, one was a 3<sup>rd</sup> class medal, while all the others were Honorable Mentions. The majority of these awards were given for watercolors, reflecting the increasing interest in the medium. It is notable as well that two of the awards were for female artists, and both of these women were of the royal class. Interestingly, none of these award-winning drawings were purchased by the government.

The Swiss artist Karl Bodmer was awarded the second class medal for three watercolors in 1863.<sup>83</sup> All three works related to his Missouri River expedition with Prince Maximilian between 1832 and 1834. Bodmer became famous for his prints of American Indians and the American West. It is interesting that, almost thirty years later, Bodmer decided to exhibit at the Paris Salon scenes from this trip, and that he submitted drawings instead of prints, for which he was more known. The one drawing of the three in the 1863 Salon that can be identified today is *View of the Missouri River, near Fort Leavenworth* (fig. 3.9).<sup>84</sup> The drawing is only partly finished with the middle right still showing sketch marks from a pencil; when compared to other drawings from the Salon that survive today, it is unusual to find a work that is not more completed.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Bodmer's award-winning watercolors: *A Family of Bears in the Alleghany Mountains*; *View of the Missouri, near Fort-Loewensworth, (North America)*; *Wild Turkeys in Woods (Indian)*, which was also in the Exposition Universelle of 1867.

<sup>84</sup> Records of the journey describe what was taking place when this work was painted, "On April 21 shortly before noon [their steamer *Yellow Stone*] passed the mouth of the Kansas River. Early on April 22 they landed at Leavenworth where military authorities came aboard to check for illegal shipments of whiskey." William Goetzmann, *Karl Bodmer's America* (University of Nebraska Press: Joslyn Art Museum, 1984), 142.

<sup>85</sup> Bodmer achieved great success as a painter in France in the 1870's. His *Preparing for the Fight*, showing a Bluebeard in the forest surrounded by his wives, was highly acclaimed in the Salon of 1877 and re-exhibited in the 1878 Universelle Exhibition.



Figure 3.9. Karl Bodmer, *View of the Missouri, near Fort-Loewensworth, (North America)*.

Joseph-Gabriel Tournay's (1834-1917)<sup>86</sup> watercolors were highly praised at the Salon. Over the period under review here, Tournay hung an average of two drawings in each of nine years at the Salon.<sup>87</sup> In the Salon of 1863, Tournay was awarded a third-class medal for three watercolors, two of which were copies after Raphael's cartoons for the tapestries in the Sistine Chapel (fig. 3.10).<sup>88</sup> Some watercolors exhibited in the Salon were purchased by the government; one each in 1864 (fig. 3.11), 1869, 1870, and 1873. The Louvre owns at least twenty-two copies by Tournay of artworks in the Louvre, including ones after Velasquez, Raphael, Tiepolo, and Rubens.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> The artist is alternately identified as Tourny.

<sup>87</sup> Among fellow artists Tournay was appreciated even more so for his engravings, perhaps most famously in the respect endowed to him by Edgar Degas.

<sup>88</sup> *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes & Saint Peter and Saint John*. The third watercolor was a portrait of an unnamed girl. *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes* was acquired by Adolphe Thiers and given by his wife to the Louvre in 1881. The influence of Raphael's cartoons is also discussed in relation to the first drawing exhibition at the Louvre in Chapter 2.

<sup>89</sup> All of these appear to be watercolors, but the medium is not identified on the Louvre website.



Figure 3.10. Joseph-Gabriel Tournay, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes after Raphael*, Louvre, 1862.

Jules-Clément Chaplain, particularly well known for his medals and coins, received an honorable mention in 1863 for three portrait drawings. That same year he exhibited two portrait sculptures, one a plaster bust and the other a marble medallion. Also in 1863, he won the Prix de Rome for medal-engraving. In 1877 he became the official medalist of the French government and in 1896 became director of the Sèvres porcelain factory.

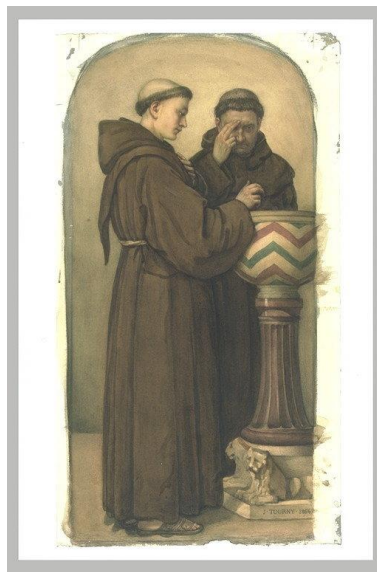


Figure 3.11. Joseph-Gabriel Tournay, *Deux moines se signant*, Louvre.

Julien-Firmin Delangle exhibited drawings in the Salons of 1863, 1864, and 1865. The first was a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's *La Joconde*, for which he received an honorable mention. The second, in 1864, was a copy of *La Visitation* by Sebastiano del Piombo, also in the Louvre. This was not a very inventive choice considering David-Joseph Desvachez copied the same del Piombo work in 1863, for which he had also received an honorable mention. The 1865 drawing by Delangle was a portrait of a woman.

Princess Mathilde, cousin of Napoleon III, exhibited drawings in six of the Salons studied here and was one of the few women praised by critics for her drawing technique. She was also one of the few women given awards for her work, receiving an honorable mention for watercolors in 1863. However, she made a point to purchase another medal to replace the one she was given, thereby allowing another artist to be awarded that year. In the Salon catalog the following year, this gift was acknowledged:

Au nombre des élus, le jury a placé une Princesse auguste qui, non contente d'appliquer au culte des arts un gout éclairé, tinte à honneur de participer á nos concours. Mais Madame la Princesse Mathilde n'a pas voulu que la decision du jury á son égard pût diminuer le nombre des recompenses, et Elle a remplacé la médaille qui lui a été décernée. Ainsi, selon son désir, la recompense qu'Elle a obtenue, et don't Elle est fleure, n'a été pour personne l'occasion d'un regret.<sup>90</sup>

One of the watercolors she exhibited in 1863 was a Portrait of the Duke of Lesdiguières, after Rigaud; the other was a study after nature. The portrait was highly acclaimed, with one critic saying that it should have been signed by Rigaud himself.<sup>91</sup>

Princess Mathilde was a socialite who often held gatherings in her home for politicians, artists, and writers. She had a 23 year affair with the sculptor and administrator Count

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<sup>90</sup> Salon Catalog, 1864, XI

<sup>91</sup> *Émile Cantrel* in *L'Artiste*, July 15, 1863, 45. Mathilde told Pierre Lebrun that she would give him this portrait, but it has not been traced today. See Richardson, 108.



Nieuwerkerke, and surely helped his political career:<sup>92</sup> In 1849, Napoleon appointed Nieuwerkerke Directeur-général des Musées; in 1859, he was appointed Chamberlain to the Emperor; in 1863, Napoleon created the position of Superintendant des Beaux-Arts for the count<sup>93</sup>; and in 1874, as has previously been mentioned, he became Director of École des Beaux-Arts. Given her position, it is likely that some of the favorable comments made about Princess Mathilde's works may have been politically or socially motivated.

### *Salon Drawings Purchased by the State*

Each year the government purchased hundreds of artworks from the Salon and, from 1864 to 1895, hired the photographer Charles Michelez (1817-1883) to record all of these purchases.<sup>94</sup> Drawings were a small portion of what was purchased; yet, these photographs allow one to identify 54 of the drawings that were in the Salons from 1864-1880 (Appendix C). The number of drawings purchased each year fluctuated significantly (Table 3.7): the greatest number of purchases of drawings (11) occurred in 1872; no drawings were purchased in 1875, 1877, and 1881; and only one drawing was purchased in 1866, 1869, and 1878.

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<sup>92</sup> Princess Mathilde wrote that she took it as a personal offense when Nieuwerkerke was not given charge of the Exposition Universelle in 1853. Richardson, 75.

<sup>93</sup> Richardson refers to a letter (June 29, 1863) from Napoleon to Mathilde regarding Nieuwerkerke's appointment, 109.

<sup>94</sup> For these photographs, artworks that were purchased by the state were taken from their hanging spots and arranged in groupings with other purchased works; thus, the photos do not show how artworks were arranged in the Salon. These Albums were studied by the author at the Musée d'Orsay. Most of the photographs are also online on the website of the Archives Nationales (<http://www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/salons.htm>). The drawings themselves were dispersed to museums throughout France, although many of them do not appear in Joconde or the Louvre's Inventaire du département des Arts graphiques.

Table 3.7. Number of Salon drawings purchased each year by the state (1863-1881).

Salon	Quantity
1864	5
1865	3
1866	1
1867	3
1868	3
1869	1
1870	4
1872	11
1873	5
1874	5
1875	0
1876	3
1877	0
1878	1
1879	3
1880	6
1881	0

Watercolor was by far the most popular type of drawing purchased by the state (fig. 3.12); the government purchased 25 watercolors, eight charcoals, six pastels, one gouache, and eight whose specific medium was not identified. During this period the government also purchased five cartoons, showing the continuing importance of these preparatory drawings to the French.<sup>95</sup> Regardless of the medium, most of these purchased were highly finished rather than exploratory sketches. Works purchased were in variety of genres: religious, historical, mythological, and still life.

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<sup>95</sup> Chapter 2 discusses the importance of cartoons in the first exhibition at the Louvre.

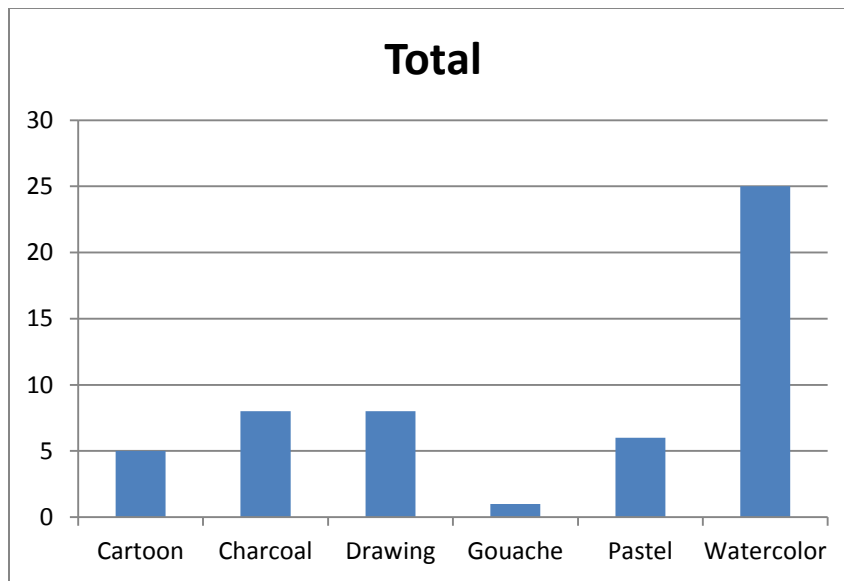


Figure 3.12. Medium distribution of drawings purchase by the state (1863-1881) with watercolor being the most popular followed by charcoal and drawing.

As one explores the history of these purchases it becomes apparent that the artists of these works often had a particular situation or reputation that made them desirable as artists to include in the state's collections; in other words, it seems that at times the purchases were made based on who the artist was rather than the quality of the specific drawing. Although most of these artists are not recognized by scholars today (Table 3.8), many of them were well-respected in their time. Of these state-favored artists, Puvis de Chavannes is by far the most familiar. Puvis's and Pierre Maillot's cartoons for the Saint Genevieve church in Paris (Pantheon) were both purchased in 1876.<sup>96</sup> However, it should be noted that Puvis exhibited in the drawing section of the Salon rarely, only in 1874 and 1876, and in these cases he showed cartoons for larger projects that were already funded by the government. A few other drawings were

<sup>96</sup> Cartoons continued to be an intriguing form of drawings for the public. For example, in the Universelle Exhibition of 1867, the following cartoons were exhibited: sixteen of the murals for the church of Saint-Georges in Anvers, drawn by Godefroid Guffens; three cartoons for murals in Notre Dame in Saint-Nicolas; two for the Chamber of Commerce in Anvers; and seven by Jean Swerts for Saint Georges in Anvers.

purchased because of their relationship to state-sponsored activities, such as the watercolor by Henri Baron that depicts the 1867 Exposition Universelle.

Table 3.8. Drawings Purchased by the State from Salons (1863-1881)

Salon	ID	Artist Last name	First	Gender	Medium
1864	2006	APPIAN	Adolphe	M	charcoal
1864	2382	OUVRIE	Pierre-Justin	M	watercolor
1864	2414	PIPART	Charles	M	drawing
1864	2421	PRETOT	Elise	F	drawing
1864	2461	TOURNEY	Joseph-Gabriel	M	watercolor
1865	2373	CLERGET	Hubert	M	watercolor
1865	2374	CLERGET	Hubert	M	watercolor
1865	2766	SAINT-FRANCOIS	Leon	M	drawing
1866	2511	PRETOT	Elise	F	pastel
1867	1772	GAILLARD	Ferdinand	M	drawing
1867	1847	JANMOT	Louis	M	cartoon
1867	2018	PONSON	Luc-Raphael	M	gouache
1868	2630	BARON	Henri	M	watercolor
1868	2921	GIRARDIN	Pauline	F	pastel
1868	2955	GUIOT	Hector	M	pastel
1869	3177	TOURNEY	Joseph-Gabriel	M	watercolor
1870	3459	GALBRUND		M	pastel
1870	3503	GIRARDIN	Pauline	F	watercolor
1870	3558	GUIOT	Hector	M	watercolor
1870	4144	TOURNEY	Joseph-Gabriel	M	watercolor
1872	3	ADAM	Albert	M	watercolor
1872	72	BAYARD	Emile	M	charcoal
1872	99	BENARD	Emile	M	watercolor
1872	333	CHOUPPE	Jean-Henri	M	watercolor
1872	353	COINCHON	Albert	M	pastel
1872	354	COINCHON	Albert	M	charcoal
1872	601	FAIVRE	Tony	M	cartoon fragment
1872	671	GAUCHEREL	Leon	M	watercolor
1872	828	HUOT	Adolphe	M	watercolor
1872	914	LALANNE	Maxime	M	charcoal
1872	972	LEFEBVRE	Georges	M	charcoal
1873	70	BEAUCE	Jean-Adolphe	M	drawing
1873	539	EURMANN	Francois	M	watercolor
1873	849	LALANNE	Maxime	M	charcoal

1873	1390	THOLLOT	Benoît	M	watercolor
1873	1407	TOURNEY	Joseph-Gabriel	M	watercolor
1874	1881	BAYARD	Emile	M	charcoal
1874	2095	DUBOIS	Maria	F	pastel
1874	2395	MONCHABLON	Xavier-Alphonse	M	cartoon
1874	2418	NANTEUIL	Celestin	M	watercolor
1874	2419	NANTEUIL	Celestin	M	watercolor
1876	2716	MAILLOT	Pierre	M	cartoon for church
1876	2728	MARECHAL DE METZ	Laurent-Charles	M	pastel
1876	2868	PUVIS DE CHAVANNES	Pierre	M	cartoon for church
1878	2784	DETAILLE	Edouard	M	watercolor
1879	3798	HAQUETTE-BOUFFE	Jenny	F	watercolor
1879	3949	LANJALLEY	Marie-Marthe	F	watercolor
1879	4090	LIQUIER	David-Gabriel	M	watercolor
1880	4167	BOETZEL	Ernest	M	charcoal
1880	4950	HERST	Auguste-Clement	M	watercolor
1880	4951	HERST	Auguste-Clement	M	watercolor
1880	5112	LANSYER	Emmanuel	M	drawing
1880	5258	LHERMITTE	Leon-Augustin	M	drawing
1880	5709	REVERCHON	R	M	drawing

In 1863 Adolph Appian exhibited a painting entitled *Return from the Fields*, a common landscape theme showing a figure (usually female) returning from working on farmland or herding sheep. Appian's painting was highly acclaimed, but by the time the state offered to purchase it, the artist had already sold it to someone through the dealer Goupil & Cie.<sup>97</sup> Because of the state's disappointment, Appian offered to make a finished drawing after the painting for them to purchase (fig. 3.13)<sup>98</sup>; the state agreed and Appian completed the drawing in time to also exhibit it in the 1864 Salon. Therefore, the drawing was already bought by the government before it was even exhibited. While the state had originally offered 1500 francs for the painting,

<sup>97</sup> Letters regarding this purchase were found in the National Archives artist's file F21.

<sup>98</sup> This engraving (fig. 2.8) of Appian's drawing was found in a nineteenth-century Musée de Luxembourg catalog; however, the drawing is lost today. See François Guillaume Dumas, *Livret illustré du Musée du Luxembourg*. (Paris: Librairie d'Art L. Baschet, 1884), 184.

Appian was paid 1000 francs for the drawing.<sup>99</sup> In one of his treatises on charcoal, Karl Robert highlights the impressive skills of Appian using *Return from the Fields* as an example:

Appian... joint la figure au paysage avec une harmonie remarquable. Chacun peut en juger au Musée de Luxembourg, où fut placée, il y a quelques années, une de ses plus belles compositions, *Retour des champs*. Le paysage, peut-être un peu sacrifié à la figure, n'en est pas moins largement traité: mais comme cette figure est belle et pleine d'une allure charmante et naturelle!<sup>100</sup>



Figure 3.13. Engraving by Charles Gillot of Adolph Appian's charcoal *Return from the Fields*.

Émile Bayard (1837-1891) exhibited four times over the two decades surveyed here, and had two charcoals purchased by the state.<sup>101</sup> *Gloria Victis*, a spectacular triptych in red chalk, accepted for the Salon of 1872, criticized the recent Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and memorialized artists and others lost in the war (fig. 3.14). That year, the government asked several artists to take down their art, although they had already been accepted by the Salon jury, because of continuing negotiations with the Prussians. These artists were all offered

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<sup>99</sup> Appian built relationships with those in governmental power and was offered 2000 francs each for other paintings in 1865, 1867, 1868, and 1869, and 1800 francs for one in 1870.

<sup>100</sup> Karl Robert, *Le Fusain Sans Maître: Traité pratique et complet sur l'étude du paysage au fusain*. (Paris: Georges Meusnier, 1874), 9-10.

<sup>101</sup> Bayard was also awarded a 3<sup>rd</sup> class medal at the Exposition Universelle of 1878.

compensation, often in the form of having their artworks purchased by the state.<sup>102</sup> So, *Gloria Victis* (*Glory to the Vanquished*) was purchased in 1872, but later hung in the Salon of 1874 under the title of *Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor* (*Arise from my Avenger*).<sup>103104</sup>

Bayard's scenes are covered with layer upon layer of bodies, emphasizing the death and darkness of war. By the end of the 1870's, Bayard moved on to become a very successful illustrator of novels, most notably for Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*; his very famous image of Cosette is still used today for posters promoting the musical *Les Misérables*.



Figure 3.14. Charles Michelez's photograph of Emile Bayard's charcoal triptych *Gloria Victis* from 1874

<sup>102</sup> The government also had to reprint the catalog with the offensive artworks removed.

<sup>103</sup> In 1873, Bayard hung a satirical drawing *Sedan 1870* which represented Napoleon III being carried over the dead bodies of French and Prussian soldiers. Vads, "the online resource for visual arts", states that this image was banned from photographic reproduction and publication. <http://www.vads.ac.uk/large.php?uid=84717>

<sup>104</sup> Also in 1874, Antonin Mercié's plaster sculpture by the same name was displayed in the Salon. Mercié's work won a medal in the Salon of 1874 and in the Exposition Universelle of 1878. It has since been remade many times in bronze. Both Mercié's and Bayard's works were conceived as memorials to the French who had died in the recent war, and focused on a winged figure caring for the fallen.

Out of the forty-two artists who exhibited in the Salon and had their drawings purchased by the state, five of them were women.<sup>105</sup> Elise Prétot was born in Dormans but the years of her life are unknown; in Benezit she is recorded as a painter, pastelist, and a draftsman. From 1863-1881 she exhibited seven drawn copies of famous paintings.<sup>106</sup> Two of these, both pastels, were purchased by the state: *Saints Family* (copy after Andrea del Sarto) in 1864 and *Virgin and Saints* (copy after Rubens) in 1866 (fig. 3.15).<sup>107</sup> She received a respectable 800 francs for each of these works and was offered similar amounts in later years for other copies that were not exhibited in the Salon.



Figure 3.15. Charles Michelez's photo of artworks purchased by the state in 1864. Far left shows a pastel copy of a Rubens made by Elise Pretot

<sup>105</sup> These women were Elise Prétot, Pauline Girardin, Maria Dubois, Jenny Haquette-Bouffe, and Marie-Marthe Lanjalley. The only two drawings of flowers (both pastels) purchased by the state were made by women, supporting the notion that flower painting and pastel were both considered more feminine.

<sup>106</sup> She never, however, exhibited in the painting section.

<sup>107</sup> F21 at National Archives



### *Gender in the Drawing Section of the Salon*

Training environments and marketing opportunities were different for male and female artists in the nineteenth century. Women were not admitted into the Academy and, at the schools where they could study, they were not allowed to attend the nude model classes; thus a separate system was developed by the women themselves.<sup>108</sup> In terms of exhibiting in the Salon, women also frequently did not have strong relationships with the jurors, which would have hindered the acceptance of their artworks; due to the efforts of L'Union des Femmes, the first female Salon jury member, Madame Léon Bertaux, was appointed in 1898.<sup>109</sup> However, women had a higher success rate in getting drawings accepted than in other media; the lesser status of both drawings and women made this relationship more agreeable to critics and jurors.<sup>110</sup>

A comparison between the quantities of male to female artists exhibiting in the drawing section of the Salon is graphed in Figure 3.16, and the percentage of total artists that were women within the drawing section each year is tallied in the final column of Table 3.9. On average, 22% of drawings exhibited in the Salon between 1863 and 1881 were made by women. This is substantially higher than the percentage of women who exhibited in other media. For example, in 1865, when 17.66% of the drawings exhibited were by women, only 6.9% of those exhibiting paintings, 4.4% of those exhibiting sculpture, and 2.1% of those exhibiting prints were women.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> See Roos, 18-32.

<sup>109</sup> Tamar Garb, "Revising the Revisionists," 65. Also see a discussion of L'Union des Femmes's exhibition of drawings in Chapter 3.

<sup>110</sup> A woman's social stature, however, could supersede the fact that she was a woman, as, for example, in the case of Princess Mathilde.

<sup>111</sup> The data on painting, sculpture and prints for 1865 was taken from Charlotte Yeldham, *Women Artists in Nineteenth-Century France and England* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1984), Vol. II, 205.

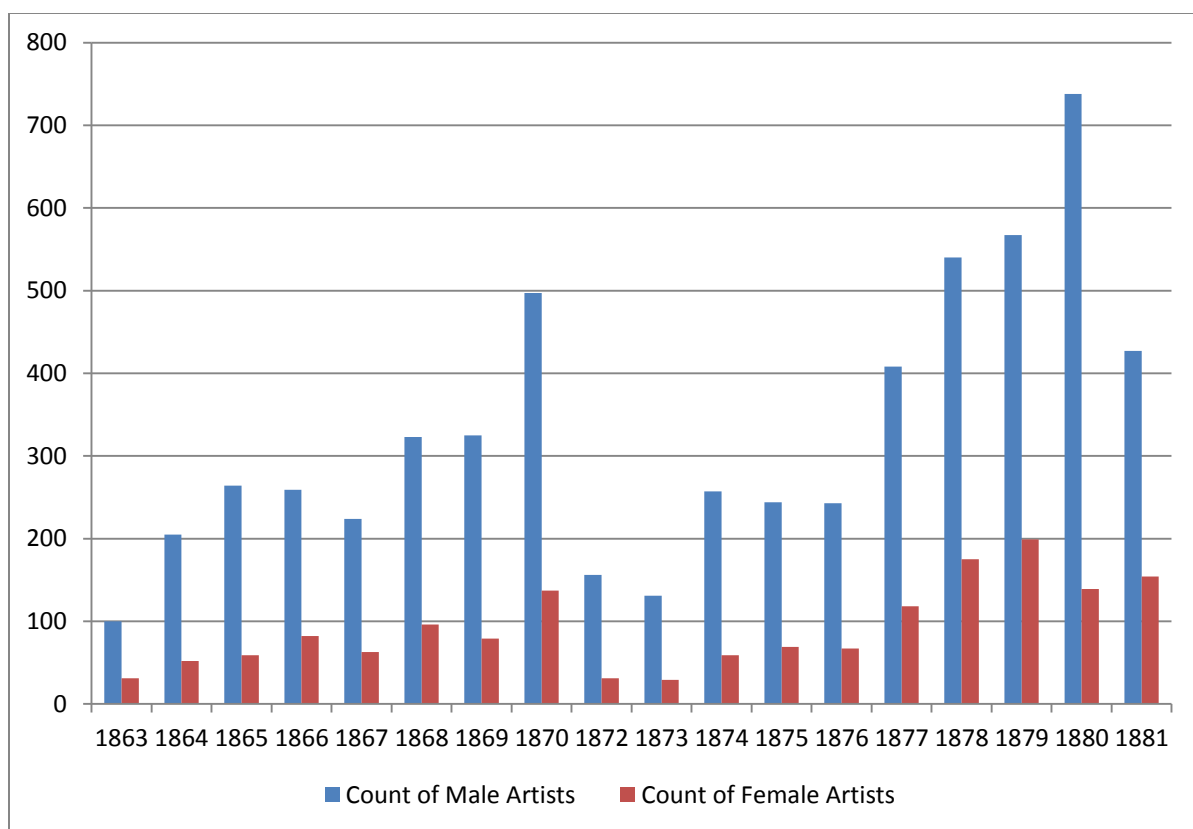


Figure 3.16. Comparison between the number of male and female artists exhibiting drawings in the Salons

The relationship between male and female artists can be further analyzed with this data. Table 2.16 graphs the teacher/student relationship in terms of gender: the blue line represents male students with male teachers; the red line represents female students with female teachers; the purple line represents male artists with female teachers; and the green line represents female artists with male teachers (see also Table 3.9). Not surprisingly, it was most common for male artists to support other male artists. The second most common relationship is between female artists and female teachers followed closely by female artists supported by male teachers. According to these findings, it was rare to find female teachers supporting male students; in some years (1872 and 1876) there was not any of this type of relationship.

Table 3.9. Number of male and female artists exhibiting drawings.

<b>Salon</b>	<b>Male Artists</b>	<b>Female Artists</b>	<b>% Female</b>
1863	100	31	23.66%
1864	205	52	20.23%
1865	264	59	18.27%
1866	259	82	24.05%
1867	224	63	21.95%
1868	323	96	22.91%
1869	325	79	19.55%
1870	497	137	21.61%
1872	156	31	16.58%
1873	131	29	18.13%
1874	257	59	18.67%
1875	244	69	22.04%
1876	243	67	21.61%
1877	408	118	22.43%
1878	540	175	24.48%
1879	567	199	25.98%
1880	738	139	15.85%
1881	427	154	26.51%

### *Subject Matter of Drawings*

While it is beyond the purview of this project to determine the subject matter of all of the 10,000 drawings in the Salon during this period, the data does reflect the number of works that were portraits, based on their titles (fig. 3.17 and Table 3.10). Portraits were on average 22.49% of the drawings exhibited between 1863 and 1881. The lowest and highest percentages of portraits were in the beginning of this time period. In 1863, portraits made up one-third of the drawings, yet in 1864 this decreased to one-fifth. The highest year to year increase was in 1865, when the number of portraits increased to almost one-third of the total again, or 28.13%.

Table 3.10. Number of Portraits Exhibited in the Salon (1863-1881) and the percentage of the total drawings that were portraits.

Salon Year	Portraits	Dessins	percentage
1863	75	225	33.33%
1864	93	388	19.33%
1865	137	487	28.13%
1866	117	503	23.26%
1867	96	419	22.91%
1868	134	600	22.33%
1869	128	578	22.15%
1870	196	963	20.35%
1872	59	243	24.28%
1873	40	195	20.51%
1874	109	521	20.92%
1875	111	518	21.43%
1876	104	436	23.85%
1877	175	769	22.76%
1878	201	1018	19.74%
1879	237	1071	22.13%
1880	288	1250	23.04%
1881	169	795	21.26%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>2469</b>	<b>10979</b>	<b>22.49%</b>

Portraiture was a subject matter that was more acceptable for a woman to paint than anything historical or anatomical, because it did not require study of the nude. Between 1863 and 1881, 43.21% of the drawn portraits in the Salon were made by women artists (Table 3.11). Women were the creators of over half of the drawings during nine of those years; in 1867, 60% of the portraits in drawings were by women and in 1873 two-thirds (66.67%) were by women.

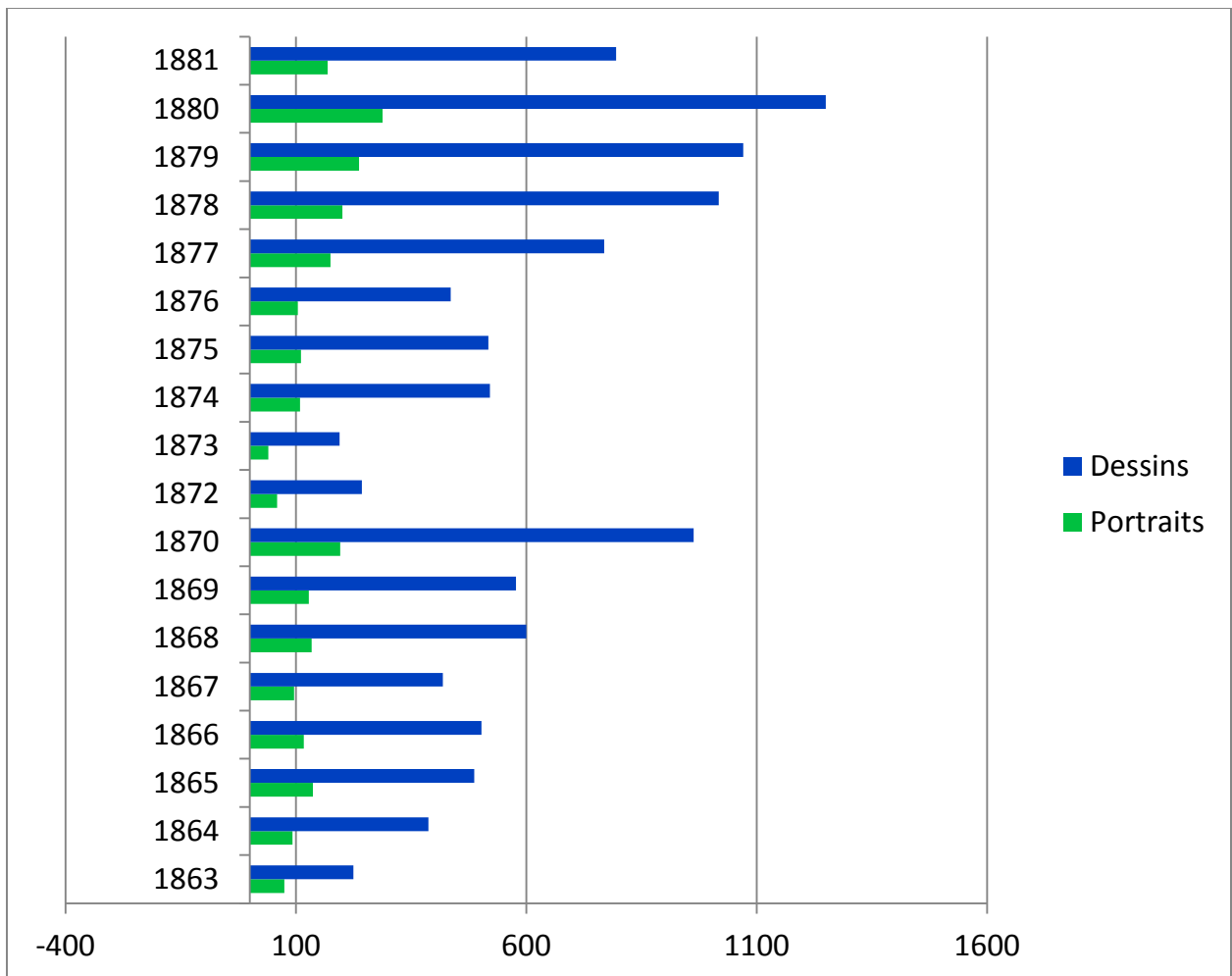


Figure 3.17. Comparison of Portraits Exhibited in the drawing section of the Salon (green) with total (blue) of drawings in the Salon (1863-1881)

### *Media of Drawings in the Salon*

Of particular interest to studies on the rise of popularity of drawing in the nineteenth century is information on what types of drawing materials were most popular in the Salon. Watercolor, pastel, gouache, and charcoal were specifically identified in the catalog, while drawings made with other materials (such as pen and pencil) frequently were not. Figure 3.18 tracks the use of charcoal, gouache, pastel, watercolor, compared with often unidentified drawings (*dessin*) in the Salon from 1863-1881.

Table 3.11. Comparison of portrait drawings made by female artists with those made by male artists of drawings in the Salon (1863-1881).

Salon Year	Female Portrait	Male Portrait	percentage
1863	27	48	56.25%
1864	23	70	32.86%
1865	32	105	30.48%
1866	37	80	46.25%
1867	36	60	60.00%
1868	43	91	47.25%
1869	43	85	50.59%
1870	67	129	51.94%
1872	20	39	51.28%
1873	16	24	66.67%
1874	31	78	39.74%
1875	32	79	40.51%
1876	35	69	50.72%
1877	51	124	41.13%
1878	69	132	52.27%
1879	71	166	42.77%
1880	54	234	23.08%
1881	58	111	52.25%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>745</b>	<b>1724</b>	<b>43.21%</b>

From 1863 to 1865 more drawings that were described as *dessin* (yellow line) were exhibited than any in one of the specified media. In general, watercolors were the most exhibited type of drawing medium. When the drawings with unidentified media (*dessin*) are removed from the chart, it is clear that watercolor was by far the preferred medium, with a competitive race between pastel and charcoal following. In comparison, very few gouaches were exhibited.

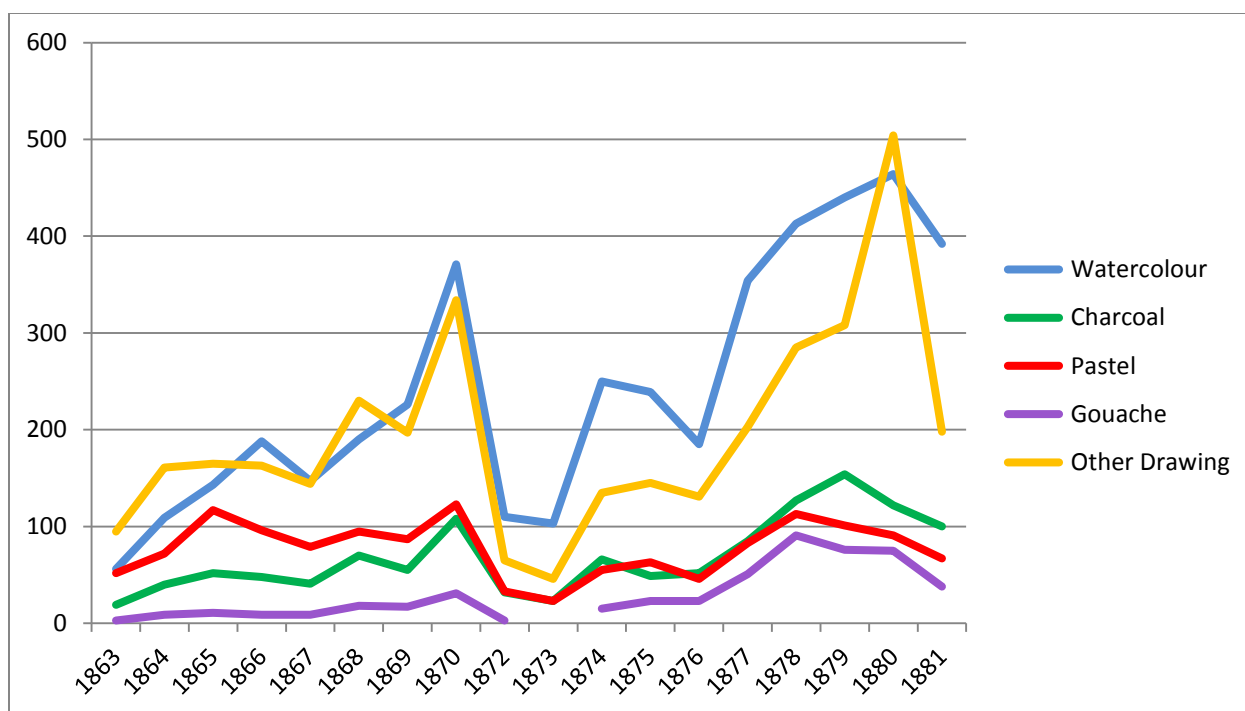


Figure 3.18. Media of drawings exhibited in the *Dessin* section of the Salons of 1863-1881

Medium preferences do change, however, when one considers the results in relationship to the gender of the artist. The medium preferred by males (fig. 3.19) is quite similar to the gender neutral graph of media; however, females artists (fig. 3.20) show as much of an interest in pastel as watercolor, at times even surpassing the latter. The data also shows that females had a greater interest in gouache than their male counterparts, particularly in the late 1870's.

### Conclusion

This data shows that drawings played an important role in the Paris Salon. Artists found a way to promote themselves by presenting drawings at this widely visited exhibition, with women in particular relying on this type of artwork to further their careers.<sup>112</sup> Artists frequently exhibited

<sup>112</sup> Approximately 1600 artists exhibited drawings in the Salon from 1863 to 1881.

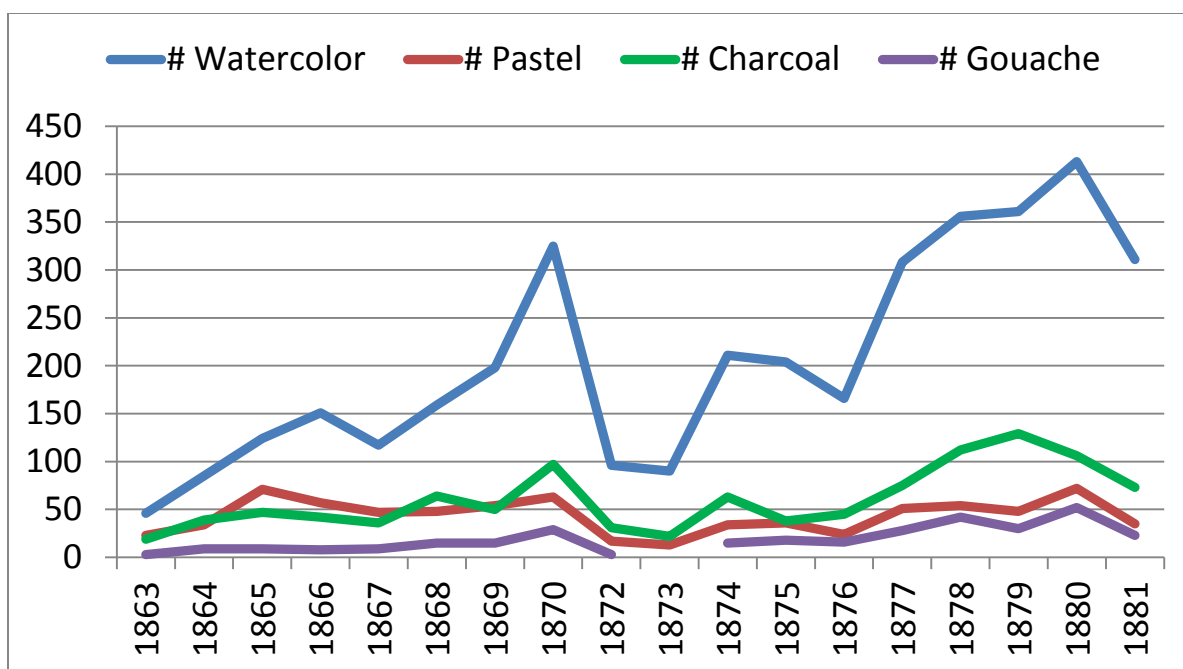


Figure 3.19 Media of drawings by Male artists exhibited in the Salons of 1863-1881

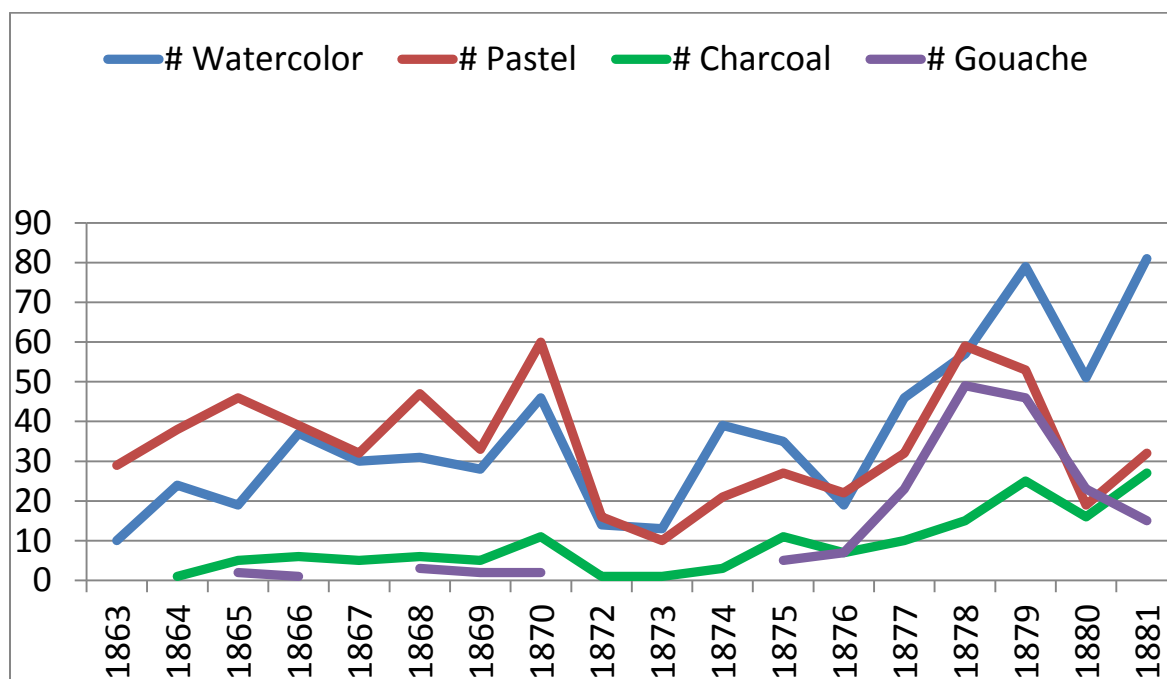


Figure 3.20. Media of drawings by Female artists exhibited in the Salons of 1863-1881



repeatedly in the drawings section of the Salon: 47 artists exhibited 20 drawings or more from 1863-1881; 52 artists exhibited between 15 and 19 drawings; and 103 artists exhibited between 10 and 14 drawings. The data taken from the Salon catalog has revealed that artists were pressured by the frequently changing submission guidelines, which affected how many drawings they were able to submit each year. Because of this, artists also often used drawings as a tool to show their skills even when they were specialists in other media.

While a small percentage of all the drawings in the Salon were copies, the number of copies that were purchased by the state and awarded medals was disproportionately higher than the total number of drawings in the Salon. This preference highlights the emphasis the Academy still placed on studying masters from the past, although alternating regulations about copies reflect the debates in the Academy centered around originality versus imitation. The conservative mindset of those representing the Academy were in opposition to many artists looking for less strict management over their art-making, which would contribute to the need for artists to find new exhibition venues. Private and independent exhibition spaces are the subject of Chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4

### ALTERNATIVES TO THE SALON: ARTIST SOCIETIES, DEALERS, AND

### THE PROMOTION OF DRAWINGS

This chapter is a quantitative study of independent drawing exhibitions that highlights the multiplicity of exhibition spaces for drawings available during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Paris. In addition to the government-sponsored Salon, dealers and artist societies created numerous venues for works on paper. Dealers were integral to this new market, which catered to a growing middle class.<sup>113</sup> Artists themselves exhibited and sold drawings as a less expensive option for consumers. Using catalogs from many of these independent exhibitions, data will be analyzed to determine the quantity and types of drawings exhibited, and how these drawings compared to those exhibited at the Salon. By the 1880's, as can be seen in a caricature published in a journal from the time (fig. 4.1), the public was inundated with art-viewing options, and artists also had dramatically more exhibition opportunities. The posters surrounding the dumfounded man in this illustration promote exhibitions that specialized in some aspect of the visual arts, such as media, nationality, subject matter, or gender. Only a sampling of the many exhibitions in this period can be discussed, but those chosen for study here were created by artist societies who responded to the growing desire in the market for drawings: Société des aquarellistes français (Society of French Watercolorists) (1879-1896; 1932); Société des

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<sup>113</sup> The instigative study on the role of dealers and critics during this period is Harrison White and Cynthia White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, (Chicago: 1965). See also Nicholas Green "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Art History* (Vol 10, no. 1) March, 1987, 59-78.

pastellistes français (1885 - 1928); Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs (1882-1896); blanc et noir (1876-1892).



Figure 4.1. Draner, *Révue comique*, 1880's.

Prior to the spectrum of types of art exhibitions that began in the mid 1870's, places for social and intellectual exchange also displayed art, including drawings. The way that art was

hung at these venues was designed to create a private atmosphere, one which inspired discussion and contemplation. The Cercle de l'Union Artistique (1860-1918) – also known as Mirlitons – was a highly refined aristocratic club that combined activities with presentations of various types of arts. Rather than a place to make sales, Mirlitons was a place for socialization and meeting contacts and buyers. Members were unlimited as long as they paid a fee.<sup>114</sup> Three committees maintained Mirlitons: Commission de Littérature, which arranged lectures, readings and theater; the Commission de Musique, which planned weekly concerts and singers; and the Commission de Peinture, Architecture, etc., which planed annual exhibitions. Although drawings were certainly included in these exhibitions, the degree to which they were is not known; however, it is the atmosphere instigated by these social clubs, or “petit Salons” that inspired others to distinguish themselves from the Salon:

Amateurs, who reject the weariness of the Salon..., prefer these intimate exhibitions which seem improvised...Artists freely send here the piece that they have at hand: a well-turned sketch, a curious daub, and indication of landscape, as well as a painting pushed to perfection...It's delightful and all this happens unceremoniously. One adores these lovable caprices, this free humor by which an artist shows himself as he is...<sup>115</sup>

Demonstrating their break from the Salon, artist societies imitated the success of Mirlitons, and often even pressured their artists not to exhibit works at both the Salon and certain private exhibitions. For example, the Société des aquarellistes français announced that any watercolors shown at their annual exhibition could not be submitted to the Salon, and, starting in 1877, Degas disallowed artists from exhibiting with the Impressionists if they also submitted to the Salon.

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<sup>114</sup> In 1898, there were 1963 members. William Walton, *Paris: Known and Unknown*. (Philadelphia: George Barrie & Son, 1901), 106.

<sup>115</sup> Victor Champier, *Chronique de l'année: L'Année artistique*, Paris, 1880, 173-4, translated in Martha Ward, “Impressionist Installations and Private Exhibitions, *Art Bulletin* (December, 1991): 607.

Unlike many other areas of French art, the French lagged behind the rest of Europe in terms of the exhibition of drawings. In particular, England, Belgium, and even the United States were ahead of France in creating artist societies and focused exhibitions for watercolors.<sup>116</sup> But, as will be shown, France's long-term rivalry with Britain would play out in the arena of drawings. The exhibition strategies used, in London in particular, to create "private" spaces, shows that seemed more intimate and like one's home, would inspire many of the artist societies in Paris. Martha Ward related that the press praised the English display techniques at the Royal Academy and Expositions Universelle as being superior to the French. In one review, the hanging of English watercolors at the 1867 Exposition Universelle was described as having, "generous spacing...on neutrally tinted screens, [with] the gentleness of the indirect lighting and the presence of neutrally colored carpets."<sup>117</sup> The same review described the French exhibition as being dusty and having raking light. Indeed, some critics encouraged the need for special spaces just for works on paper, arguing that this type of artwork had different requirements, "It's a delicate, intimate, lovable art that one can only appreciate well in a choice, elegant, distinguished milieu; it needs some care and installation; it needs a discreet light; the light of the street or the public space does not suit it all."<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Societies for watercolor formed in England in 1804, Belgium in 1856, and in the United States in 1866. The French Watercolor Society was not formed until 1879. The French formed Société des Pastellistes in 1885, long before the British, who created the Society for Pastel Artists in London was in 1898. However, the American Painters in Pastel was formed before both, in 1882.

<sup>117</sup> Martha Ward's words describing a review in *La Vie parisienne* from 1867. Ward, "Impressionist Installations," 601.

<sup>118</sup> Emile Cardon, "Aquarellistes chez Petit," *Moniteur des arts*, 18 Jan. 1889. Translated in Ward, "Impressionist Exhibitions," 608.

### *The Role of Dealers in the Rising Interest of Drawings*

It was the involvement of dealers who were keen to market less expensive artworks like works on paper that propelled the initial growth of independent exhibitions of drawings, many of which were held by the aforementioned artist societies. Numerous art dealers arose during the last third of the nineteenth century to serve the needs of the middle-class consumer: Alexandre Bernheim-Jeune (1839-1915); Léon Boussod (1826-1896); Hector Brame (1831-1899); Alfred Cadart (1828-1875); Adolphe Goupil (1809-1893); Paul Durand-Ruel (1831-1922); Louis Martinet (1814-1895); Georges Petit (1856-1920); René Valadon (1848-1921).<sup>119</sup>

Dealers designed their galleries to be contrary to public exhibition spaces; rather than crowded, commercial, and industrial, private galleries were comfortable, spacious, and inviting. Subdued tones for the walls, rather than the bold red of the Salon, were being used as early as the 1860's in the galleries of Martinet, which was commended in the press.<sup>120</sup> Dealers were pivotal in the growth of artist societies. For example, the dealer Louis Martinet was one of the founding members of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, a spin-off of the Salon, and was in charge of its exhibitions.<sup>121</sup> Dealers also frequently hosted society exhibitions in their galleries, the most famous example being the Impressionist exhibitions in Durand-Ruel's gallery. This investment of time by dealers was a marketing strategy used to build clientele as well as earn the devotion of talented artists.

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<sup>119</sup> For these dealers see Anne Distel, *Les Collectionneurs des impressionnistes: Amateurs et marchands* (Düdingen, 1889) and Linda Whiteley, *Painters and Dealers in Nineteenth-Century France, 1820-1878, with special reference to the firm of Durand-Ruel*. (Oxford, 1995). The field is hungry for more research on the practices of these dealers; the most research has been done on Paul Durand-Ruel.

<sup>120</sup> Ward, "Impressionist Installations," 603.

<sup>121</sup> Louis Martinet was also a painter, but an eye infection caused him to give up his career as an artist.

Dealers often involved themselves in the personal and political lives of the artists. Durand-Ruel is known to have financially supported several struggling Impressionists before he made much money from their products, and he offered works that he already owned to be hung in the Impressionist exhibitions. It was common for an artist to work with one dealer exclusively, so building personal relationships was essential. As one intriguing example, in 1866, Brame and Durand-Ruel paid Theodore Rousseau 140,000 francs to possess all of his heretofore drawings; the following year, at the posthumous auction of Rousseau's works, for which Durand-Ruel was hired as an expert, they purchased 79 more works, making their total stock of Rousseau 140 artworks, which were mostly drawings.<sup>122</sup> Also in 1867, timed to coincide with the Exposition Universelle, the two dealers held an exhibition focused on Rousseau's drawings.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, in 1888, Léon Boussod obtained an exclusivity contract with the admired charcoal artist Léon-Augustin Lhermitte.<sup>124</sup> In exchange for the dealer providing framing for all his works, the artist released permission to Boussod for reproduction of all his works.<sup>125</sup>

Dealers also developed their own exhibitions of one or more artists, which frequently included drawings. The same year the 1876 Impressionist Exhibition was held on the premises of Durand-Ruel's gallery, the dealer also held an exhibition focusing on works on paper with 745 works including ones by Carpeaux, Carrière, Corot, Desboutin, Doré, Fantin-Latour, Leric, and others.

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<sup>122</sup> Robert Jensen. *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-siècle Europe*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 53. Jensen also notes that Brame and Durand-Ruel tried to acquire Millet's drawings in the same way, but Millet refused.

<sup>123</sup> Green, "Dealing in Temperaments," 60.

<sup>124</sup> Lhermitte successfully exhibited charcoals in the Salon (1869-1881) and participated in many of the exhibitions of works on paper through the 1870's and 1880's.

<sup>125</sup> *Le Dessin* 23 (Nov.-Dec, 1888): 185.

Lhermitte, and Manet.<sup>126</sup> The following year, Durand-Ruel also held an exhibition on the drawings of Daumier and a retrospective exhibition of paintings and drawings including those by Courbet, Delacroix, Rousseau, and Millet.<sup>127</sup> Durand-Ruel also held a retrospective of the paintings and drawings of modern masters in 1878 (Table 4.1).<sup>128</sup> Out of the 382 artworks, there were 58 drawings. 28 of these were by Millet; 13 were pastels, one was a watercolor, and the rest were another type of drawing. The other artists who exhibited drawings in this exhibition were Barye, Corot, Delacroix, Huet, Nanteuil, and Rousseau, each have created works that explored a variety of media.

Table 4.1. Drawings exhibited by seven artists, categorized by medium, in “Exposition rétrospective de tableaux & dessins des maîtres modernes” Durand-Ruel Galerie, 1878.

Artist	aquarelle	dessin	fusain	pastel	Total
Barye	7				7
Corot	1	4	2		7
Delacroix	3	1			4
Huet	1	2	3		6
Millet	1	14		13	28
Nanteuil		1			1
Rousseau		5			5
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>58</b>

Dealers would often create albums with prints of artworks for sale to promote themselves or benefit from the reputation of certain artists. Adolphe Goupil (1806-1893) made a conscious effort to buy and sell reproductions, or at least artworks with recognizable styles, to draw in

<sup>126</sup> Flavie Durand-Ruel and Paul-Louis Durand-Ruel, *Paul Durand-Ruel: Memoirs of the First Impressionist Art Dealer*. (Flammarion, 2014), 212.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Catalog “Exposition rétrospective de tableaux & dessins des maîtres modernes” Durand-Ruel Galerie, 1878. Reprinted in Theodore Reff, *Exhibition of Modern Drawings*, Vol. 24 of *Modern Art in Paris: Two-hundred Catalogs of the Major Exhibitions Reproduced in Facsimile in Forty-Seven Volumes*.



clientele.<sup>129</sup> If a client wanted an artwork by a specific artist, but could not afford a painting, drawings and prints provided another form of income for the dealer and the artist. As Richard Thomson has noted, “It helped the dealer’s grander designs both by spreading the word that such-and-such an artist was popular (and in demand) and by encouraging the buyer to eventually move up the art market and acquire authentic works – perhaps beginning with original prints such as etchings, then works on paper and, ultimately, oil paintings.”<sup>130</sup> Although a print was a low cost option for a buyer, drawings had the status of being unique and, more importantly, of containing the touch of the artist, perhaps even capturing his *pensée originale*.

Dealers ensured that they were seen as connoisseurs in not only painting, but also works on paper. They were commonly entrusted as official experts for auctions at Hôtel Drouet. It is worth noting that frequently these auctions included more drawings than paintings, which the dealer was responsible for identifying and valuing. Although a dealer may not necessarily have made money directly from an auction, his function as an arbiter of authenticity and quality would lead to future customers.<sup>131</sup>

Dealers often collaborated as well. For example, on June 11, 1875, Durand-Ruel was the expert in an auction at Hôtel Drouet of 95 Millet drawings – including pastel, charcoal, and watercolor – from the collection of Émile Gavet, who had commissioned Millet to create these stunning works in 1865. When seeing this display, Vincent van Gogh was moved: “I felt something akin to: Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy

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<sup>129</sup> Richard Thomson “Trading the visual: Theo van Gogh, the dealer among the artists.” *In Theo Van Gogh and the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Art Trade*, 30-32.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid*, 32.

<sup>131</sup> Although it is beyond the purview of this study to do a large quantitative analysis of all the drawings exhibited for auction at the Hôtel Drouet, one can note here that the auction house would usually exhibit drawings for one to two days, and that the sale of drawings and their exhibition would be on separate days than those of paintings, even if they were from the same collection.

ground.”<sup>132</sup> However, Durand-Ruel was not the only dealer to build his reputation from the excitement surrounding Millet’s drawings. From April 6 –June 6, one month prior to the sale at Hôtel Drouet, 46 drawings from Gavet’s collection were displayed at the gallery of Francis Petit (-1877). The June auction catalog highlighted the display of drawings that had just taken place at the dealer’s gallery, “L’exposition des 46 dessins de Millet, faite chez M. Petit, rue Saint-George, aura été le revelation du genie du maître et l’explosion première de sa gloire.”<sup>133</sup> The auction was split over two days and made 637,450 francs, or an average 6,710 francs per drawing.<sup>134</sup> Thus, auctions provided a potent opportunity for dealers to build their reputations as experts and promote their own galleries. In this setting, both rivalries and partnerships played out frequently between dealers. As we will see, the comingling and rivalry between Durand-Ruel and George Petit (son of Francis) was often played out in relation to drawings.

Private Salons, exclusive parties held in the homes of the well-to-do, were invitation only, and were held in spaces where literature, music, and all the arts were discussed and performed. Princess Mathilde, cousin of Napoleon III and an artist, would hold such Salons. She was awarded a medal for her watercolors in the Salon, but was also a collector of drawings.<sup>135</sup> The posthumous sale of her collection took place at Georges Petit’s gallery and included sixteen drawings from old masters, including Maurice Quentin de Latour, Robert Nanteuil, and Jean-Baptiste Tiepolo.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Vincent van Gogh, Vincent’s Letters. Letter to Theo van Gogh, Tuesday, June 29, 1875.

<sup>133</sup> The lengthy introductory essay was written by the critic and art biographer Théophile Silvestre. *Catalog des 95 Dessins de J.-F. Millet composant la collection de M. Gavet*. (June 11, 1875).

<sup>134</sup> Jensen, “Marketing Modernism,” 54.

<sup>135</sup> For her experience in the Salon, see Chapter 1.

<sup>136</sup> The sale of her collection took place on May 17, 1904. See “Collection de S.A.I. Madame le Princess Mathilde: Tableaux Anciens, Dessins, Pastles.” The sale also included 72 paintings.

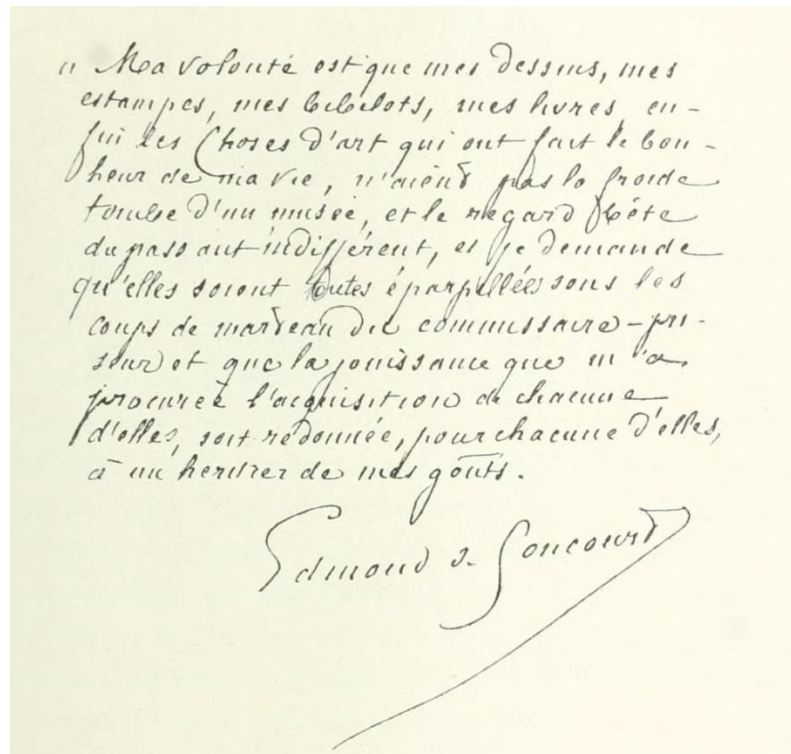


Figure 4.2. Copy of note in Edmond Goncourt's will that was printed in the sales catalog of their collection.

Similarly, the Goncourt brothers – Edmond (1822-1896) and Jules (1830-1870) – were known not only for their writings and eccentricities, but for their collecting and interest in both Japanese and eighteenth-century French art. The Goncourt brothers were significant in the evolution of an appreciation for drawing in the nineteenth century. Their eighteenth-century French drawings were shown to the public three times. Two were old master drawing exhibitions held at L'École des Beaux-Arts<sup>137</sup>; Goncourt contributed 108 drawings in 1879 and 7 drawings by Pierre Gavarni in 1884. The second time occurred upon the death of Edmond de Goncourt,<sup>138</sup> who requested in his will that their collection be auctioned off (fig. 4.2):

<sup>137</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>138</sup> His request was reproduced in the front of the auction catalog (see figure 4.2). "Collection des Goncourt: Dessins Aquarelles et Pastels du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle" Hotel Drouot (February, 1897).

My wish is that my drawings, my prints, my curiosities, my books – in a word these things that of art which have been the joy of my life – shall not be consigned to the cold tomb of a museum, and subjected to the stupid glance of the careless passer-by; but I require that they shall all be dispersed under the hammer of the Auctioneer, so that the pleasure which the acquiring of each one of them has given me shall be given again, in each case, to some inheritor of my tastes.

One auction was devoted solely to the Goncourts's eighteenth-century French drawings; 377 artworks filled three rooms at the Hotel Drouot. Within the catalog for the auction, the Goncourts's appreciation of drawings was discussed as integral to their ability to understand the nature of artists. In this way, the collectors were linked to the earlier artist biographers Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574); Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1697); and Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694-1771).<sup>139</sup> The variety of media that was displayed is extraordinary: ink, pencil, aquarelle, gouache, sanguine, charcoal, pastel, and, of course, *aux trois crayons*.<sup>140</sup>

As White and White were the first to highlight, while dealers were needed to create a market for artworks, critics were needed to create aesthetic and cultural value;<sup>141</sup> however, dealers could manipulate the role of the press through their own journalistic enterprises. Therefore, it was not uncommon for dealers to produce their own journals. While Durand-Ruel's two journals have generally been seen as unsuccessful and expensive ventures, what is notable here is Durand-Ruel's efforts to include works on paper, particularly in his first journalistic venture.<sup>142</sup> Articles in *La Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité*, which ran from 1869-1870, show a respect for and interest in drawings. Two articles discussed drawings specifically in

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<sup>139</sup> Goncourt Catalog, XIX.

<sup>140</sup> *Aux trois crayons* is a technique (using red, black, and white chalk) that was very popular in the eighteenth century.

<sup>141</sup> White and White, *Canvases and Careers*.

<sup>142</sup> For a discussion of their lack of success, see Caroline Durand-Ruel Godfrey, "Paul Durand-Ruel's marketing practices" in *Theo Van Gogh and the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Art Trade*. (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2000), 84 and 89.

the Salon of 1870: one on watercolors and pastels, the other on gouaches and miniatures.<sup>143</sup>

Generally, Salon drawings were rarely mentioned in most journals, and it was even more infrequent to have articles focused on them. It is also quite significant that about a decade before the first exhibitions of the Société des aquarellistes français, his journal was reviewing positively and thoroughly similar exhibitions of watercolorists being held in Belgium and England.<sup>144</sup>

*Société des aquarellistes français (Society of French Watercolorists)*

It was Durand-Ruel who presented the first exhibitions of the Société des aquarellistes français, in 1879, 1880, and 1881. Pleased with the fact that the French were imitating them in creating an independent exhibition for watercolors, the London Press made frequent mention of the new exhibition. One unnamed journalist described the setting in Durand-Ruel's gallery, but first critiqued the treatment of drawings in the Salon,

Last February they sent some 120 of their works for exhibition to the Salon. As usual, the Hanging Committee allotted to these what space might be spared in the remote and ill-lighted rooms devoted to architectural plans and drawings, to discover which requires considerable knowledge of the locality... [The Watercolor Exhibition] is the event of the season, and its immense popularity is proved by the fact that the Rue Laffite is literally thronged by carriages from midday to midnight. The entrance to No. 16 is exceedingly unpretending. Two *salons*, lighted from above, contain the drawings. The walls of both rooms are divided longitudinally by dark moulding. The lower section is covered with crimson velvet, against which the pictures are hung, while the upper portion is plain olive green, agreeably relieved by a border of cleverly-drawn aquatic plants. The angles above the moulding are filled with growing palms. The *mise en scène* is simply perfect.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> See M.A. de Bullemont, *La Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité* (Juin 15, 1870): 453-458; M.A. de Bullemont, *La Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité* (May 15, 1870): 415-419. Durand-Ruel's other journal, *L'Art dans les Deux Mondes*, was published for just one year, in 1891.

<sup>144</sup> See Paul Mantz "L'Exposition des Aquarellistes a Bruxelles" *La Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité* (July 15, 1870): 41-51; Eugène Muntz, "Les Expositions d'art à Londres en 1870", *La Revue internationale de l'art et de la curiosité* (August 15, 1870): 90-92.

<sup>145</sup> "The French Water-colour Society" *The Architect*, April 26, 1879, 243.



Figure 4.3. Anonymous, “Exposition des aquarellistes,” 1879

An illustration of Durand-Ruel’s gallery 1879 watercolor exhibition shows that the space was indeed a refined environment with plants, proper lighting, and some artworks leaning on the rails (fig. 4.3). The artworks were stacked, but all at eye level as opposed to the skying of artworks at the official Salon. The *passe-porte* framing method was mostly used, in which a large mat, frequently white, was placed between the artwork and the frame. In the print, one can even see a fan-shaped artwork encased in a fan-shaped frame. The experience of the gallery would have been intimate and formal. Each artist had their own panel or section on which to arrange their works; the catalog was arranged alphabetically by artist, so the drawings may have

been as well. A variety of artworks were on display, both large and small, but those chosen for the catalog appear to be quite finished.

In an April, 1881, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* review of the Watercolor Society exhibition Arthur Baignères states:

Exposition des aquarellistes, outre la question d'art, soulève une question d'art, soulève une question d'affaire qui vaut bien qu'on s'y arrête. Les aquarellistes forment une société d'artiste indépendants... N'est-ce pas un phénomène? Et âgé de trois ans. On n'en rencontre pas tous les jours de si avancé. Qu'importe si l'harmonie est tronblée au dedans, nous ne prenons souci que du dehors et jusqu'ici point d'éclats, point de démissions, point de dissolution. De récents événements viennent de justifier ce que je prévoyais en annonçant la foundation et l'exposition de la société des aquarellistes? Comme la modestie et la vraisemblance m'obligent à supposer que les lecteurs de la *Gazette* ont oublié mes prophéties, je me permets de les rappeler. Je pensais que cette proclamation d'indépendance serait suivie de beaucoup d'autres, et par une métaphore peut-être trop hardie, je comparais cette première reunion d'artistes à l'assemblée de Vizille, qui inaugurerait la revolution française et qui précédait de peu la convocation des états généraux. Est-ce que le groupe des aquarellistes qui a fondé son indépendance rue Laffitte n'est pas le précurseur des artistes qui se sont proclamés libres, il y a quelques mois, dans le palais des Champs-Élysées? La petite association n'a-t-elle pas servi de modèle à la grande? Souhaitons-leur pareille fortune.<sup>146</sup>

The author was referring to the Société des Artistes Français and their recently earned control over the annual Salon. Thus the exhibition activities of the watercolor society were certainly seen, at least by this author, as revolutionary.

Seventy-three artists participated during the 17 years of the annual exhibition, although in quite varying degrees (fig. 4.4). Baignères, in the review just quoted, also remarked, “the only reproach that I am tempted to make...is that space was scarce. Never mind since a vast room in which we will all meet again then is being built for these lucky ones.” Thus, during the 1881 exhibition at Durand-Ruel's gallery, plans were already being made to move the following year's exhibition to the Petit gallery, where artists felt they could expand.

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<sup>146</sup> Arthur Baignères, “Société des Aquarellistes Français (Troisième Exposition)” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (April, 1881): 370.

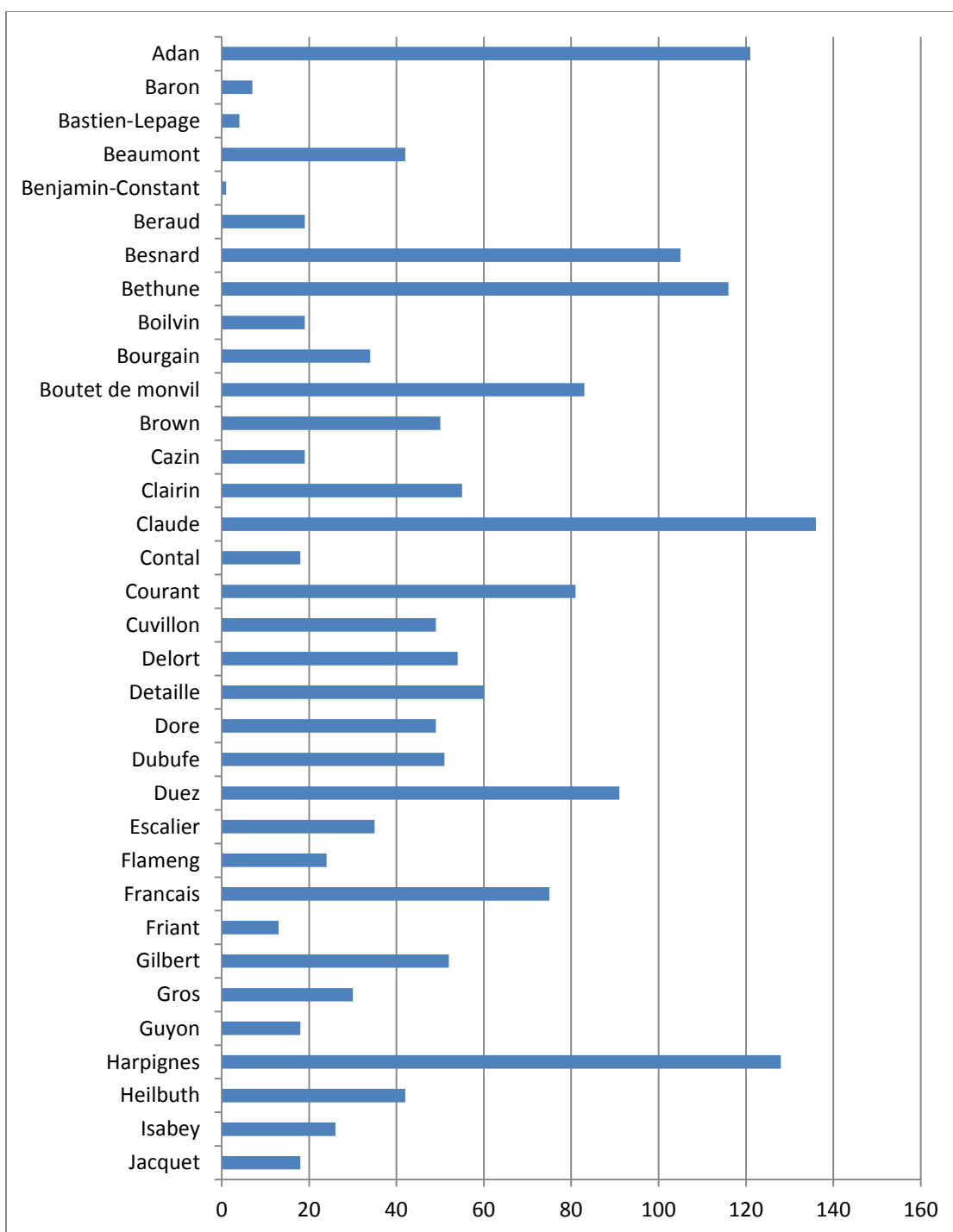


Figure 4.4. Total works, arranged by artist, exhibited in Society of French Watercolorists (1879-1896).



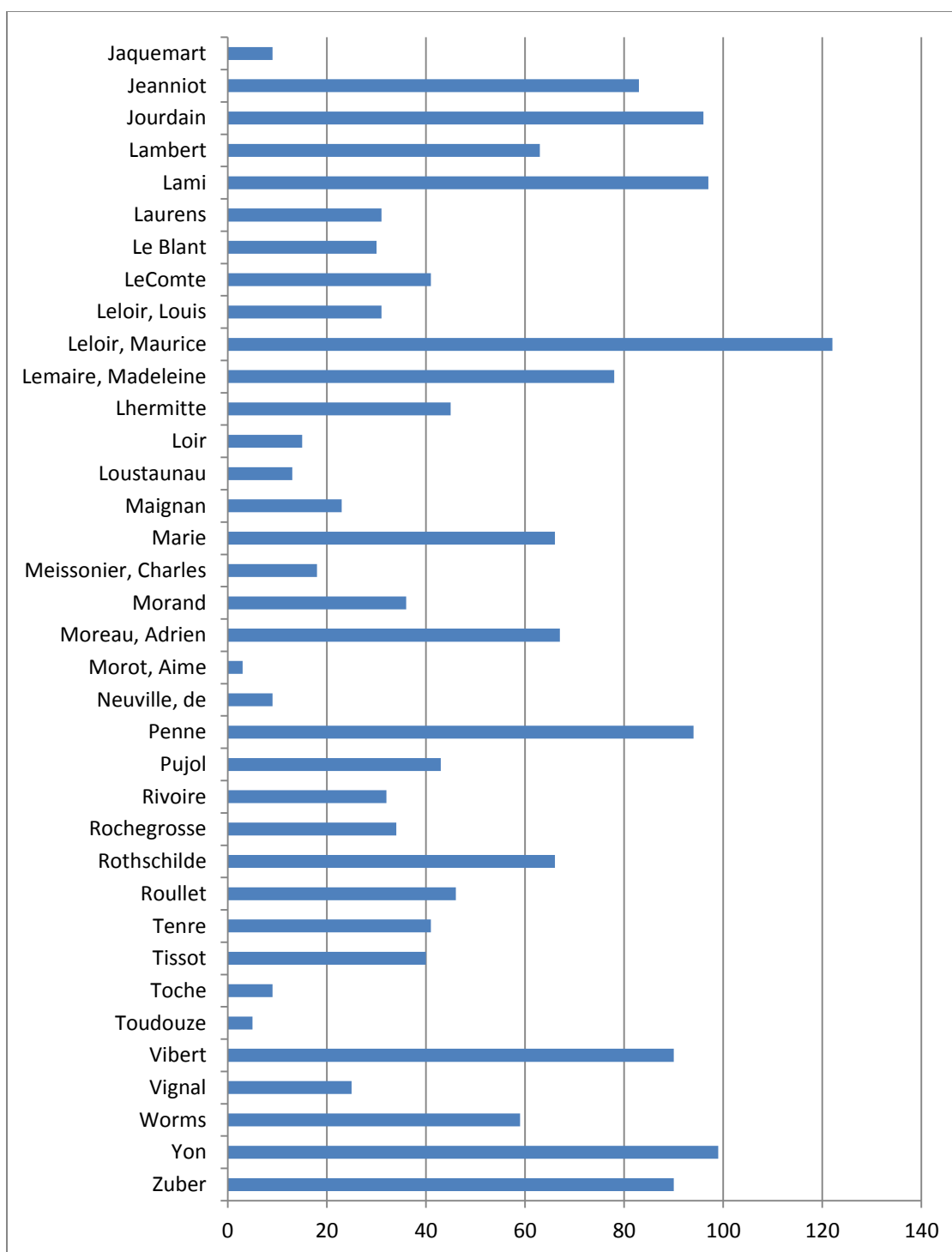


Figure 4.4 cont. Total works, arranged by artist, exhibited in Society of French Watercolorists (1879-1896)



Figure 4.5. *Watercolor Exhibition at Galerie Petit, 1882*

The dealer Georges Petit celebrated the opening of his gallery's new location by holding the exhibition of the Society of French Watercolorists in February of 1882, essentially taking this annual event away from Durand-Ruel.<sup>147</sup> Two prints from journals reviewing the exhibition give a sense of the luxury in the new gallery (figs. 4.5 & 4.6). In the foyer of the Petit Gallery was an elegant staircase surrounded by fine architecture, sculpture, and plants; upon ascending the staircase, the visitor was guided to a red velvet curtain marking the gateway to the exhibition. Petit's gallery was more spacious and expansive than Durand-Ruel's, with a skylight for day and opulent chandeliers for night. Artworks were hung in two, sometimes three rows, with walls draped in red; the extravagance was unparalleled.

<sup>147</sup> Anne Distel, *Les Collectionneurs des impressionistes: Amateurs et marchands*. (Paris: La Bibliothèque, 1889), 38.

LA NOUVELLE SALLE D'EXPOSITION DE M. GEORGES PETIT  
8, Rue de Sèze.

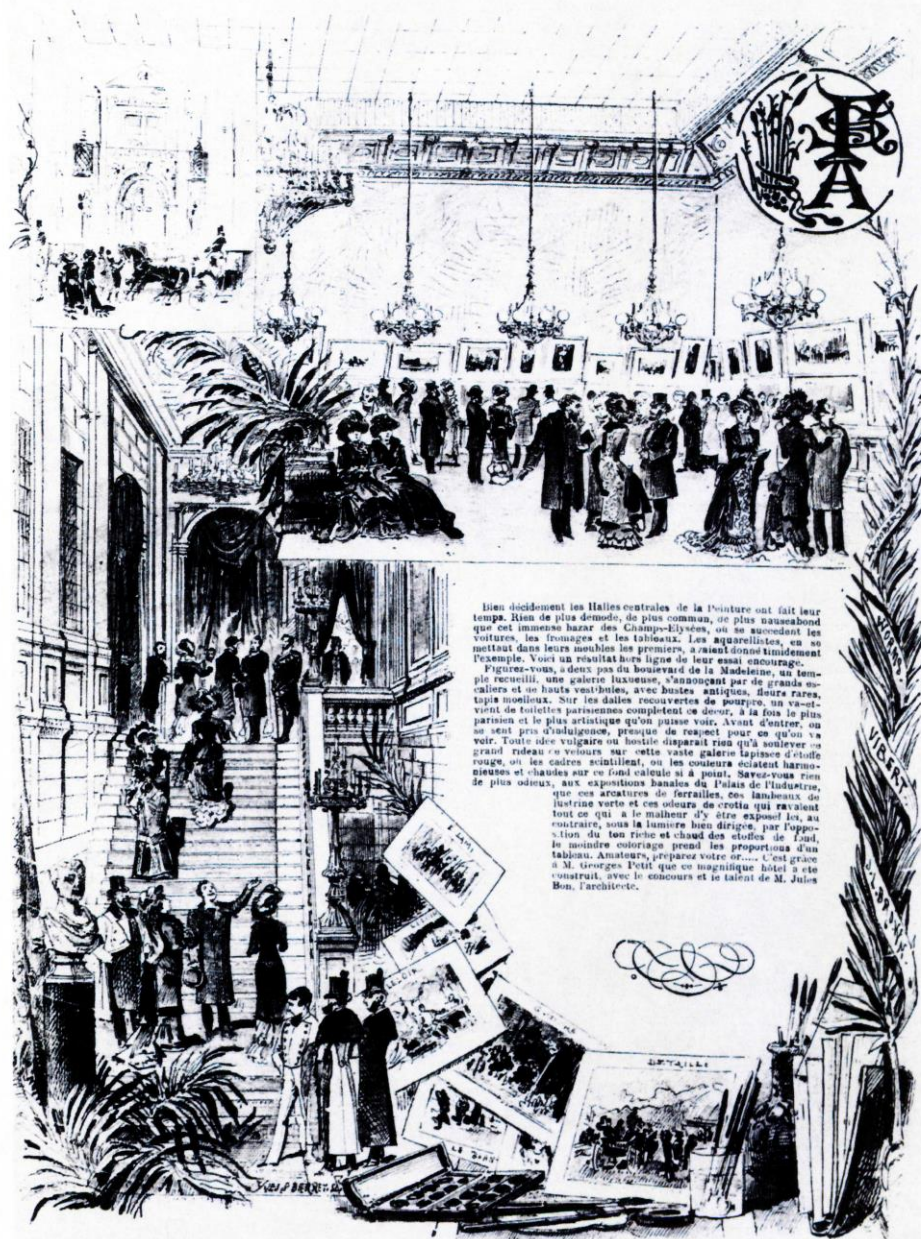


Figure 4.6. Anonymous, "La Nouvelle Salle d'exposition de la rue de Sèze"  
*La Vie parisienne*, 25 Feb. 1882, 119

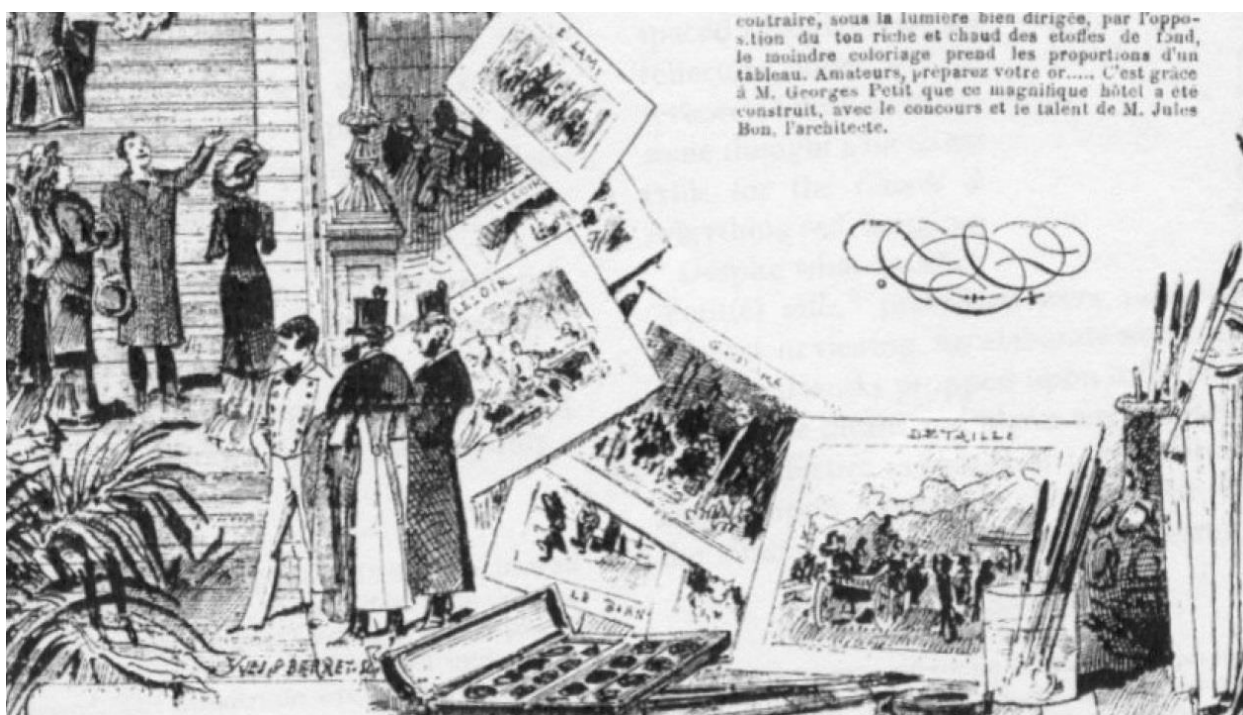


Figure 4.7. Detail of Figure 4.6

The artists highlighted the most, here in the print and in other reviews, were Édouard Detaille<sup>148</sup> and the brothers Louis and Maurice Leloir; one notes that in the print from *La Vie parisienne*, Detaille is in the forefront and the first name of the artwork by Leloir is hidden by a top hat, making a play on the fact that it could be either of the popular Leloirs (fig. 4.7).

Only those who were members of the society were allowed to participate in the Aquarellistes' exhibition.<sup>149</sup> There was no limit to the amount of artworks one could submit or exhibit, with some artists exhibiting over 120 artworks during the 17 year period. The Watercolor Society catalogs devoted an entire page or more to each artist, and these artist pages

<sup>148</sup> See a larger discussion of Detaille's career concerning works on paper in the Conclusion.

<sup>149</sup> Although, it appears that foreign guest artists were sometimes welcomed, as is the case with the Italian painter Giovanni Boldini in 1891. See Marie Leimbacher. "Les arts graphiques dans les Salons parisiens de la deuxième moitié du XIXe: (1863-1892)," (Thesis, École du Louvre, 2007): 46.



were highly decorated, some more than others, and often show an example of the artist's work (fig. 4.8).

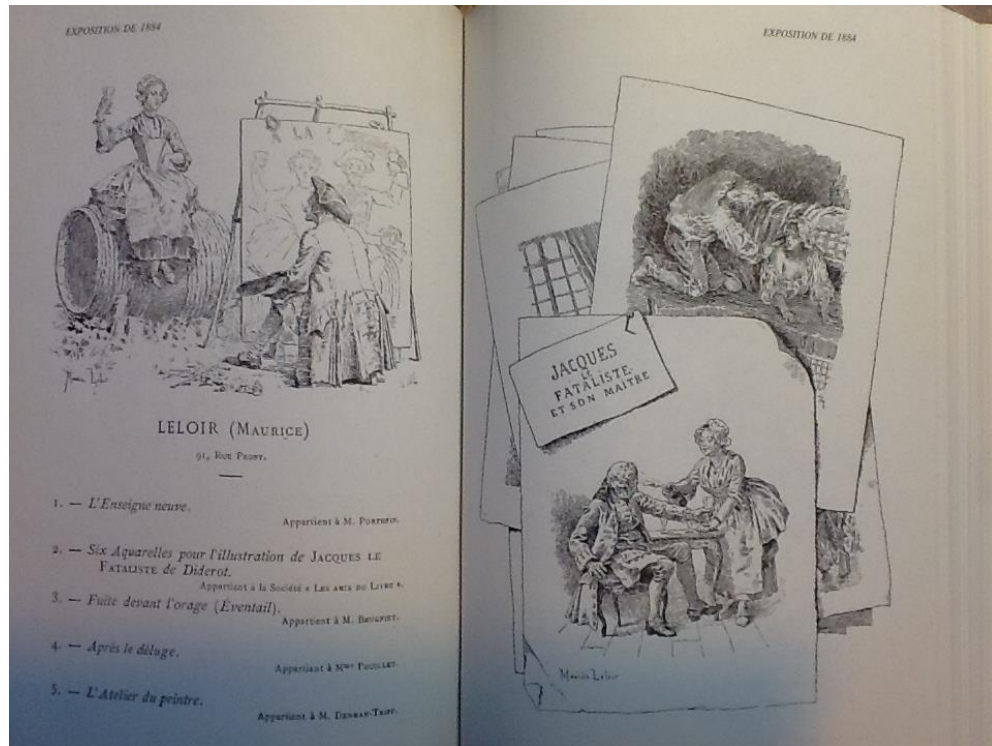


Figure 4.8. Maurice Leloir's page from the 1884 catalog for *Société des aquarellistes français*

The watercolor exhibitions became extremely popular for the viewing public as highlighted by a scandal in 1882 over a single watercolor made by Gustave Jacquet.<sup>150</sup> The quarrel began with Alexandre Dumas purchasing Jacquet's painting *La première arrivée*, which was exhibited and highly praised in the 1879 Salon. The artist was offended when he believed Dumas to have sold it for a profit shortly thereafter and showed his anger by making a watercolor showing a caricature of Dumas as a Jewish merchant. Jacquet displayed this work at the French Watercolor Society exhibition of 1882, suggesting that he believed the watercolor exhibition to be a popular public venue, one in which he could publicly humiliate his former

<sup>150</sup> "The French Water-Color Exhibition" *The Art Amateur* 7, No. 1 (Jun., 1882): 4.

patron. Alexander Dumas's son-in-law, Maurice Lippman, responded to this slight by smashing his cane through the watercolor, fueling the fire of the public scandal. The growing popularity of watercolor in the last decades of the nineteenth century is demonstrated not only by the development of its own society and its popularity and mention in the press, but by the fact that in 1889, the Société des aquarellistes français was given their own pavilion in the World's Fair for that year. These popular watercolor exhibitions continued at Georges Petit's gallery until the demise of the society in 1896.

*Société des pastellistes français (Society of French Pastel Artists)*

George Petit's gallery also held exhibitions for the Société des Pastellistes français, beginning in 1885. The premiere exhibition contained both a retrospective section that highlighted historical artists such as Maurice Quentin de La Tour, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, and Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, along with a section for living artists (fig. 4.9).<sup>151</sup> One of the first rooms displayed drawings by Millet, the artist with the most artworks in this exhibition, who had died in 1875. This exhibition was designed to reclaim the presence of pastel in the lineage of French art, and to herald in the talent of new masters, or living artists, creating works in the same medium as their forebears.

The second Pastel Society exhibition, in 1887, focused solely on living artists. While in 1885, 40 artists had exhibited a total of 225 works, an average of 5 works per artist, only 19 artists exhibited in 1887, with a total of 157 works, or an average of 8 works each (fig.4.10).

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<sup>151</sup> Marie Leimbacher points out that some of the artists in the contemporary artists' section were no longer living; such as Joseph de Nittis, Prosper Marilhat Constant Dutilleux, and Jean-François Millet. Leimbacher, "Les arts graphiques," 45.

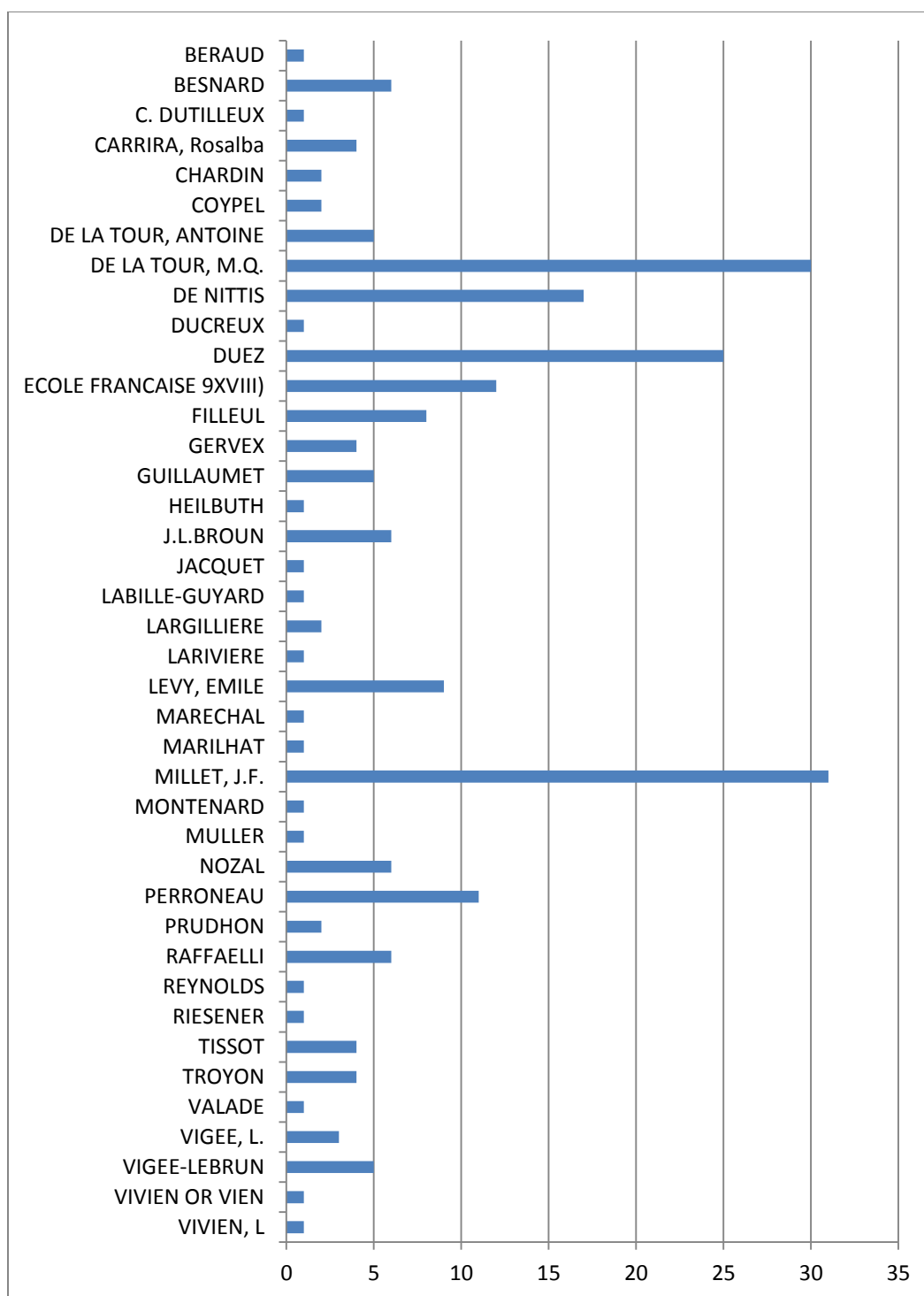


Figure 4.9. Number of works exhibited by artist (both living and deceased) at the 1885 Société des Pastellistes français

Thus, starting in 1887, all the following Société des Pastellistes français exhibitions would focus on living pastel artists. Like the watercolor society, the Société des Pastellistes français exhibited in a separate pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. That year, 16 of the 19 artists who had exhibited in 1887, as well as an additional 9 artists showed works; in total, 153 works were shown in 1889 (fig. 4.11).

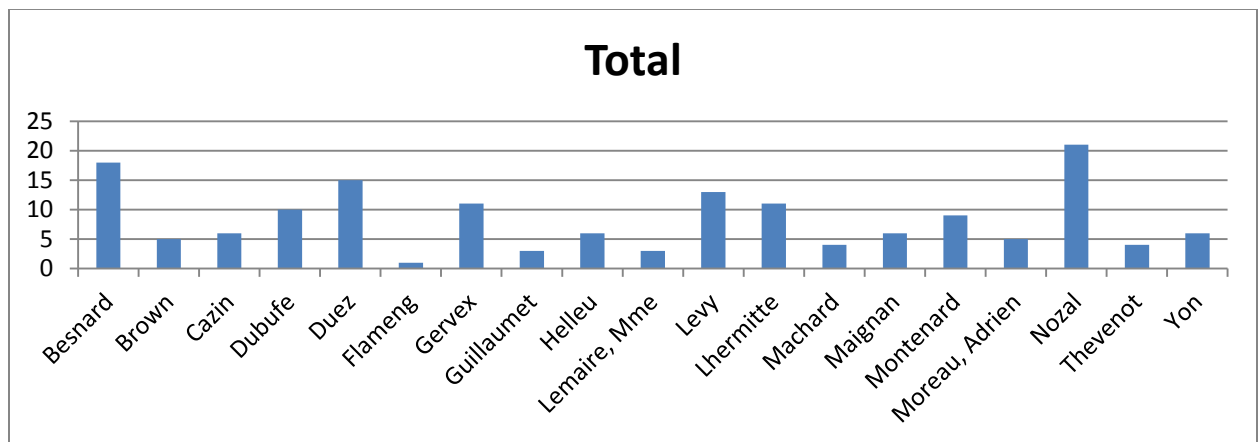


Figure 4.10. Number of works exhibited by Artist at 1887's *Société des Pastellistes français*

### *Women Artists and L'Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs*

The creation of L'Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs was a direct result of the unequal treatment of female artists at the Salon. This inequity was addressed in the press, "Rightly or wrongly, they have judged that at the Salon the male artists falsely claim for themselves the lion's share and treat women's work with excessive disdain."<sup>152</sup> However, as has been shown in Chapter 3, on average between 1863 and 1881, women made up to 22% of the

<sup>152</sup> "Union des femmes peintres et sculpteurs," *La Gazette des femmes* 2 (January 25, 1882): 1. Found in Tamar Garb, "Revising the Revisionists: The Formation of L'Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs," *Art Journal* 48, no. 1 (Spring, 1989): 26.



participants who exhibited in the Salon. In terms of other venues for exhibiting drawings, women did not favor as well.

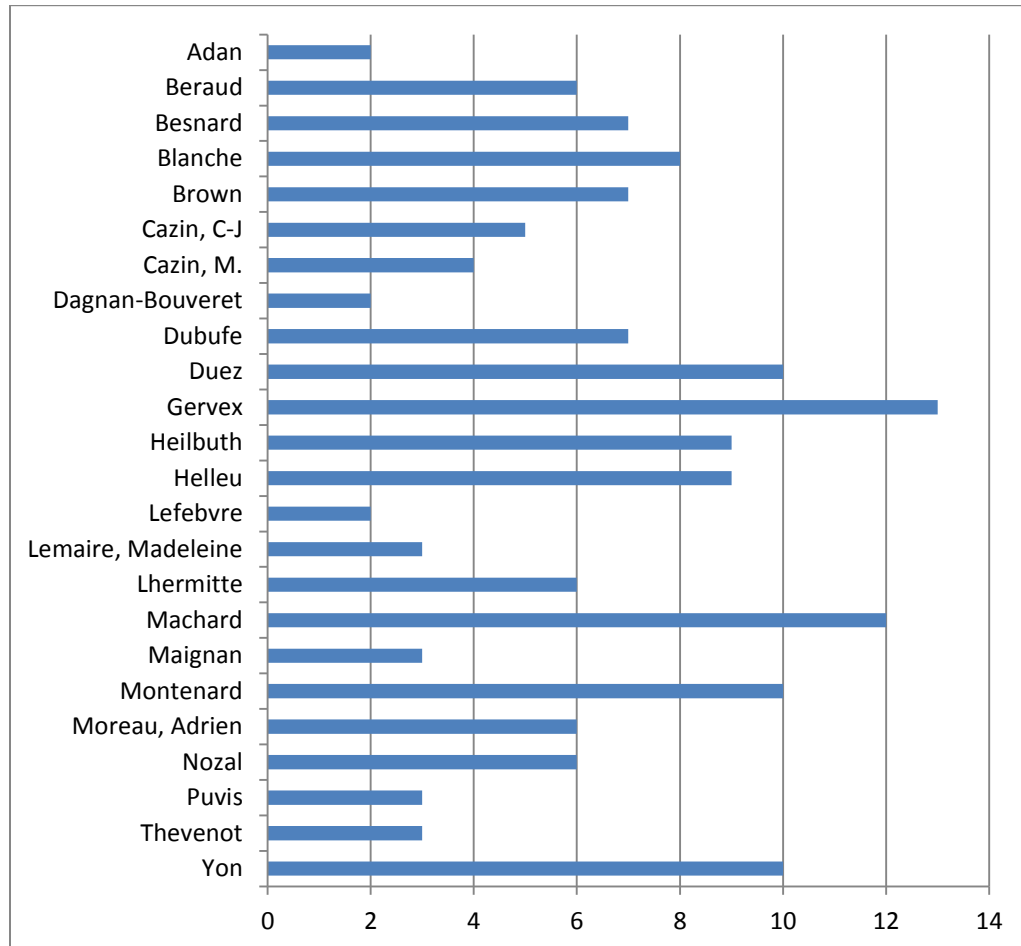


Figure 4.11. Number of works exhibited by Artist at 1889's *Société des Pastellistes français*, held in separate pavilion at the World's Fair of 1889

Only two out of the 73 artists who participated in the Society of French Watercolorists were women, both of whom came from the upper echelons of Parisian society: Madeleine Lemaire – with a total of 64 works – and Mme Charlotte de Rothschild – with a total of 47 works. Madeleine Lemaire was also the only woman to participate in the Pastel Society's exhibitions. Lemaire went on to become Professor of Drawing at the Muséum d'histoire

naturelle, and won a gold medal at the 1900 World's Fair. In the 1884 drawing exhibition held at L'École des Beaux-Arts, five women exhibited in the living artist section, most notably Rosa Bonheur.<sup>153</sup>

By the 1890's Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs produced its own journal, focused on issues of import to women artists, and highlighted this discrepancy:<sup>154</sup> Tamar Garb, in her analysis of this organization, highlighted its important contributions:

It was L'Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs that constituted the major campaigning body for women's entry into state educational institutions and state-sponsored competitions. It was widely recognized as the organization that represented the professional interests of the woman artist... Its annual exhibitions, the Salons des femmes, were regularly reviewed in the daily and art press and became the catalyst for heated debates and discussions of women's potential contribution to art.<sup>155</sup>

Due to the efforts of L'Union des Femmes, the first female Salon jury member, Madame Léon Bertaux, was appointed in 1898.<sup>156</sup> Their premiere exhibition took place in January of 1882. While these exhibitions displayed a variety of media, the most popular media on paper were watercolor and pastel.<sup>157</sup> "From thirty-eight artists showing artwork at the first exhibition..., it grew to a membership of about five hundred members by 1890."<sup>158</sup> In 1897, the society also held a posthumous exhibition of the work of Marie Bashkirtseff, who had received an honorable mention for a pastel portrait in the Salon of 1883. The retrospective of her work included 232 artworks, 122 of which were drawings; thus, this exhibition was split evenly between drawing and painting.

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<sup>153</sup> The other female exhibitors were Henriette Brown, Marie Cazin, Mathilde Herbelin, L. Lacombe, and Madeleine Lemaire.

<sup>154</sup> *Journal des femmes artists*, discussed in Garb, "Revising the Revisionists," 63.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Garb, "Revising the Revisionists," 65.

<sup>157</sup> Garb, "Revising the Revisionists," 67-68.

<sup>158</sup> Garb, "Revising the Revisionists," 68. Membership continued to grow to between 800 and 1000 members in the 1890s.

*Blanc et Noir*

“Who in the world would dare to deny the interest of studying drawing..? Isn’t drawing the very soul of art, the intimate breath of grand ideas?”

- F. Bournard, *Le Dessin* <sup>159</sup>

In 1876, an exhibition called *noir et blanc* took place in Paris that largely mimicked the London-based Black and White exhibitions.<sup>160</sup> This Paris exhibition was held at the gallery of Durand-Ruel, who had witnessed the success of the Dudley Gallery’s Black and White in London.<sup>161</sup> In fact, many French artists who exhibited in 1876 had been involved with the English Black and White exhibition such as Lhermitte, Bracquemond, and Lalanne.<sup>162</sup> Just like the London exhibitions, *blanc et noir* included both prints and drawings.<sup>163</sup> Although the show was mostly ignored by the press, the journal *L’Art* reviewed the exhibition, but only to focus on the journal’s own role; at least 41 drawings exhibited in the 1876 *noir et blanc* were made for *L’Art*.<sup>164</sup>

Although the premiere exhibition in Paris was not a financial or critical success, a second exhibition took place in 1881 at the offices of *l’Art*.<sup>165</sup> This exhibition was held during the Impressionist and Aquarellistes Societie exhibitions, but did not receive nearly as much

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<sup>159</sup> Introduction. Première année. *Catalog illustré de l’exposition internationale de Blanc et Noir au palais du Louvre. Text par François Bournard*, Paris, E. Bernard et Cie, 1885.

<sup>160</sup> This exhibition was held yearly at the Dudley Gallery between 1872 and 1881. An exhibition that focused on works on paper like that at the Dudley Gallery was held in New York in 1873.

<sup>161</sup> Catalog de la 1<sup>re</sup> exposition des ouvrages exécutés en Noir et Blanc, Galeries Durand-Ruel, Paris, 1876.

<sup>162</sup> See Black and White catalog for the participation of L’Hermitte, Bracquemond, and Lalanne.

<sup>163</sup> For the only thorough discussion of prints in the Paris *blanc et noir* exhibitions, see Catherine Méneux, “Les Salons en Noir et Blanc: (1876-1892)” *Histoire de l’Art* 52 (June 2005): 29-44.

<sup>164</sup> The number 41 is based on the number of illustrations in the exhibition catalog in which an artist stated that their work was made for *L’Art*. According to one article, over 100 works in total were made for the journal, so there must have been approximately 60 prints for the journal. See L. Decamps, “Exposition d’œuvre d’art exécutées en noir et en blanc,” *L’Art* (1876): 198.

<sup>165</sup> Catalog illustré des œuvres d’art en noir et en blanc exposées du 1er avril 1881 dans les galeries de “l’Art” avenue de l’Opéra 33, Paris.

attention. The review printed in *l'Art*, was, of course, positive and stated their expectation that *noir et blanc* would be as successful as its English model.<sup>166</sup>

A en juger par l'empressement du public à visiter cette très intéressante et très nombreuses réunions de dessins et de gravures, ce genre d'expositions est destiné à acclimater à Paris avec autant de succès qu'en Angleterre, où, depuis longtemps, on les considère comme une des great Attractions annuelles de la London season.<sup>167</sup>

One difference between this exhibition and the previous one at Durand-Ruel's gallery was that copies were no longer permitted. In 1876, twenty-six of the 439 drawings exhibited in *noir et blanc* were copies after other artists, and nine additional drawings had either also been in the 1876 Salon, or were copies of artworks that had been in the 1876 Salon. Méneux argued that the desire to disallow copies was due mostly to a hope for originality in printed works.<sup>168</sup>

From 1885 to 1892, the publisher Ernest Bernard organized new *blanc et noir* exhibitions.<sup>169</sup> Bernard was primarily a publisher, so his passion for the *blanc et noir* exhibitions is particularly intriguing.<sup>170</sup> Bernard published three iterations of essentially the same journal, to promote discussions about drawing, its history, and its importance for education. *Le Fusain* (*Charcoal*) began publishing in July of 1880, lasting about a year, and in October of 1883, Bernard printed a new journal *Le Dessin*, stating that their new name represented their desire to be a guide for students and teachers of the arts.

In *Le Dessin*'s premier issue they also boasted about the quality of reproductions they would show, and that they would include works by both old masters and modern artists. The

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<sup>166</sup> As Méneux points out, however, this exhibition was not even mentioned in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *l'Artiste*, or *Le Journal des Arts*. Méneux, "Noir et Blanc," 42, note 17.

<sup>167</sup> "Expositions", *l'Art* 25 (1881): 40.

<sup>168</sup> Méneux, "Noir et Blanc," 32-33.

<sup>169</sup> The two colors were reversed in the title for this exhibition, perhaps to distinguish it from the two earlier exhibitions.

<sup>170</sup> E. Bernard et Cie published books on the Salons and Exposition Universelles, but he equally published on a variety of other subject matter, particularly engineering and mathematics.

topics chosen for their journal, they stated, would be based on their didactic purpose; images, history lessons, excerpts from the writing of authors, and art exercises would be included as reading material for both young artists and professors to use in training those artists. While all of this was included in the journal, so were frequent reviews of drawing exhibitions, and promotion of Bernard's upcoming exhibition, although his *blanc et noir* did not take place until 1885.<sup>171</sup>

In 1887 the journal's title was once again changed, this time to link itself more clearly to the exhibitions and continued emphasis on drawing education: *Le Blanc et Noir. Revue des beaux-arts et de l'enseignement des arts du dessin*. This journal promoted training in drawing and design to create a strong work force for various industries. The stated intentions of the *blanc et noir* exhibitions were also to not only promote individual artists, but to demonstrate the importance of drawing in artistic and public education. Throughout its tenure, the journal maintained its passion for drawing as a basis of all the arts, and a belief that the study and practice of drawings brought one closer to the soul of an artist:

Le dessin nous donne l'idée première de l'artiste, sa pensée intime, le rêve idéal entrevu et mis de suite sur le papier pour l'empêcher de s'envoler comme s'envolent dans l'azur éthéré les papillons aux couleurs éclatantes. Le dessin nous fait pénétrer plus intimement dans l'âme de l'artiste, don't il nous dévoile les plus profonds secrets; car, n'est-ce pas le meilleur de son coeur, l'écho intime de ses pensées, qu'il met sur le papier?<sup>172</sup>

In 1885, the first *blanc et noir* exhibition organized by Bernard opened. It was dedicated to Eugène Guillaume, who had not only been the Director of the Beaux-arts in 1878 and 1879, but was instrumental in the earlier teaching reforms that made drawing compulsory in primary and secondary schools. His views were very much in line with those printed in Bernard's

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<sup>171</sup> E. Bernard, *Le Dessin* 1 (October 15, 1883): 6.

<sup>172</sup> *Le Blanc et Noir. Revue des beaux-arts et de l'enseignement des arts du dessin*. Nov.14

journals, within which Guillaume frequently wrote articles. This exhibition, exhibited in the Louvre in the *salle des États*, received significant attention in the press:

L'exposition du Louvre contient des œuvres de premier ordre en tous genres, des dessins, des eaux-fortes d'une originalité et d'une puissance remarquables, des gravures au burin qui maintiennent haut l'honneur de la vieille école française d'où sont sortis tant de chefs-d'œuvre. Parmi les dessins, plusieurs portent la signature de MM- Bida, Français, Gérôme, Gaillard, Lalanne, Haussoulier, Gerveix, Berne-Bellecour, Lalauze, Lhermitte, Lerat, etc.... Ajoutons que le jury s'est montré assez sévère dans l'examen des œuvres envoyées, ce qui explique la bonne impression produite par l'ensemble de l'exposition.<sup>173</sup>

The 1885 catalog for *blanc et noir* was divided into three sections, one each for drawings, charcoal, and engravings.<sup>174</sup> However, this would be the only year that the show did not include works with color. The next year, in 1886, two more sections were added, one for pastels and watercolors, and one for drawings related to the decorative and industrial arts.<sup>175</sup> In 1888, the third exhibition kept those categories and allowed for a section of Japanese decorative objects and illustrated prints from the collection of Samuel Bing. Making the exhibition even more of a commercial endeavor, several journals were each given their own area to display illustrations they had printed.<sup>176</sup> By the final exhibition in 1892, more sections had been added to include Japanese prints and sculpture. When the *blanc et noir* exhibition began in 1885, prints made up about 10% of the works; by the final exhibition, the proportion of prints had increased to approximately one third of the total artworks.

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<sup>173</sup> *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité*, March 21, 1885, 90. This article also commented on the lack of success of the previous exhibition, "échoué entièrement et n'a pas été renouvelée l'année suivante." The jury for drawings composed of H. Pille Français and for Charcoal Lalanne and Allongé.

<sup>174</sup> *Première année. Catalogue illustré de l'exposition internationale de Blanc et Noir au palais du Louvre. Text par François Bournand*, Paris, E. Bernard et Cie, 1885. Although the exhibition now included the word "international" in the title, the majority of the artists were French.

<sup>175</sup> *Catalogue illustré de l'exposition internationale de Blanc et Noir. Pastels et aquarelles au pavillon de l'enseignement (Près le Pavillon de Flore) Rue des Tuileries* (Paris, E. Bernard et Cie, 1886).

<sup>176</sup> Journals that participated included *Le Chat Noir*, *L'Estampe Originale*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *L'Illustration*, *Japon Artistique*, *Monde Illustré*, *L'Univers Illustré*, *La Vie Modern*, *La Vie Parisienne*, and, not surprisingly, *L'Art*.

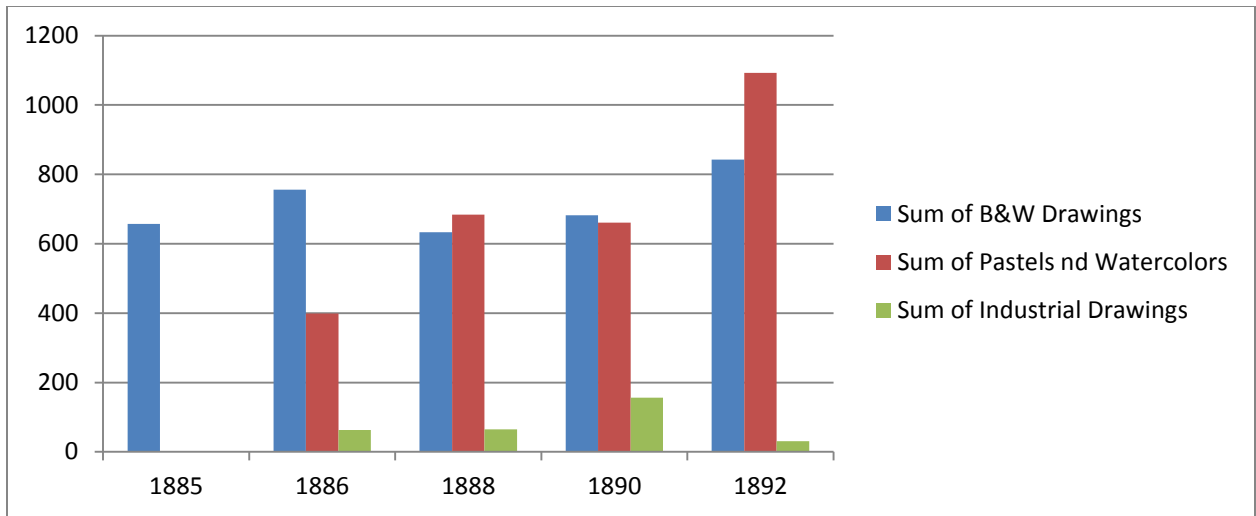


Figure 4.12. Color versus Black and White in *blanc et noir* Exhibitions (1885-1892)

The *blanc et noir* exhibitions evolved to include more than just black and white images, but also colored prints, pastels, watercolors, and decorative objects. While this created a broader appeal for the exhibitions, it lessened the focus on drawings in particular. Also, although the number of black and white drawings remained essentially steady, the number of colored drawings (pastels and watercolors) increased and eventually overtook black and white drawings (fig 4.12). This inclusion of colored artworks may be seen as contradicting some of the original intentions of the exhibitions as stated in Bernard's journal:

Qui oserait d'ailleurs nier l'intérêt de l'étude du dessin et sa supériorité sur la couleur? Le dessin n'est-il pas l'âme même de l'art, le soufflé intime des grandes idées? Ne peut-on voir bien des choses dans un simple dessin, sans avoir recours à la couleur?...En consultant la nature on s'aperçoit bien que le dessin est bien supérieur à la couleur, car il nous donne la forme des objets et des êtres, et c'est la forme qui nous apprend à les reconnaître...Un artiste qui ne sait pas dessiner n'est pas un véritable artiste; il est un escamoteur, qui trompe et séduit par les couleurs de sa palette, mais qui ne peut pas faire une œuvre d'art véritable.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>177</sup> François Bournard, Introduction in Première année. *Catalog illustré de l'exposition internationale de Blanc et Noir au palais du Louvre*. (Paris, E. Bernard et Cie, 1885).

However, F. Bournard defended the choice to include colored works in the introduction to the 1886 *blanc et noir* catalog by turning to traditional debates defending the superiority of drawing versus color in painting.

L'aquarelle et le pastel redeviennent en nonneur en France et ce n'est que justice...Le dessin est la première esquisse et l'aquarelle la seconde esquisse qui servent en peinture pour l'exécution d'un tableau...loin de nuire aux dessins, les aquarelles et les pastels exposés, montreront au contraire l'utilité de l'étude du Dessin...Les vrais aquarellistes et les vrais pastellistes sont forcément de grands dessinateurs.<sup>178</sup>

It was perhaps this broad acceptance of so many artwork types and lack of identity that led to the end of the *blanc et noir* exhibitions in 1892.<sup>179</sup>



Figure 4.13. Anonymous, *Blanc et Noir. Revue des Beaux-Arts et de l'enseignement des arts du dessin*, novembre-décembre 1888, 188

<sup>178</sup> *Catalog illustré de l'exposition internationale de Blanc et Noir. Pastels et aquarelles au pavillon de l'enseignement (Près le Pavillon de Flore) Rue des Tuileries, Paris, E. Bernard et Cie, 1886.*

<sup>179</sup> To the contrary, Méneux sees the inclusion of colored works as inevitable and necessary for the survival of the exhibition. Méneux, "Noir et Blanc," 29-44.



Because of the personal interest by Bernard in the *blanc et noir* exhibitions, photographs of the exhibition of 1888 were printed in his journals (fig. 4.13). These photographs document rows of walls or screens covered at least three rows high within the space of the Pavillon de la ville de Paris, aux Champs-Élysées, where the exhibition took place. Artworks were not organized by genre, suggesting that they may have been arranged alphabetically by artist, as they are presented in the catalog. The enormous table in the center may have been used for sales or collector's gatherings. These tables were covered with paperwork, or more likely catalogs of prints and drawings. *Le Blanc et Noir* journal also promoted concerts and entertainment that would take place during the exhibition. One photograph shows a stage and plenty of seating for such entertainment.

The many cartoons satirizing *blanc et noir* exhibitions attest to its presence in the public conscience; in 1888, the journal *Le Blanc et Noir* reproduced many of these satires (fig. 4.14). Many of these are a play off the words *blanc et noir*. For example, the man in the upper left has a black eye so he can only see out of his white eye; therefore, he thinks he should only have to pay half price. Also, the cartoon right below "Noir" shows a dark-skinned man and a white man with the line, "Et avec quel soin le secrétariat a recruté son personnel pour maintenir l'harmonie du blanc et du noir!" The presence of the journals at the exhibition obviously made a big impression, since many of the satires either refer to the journals or show them in the background.



Figure 4.14. Reprints of caricatures made in other journals about the Blanc et Noir exhibitions, *Blanc et Noir. Revue des Beaux-Arts et de l'enseignement des arts du dessin*, 1888

*Le Blanc et Noir*, more than any other journal of the time, had its finger on the pulse of the importance of drawings in the late nineteenth-century art world. Bernard's journals faithfully reviewed drawing exhibitions sponsored by both independent artist societies and the

government; this included those held by Société des aquarellistes français, Société des Pastellistes français, Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs, and, of course, Blanc et Noir, as well as those held at L'École des Beaux-Arts, the Exposition Universelles, and the Salon. In addition, they explored the meaning and purpose of drawing, continually emphasizing the need for drawing as the foundation for all the arts. Through studies of artist biographies and works, analysis of exhibitions, and participation in the politics of including *dessin* inside the classrooms of primary and higher specialist schools, *blanc et noir* both spurred and reflected the explosion of interest in drawings that would take place in the 1890's.

### *Conclusion*

The relevance of drawings in the Parisian art world, particularly in the 1880's, has been demonstrated through the explosion of drawing exhibitions that took place starting in the 1870's. Many of these exhibitions were centered around artist societies, who frequently focused on a certain media or other specialization. However, it is notable that artist societies and dealers had a symbiotic relationship, one which benefited both of them. Dealers supported these exhibitions and held their own, many of which included drawings.

The Société des aquarellistes français was the first truly successful of these exhibitions by highlighting the skills of over 70 professional artists in a medium that had such popularity with amateurs and the public. The organizers of the Société des Pastellistes français understood that they needed to recall masters of pastel from the past, particularly those from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century, to inspire an acknowledgment of the validity of their medium. The rise in production of and interest

in drawings was so profound in this period that the journals *Le Fusain*, *Le Dessin*, and *Le Blanc et Noir* emerged, all published by E. Bernard with a sole focus on drawings.

It is important to remember, however, that the profound presence of drawings in this period was not solely at private venues; there was also an increased interest in drawings within the official Salon. In 1879, the first year of the Watercolor exhibition, 1071 drawings were exhibited in the Salon. This was more than had ever been accepted before and that number was shared between 777 artists. Of those drawings, watercolors were by far the most shown with 440. The following year the numbers only increased. In the Salon of 1880, 464 watercolors were exhibited. Thus, the increase in the exhibition of drawings, and watercolors in particular, was taking place in both private industry and the Salon.<sup>180</sup>

It was also through the vehicle of drawings that women exhibited the most at Salon; during these years, an average of one-fifth of the drawings at the Salon were by women.<sup>181</sup> L'Union des Femmes peintres et sculpteurs was formed to address the problems contributing to the inequitable exhibition of women artists in other areas of the Salon, and the Union created their own exhibitions of only women artists, which showed all media including drawing.

Of all the independent societies to exhibit in the last-quarter of the nineteenth century, the one whose artists are most recognized is the Société Anonyme Coopérative des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs, better known as the Impressionists. Rather than focusing on a specific medium, style, or gender, the Impressionists were simply a group of artists who wanted a venue in which to exhibit outside of the Salon. These exhibitions are the focus of Chapter 5.

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<sup>180</sup> Marie Leimbacher has created a chart listing all the artists in both the Watercolor Society and Pastel Society and marked whether they exhibited in both or whether any of them also exhibited at the Société nationale des Beaux-Arts or the Salon des Artistes français. See Leimbacher, "Les arts graphiques," Vol. 2, 17-18.

<sup>181</sup> See Chapter 2.

## CHAPTER 5

### DRAWINGS EXHIBITED BY THE IMPRESSIONISTS (1874-1886)

Although the Impressionists have been heavily studied, this chapter seeks to determine qualities of the drawings they chose for public consumption. These artists were a diverse group with diverse styles, and the variety of drawings exhibited reflects that diversity. Utilizing the catalogs from the eight exhibitions between 1874 and 1886, this project performs two tasks. The first and, I argue, more valuable task of this chapter is to show the drawings in terms of data. How many drawings were there? Which artists exhibited drawings? To what degree was one medium preferred over another? Did certain years have more drawings? And, how distinct was the exhibition of drawings at the Impressionist exhibitions compared to the Salon? The second task, and perhaps initially more attractive to the reader, is to compile all the drawings exhibited in one place.

While countless scholars have studied each of these artists, including their drawings, no one has focused on the exhibition of drawings specifically.<sup>182</sup> The exhibition *The New Painting* (1986) recreated parts of all eight exhibitions and searched for all the artworks that were in each of the Impressionist exhibition; however, paintings were favored in this exhibition. It is critical to note that the statistical results shown here are based on data from the catalogs, except when

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<sup>182</sup> Richard Thomson calculated the total number of drawings exhibited at the eight Impressionist exhibitions. Christopher Lloyd and Richard Thomson. *Impressionist Drawings from British Public and Private Collections* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1986), 50, note 35. My numbers, however, differ dramatically, in part because Thomson's count did not break down into individual drawings when more than one artwork was under the same catalog number. For example, he listed 38 drawings in 1874 whereas I identify 66; for 1886, he listed 71 whereas I find a minimum of 97. These are his totals: 38 (1874); 29 (1876); 30 (1877); 80 (1879); 60 (1880); 50 (1881); 28 (1882); 71 (1886).

otherwise clarified.<sup>183</sup> Therefore, the data is not dependent on whether identification of a specific work is known. The identification of specific works is based largely on the findings from The New Painting catalog from 1986, and the two volumes of documentation that followed ten years later.<sup>184</sup> These volumes have been incredibly useful resources for scholars of the Impressionists; but some of the findings, as the authors of the texts highlight, are based on conjecture. Thus, although this is a helpful tool to study the drawings exhibited by the Impressionists, it should be studied with caution.

#### *Bird's Eye View of Drawings Exhibited by Impressionists*

In the eight years they exhibited, 37 artists showed over 500 drawings. Appendix D lists each of these drawings, organized first by artist, then by year.<sup>185</sup> For each drawing, in addition to artist and the year it was exhibited, this chart also identifies the medium/a, catalog number, whether it has been identified today, and how many reviews it received. Appendix D also shows all the works that are believe to be identified today. The data on reviews can be misleading because while some drawings may have been in several reviews, this data does not distinguish between reviews in which a drawing was discussed in depth and those that only mentioned a title. In addition some artworks were mentioned as part of group of artworks rather than discussed individually.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> The most notable case of this is with Redon's works that hung in 1886. Although he did not identify medium in the catalog, three artworks have strongly been identified as charcoals, so they have been counted as such in the data. It is highly likely that more of Redon's works were charcoals.

<sup>184</sup> For cases in which there are different findings, or when I have a different proposal, I have addressed it in the text.

<sup>185</sup> Each year is also identified by a different color to better see patterns of individual artists.

<sup>186</sup> Such cases include Rouart's watercolors from 1886 or Lebourg's drawings from 1879 and 1880.

On average, 20 % of all the artworks in the eight group exhibitions were drawings (Table 5.1). However, there was considerable fluctuation in the percentage of drawings shown. During the years 1876, 1877, and 1882, the percentage of total artworks was much lower than the average (between 12% and 15%). However, in both 1879 and 1886, around 100 drawings were included and drawings made up almost 30% of the total artwork in 1886.<sup>187</sup>

Table 5.1: Number of Drawings in Impressionist Exhibitions  
Compared to Total Number of Artworks

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Artworks</b>	<b>Drawings</b>	<b>% Drawings</b>
<b>1874</b>	230	66	22%
<b>1876</b>	278	38	12%
<b>1877</b>	247	43	15%
<b>1879</b>	244	103	30%
<b>1880</b>	285	62	18%
<b>1881</b>	173	53	23%
<b>1882</b>	203	32	14%
<b>1886</b>	271	97	26%

To speculate on why certain years a higher number of drawings were exhibited, it is beneficial to consider the number of submissions by each artist (Table 5.2). For example, Edgar Degas did not start exhibiting drawings with passion until 1877, when he exhibited 16 drawings. He also exhibited 17 in 1879 and 14 in 1886, so his inclusions contributed to the high numbers in those two years. Degas's contribution in terms of drawings is important and complex, and is the focus of Chapter 6. Also in 1879, four other artists submitted over ten drawings each: Forain (23); Lebourg (10); Camille Pissarro (16); and Rouart (14). Joining Degas in 1886, Morisot (10), C. Pissarro (11), L. Pissarro (13) and Rouart (23), presented a noticeably large number of drawings.

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<sup>187</sup> If more Redon's were charcoals, which is likely, the percentage of drawings in 1886 would also be 30%.

Table 5.2: Number of Drawings Exhibited by each artist per year, arranged alphabetically.

ARTIST	1874	1876	1877	1879	1880	1881	1882	1886	Total
ASTRUC, Zacharie	8								8
ATTENDU, A.-F.	3								3
BOUDIN, Eugene	20								20
BRACQUEMOND, Felix	1				1				2
BRACQUEMOND, Marie				3				3	6
BRANDON, Edouard	4								4
CAILLEBOTTE, Gustave				6	3		3		12
CALS, Adolphe-Felix		3		5					8
CASSATT, Mary				4		7		1	12
CEZANNE, Paul			3						3
DEBRAS, Louis	1								1
DEGAS, Edgar	4	3	16	17	9	4		14	67
FORAIN, Louis				23	8	8			39
GAUGUIN, Paul							2		2
GUILLAUMIN, Armand					4	6	13	4	27
LEBOURG, Albert				10	10				20
LEPIC, Ludovic-Napoleon	4	16							20
MEYER, Alfred	1								1
MILLET, Jean-Baptiste		8							8
MONET, Claude	7								7
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	6	6	7		5	3	3	10	40
OTTIN, Leon-Auguste	1								1
PIETTE, Ludovic			17	6					23
PISSARRO, Camille				11	1	17	10	11	50
PISSARRO, Lucien								13	13
RAFFAELLI, Jean-Francois					12	7			19
REDON, Odilon								3	3
RENOIR, Pierre-Auguste	1	1							2
ROBERT, Leopold	2								2
ROUART, Stanislas-Henri	3	1		14	8			23	49
SCHUFFENECKER, Emile								1	1
SEURAT, Georges								3	3
SIGNAC, Paul								3	3
SOMME, Henry				4					4
VIDAL, Eugene					1				1
VIGNON, Victor							1		1
ZANDOMENEGHI,						1		8	9



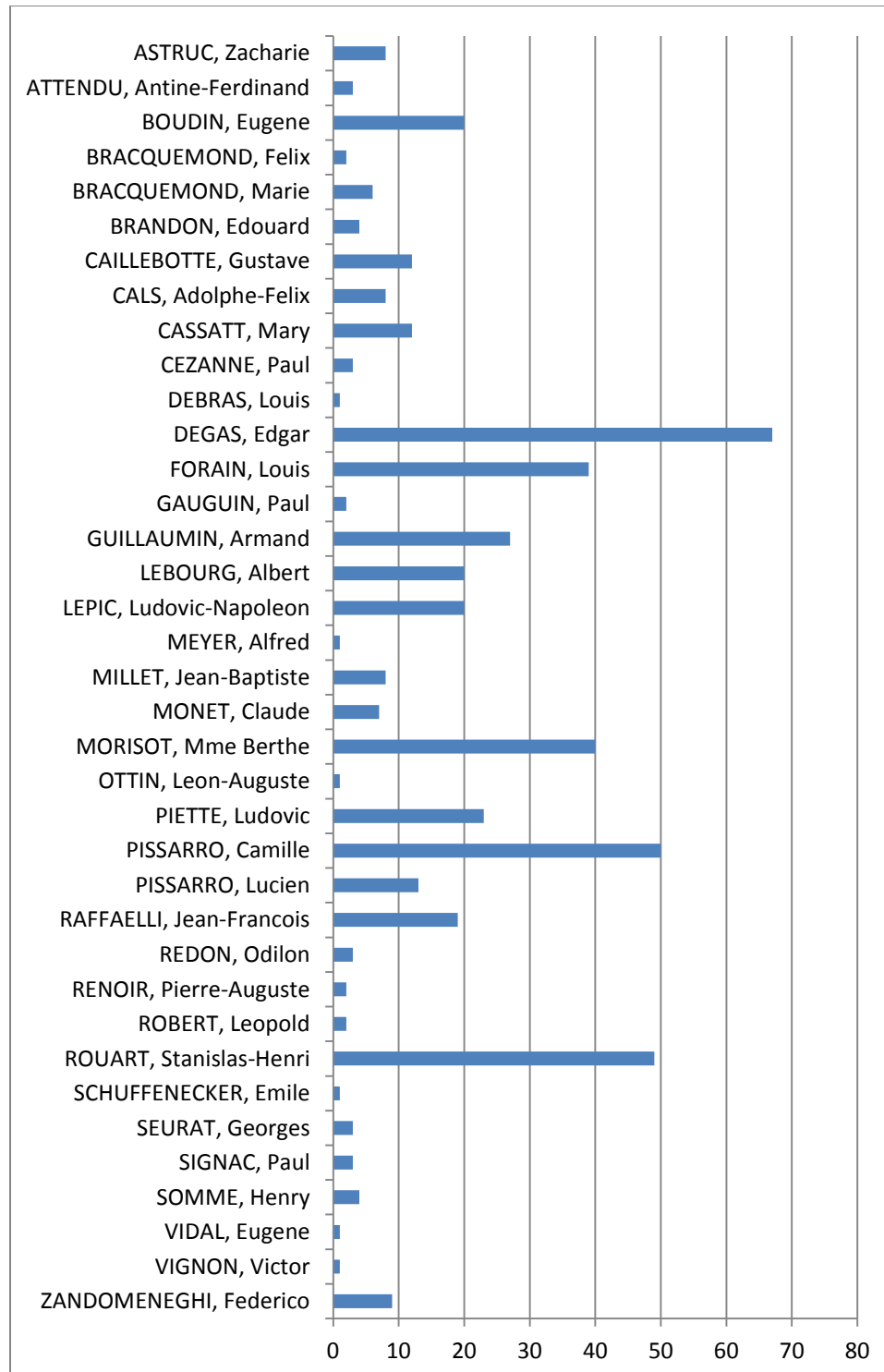


Figure 5.1. Quantity of Drawings Exhibited by Impressionist Artists showing the most submissions by Degas, followed by C. Pissarro, Rouart, Morisot and Forain

Not surprisingly, Edgar Degas exhibited more drawings total than anyone else (Figure 5.1).

Following him, Camille Pissarro, Henri Rouart, Berthe Morisot, and Jean-Louis Forain, were the other artists who exhibited the greatest number of drawings in the eight Impressionist exhibitions.<sup>188</sup> In order to determine the number of drawings, artworks framed or listed together in the catalog were not counted as just one but were counted individually.<sup>189</sup> At times, it is not known precisely how many drawings were exhibited, for example when an artist just lists the plural “*dessins*”; in these cases an approximation was made.<sup>190</sup> As one looks at each year more closely, the variety of drawings exhibited, in terms of subject matter, detail, and medium, and finish, becomes readily apparent.

### *1<sup>st</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1874)*

The first Impressionist exhibition (1874), held in the studio of the photographer Gaspard-Félix Nadar (1820-1910), must have been striking in its contrast to the Salon. Although a commercial space, it was one in which the photographer worked, so the lighting was favorable compared to that in the Salon.<sup>191</sup> The walls were reddish-brown and the space was much smaller than the Salon, so in that way it related to the homes of Parisian viewers. Most importantly, the artists arranged and hung their own works, thereby becoming curators and in turn shaping the reception of their art. Works were hung more spaciouly than in the Salon, with no more than

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<sup>188</sup> Unless otherwise noted, Charles Moffett’s *The New Painting*, which had essays by several authors and will be called TNP in this dissertation, and Ruth Berson’s *The New Painting: Documentation, Volumes 1 & 2* were the sources used to determine which drawings were in the Impressionist exhibitions and as sources for reviews. Charles Moffett et al., *The New Painting, Impressionism, 1874-1886* (San Francisco: The Museums, 1986). Ruth Berson, ed. *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886: Documentation* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996).

<sup>189</sup> For example, Boudin’s cadres from 1874 were separated out as were Lepic’s from 1876.

<sup>190</sup> For example, Edouard Brandon simply listed “*aquarelles*” in 1874.

<sup>191</sup> See Chapter 3, which discusses reviews of the location of drawings in the Salon and describes these places as extremely dark.

two rows. The arrangement was alphabetical by artist; the picture rail was the most enviable spot and the artists may have drawn for that position.<sup>192</sup>

Table 5.3. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1874 (1<sup>st</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

ASTRUC, Zacharie	8
ATTENDU, A.-F.	3
BOUDIN, Eugene	20
BRACQUEMOND, Felix	1
BRANDON, Edouard	4
DEBRAS, Louis	1
DEGAS, Edgar	4
LEPIC, Ludovic-Napoleon	4
MEYER, Alfred	1
MONET, Claude	7
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	6
OTTIN, Leon-Auguste	1
RENOIR, Pierre-Auguste	1
ROBERT, Leopold	2
ROUART, Stanislas-Henri	3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>66</b>

Eugène Boudin exhibited approximately twenty drawings, none of which have been identified for certain today (Table 5.3). Boudin's drawings consisted of four cadres (frames) of pastels that were studies of the sky, two cadres with diverse pastels, and four cadres of watercolors of the beach at Trouville. For this project, Boudin's drawings have been approximated to be two artworks per frame, although there may have been many more.<sup>193</sup>

Richard Kendall surmises that Claude Monet was inspired, at least in part, to exhibit seven pastels at this exhibition because of the many works on paper contributed by Boudin, who had

<sup>192</sup> It would seem, however, that if each artist had their own space, they would almost all have had an opportunity to place works on the rail. See Ward, "Impressionist Installations," 603, for a discussion on the uncertainties surrounding how artworks were hung.

<sup>193</sup> Thus, with 10 cadres there were at least 20 drawings. It is likely, however, that the cadres contained even more.

been Monet's teacher. Kendall further points out that although the subjects of Monet's pastels are not known today, he chose to exhibit two paintings of Le Havre, where the two men met.<sup>194</sup> There is no evidence that Monet exhibited pastels at any other time of his life, although one expects that Durand-Ruel might have exhibited some.<sup>195</sup>

In 1874, Zacharie Astruc exhibited the second highest number of drawings, eight watercolors. The two Astruc's that have been identified are highly detailed scenes of women relaxing, holding fans, in luxurious blue interiors.<sup>196</sup> *Parisian Interior* (fig. 5.2), shows artworks hanging in the background, two of which are prints or drawings, giving us a sense of how works on paper were framed. The upper left artwork is framed with a blue mat and probably a wood frame. The other paper artwork shown on the wall (within Astruc's watercolor) is surrounded by a large white mat, almost as wide as the artwork itself, and a narrow gold frame. Astruc's works on paper are mentioned in three reviews; from a review in *La République française* and from the titles one can glean that a few of his works were landscapes.<sup>197</sup>

Of all the drawings exhibited in the 1874 exhibition, the most survive from the hand of Berthe Morisot, for whom all six artworks (three pastel and three watercolor) are known today. Morisot's works were a mixture of portraiture and landscapes, as well as varying degrees of finish. For example, the portrait of Madame Pontillon is highly finished, with the sitter in her rich black cloak sitting upon a sofa that convincingly appears to have buttons and wrinkles. In

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<sup>194</sup> James Ganz and Richard Kendall, *The Unknown Monet: Pastels and Drawing* (Williamstown: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2007), 106.

<sup>195</sup> Kendall states definitively that no other pastels were exhibited by Monet. Ganz and Kendall, *Unknown Monet*, 112. I have not seen the catalog for Monet's 1883 one man show held at Durand-Ruel's.

<sup>196</sup> *Les Présents chinois (Londres)* is in a private collection in New York and *Intérieur parisien* is in the collection of Musée d'Evreux, no. 8102. Both were identified in Berson, *The New Painting: Documentation*.

<sup>197</sup> [Philippe Burty], "Exposition de la société anonyme des artistes" *La République française* (25 April 1874): 2; Drumont, E. "L'Exposition du boulevard des Capucines" *Le Petit Journal* (19 April 1874): 2; E.C., "Chronique: Beaux-Arts: Expositions de peintures modernes" *Revue de France* 10 (April 1875): 255.

contrast, *Young Girl with a Parrot* readily reveals rough brushstrokes. There is no attempt to create an illusion of form or texture, with both the clothing and the girl's face showing swaths of both blue or purple and white or flesh.

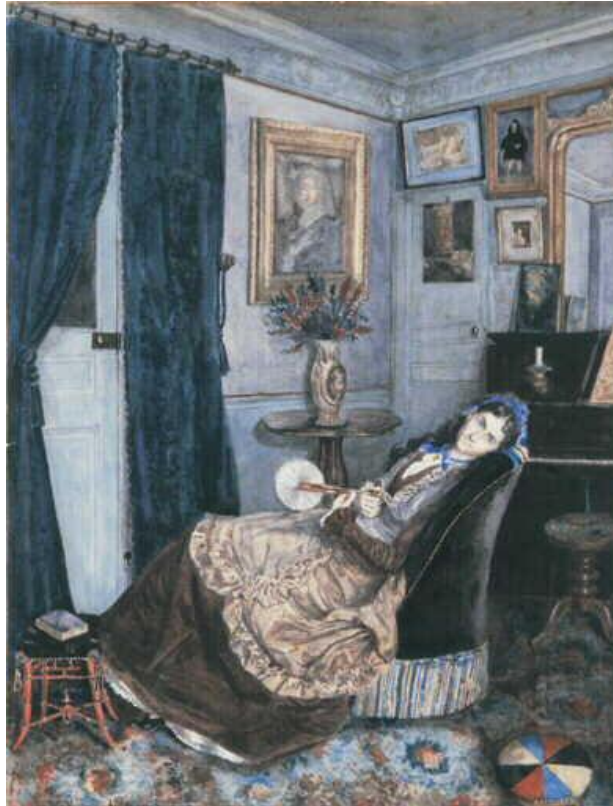


Figure 5.2. Zacharie Astruc, *Parisian Interior*, watercolor on paper.

### *2<sup>nd</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1876)*

The 1876 Impressionist Exhibition was held on the premises of Durand-Ruel's gallery, which created the atmosphere of a fine apartment-like setting. A notable change took place this year in that works on paper were placed in the beginning of the exhibition overriding alphabetical arrangement. Artworks were again hung by artist, but this time the artworks were

hung on panels.<sup>198</sup> The first room contained at least eight drawings by Jean-Baptiste Millet, done in sepia or watercolor, 16 watercolors by Lepic, and probably all of the drawings by Degas and Morisot, as well as numerous prints by other artists.<sup>199</sup> The few drawings by Cals, Renoir and Rouart were probably placed in either the second or third room with their other artworks.<sup>200</sup>

Table 5.4: Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1876 (2<sup>nd</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

CALS, Adolphe-Felix	3
DEGAS, Edgar	3
LEPIC, Ludovic-Napoleon	16
MILLET, Jean-Baptiste	8
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	6
RENOIR, Pierre-Auguste	1
ROUART, Stanislas-Henri	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>38</b>

Out of the eight Impressionist exhibitions, the fewest number of drawings were exhibited this year; 38 drawings out of a total of around 278 artworks were on display, which accounted for only 12% of the total works exhibited (Table 5.4). Ludovic Lepic hung the most drawings that year: 16 watercolors. However, Morisot's drawings are the only drawings from this exhibition that have been visually identified today. These three watercolors (at least two over

<sup>198</sup> Holly Clayson, TNP, 146. It is not clear whether these panels were for works on paper only or all works.

<sup>199</sup> Clayson remarks that Jean Baptiste Millet's ten submissions were all watercolors and sepia drawings, although she does not state why she believes this to be so. However, in the original Impressionist catalog reproduced in the *New Painting*, only seven were listed as such, and one additional work had "aquarelle" written next to it. Thus, for the data in this project, only 8 of Millet's 10 works are considered definitively as drawings. Clayson, TNP, 146. Note that the more famous Millet brother, Jean-François Millet, did not exhibit any drawings in the Impressionist exhibitions. However, an exhibition of 46 of his drawings that were in the collection of "M.G." took place in 1875 to profit the artist's family. Additionally, in 1887, an exhibition of J.-F. Millet's works was held at L'École des Beaux-Arts to raise funds to erect a memorial monument in his name; this included 78 paintings, 54 "pastels and retouched drawings", 68 drawings, and 24 etchings.

<sup>200</sup> For the arrangement of the exhibition as a whole see Clayson, TNP, 146.

graphite) were of yachts and are rich studies of water (fig. 5.3). Morisot also exhibited three pastels, whose subject was not described in the catalog.



Figure 5.3. Morisot, *Before the Yacht*, 1875. Sterling and Francine Clark Institute

### *3<sup>rd</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1877)*

1877 was the first time the Impressionists exhibited rooms (five) in an actual bourgeois apartment. Panels were again used, creating possibilities not only for more hanging space, but for more dynamic arrangements and intriguing juxtapositions.<sup>201</sup> It is uncertain whether works were arranged by artist or other qualities, but all of Degas's works (paintings and drawings alike) and several if not all of Morisot's drawings (pastel and watercolor) were in the final gallery, considered the smallest and most intimate room.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> However, this space was not their first choice. Richard Brettell points out that Durand-Ruel's gallery was unavailable at the time, prompting Caillebotte to rent the apartment, which was on the second floor across the street from the dealer's gallery. Brettell, TNP, 191. Brettell also suggests that the panels may have been used to block light from the windows, 192.

<sup>202</sup> For an in depth discussion of the arrangement of the whole exhibition see Brettell, TNP, 189-202.

Table 5.5. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1877 (3<sup>rd</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

CEZANNE, Paul	3
DEGAS, Edgar	16
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	7
PIETTE, Ludovic	17
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>43</b>

Forty-three drawings were exhibited by only four artists (Table 5.5): Paul Cézanne, Degas, Morisot, and Ludovic Piette; drawings from this exhibition by each of these artists are known today. Paul Cézanne did two “impressions” of a landscape in a mix of pencil, watercolor and gouache, and one still life in gouache. Degas exhibited at least fourteen monotypes, over half of which he colored with pastel.<sup>203</sup> Morisot created two pastels, three watercolors, and two drawings, which made drawings slightly more than half of the total she exhibited. The two pastels can be identified today; one is a portrait of a lady lounging on a chaise and the other is another view of a yacht on the Thames. Ludovic Piette exhibited seventeen watercolors, the most drawings in this exhibition. Piette made detailed street scenes and country views; two of these are known today (fig. 5.4).



Figure 5.4. Ludovic Piette, *Jardin de la ville, au Mans*, 1875. watercolor

<sup>203</sup> Please see Chapter 6 on Degas.



#### 4<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1879)

In 1879 many more artists submitted drawings than the year prior, more than doubling the amount shown; ten artists exhibited 93 drawings (Table 5.6). Henry Havard devoted more attention to drawings exhibited by the Impressionists than most critics did in reviews of any of their exhibitions. He also described the arrangement of the artworks:

J'ai dit que l'exposition des artistes *indépendants* était installée avenue de l'Opéra; elle y occupe un premier étage compose de cinq salles. L'une de ces salles est obscure, et cela est fâcheux, car il s'y trouve de bons fusains de M. Lebourg, d'agréables dessins de M. Rouard et quelques aquarelles intéressantes d'un artiste plein d'espérance, M. Piette, que la mort vient de ravir à ses amis.

Les fusains de M. Lebourg, pour être parfaits, ne demanderaient qu'à être un peu plus arrêtés.

Ce même reproche s'adresse également à toute une série d'études peintes, que M. Lebourg expose dans une autre salle. Ces études sont d'une couleur vive et franche, d'une tonalité fine et délicate; un peu plus serrées de facture, elles constitueraient d'excellents tableaux.

Quant aux dessins de M. Rouart, ils rappellent ceux des vieux maîtres, le contour travé à l'encre est enlevé avec une prestesse rare, les plans sont accusés par des rehauts de sepia ou par quelques tons d'aquarelles très-fondus, sans éclat, mais pleins de charme.

Dans la salle suivante, nous trouvons les cartons dessinés par Mlle Braquemont, pour le grand carrelage céramique que M. Haviland avait exposé l'en dernier au Champ-de-Mars. Ces cartons représentent les *Muses des arts*; ils ont une grande tournure. La figure de la *Danse* mérite surtout qu'on la loue. C'est une étude charmante, d'un mouvement souple, gracieux, virginal et d'une physionomie si joliment avenante, qu'on est tout surpris de la voir en ces sombres.

Après des cartons de Mlle Braquemont, sont exposées les peintures de M. Degas et les aquarelles gouaches de M. Forain. M. Forain est caricaturiste. Il se préoccupe de Daumier, mais il a encore tant de chemin à faire pour approcher du maître que nous l'attendrons à une prochaine étape.<sup>204</sup>

It was not unusual for an artist to exhibit drawings showing studies that they were doing for another project, as Marie Braquemond did by exhibiting three cartoons for paintings she would put on faïence (fig. 5.5). Henry Somm additionally showed examples for his project

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<sup>204</sup> Henry Havard, "L'Exposition des artistes indépendants," *La Siècle* (April 27, 1879), 3.

illustrating *Livre des baisers* by V. Billaud. 1879 also marks the first year that Gustave Caillebotte exhibited any drawings; all of his submissions were pastels and were a variety of subjects such as bathers, boaters or landscapes.<sup>205</sup>

Table 5.6. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1879 (4<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

BRACQUEMOND, Marie	3
CAILLEBOTTE, Gustave	6
CALS, Adolphe-Felix	5
CASSATT, Mary	4
DEGAS, Edgar	17
FORAIN, Louis	23
LEBOURG, Albert	10
PIETTE, Ludovic	6
PISSARRO, Camille	11
ROUART, Stanislas-Henri	14
SOMME, Henry	4
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>103</b>

Albert Lebourg exhibited ten drawings; the three that have been identified are darkly lit scenes (in black chalk or charcoal) that focus on pairs of women silently focusing on an activity. None of the fourteen drawings by Henri Rouart have been identified. Ludovic Piette does not have works listed in the 1879 catalog; however, due to the many reviews that refer to his watercolors, including Havard, scholars working on *The New Painting* determined that there were probably six drawings by him in the exhibition.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Although he did not show any drawings in 1877, this year marked the first time Gustave Caillebotte exhibited with the Impressionists. Significantly, he financially supported many of the artists, purchased many of their works, and lent many of those works to Impressionist exhibitions. Many of these works were bequeathed to the French State upon Caillebotte's death.

<sup>206</sup> Berson, *Documentation*, 117.



Figure 5.5. Marie Bracquemond, *La Sculpture, L'Architecture, La Peinture*.



Figure 5.6. Edgar Degas, *Backstage Theater (Protector of the Backstage)*, pen and ink and gouache.

Degas's submissions were again numerous, and all of the critics, including Havard, discussed much of his work, which revealed his wide experimentation with different media.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Degas's use of mixed media in these exhibitions.

But it was Louis Forain who exhibited the most drawings (23) in 1879. 18 of these were watercolors, two of which have been identified by scholars.<sup>208</sup> One of these works is a dynamically composed scene of a man waiting at the wings of a theater (fig. 5.6). The other is a scene of three people putting on their outerwear as they leave a restaurant; this scene has the quality of a print that would be promoting a play or other performance.

Many of the Impressionists were involved in the public fancy for fans and created fan-shaped artworks that were mounted for decoration but not actually used.<sup>209</sup> In 1879, seven of the 11 definitive drawings exhibited by Camille Pissarro were fans,<sup>210</sup> Degas contributed five fans and Forain two. Originally, Degas proposed a room for fans by all these artists and both Braquemonds; in the end, according to Havard, Pissarro's works had a room of their own and Degas, Forain, and Marie Braquemond's works shared another room.<sup>211</sup> The use of the fan shape created fascinating compositions. Pissarro's fan-shaped landscapes contain people, which he visually relegated to the edges, while frequently making the horizon line the focus of the arched part of the fan (fig. 5.7).<sup>212</sup> Degas's fans were of ballet dancers on the stage; he used the fan format to create a sense of confusion in which the viewer might interpret the background as both

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<sup>208</sup> Forain also exhibited two screens, but it is unclear what the medium was for these.

<sup>209</sup> For a rich discussion of the trend in fans-shaped artworks, see Marc Gerstein "Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Fans" (PhD diss., Cambridge, 1978).

<sup>210</sup> Pissarro also exhibited a total of eleven fans, but he did not state the medium of each in the catalog. All of the seven that have been identified are in media associated with drawing; so, it is likely that the other fans could be drawings as well.

<sup>211</sup> Pissarro also exhibited four pastels: two portraits, a pâtissier at work, and a landscape.

<sup>212</sup> For some of Pissarro's fans, the media is not known. However, two are a mix of gouache and watercolor on silk, two are gouache, two are gouache and silver, and one is watercolor. Regarding Figure 7, it is not known whether this frame was the one in the original Impressionist exhibition or, more likely, has since been added on by a later owner of the work.

stage sets and something more abstract such as clouds, water, or just air. The effect is a flattening of space in which dancers appear to be floating or flying.<sup>213</sup>



Figure 5.7. Camille Pissarro, *Apple Blossoms*.

#### *5<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1880)*

In 1880, far fewer fans were shown; one by Pissarro and one by Morisot. The total number of drawings decreased as well, by a third from the previous year; yet Caillebotte, Degas, Forain, Lebourg, Pissarro and Rouart all exhibited works on paper again. In addition, Félix Bracquemond contributed a striking charcoal drawing of Edmond de Goncourt (fig. 5.8), which one critic described as “beautiful...and destined to be engraved.”<sup>214</sup> Yet some criticized the artist’s technique, which was affected by the drawing being on canvas rather than paper, “This portrait is in the style of Holbein, but the skin is too hard with its pores like marble beads.”<sup>215</sup> One critic from *L’Art* did not recognize the base as such, “The modeling of the flesh is barely

<sup>213</sup> See the chapter on Degas for a discussion of his use of mixed-media.

<sup>214</sup> Gustave Goetschy, *Le Voltaire* (April 6, 1880). Translated in Moffett, TNP, 318.

<sup>215</sup> Joris-Karl Huysmans, *L’art modern* (1883). Translated in Moffett, TNP, 318.

distinguished from that of the fabric. Perhaps this flaw has to do with using pencil on rough-grained paper?”<sup>216</sup>

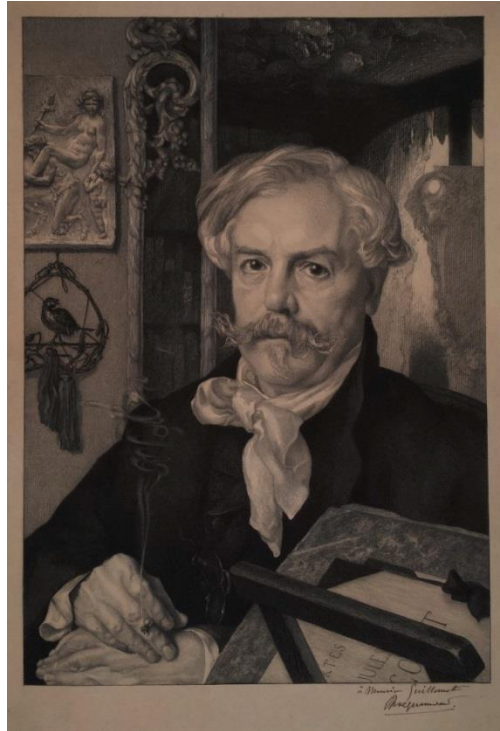


Figure 5.8. Felix Braquemond, *Portrait of Edmond de Goncourt*. Charcoal on canvas.

The artist that received the most attention for drawing in the 1880 exhibition was Jean-François Raffaëlli, an artist who had exhibited successfully in the Salon and who many thought was an odd addition to the Impressionists’s display, “Why the hell did Raffaëlli join this enterprise?”<sup>217</sup> The artist’s watercolor *Donkeys and Chickens in the Grass* received mention from ten critics.<sup>218</sup> Havard mentioned drawings by several artists briefly, as he did the year before, but focused a quarter of his article on the work of Raffaëlli describing this drawing extensively,

Je citerai surtout ses deux ânes juchés sur une colline et détachant leur silhouette étonnée, ahurie, sur un fond de verdure et de maisons d’une finesse exquise. Rien n’est curieux

<sup>216</sup> Eugène Véron, *L’Art* (1880). Translated in Moffett, TNP, 318.

<sup>217</sup> Albert Wolff, “Beaux-Arts: Les Impressionnistes” *Le Figaro* (April 9, 1880) Translated in Moffett, et al. 303.

<sup>218</sup> The artwork is missing, but the descriptions in the reviews suggest it was multi-media.

comme l'attitude, la pose, le regard de ces deux boudets. Leur anxiété est tout un poème; mais c'est de l'idéalisme de premier ordre que le petit monde d'observation et de pensée concentré dans quelques touches de gouache et quelques coups de crayon.<sup>219</sup>

Caillebotte exhibited three drawings, two of which depicted Camille Daurelle in very non-naturalistic coloring; Huysmans described the “terrible bleu” of the child’s skin in these works.<sup>220</sup>

Table 5.7. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1880 (5<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

BRAQUEMOND, Felix	1
CAILLEBOTTE, Gustave	3
DEGAS, Edgar	9
FORAIN, Louis	8
GUILLAUMIN, Armand	4
LEBOURG, Albert	10
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	5
PISSARRO, Camille	1
RAFFAELLI, J.-F. rancois	12
ROUART, S.-H.	8
VIDAL, Eugene	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>62</b>

#### 6<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1881)

1881 marks the first year that Mary Cassatt exhibited drawings in one of the Impressionist exhibitions; she presented seven portraits of infants or young girls (Table 5.8), some of which were highly praised,

J'adore le talent de Mlle Cassatt... Quant à *Mère et enfant*, c'est tout simplement, au point de vue du dessin, tel que M. Degas le comprend, c'est-à-dire synthétisé dans la justesse du mouvement et non dans la recherché du contour, une vraie merveille. Comme

<sup>219</sup> Henry Havard, “L’Exposition des artistes indépendants.” *Le Siècle* (April 2, 1880): 2.

<sup>220</sup> Huysmans, J.K., “L’Exposition des indépendants en 1880.” *L’Art modern* (1883).

ces deux êtres-là s’embrassent avec une réelle tendresse! J’avoue que ce pastel m’a singulièrement ému.<sup>221</sup>

Cassatt’s *Mother and Infant* was in fact discussed favorably by 11 critics. The other female artist showing that year, Berthe Morisot, also received positive critical attention for her very sketchy pastel of the head of an infant. All the critics were smitten with this artwork, which could have easily inspired criticism for its unfinished, rough quality.<sup>222</sup> However, Morisot was described as talented, modern, sophisticated, masterful, and one who could make artworks “sing”. As was common for reviews on women artists, her personality was often judged rather than her artwork.

Table 5.8. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1881 (6<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

CASSATT, Mary	7
DEGAS, Edgar	4
FORAIN, Louis	8
GUILLAUMIN, Armand	6
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	3
PISSARRO, Camille	17
RAFFAELLI, Jean-Francois	7
ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>53</b>

Of the 17 gouaches Pissarro displayed, critics responded most to his street scene of the Boulevard Rochechouart. Although showing the same level of finish as Morisot’s infant portrait, Pissarro’s image was criticized for its unnatural colors and sketchiness, “Quand donc M. Pissaro

<sup>221</sup> Armand Silvestre, “Le Monde des arts: Sixième Exposition des artistes indépendants” *La Vie modern* (April 16, 1881): 250.

<sup>222</sup> For example, see Gustave Geffroy “L’Exposition des artistes indépendants,” *La Justice* (April 19, 1881): 3: “La *Portrait d’enfant* ont des tons nacres d’une transparence inouïe. Le rose, le vert pale, la lumière vaguement dorée, chantent avec une harmonie inexprimable. Nul ne représente l’impressionnisme avec un talent plus raffiné, avec plus d’autorité Mme. Morisot.”



a-t-il vu le boulevard Rochechouart tout violet et tout jaune?”<sup>223</sup> One critic perceived a sense of the ridiculous with the image, calling it a “horrible spectacle.”

M. Pissaro passait un jour boulevard Rochechouart, au moment où une bande de teinturiers ivres r’épandait sur la chaussée de grandes flaques d’eau sale fortement teintée de lilas, en éclaboussaient les passants, les arbres et jusqu’au toit de maisons. Il a voulu peindre cet horrible spectacle, et il l’a fait cruellement.<sup>224</sup>

### 7<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition (1882)

Table 5.9. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1882 (7<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

CAILLEBOTTE, Gustave	3
GAUGUIN, Paul	2
GUILLAUMIN, Armand	13
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	3
PISSARRO, Camille	10
VIGNON, Victor	1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>32</b>

In the seventh Impressionist exhibition Armond Guillaumin and Camille Pissarro exhibited the most drawings (Table 5.9), although neither were mentioned in the reviews much for their drawings; Guillaumin’s thirteen drawings were pastels and Pissarro’s ten were gouache. The three Caillebotte pastels were landscapes.<sup>225</sup> 1882 also marked the first and only year that Paul Gauguin exhibited drawings in the Impressionist exhibitions; these two drawings were both mentioned in reviews. *Bébé* is thought to be Gauguin’s son, and was not reviewed favorably: “M. Gauguin expose un malheureux enfant qui est tombé dans un grand pot de beurre d’Isigny, ce qui

<sup>223</sup> Enjoiras, “Causerie artistique: Exposition des artistes indépendants,” *L’Intransigeant* (April 12, 1881): 3.

<sup>224</sup> André Michel, “Exposition des artistes indépendants,” *Le Parlement*. (April 5, 1881): 3.

<sup>225</sup> Although the catalog does not identify two of these as pastels, one review and one letter suggest that they were all made from this medium. See Berson, *Documentation II*, 202.

lui a occasionné une fluxion violente et lui a poché un œil, Aussi a-t-il l'air contrarié.”<sup>226</sup>

Gauguin's other drawing depicts a gas factory, a fascinating study of light that confounded critics, “C'est invraisemblable et indescriptible.”<sup>227</sup>

#### *8th Impressionist Exhibition (1886)*

The final official Impressionist exhibition had drawings from thirteen artists on display, more than any other year, which created a very diverse group of works (Table 5.10).<sup>228</sup> Stanislas-Henri Rouart had the most with 23 watercolors, over half of which were scenes of Venice; in all the reviews, Rouart's watercolors were addressed as a group and generally considered to be agreeable but not fantastic. Degas, Morisot, Camille Pissarro, Lucien Pissarro, Odilon Redon, and Frederico Zandomenighi all displayed a large amount of drawings (8-15). Degas's ten pastels of bathers were discussed in an impressive 27 reviews; these reviews have been discussed in depth by many scholars.<sup>229</sup> Zandomenighi also did some studies of nude women, along with portraits; unfortunately, there is debate over whether many of his works are paintings or pastels, even though he listed them as pastels in the catalog.<sup>230</sup> A similar problem occurs with Redon, who did not list the medium for his works, although it is thought that anywhere from three-fifteen were charcoals. His works were considered poetic visions by some, and uncomfortably mysterious by others:

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<sup>226</sup> Fichtre, “L'Actualité: L'Exposition des peintres indépendants” *Le Réveil* (March 2, 1882, I). Scholars do not agree on whether this review relates to this work, nor whether this drawing has even been identified correctly. For example, see Cahn in Brettell et al., *The Art of Paul Gauguin* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1988), 36.

<sup>227</sup> La Fare, “Exposition des impressionists” *La Gaulois*, (March 2, 1882), 2. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this work are unknown.

<sup>228</sup> Robert Jensen is adamant that an 1887 exhibition at Petit's gallery should be considered an Impressionist exhibition; he argues that it is not considered as such because it was not connected to Durand-Ruel. Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 66.

<sup>229</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>230</sup> See Berson, *Documentation II*, 254-255.

For my part, I would trade all of Redon and his future work for one simple watercolor by Berthe Morisot – three strokes of the brush and a bit of blue and green. – And I will have real dreams. For there are dreams and there are dreams, you know, and just between you and me, I mistrust Odilon’s dream.<sup>231</sup>

Table 5.10. Number of Drawings by Artist exhibited in 1886 (8<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition)

BRACQUEMOND, Marie	3
CASSATT, Mary	1
DEGAS, Edgar	14
GUILLAUMIN, Armand	4
MORISOT, Mme Berthe	10
PISSARRO, Camille	11
PISSARRO, Lucien	13
REDON, Odilon	3
ROUART, Stanislas- Henri	22
SCHUFFENECKER, Emile	1
SEURAT, Georges	3
SIGNAC, Paul	3
ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	8
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>97</b>

Morisot and C. Pissarro both exhibited fans in 1886 that received positive responses. Morisot’s fans were described as luminous, delicious, vibrant, silky, pearly, and “delicate dreams of all things genial and sweet” while Pissarro’s were called beautiful, as were his pastel landscapes.<sup>232</sup> Lucien Pissarro, Camille’s son, contributed approximately thirteen drawings to this exhibition, all of which were ink and watercolor illustrations for the project “Il était une bergère.” Georges Seurat and Paul Signac each had three drawings in the exhibition, at least four

<sup>231</sup> George Auriol, *Le Chat noir* (May 22, 1886): 708, translated in TNP, 464.

<sup>232</sup> For this quote see “Half-a-Dozen Enthusiasts”, *The Bat* (May 25, 1886): 186.

of which were in conté crayon; critics commented minimally on these, finding them somewhat indescribable.

Overall, while many specific drawings cannot be identified today, it is evident that the Impressionists heavily utilized drawings in their exhibitions. 37 artists exhibited an average of 13.70 drawings over the eight Impressionist showcases, showing a great interest in the media by a variety of artists. These drawings were considered to be in finished states as shown by the fact that artists desired to display them. The drawings that have been identified range dramatically in terms of sketchiness and subject matter. The catalog also reveals the artists' wide use of material.

### *Media and Presentation*

Of the 500 drawings shown in all eight Impressionist exhibitions, watercolor and pastel were by far the most exhibited (fig. 5.9).<sup>233</sup> At least 188 artworks contained watercolor, 157 pastel, 18 charcoal, and 41 were gouache.<sup>234</sup> At least 120 works were as labeled as just drawings (*dessin*); since the medium for those is unspecified, these could be pen, pencil, charcoal, pastel, watercolor, or some other medium. If a work was mixed media, each material was counted separately; thus, there are more total media than total drawings.

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<sup>233</sup> Note that many artworks contained more than one medium.

<sup>234</sup> The number of charcoals would more than double if eleven of Redon's works from 1886 were confirmed to be charcoals.

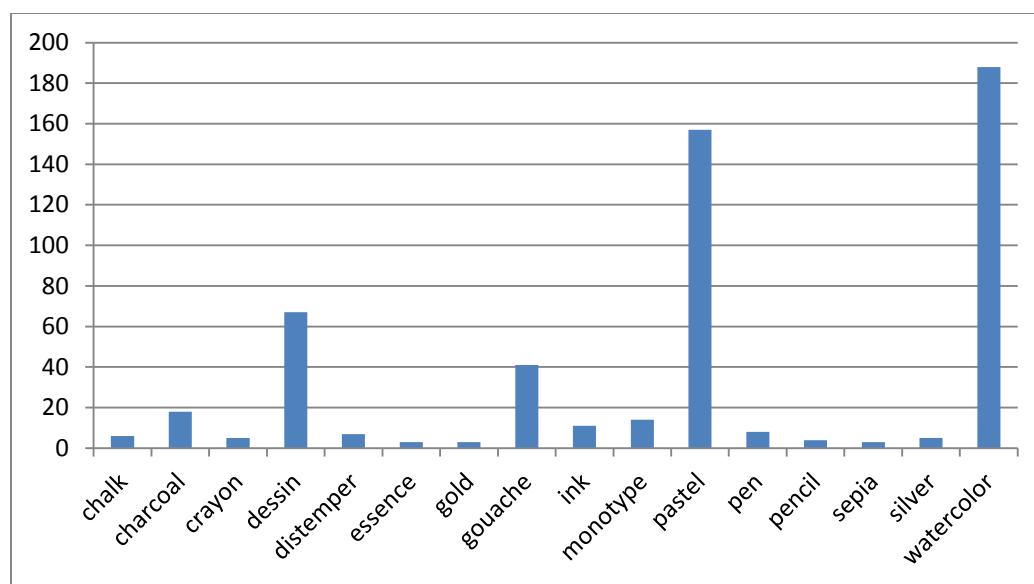


Figure 5.9. Total of Media of Drawings Exhibited by Impressionists

The walls at these exhibitions were painted a range of colors as opposed to the dark red background used at the Salon. Additionally, unlike the gold frames used at the Salon, the Impressionists experimented with different colored mats and frames. By at least 1877, Degas and Pissarro were using white frames, and in 1879, Cassatt and Degas used some colored frames. Martha Ward states that the Impressionists also used, “a hybrid mat-frame” on their paintings that looked more like the kind of frame that viewers were accustomed to seeing on works on paper.<sup>235</sup>

#### *Conclusion/Comparison with the Salon*

How unique then were the Impressionists in terms of works on paper? In some ways, the Impressionists were not very revolutionary at all, but instead participated in a growing interest in drawings that was occurring simultaneously at the Salon (Table 5.11). During the six years that both the Impressionists and the state-run Salon exhibited, almost every year the Salon included a

<sup>235</sup> Ward, “Impressionist Installations,” 612.

greater quantity and percentage of drawings as compared to paintings than the Impressionists did. Indeed, the first Impressionist exhibition, in 1874, marks the only time the Impressionists exhibited a higher percentage of drawings than were shown in the Salon. However, the high quantity of drawings shown by the Impressionists that year was largely due to the (at least) twenty drawings displayed by Eugène Boudin. If Boudin's drawings are excluded from the total, the Salon would have exhibited a higher percentage of drawings than the Impressionists every year that they both exhibited.

Table 5.11. Comparison between percentage of Drawings shown at Impressionist Exhibitions and the Salon.  
The green highlights the year the Impressionists exhibited more while the yellow highlights the year the Salon exhibited more.

Year	% of works that were drawings in Impressionists ex.	% of works that were drawings in Salon
1874	25%	22%
1876	11%	17%
1877	15%	26%
1879	28%	34%
1880	18%	24%
1881	22%	25%

In addition, there is not much evidence that many of the drawings exhibited in the Impressionist exhibitions were different in terms of style and finish than those exhibited in the Salon. In fact, there were several artists that were participating in both the Salon and the Impressionist exhibitions. Edouard Brandon exhibited two drawings in 1874 that were probably in previous Salons (1863 and 1867); one was a portrait and one was a cartoon for the mural cycle

on the life of the saint in oratory of Saint Brigitte, Rome.<sup>236</sup> Of the thirty participants in the first exhibition, all but five had exhibited in the Salon.<sup>237</sup> In fact, twelve of the artists who exhibited in the Impressionist exhibition of 1874 also exhibited in the Salon that year.<sup>238</sup> For example, Zacharie Astruc, who exhibited eleven watercolors with the Impressionists, exhibited two other watercolors at the Salon that year. Also, Ludovic-Napoleon Lepic hung four watercolors with the Impressionists in addition to three watercolors and two paintings at the Salon.<sup>239</sup> The only drawing Alfred Meyer exhibited in 1874 with the Impressionists, *Idylle*, seems to relate to an enamel by the same name exhibited in the Salon that same year. As Yoshikawa demonstrates, “For some members, the (first Impressionist) Exhibition was nothing but another chance to find a market for their works.”<sup>240</sup> Jean-Baptiste Millet also took advantage of the multiple venues; in 1876, he exhibited two watercolors in the Salon and four with the Impressionists.

The Impressionist exhibitions did not best suit some of the artists who wished to exhibit drawings. For example, Joseph de Nittis exhibited four artworks, presumably paintings, with the Impressionists in 1874, but did not exhibit with them again. However, he received substantial critical success exhibiting his pastels elsewhere. During the Salon of 1880, his pastels were described as holding their own next to paintings.<sup>241</sup> In 1881, his one man exhibition was held at

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<sup>236</sup> See Berson, *Documentation II*, 5.

<sup>237</sup> Setsuko Yoshikawa’s “The First Impressionist Exhibition and the Salon” in *Mediterraneus: Annual Report of the Collegium Mediterranistarum XVIII* (1995), 98.

<sup>238</sup> Yoshikawa, “First Impressionist Exhibition,” 109.

<sup>239</sup> Interestingly, both of these artists chose to continue to exhibit at the Salon, but did not exhibit with the Impressionists beyond 1876.

<sup>240</sup> Yoshikawa, “First Impressionist Exhibition,” 104.

<sup>241</sup> A. Renan, “Joseph De Nittis,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 30 (1884): 402-3.

the Cercle de la Place Vendôme, which received a nine page review in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.<sup>242</sup>

Further, while some of the Impressionists were certainly revolutionary in terms of the type of artwork they made, the Impressionist venue as a whole produced many works that could easily have hung in the Salon; one prime example being Bracquemond's portrait of Goncourt, whose details and finish had him compared to Holbein. Drawings instead seem to have often functioned as a kind of bridge between tradition and modernity. Part of the uniqueness for which the Impressionists are so famous is their use of sketchiness within paintings, but when one looks at many of their paintings next to many of their drawings, the strokes appear the same; the quality of finish is quite similar.

The Impressionists did have one distinct difference in terms of media. While both the Salon and the Impressionists largely favored watercolors, the Impressionists also use pastel almost as much. In contrast, pastel was used about as much as charcoal in the Salon, except with the women; thus, in terms of media alone, the Impressionists exhibited drawings that might appear more feminine to a contemporary audience used to what was showing at the Salon. The Salon struggled with the needs of modern artists and the Impressionists struggled with associating their works with the French artistic tradition. The results led to the artworks of both, at least in terms of drawing, appearing more alike than dissimilar.

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<sup>242</sup> Alfred de Lostalot, "Les Pastels de M. de Nittis au Cercle de l'Union Artistique," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 24 (1881), 158



## CHAPTER 6

### DRAWINGS BY DEGAS EXHIBITED DURING HIS LIFETIME:

#### THE CURATORIAL PREFERENCES OF THE ARTIST

This chapter investigates the drawings by Edgar Degas that were exhibited during his lifetime, in order to better construct a picture of how Degas believed works should be viewed. Degas's works have been widely studied using art historical methods such as formal analysis, biography, and contextual analysis. This study examines how and when data analysis can be combined with these other methods to contribute to a fuller understanding of the work of an individual artist.

Degas has been labeled the greatest draftsman of the Impressionist group by both his contemporaries and modern scholars. Carol Armstrong has argued that in discussing both paintings and pastels by Degas, the reviewers Prouvaire, "Jacques" and Fénéon all emphasized the artist's skills as an observer and a draftsman.<sup>243</sup> Other artists with whom he worked saw Degas in the same light. Gauguin wrote to Pissarro when Manet died in 1883 that, "Manet had assumed the uniform of leader, now that he is dead Degas will inherit it and he is an Impressionist who draws!"<sup>244</sup>

What is not consistent is what was meant by calling Degas a *dessinator*. Sometimes it was quite literally an assessment of his talent and prolific experimentation with works on paper. Such comments also remark on his use of line itself, or his use of design as opposed to color. Those who truly understood Degas knew that he saw these disparate elements working together

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<sup>243</sup> Carol Armstrong, *Odd man out: readings of the work and reputation of Edgar Degas*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1-5.

<sup>244</sup> BT, 132.

harmoniously. As Degas himself stated, drawing was a way of seeing form. Color and line, in his view, were not opposing or separate forces. Rather they were both used to build or, conversely, dissolve form.

For Degas, there was a continuously fluid definition between what constituted a drawing versus a painting. He created compositions in which materials enhanced and altered one another, building and taking away structure from each other. The surfaces used by Degas frequently changed as well; his choice of papers was widely varied in both texture and color.<sup>245</sup> In his time, Degas's drawings profoundly shattered traditional notions of drawing.

#### *Degas's use of Mixed-Media*

Rather than being solely a preparatory tool, Degas believed drawings were finished artworks in themselves. Indeed, he was more interested in creating a desired effect, and would experiment with a variety of media to achieve that desired effect. Degas frequently made use of more than one medium within the same artwork. While this was not completely uncommon with other artists, it was not more extreme than with Degas, whose works frequently blended two or three materials.

Gary Tinterow offered a comprehensive and eloquent description of Degas's techniques in *Nude Woman Having Her Hair Combed* (fig. 6.1), which highlights how Degas altered his technique to create specific impressions for different parts of the scene:

Degas began with the nude, the servant, and the chaise longue, outlining the forms with charcoal and chalk, and then filling them in with broad planes of color that were stumped

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<sup>245</sup> Vollard claimed that, "by the very method of his work (tracing after tracing) most of his pastels were of necessity done on tracing paper. And Père Lézin, his framer, would glue them onto Bristol board." Ambroise Vollard, *An Intimate Portrait* (1986) 68.

or smeared greenish gold for the chaise and a medium flesh color for the figure; the peignoir was probably left in reserve. The wall hangings, matching the upholstery of the chaise, were also blocked in at this point. Having established his zones of color and general structure, Degas set to work on each aspect of the composition with remarkable enthusiasm. Whereas, for example, he drew much of *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub* with only four chalks (the tin tub is expressed with two blues, a white, and a black, here he worked the wall hangings and the chaise with three different tones of olive-gold pastels, in addition to a dark olive-green for shadows, black chalk or charcoal for definition, and a contrasting orange for texture, the last drawn mainly in parallel strokes perpendicular to the direction in which the underlying color had been applied. Similarly, he worked the maid's coral-colored bodice in contrasting tones, one coarsely applied over the other, and did the same for the rug, beginning with a rose-red base (now fades) over which he drew roughly parallel green strokes of turquoise and blue. The bather's peignoir and the maid's apron were worked differently: Degas steamed or soaked his sticks of Prussian-blue pastel to make the smudged shadows; over the shadows, he used a brush to apply a thin wash made of white pastel; he then reworked the surface with coarser highlights in white and, finally, added a few touches of bright blue in the shadows.<sup>246</sup>



Figure 6.1. Degas, *Nude Woman Having Her Hair Combed*, c. 1886-1888.

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<sup>246</sup> Gary Tinterow, *Degas*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 451.

Degas frequently used each medium in non-traditional ways. For example, as pastel was known to fade, flatten, and just fall off over time. Degas tried to take preventative measures by using pastel in layers. He would then blow boiling water over each layer, which turned the medium into a stiff paste.<sup>247</sup> Interestingly, Degas does not seem to have used a fixative of any kind on the top layer. This kind of alternative treatment of pastel led him to frequently use brushes rather than just his hands when working with pastel. Thus, at times, his technical use of the medium was more of a painting technique than one used in drawing. Degas also tried to counteract the destructive quality of pastels to fade in light by leaving his pastel sticks out in the sun before he would use them.<sup>248</sup> Such actions show the extent to which Degas thought about how his art would change over time, leading him to take steps to try and ensure that they would not be altered once leaving his hands.

Although pastel was one of his favorite materials, Degas frequently combined it with other materials such as oil, charcoal, gouache, distemper, and monotypes.<sup>249</sup> Degas defined a monotype as “a drawing made with greasy ink and put through a press.”<sup>250</sup> *Ballet Rehearsal* (fig. 6.2), owned by the National Gallery of Art, is a monotype that was heightened with white chalk while the Nelson Atkins’s *Ballet Rehearsal* (fig. 6.3) is a reprint from the same plate; the Nelson Atkins monotype is much lighter and colored with pastel and gouache.

<sup>247</sup> Denis Rouard, *Degas in Search of His Technique*, trans. Pia C. De Santis (Rizzoli, 1999), 51.

<sup>248</sup> Jean Sutherland Boggs and Anne Maheux, *Degas Pastels* (New York: Braziller, 1992), 20. One pastel maker Henri Roché boasted of new manufacturing that created pastels that would not fade. Advertisement boasts, “The improvements introduced into their manufacture have now-a-days converted pastel-painting into the most solid and durable. None of the inconveniences of oil painting. A picture never darkens, nor fades, when painted with the Macle Pastil-Crayons.” Boggs and Maleux, 21.

<sup>249</sup> Degas created his own version of *Détrempe à pastel*. He improved the bonding of pastel paste by substituting water as binder with an adhesive like casein.

<sup>250</sup> “*Dessin fait à l’encre grasse et imprimé.*” *Catalog de la 3e Exposition de peinture* (April 1877): 6. A monotype is a type of printmaking that makes only one good impression, although Degas would sometimes use a second impression.



Figure 6.2. Degas, *Ballet Rehearsal*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. monotype



Figure 6.3. Degas, *Ballet Rehearsal*, Nelson Atkins. pastel and gouache over monotype

One can see from this comparison how Degas would use a monotype to create a rough structure to build on, and then reinterpreted the scene with colored pastel. In the second printing (fig. 6.3), the artist kept the pose of the ballet master and the dancer; however, he widened the

size of the teacher, added figures, removed the side of the stage on the lower right, and created a set in the background. This pastel over monotype was the first drawing by Degas to be exhibited in the United States, whereupon a critic remarked “if he wishes [Degas can] draw with the sharpness and firmness of Holbein.”<sup>251</sup>

### *Degas as Curator: The Authority of the Artist versus the Restraints of Commerce*

Deciding which artworks an artist chooses to display to the public reveals a great deal about any artist, but perhaps even more so for Degas, who was regarded not only as a recluse, but one who detested exhibitions. As noted by his contemporary George Moore,

There can be but little doubt that he desires not at all to be sold by picture-dealers for fabulous prices, but rather to have a quiet nook in a public gallery where the few would come to study. His one wish is to escape the attention of the crowd. To that end he has for many years consistently refused to exhibit in the Salon, now he declines altogether to show his pictures publicly.<sup>252</sup>

Degas did, in fact, have great concerns over the conditions in which his works would be presented to the public; so much so that he refused to exhibit many times. In 1883, Degas refused to have a one-man show at Durand-Ruel, a method of marketing that was quite advantageous for other artists.<sup>253</sup> He also declined to exhibit with Les XX in both 1888 and 1889.<sup>254</sup> And in the 1889 Exposition Universelle, Degas fought against having his work, owned then by someone else, exhibited in the fine arts pavilion.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Figure 5.3 may also have been in the Impressionist exhibition of 1877.

<sup>252</sup> Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out*, 255, footnote 20.

<sup>253</sup> John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art: 1961), 604. In 1883, Durand-Ruel held five exhibitions that were each devoted to a single artist: Boudin, Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, and Sisley.

<sup>254</sup> Marcel Guérin, ed. Marguerite Kay, trans. *Degas Letters* (Bruno Cassier: 1947), 129.

<sup>255</sup> Georges Jeannot, “Souvenirs sur Degas,” *La Revue Universelle* LV (15 October 1933) 152.

Although he exhibited there a handful of times, Degas detested the Salon. He saw the spectacle as a kind of shameful bazaar, full of commercialism and debauchery. On April 12, 1870, one month prior to the opening of that year's Salon, Degas addressed a public letter to the Salon jury. He pointed out several ways to improve the exhibition's display practices; in terms of arrangement he states, "rather than crowd works up, down, and across the walls, the Salon should install only two rows," and the paintings in those rows should be "separated by at least twenty to thirty centimeters and positioned according to their own demands instead of those preordained by traditional patterns of symmetry."<sup>256</sup>

These suggestions seem fairly unremarkable and even obvious to the twenty-first century viewer used to seeing artworks displayed at eye level, generously spaced, and presented in single a row; but, at that time, Degas's remarks were in clear protest to the Salon's installation. He further recommended that there be a mixture of drawings and paintings within the same visual space, that artworks should be displayed on screens, and that exhibitors should have the right to withdraw their work after a few days if displeased with the hanging.

Degas was able to implement these and other inventive curating ideas in the Impressionist exhibitions. For example, he painted walls different colors than the traditional red velvet walls of the Salon; in 1881, his works were hung in a room he painted yellow.<sup>257</sup> Degas was concerned about all aspects of display, including lighting. To get lighting for the 4<sup>th</sup> Impressionist exhibition in 1879, he contacted the manufacturer Jablochhoff and Co, who

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<sup>256</sup> "A Propos du Salon," *Paris-Journal* (April 12, 1870): 180. Reproduced in Theodore Reff's "Some Unpublished Letters of Degas," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (March, 1968): 87-88.

<sup>257</sup> Michael Pantazzi in Boggs, *Degas*, 198.

invented new electric lamps in 1877.<sup>258</sup> The gaslight that had previously been used cast a reddish glow that dulled the color of artworks.

While it is unusual to find original frames on most of Degas's works today, it is known that he experimented with both matting and framing, just as he did with the type of paper he used.<sup>259</sup> He frequently used white frames and green frames on both his paintings and/or drawings. While reviewing the 1879 exhibition, one critic observed that Degas was experimenting with unusual color combinations on the walls, frames, and the artworks themselves, "Il semble être à la poursuite d'un idéal mal défini, don't il espère trouver la formule dans des combinaisons inattendues de cadres, de pastels, de détrempe et d'essence."<sup>260</sup>

In her memoir, Louisine Havemeyer shared some insight into Degas's opinions on framing and display.<sup>261</sup> She described her first impressions of *Rehearsal of the Ballet Onstage* (fig. 6.4), which she recalled being framed by Degas, "in soft dull gray and green which harmonized with the decorations of the scenery and the gauzy gossamerlike dresses of the ballroom."<sup>262</sup> While there were some other artists used colored mats for framing during this time, it was more common to frame conservatively in a white mat. Thus, it would appear that Degas was as experimental with his framing choices as he was with the media he used.

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<sup>258</sup> Pantazzi in Boggs, *Degas*, 197. This lighting was introduced at the Salon that same year.

<sup>259</sup> Elizabeth Easton and Jared Bark, "'Pictures properly framed: Degas & Innovation in Impressionist Frames,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 1033 (April 1989): 289-92.

<sup>260</sup> Henry Havard, "L'Exposition des artistes indépendants," *Le Siècle* (April 27, 1879): 3.

<sup>261</sup> Chicago (A215)

<sup>262</sup> Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*, 249.





Figure 6.4. Degas, *The Rehearsal of the Ballet Onstage*, 1874.  
Oil colors freely mixed with turpentine,  
with traces of watercolor and pastel over pen-and-ink drawing  
on cream-colored wove paper, laid down on Bristol board and mounted on canvas.

Mrs. Havemeyer also recalled how, on one of her visits to his studio, Degas told her how it was the artist's duty to see his pictures properly framed. "He wished the frame to harmonize and to support his pictures and not to crush them as an elaborate gold frame would do." Mrs. Havemeyer went on to discuss how she was concerned that Degas would find out that someone had painted one of her frames that surrounded his artwork gold to match other frames in an exhibition. Immediately after the artwork was returned to her she removed the gold paint at great expense.<sup>263</sup>

Once the artist sold his work, or allowed a dealer to try and sell it, the artist lost power over how that work would be seen or displayed. The exhibitions of Degas's drawings during Degas's lifetime were frequently arranged by dealers, mainly Durand-Ruel. *The Milliner's* (fig.

<sup>263</sup> Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*, 250.

6.5) has a rich history of ownership, which highlights the involvement of Durand-Ruel. The artist sold it to Durand-Ruel in 1882 for Fr 2,000, who sold it three months later to Mme Angello for Fr 3,500-4,000. By 1891 it was owned by Alexander Reid then acquired by T.G. Arthur in Glasgow by January, 1892. Martin et Camentron in Paris acquired it by 1895 and sold it to Durand-Ruel for Fr 15,000. Durand-Ruel then shifted the pastel to his New York office and sold it to Havemeyers in 1899.<sup>264</sup> The pastel was sold to the Havemeyers just twelve days after it was transferred to the New York office.<sup>265</sup> Durand-Ruel must have been confident that the pastel would sell at a high price to purchase it back for at least Fr 11,000 more than he had originally sold it for 13 years earlier.

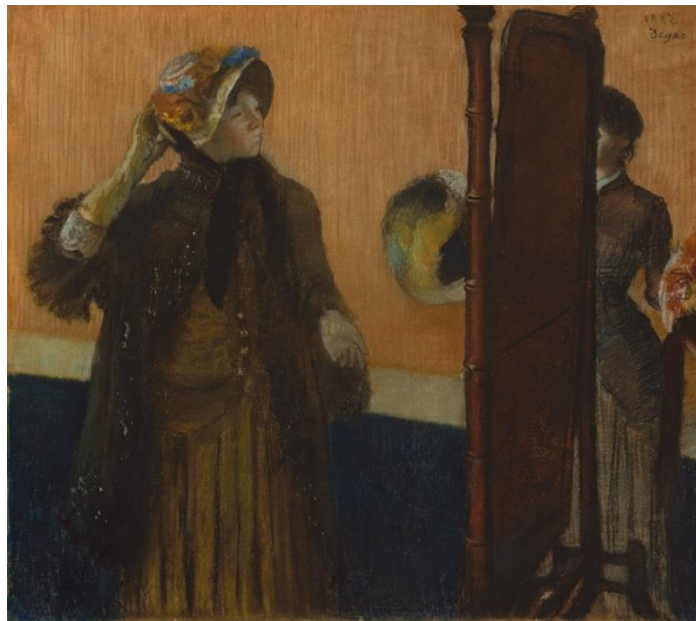


Figure 6.5. Degas, *At the Milliner's*, 1882

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<sup>264</sup> Provenance on the Milliners is taken from Tinterow in Boggs, *Degas*, 396-397. Mme. Angelo lent it to the 8<sup>th</sup> Impressionist Exhibition in 1886.

<sup>265</sup> This data was taken from the Object Information on the Metropolitan Museum of Art website: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/436126?=&imgno=0&tabname=object-information>

Although records are not available that state how much the Havemeyers paid, Durand-Ruel's stock books document that the New York office paid the Paris office Fr 50,000 for the pastel. It is likely, then, that Durand-Ruel knew the Havemeyers would pay at least Fr 50,000 when he had the artwork shipped. Mrs. Havemeyer stated that Mary Cassatt arranged for the pastel to be added to her collection.<sup>266</sup> It is this kind of complex commerce that enabled Degas to sell his works and build his reputation; however, such transactions also disabled him from controlling where and how his works would be exhibited.

Degas, in fact, was known to get quite upset when work that was no longer in his hands would be shown or sold. In 1890, Degas insulted Duret for holding a sale of the artist's works, "If you are bankrupt, if you have to sell your pictures, you should at least sell them sadly. But you glorify yourself as having been one of our friends. I won't shake hands with you. Besides, your auction will fail."<sup>267</sup> On another occasion when he heard that James Tissot had sold some drawings Degas had given him, Degas remarked, "To think that we lived together as friend and then – Well, I can take my vengeance. I shall do a caricature of Tissot with Christ behind him, whipping him, and call it: *Christ Driving his Merchant from the Temple*. My God!"<sup>268</sup>

Degas was also extremely bothered when the French state acquired his works from Caillebotte's estate because his work would be displayed without his input.<sup>269</sup> While the government did not accept all of Caillebotte's artworks, they did accept seven that were by

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<sup>266</sup> Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty*, 1961, 258. Another example of Durand-Ruel's gambling with the artwork and repeated exhibition of artworks is seen in the backstory of Degas's *The Singer in Green*. The pastel was bought at auction in 1898 by Durand-Ruel for Fr 8,505. Its provenance before this is unknown. Durand-Ruel sold it to A.A. Hébrard in 1906 for Fr 15,000, bought it back in 1908 for Fr 18,861, and sold it again one year later for Fr 20,000 to M.P. Riabouschinsky of Moscow. Hébrard had sold it to Alexander Berthier, Prince of Walgram, who sold it back to Durand-Ruel.

<sup>267</sup> Halévy, *My Friend Degas*, 94.

<sup>268</sup> Halévy, *My Friend Degas*, 95.

<sup>269</sup> Anne Distel, *Les Collectionneurs* 260.

Degas, all of which were works on paper: One is pastel and gouache, one pastel, and five are monotype and pastel.<sup>270</sup> Daniel Halévy wrote in his diary about a conversation he had with Degas regarding his works in the Caillebotte bequest in which the artist states, “I did lots of women like that...All of them are more or less rapid sketches. If you have to go to the Luxembourg, it is annoying to go in such impromptu style. I don’t know whether I have the courage to go.”<sup>271</sup>

### *Exhibitions of Degas Drawings*

At least 55 drawings by Degas were exhibited during his lifetime (Appendix E)<sup>272</sup>, although Degas did not always have curatorial control over the hanging of his works.<sup>273</sup> The earliest exhibition examples of Degas disregarding traditional limitations defining drawings and paintings took place during the Salons of the 1860’s. Even when he submitted paintings, Degas was often dealing with the esthetics of drawings.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> The seven pastels are still in the collection of the Musée d’Orsay: 12260;12255;12258;12259;22712; 12257;12254. Five were in the third Impressionist exhibition. It is unclear how or when these were exhibited in the Louvre. As requested in Caillebotte’s will, these artworks were to be hung in the Luxemburg Palace. Although Caillebotte died in 1894, the government did not accept the artworks until 1896.

<sup>271</sup> Halévy, *My Friend Degas*, 113.

<sup>272</sup> The most helpful sources for compiling this list were Boggs’s *Degas* (exhibition-Met 1988-89), Lesmoine’s *Catalogue Raisonné* (which included pastels), and *The New Painting* and *The New Painting: Documentation*, compiled by Ruth Berson, which contains the most complete assessment of the Impressionist exhibitions. There is no *catalogue raisonné* for drawings by Degas. In addition to those listed here, there were likely more drawings exhibited in dealers’ shops, particularly those owned by Durand-Ruel. Via contact with Durand-Ruel archives, they are not aware of any drawings exhibited by Degas.

<sup>273</sup> Appendix E lists all the locations in which Degas drawings were exhibited during his lifetime.

<sup>274</sup> The following are the paintings that Degas exhibited in the official Salon, followed by their identifying number in the *Catalogue Raisonné* by Lemoisne: Scene of steeple-chase (horses), oil on canvas, 1866 Salon, National Gallery, D.C. (L140); Bellilli Portrait, oil on canvas, 1867 Salon, (L126); Mlle Fiocre at the Ballet, oil on canvas, 1868 Salon, Brooklyn Museum, (L146); Portrait of Woman, oil, Salon 1869, Gardner Museum (L165); Portrait of Mme C. (Mme Camus), oil on canvas, Salon 1870, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (L271). Degas also exhibited Mme. Camus in the Impressionist exhibition of 1876.



Figure 6.6. Edgar Degas, *Scène de guerre au Moyen Age*, 1865.

Degas's first artwork accepted by the Salon was in 1865, and it was submitted under the descriptor of drawing (fig. 6.6).<sup>275</sup> Intriguingly, Degas labeled this artwork a pastel even though it was made of oil and essence; according to Salon regulations, it should have been categorized as a painting.<sup>276</sup><sup>277</sup> The categorization by the artist of this artwork as a drawing rather than a painting may indicate that he already submitted the maximum number of paintings for consideration,<sup>278</sup> that he did not think his work would have as much of a chance being accepted under the paintings category, or that he changed the artwork he was going to originally exhibit, something he was known to do later in the Impressionist exhibitions. This last possibility is

<sup>275</sup> It is not known whether Degas submitted artworks to the Salon that were not accepted. While records were kept during the time when the Salon was held at the Louvre, which tracked which works were submitted and the jury's votes, no records survive from when the Salon took place at the Palais de l'Industrie.

<sup>276</sup> *Scène de guerre au Moyen Age* is categorized as a painting by the Musée d'Orsay, who owns the artwork (RF 2208). *Peinture à l'essence* is made by wicking the oil component out of oil paint and then diluting it with turpentine. In the Salon rules, works made of essence, whether on paper or another base, and whether sketchy or seemingly finished, were not placed with drawings, but were placed with paintings.

<sup>277</sup> A form was filled out by each artist who submitted an artwork to the Salon; the form determined the medium that would be listed for that artwork in the Salon catalog.

<sup>278</sup> In the Salon of 1865, artists were limited from submitting more than two artworks per category, and paintings and drawings were considered separate categories as well as the category under which the artwork would be judged. To better understand the workings of the Salon, see Chapter 3.

doubtful though because the subject matter of this work is so unique in his oeuvre that it seems unlikely he would have had other artworks with a similar theme.

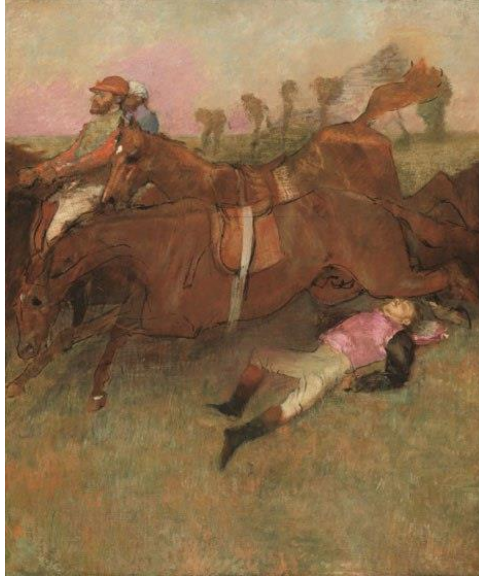


Figure 6.7. Degas, *Scene from the Steeplechase: The Fallen Jockey*, 1866, reworked 1880-81 and 1897. Oil on canvas. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

The first artwork by Degas accepted into the painting section of the Salon was in 1866: a scene of a Jockey having just fallen off of his horse (fig. 6.7). Although made in oil, and as such considered a painting under the categorization of works within the Salon, the work looks like a sketch, with bold outlines of the horse, for example, and so has qualities of a drawing. The following year, at the Salon of 1867, he exhibited *Portrait of the Bellelli Family* (fig. 6.8), which may offer some insight into Degas's execution, framing, and hanging of drawings. While subject of this oil is his Aunt's family, within the scene is a drawing of Degas's grandfather. Hanging on the wall, the portrait pays to his grandfather but also functions as an observer of the tense relationships between the living foursome. It is possible that this portrait made in sanguine or red chalk may have existed, as Degas made several studies of his grandfather. His grandfather had recently passed away when this painting was completed, so the framed drawing on the wall also



represents a kind of effigy; the faded, less defined aspect of drawing creates a metaphor for the grandfather's distance. However, this painting also affords us a window into of how drawings were framed and hung during the period; in this case, the paper artwork is surrounded by a large blue mat and a traditional gold frame.



Figure 6.8. Degas, *Bellelli Family*, 1866-1867

In the Salon of 1870, Degas had two portraits accepted; one was a pastel submitted to the drawing section, and the other was a painting. The pastel was one of several studies of Berthe Morisot's sister Yves (Mme Théodore Gobbillard) (fig. 6.9).<sup>279</sup> With this pastel, Degas did not hesitate to exhibit something that might be considered unfinished. Although there is substantial detail, such as smoothness in the face and believable texture in the hair, there are also many areas in which the tan paper shows through or strokes created by the pastel remain untouched. The placement of Degas's signature, along the same horizontal region as the definitively sketchy black garment, confirms that Degas would not have covered any of these unpolished areas with a frame and instead saw them as part of the completed work.

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<sup>279</sup> *Madame Théodore Gobbillard (Yves Morisot)* is now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1976.201.8). Degas gave this pastel to Berthe Morisot.



Figure 6.9. Degas, *Madame Théodore Gobillard (Yves Morisot)*, 1869.

Degas's submissions to the Salon show his ambivalence over what constituted a painting versus a drawing. This rejection, or possible disdain, for conforming to the limitations of definitions that had been assigned to media continued when he exhibited with the Impressionists. Degas exhibited four drawings in the Impressionists' first exhibition in 1874, only one of which has been identified (fig. 6.10). Described by one critic as a robust and frank laundress,<sup>280</sup> the worker in this pastel appears as tough and gritty as the texture of the art itself; Degas has laid bare his textural process of creation, uninterested in hiding any pentimenti, such as the movement of her left arm, or the paper underneath.<sup>281</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Léon de Lora, "Petites Nouvelles artistiques: Exposition libre des peintres" *Le Gaulois* (April, 18, 1874): 3.

<sup>281</sup> Leroy stated, "La blanchisseuse, si mal blanchie, de Degas, lui faisait pousser des cris d'admiration. The laundress, so badly bleached, Degas, made him push cries of admiration."





Figure 6.10. Edgar Degas, *Laundress*, 1869.



Figure 6.11. Degas, *Rehearsal of the Ballet on the Stage*.

*Rehearsal of the Ballet on Stage* (fig. 6.11), also shown in 1874, was done in grisaille with oil and the stage set in particular is quite sketchy. In fact, critical reviews of this artwork did not realize it was a painting, one describing it as made with sepia ink.<sup>282</sup> This work by Degas might be seen as a nod to old masters who were praised for using grisailles to give the illusion of sculpture. However, this work can also be seen in light of Degas's endless experimentation.

<sup>282</sup> Philip Burty, "Exposition de la société anonyme des artistes" *La Republique française* (April 25, 1874): 2.

Throughout his career, Degas, more than any other artist of his time, shattered the separation between drawing and painting. He disregarded concerns for such labels, frequently not identifying media when listing his works in catalogs.

In the second Impressionist exhibition, held in 1876, Degas exhibited few drawings: one pastel, one laundress, and two croquis of dancers; these last two are the only drawings from this exhibition to have been identified.<sup>283</sup> Drawn with sepia and thinned oil paint on pink paper, the dancers are quite still and statuesque while also being young and graceful. One critic may have been referring to these works when he described Degas as having an “unfortunate weakness for pink-skirted dancers and yawning laundresses.”<sup>284</sup> In reviews of in this exhibition, critics often commented on the unfinished quality in general Degas’s works – both drawings and paintings:

“It is unfortunate that his execution is always so inadequate.”<sup>285</sup>

“It is hard to explain why Degas...felt that he had to make concessions elsewhere to the school of spots (or taches).”<sup>286</sup>

“What is annoying is the way (Degas) spoils everything as soon as he puts the finishing touches on a work. As a result, his paintings are only sketches.”<sup>287</sup>

“He more often throws his sketches on to the canvas than takes time to finish them”<sup>288</sup>

“...though we encountered some excellent sketches (in the room of Degas artworks), we did not see a truly finished painting...”<sup>289</sup>

“...these are merely suggestions – are they enough to make a painting?”<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>283</sup> J.K. Huysmans commented that, “le torso de la femme penchée en avant et deux dessins sur papier rose, où une ballerina vue de dos et une autre qui rattache son soulier, sont enlevées avec une souplesse et une vigueur peu communes.” see “L’Exposition des indépendants en 1880” *L’Art modern* (1883) translated in Berson, *Documentation*, 85.

<sup>284</sup> Charles Bigot, *La Revue Politique et Littéraire*, (April 8, 1876): 171

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Marius Chaumelin, *La Gazette (des Etrangers)* (April 8, 1876) from TNP, 171.

<sup>287</sup> Emile Zola, *Le Messenger de l’Europe* (June 1876) from TNP, 171.

<sup>288</sup> Philippe Burty, *The Academy* (April 15, 1876) from TNP, 172.

<sup>289</sup> Emile Blémont, *Le Rappel* (April 9, 1876) from TNP, 176.

<sup>290</sup> G. d’Olby, *Le Pays* (April 10, 1876) from TNP, 174.

While it is commonly known that the Impressionists were regarded as revolutionary for the sketchy and unfinished quality of their works, I am addressing here the link to those descriptors with the act of drawing, how the lines between drawing and painting began to blur during this period, and how Degas was one of the most influential drivers of this change.



Figure 6.12. Degas, *Woman Emerging from the Bath*, 1876, Orsay

By the third exhibition of the Impressionists, in 1877, one third of the artworks Degas exhibited were pastels; the identities of nine have been suggested. Of those, all but one of them were actually pastel over monotype.<sup>291</sup> A smear from the monotype process is left revealed on the right wall of the Musée d'Orsay's *Woman Emerging from the Bath* (fig. 6.12). In *Café-Concert* (fig. 6.13), the stage figures are all finished heavily in colorful pastel, enhancing their clarity as the figures in the light, while the orchestra and audience are largely in black and neutrals. Some of the areas with more black are where the uncovered monotype can still be seen; for example, in the scratch marks above the musician's head and below the lamp. Degas also frequently altered the size of his artworks after already laying out a composition. For example,

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<sup>291</sup> Degas did not identify medium in the catalog.

by adding a strip of paper across the top of *Café-Concert*, he changed the parameters of the composition. In many of the drawings exhibited in 1877, the background monotype can barely be seen, making it all the more intriguing that Degas chose so often chose to use a monotype at all as a base for his pastels.



Figure 6.13 Degas, *Café-Concert*, 1876-77, National Gallery of Art (formerly Corcoran)



Figure 6.14. Degas, *Aria after the Opera*. Dallas Museum of Art

At least fifteen of the artworks Degas exhibited to the fourth Impressionist exhibition, in 1879, were some form of drawing. In *Aria After the Opera* (fig. 6.14). Degas made this monotype with the largest plate he is known to have used at 23 ½" x 29 ½"; in person one can



see the marks created by the pressure of the plate on the edges of the artwork. The figures and instruments in the foreground are colored in pastel, while the background is painted with gouache. In general, however, he veered away from exhibiting as many pastelled monotypes as he had in 1877; he would return to this combination of materials again heavily in the 1890's when creating over fifty landscapes.

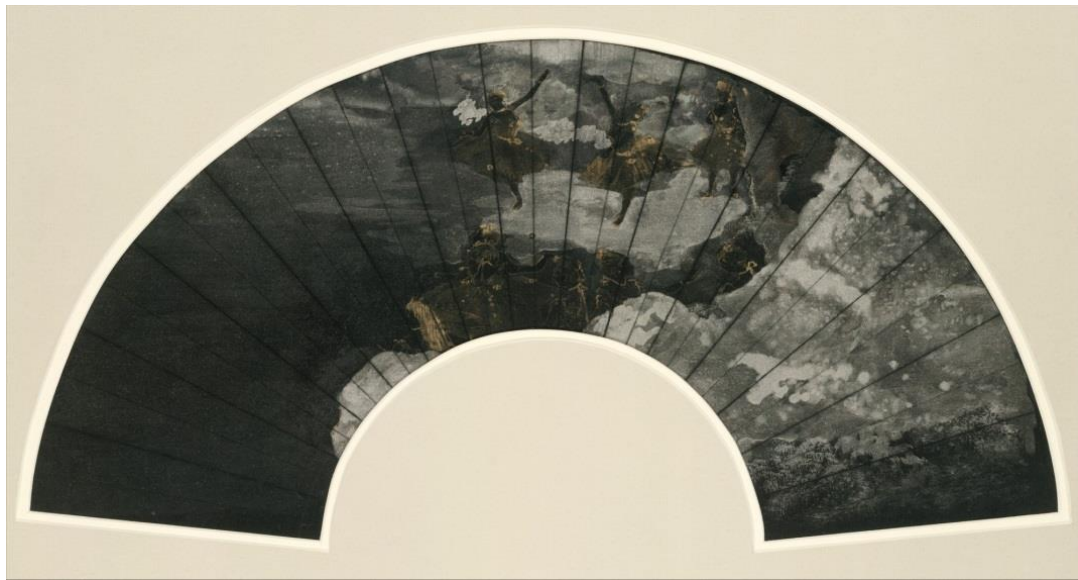


Figure 6.15. Degas, *Fan Mount: The Ballet*, 1879

Also for the fourth exhibition, Degas envisioned an entire room filled with fans including his own work as well as those of Forain and Pissarro. Degas made at least 19 fans between 1878 and 1880, partially because he needed to increase his income and they were less costly and easier to sell.<sup>292</sup> One stunning silk fan by Degas that was in this 1879 exhibition was purchased by Mrs. Havemeyer and later donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 6.15).<sup>293</sup> This fan is quite unique in its materials and composition. Painted on a rich black watercolor background, described by one scholar as looking like lacquer, the figures are drawn in black India ink and

<sup>292</sup> Marc Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," *The Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (Mar. 1982): 105-118.

<sup>293</sup> The fan was first owned by Hector Brame, sold to Durand-Ruel, and purchased by Havemeyer in 1895, fourteen years prior to her purchase of the fan from Mary Cassatt.

highlighted with gold composed of copper and zinc.<sup>294</sup> Silver, made of tin, was sprinkled and spread throughout the scene, creating a wonderfully mysterious suggestion of a stage set or elements of nature such as clouds or the ocean. Degas did not create fans to be folded for actual use, as this one appears to be. Gerstein asserted that the lines, which differentiate in width, were added in black ink to “render an illusion of projecting and receding folds.”<sup>295</sup>



Figure 6.16. Mary Cassatt, *Young Woman in Black*

Another fan in the 1879 exhibition was given as a gift to Mary Cassatt by Degas. Cassatt’s *Young Woman in Black* (fig. 6.16) depicts this fan, shown with a white mat and a thin, almost non-existent, frame. Later in 1912, Cassatt arranged for Durand-Ruel to sell it. “In my opinion,” she wrote, “the fan is the most beautiful one that Degas painted. I imagine it is unquestionably valuable – I have thought twenty-five thousand – in view of the fact that it belongs to the period of the ‘dancers at the bar.’ It was exhibited in 1879.”<sup>296</sup> Unable to sell the

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<sup>294</sup> Pantazzi in Boggs, *Degas*, 326, note 1.

<sup>295</sup> Pantazzi in Boggs, *Degas*, 325,-6 incorrectly remarked that the fan was actually folded. Upon close inspection in person it is clear that the “folds” are indeed just drawn.

<sup>296</sup> Pantazzi in Boggs, *Degas*, 324.

fan, Durand-Ruel returned it to Mary Cassatt but accepted it again six years later. It was then purchased by Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer in 1919, who included it in her bequest to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

In 1879, the portrait of the writer Louis Emile Edmond Duranty was a notable inclusion. In 1876, Duranty had written an essay entitled “The New Painting” about the Impressionists in which he emphasized the talent of Degas,

...the series of new ideas was formed above all in the mind of a draftsman...a man of the rarest talent and rarest intellect.” “Drawing,” he states, “is such an individual and indispensable means of expression that one cannot demand from it methods, techniques, or point of view. It fuses with its goal, and remains the inseparable companion of the idea.”<sup>297</sup>

Degas’s portrait of Duranty, made with pastel, tempera, watercolor, and charcoal on linen, shows great respect for the intellectual, who is surrounded by books and stacks of paper, and has his hand on his temple as if deep in thought. Degas exhibited this work again in 1880 to pay homage to Duranty, who died less than a month before the fifth Impressionist exhibition.



Figure 6.17. Degas, *Le Coucher*, c. 1880

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<sup>297</sup> Louis Emile Edmond Duranty, “The New Painting: Concerning the Group of Artists Exhibiting at the Durand-Ruel Galleries,” 1876.

The only identified drawings by Degas from the fifth exhibition, in 1880, are all pastel.<sup>298</sup> Degas openly revealed his artistic process in some of these works; for example, *Le Coucher* (fig. 6.17), of a woman looking in the mirror, is filled with pastel strokes that look like scratch marks on the woman's back; the figure is boldly outlined in black and the background is seemingly a hurried suggestion of blue wallpaper, with the tan paper underneath clearly visible. Pentimenti are also clearly visible in *Dance Examination*, exhibited in 1880, (fig. 6.18). One can see that the angle of the floor was altered, and the older woman's hat was originally higher.<sup>299</sup>



Figure 6.18. Degas, *Dance Examination*, 1880

For the sixth Impressionist exhibition, in 1881, Degas exhibited all eight of his works in a room painted yellow;<sup>300</sup> most notable to the critics was his sculpture of a fourteen-year-old ballet dancer. Degas also displayed two drawn studies of criminals. Critics surmised that these were

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<sup>298</sup> There were, however, a handful of other drawings that were not identified by medium or title in the catalog.

<sup>299</sup> It is unclear how much of this is due to age and, therefore, how much would have been noticeable when originally exhibited.

<sup>300</sup> Wissmann, argued that Degas surely, based on reviews, brought in more artworks after the exhibition started, TNP, 340.



portraits of actual men who were then on trial at the time for the murder of three people, one of which was a bookseller who lived near Degas. These studies of physiognomy were compared to the “animalistic” features of the sculpture of the young girl.

Due to conflicts with other members of the group, Degas did not exhibit in the 1882 Impressionist exhibition. In 1886, Degas received the most critical attention of his career for his drawings in the final Impressionist exhibition, in which he created a suite of female nudes in scenes surrounding the act of bathing. Tinterow argued that Degas made nudes for the 1886 exhibition in varying degrees of quality and finish with the intention that only the more finished ones would sell.<sup>301</sup> Degas exhibited approximately 10 of the 15 works listed in the catalog, seven of which have been identified by scholars based on reviews.<sup>302</sup> Many critics considered the works in this series to be highly obscene, and emphasized the unattractive qualities of the women:

“He has hidden none of her froglike aspects.”

“These vulgar bodies are detailed with an arrogant and repugnant truth...One could not characterize this violent photographs as nudes. It is nakedness, a nakedness not enlivened by any touch of obscenity, a somber and gloomy nakedness, a taciturn indecency, a sad bestiality.”

“The line of this cruel and wise observer elucidates, through difficult and wildly elliptical foreshortenings, the mechanics of movement...From this comes the definitive unity of his drawing.”<sup>303</sup>

“Drawing had been lost, it needed to be rediscovered. When I look at these nudes, I am moved to shout – it has indeed been rediscovered.”<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Tinterow in Boggs, *Degas*, 371-372.

<sup>302</sup> Tinterow in Boggs, *Degas*, 385, lists seven of the nudes that can be definitively based on reviews.

<sup>303</sup> Fénéon 1886, translated in Tinterow in Boggs, *Degas*, 368.

<sup>304</sup> “Degas von Paul Gauguin,” *Kunst und Künstler* X (1912): 341; translation under Tinterow in Boggs, *Degas*, 368.

*The Morning Bath* (fig. 6.19) was the most discussed of Degas's nudes. The critic George Moore described it as: "The *chef d'oeuvre* is the short-legged lump of human flesh who, her back turned to us, grips her flanks with both hands. The effect is prodigious. Degas has done what Baudelaire did – he has invented *un frisson nouveau*."<sup>305</sup> The strong contours of the figure led one critic to remark, "The characteristic line of Ingres, whose student Degas once was, is revealed to be pure, confident, and rare under the pencil as it inscribes this fat bourgeoisie ready for bed."<sup>306</sup> Like many of his pastels in the 1880's, this is drawn on commercially prepared academy pulpboard, in contrast to the joined paper he preferred in the 1870's and 1890's.<sup>307</sup>

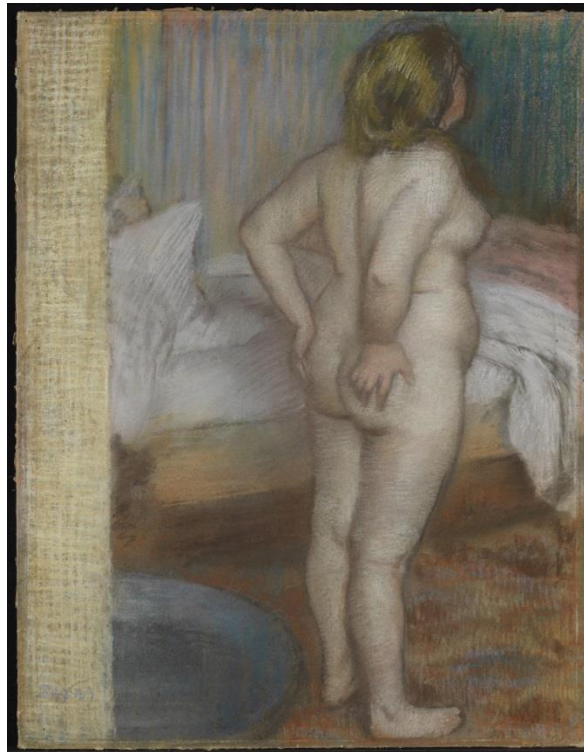


Figure 6.19. Degas, *The Morning Bath*, 1876-77

<sup>305</sup> *The Bat* (25 May 1886): 185.

<sup>306</sup> Paul Adam, *La Revue Contemporaine, Littéraire, Politique et Philosophique* (April 1886). Translated in TNP, 454.

<sup>307</sup> Boggs, *Degas*, 446 states, "The principal features were blocked in with chalk that he applied broadly and then rubbed or stumped; details or highlights were afterward made in the topmost layer with short, parallel strokes." Consider and reword to describe process and use of line."

The late 1880's saw a sprinkling of Degas drawings across the globe. Durand-Ruel held an exhibition at White's Gallery in London in which at least three Degas pastels were included. In 1886, 23 works by Degas were exhibited in New York in the exhibition *Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris*, first at the American Art Galleries and then at the National Academy of Design.<sup>308</sup> In 1887, two Degas racehorse pastels were exhibited at Moore's Gallery in NY.<sup>309</sup> In 1888, a series of Degas nudes was shown at Boussod et Valadon, then managed by Theo van Gogh. Five of these can be identified by reviews and letters.<sup>310</sup> In 1889, Degas drawings owned by Gauguin were shown at the Copenhagen Art Society exhibition. One such painting, *Danseuse ajustant son chausson* was probably a trade between the artists.<sup>311</sup> Also in 1889, one Degas pastel was lent by Durand-Ruel to the Interstate Industrial Exposition in Chicago. Notably, Degas was not involved in the execution of any of these displays.

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<sup>308</sup> For reviews see: Venturi, Vol. I (1939), 77-78; *The Critic* (17 April, 1886): 95-96; *The Mail and Express* (April 21, 1886): 3; *The Tribune* (April 26, 1886).

<sup>309</sup> See list of exhibitions from Gary Tinterow, "*Degas aux expositions impressionist*" *Degas inédit* (1989): 289-351. One of these sold for \$400. See review in Montezuma, "My Notebook," *Art Notebook* 17 (June 1887): 2; *New York Times* (May 7, 1887): 5.

<sup>310</sup> The known works are: The Thorn (L1089), maybe the Tub (L876), maybe the Bath (L1010), Kneeling Nude (L1008), Woman Getting Out of the Bath, (L891).

<sup>311</sup> Traded in 1880-1881 for Gauguin's still-life *Sur une chaise*, which had been exhibited in the Impressionist exhibition of 1881, no. 34. This pastel is seen in Gauguin's painting *Nature morte with Flowers* now in Mellon Collection.



Figure 6.20. Edgar Degas, Autumn Landscape, monotype. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

In November of 1892, at the Paris gallery of Durand-Ruel, Degas held his first solo exhibition.<sup>312</sup> Exhibiting a subject he had rarely explored, Degas exhibited 25 monotypes, which he called “imaginary landscapes” (fig. 6.20). Richard Kendall determined that more than 50 landscape monotypes were made from three plates, largely made from the week Degas spent with the Jeannot family in Burgandy during October of 1890. Over the next two years he made about 20 more. Some scholars have attempted to ascertain which of these over 70 landscapes were the 25 Degas selected for exhibition; however, unless a mark from Durand Ruel’s gallery is on the back of a work, it is difficult if not impossible to know for sure.<sup>313</sup>

<sup>312</sup> See Richard Kendall’s chapter on the 1892 exhibition in Kendall, *Degas Landscapes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). In this chapter, Kendall identifies what he believes to be many of the works in the 1892 exhibition. L1036-1042;1045-1056;1049,1051-52.

<sup>313</sup> However, other scholars have argued that the precise monotypes shown are still uncertain. See Hauptman, Jodi. *Degas: A Strange New Beauty*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2016.

Pierre-Georges Jeannot recalled Degas's working process in which he worked from memory when making these landscape monotypes, "he would ask for some pastel to finish the monotypes, and it was there, even more than in the making of the proof, that I admired his taste, his imagination, and the freshness of his recollections. He remembered the variety of forms, the structure of terrain, the unexpected oppositions and contrasts; it was delightful!"<sup>314</sup> Degas saw himself as an inventor of a new technique.<sup>315</sup> This 1892 exhibition was unique not only for the subject matter of landscape, rare in Degas's oeuvre, and for the medium, pastel over monotype, but for Degas's rare desire to allow his works to be exhibited.

Degas's first exhibition in the United States was on Fifth Avenue and arranged by Durand Ruel; some drawings from this exhibition can be identified through contemporary photographs (fig. 6.21).<sup>316</sup> One of these photographs shows how some of Degas's monotype landscapes that were in the 1892 Paris exhibition were rehung in New York in 1901.<sup>317</sup>



Figure 6.21. Anonymous, Degas Exhibition at the Durand-Ruel Gallery, New York, c. 1901

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<sup>314</sup> Kendall, *Landscapes*, 213, suggests that Degas also worked from photographs.

<sup>315</sup> Theodore Reff suggested his pastel over monotype is due to trying to imitate Venetians. See Reff, *Degas: The Artist's Mind* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 296.

<sup>316</sup> See Appendix E for drawings identified in this exhibition.

<sup>317</sup> L1036, L1037, and L1039 are three that were in the 1901 exhibition that Kendall also argues were in the 1892 show.

In February, 1905, Durand-Ruel arranged an exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in London, which contained 35 of Degas's along with works by Boudin, Cézanne, and others. Degas's second solo exhibition took place in 1911 at the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard. However, Degas did not participate in any way with this exhibition, and there is no evidence that he even knew it took place. Louisine Havemeyer included 24 Degas works in an exhibition she organized in 1915 in New York that was to raise awareness about women's suffrage. One of these was *Song of the Dog* (fig. 6.22).<sup>318</sup>

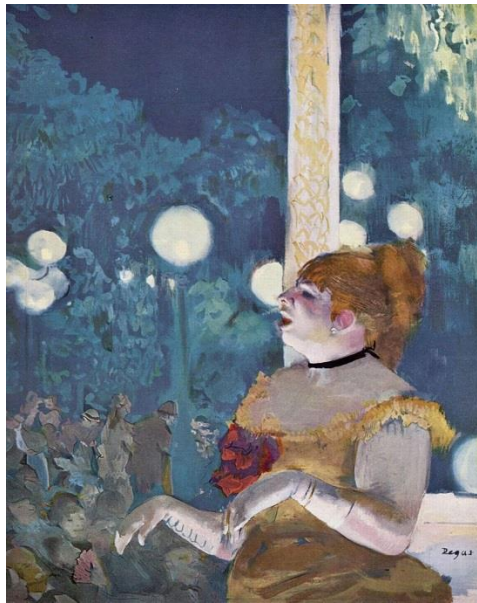


Figure 6.22. Edgar Degas, *Song of the Dog*, 1879.

According to Mrs. Havemeyer's description, "There is nothing elegant about this woman's pose. Her hands suggest the movement of a dog (from a popular song of the period)

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<sup>318</sup> The artwork was in the collection of Henri Rouart, whose collection was auctioned off upon his death in 1912. This work was purchased by Paul Durand-Ruel for Mrs. Louisine Havemeyer for 55,100 Francs. This was one of the few works in the Havemeyer collection that was not donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art; it was instead passed to Louisine's son Horace, and later to his widow Doris Dick Havemeyer, who died in 1982. The *Song of the Dog* was once again on the auction block and sold for \$3.4 million to Wendell Charr. It is now in another Private Collection.

and the gesture is done as only Degas could do it with a flash of drawing.” For this work, a drawing was transferred to a lithographic stone and printed. Degas then marked it with gouache and pastel and enlarged the support.

### *Conclusion*

Degas died on September 27, 1917, and a posthumous exhibition of the works found in his studio was held at Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 4-8, 1918. Degas had even wanted to control who would see his creations after his death. He would have been mortified to know that his friend Ernest Rouart neglected to destroy many of Degas’s drawings after his death, which he had entrusted him to do.<sup>319</sup> Valéry refers to this in letter describing the sale of Degas’s studio,

Disaster. The Degas exhibition. It’s treason. When one thinks that he planned to commit to Ernest the task of filtering things out of his atelier, of burning a lot...then he became senile. All the promises that he wanted were made to him, and now that he is dead he has been submitted to everything he detested: his collection sold; the B[ernheims] placed in charge of his sale; his sketches exhibited and placed on auction. The exhibition was painful to me, and the sale yesterday was exasperating.<sup>320</sup>

Degas not only saved his own works, but was an art collector himself and planned to create a museum of his collection. At least 155 drawings made by modern artists from his collection were auctioned after his death. In terms of drawings owned by Degas of earlier or older artists, Delacroix and Ingres were the most collected: 34 drawings by Ingres and 57 by Delacroix were identified in the posthumous sale.<sup>321</sup> Degas also collected drawings from his

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<sup>319</sup> Gary Tinterow, “Degas’s Degases” *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas*, Ann Dumas, et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 91.

<sup>320</sup> In letter to Gide, translated in Tinterow, *Collector*, 91.

<sup>321</sup> It can be difficult to trace down these drawings and the many more that he probably owned because the Degas atelier stamp was often placed on the mounts rather directly on the drawings. However, sometimes labels from the sale survive, which were placed on the backing of framed works on paper. Colta Ives, et al. *The Private Collection*

contemporaries, many of him he had exhibited with: Eugene Bodin, Félix Braquemond, Mary Cassatt, Paul Cézanne, Honoré Daumier, Jean-Louis Forain, Paul Gauguin, Ludovic-Napoléon Lepic, Edouard Manet, Suzanne Valadon. Degas took particular care of his drawings, “The disorder that reigned in the studio was only an illusion. The dusty boxes contained series of studies and drawings that formed a homogeneous and harmonious ensemble. He liked to put his early drawings with those he had done much later, and he would complete the series with the one he considered the definitive expression of one of these visions.”<sup>322</sup> In his own home, Degas hung his own works along those of older masters.

While other artists were challenging the superiority of painting over drawing, Degas was creating works that could be defined as both or neither a painting and/or a drawing. The uniqueness of his works made a quantitative study particularly challenging because the data itself could not be labeled. Yet, this challenge emphasized the unique quality of this artist’s works. The evidence shows that Degas was only able to curate his own works in the Impressionist exhibitions and, perhaps, the 1892 exhibition of landscape monotypes at Durand-Ruel’s gallery. What is evident, however, is that Degas was passionate about how art should be displayed, and saw the exhibition of works as an art form in itself, one that should be used by artists to extend the presentation of their work.

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of *Edgar Degas: A Summary Catalogue*, (New York, 1997), vii. This supplement to the exhibition *The Private Collection of Edgar Degas* lists at least 207 drawings by Delacroix and 84 by Ingres that were likely owned by Degas.

<sup>322</sup> P. Romanelli, “Comment j’ai connu Degas,” *Le Figaro littéraire* (March 13, 1937) 6. Translated in Dumas, *Collector*, 24.



## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION

Drawings played an enormous role in the financial well-being of French artists working from 1860-1890. The names of the majority of the thousands of artists that exhibited drawings have been temporarily lost or forgotten. It is hoped that results discovered from this project will awaken an interest in these artists, and that this will lead to a more complete picture of the nineteenth-century art world. This research reveals, as well, that many artists who are known for their paintings in the Salon were active in other media as well.

Édouard Detaille was an exemplary artist that took advantage of the many exhibition opportunities for drawings in Paris in the last third of the nineteenth century. Trained by Ernest Meissonier as a painter, Detaille was known for his incredibly detailed military scenes and portraits of soldiers. By the end of his career, he had participated heavily in many of the exhibitions discussed in this study. Although Detaille built his reputation as a successful Salon painter, his bread and butter came from the exhibition and sale of works on paper.

His first success in the Salon was a painting of his teacher's atelier; *A Corner of Meissonier's Studio*, which was exhibited in the Salon of 1867. For several years he continued to exhibit several painted military scenes, winning a medal for *Repose During the Maneuvers at Saint-Maur* in 1869. Thus, by 1870 he was already exempt from submitting to the jury in order to hang at the Salon.<sup>323</sup> He also submitted drawings to the Salon in 1875, 1877, 1878, and 1880.

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<sup>323</sup> His painting *The Dream* shows French troops from the Franco-Prussian War asleep and dreaming of victory or revenge. This oil painting won a medal in the Salon of 1888, was purchased by the government, and re-exhibited in the 1889 Exposition Universelle.

In the Salon of 1878, Detaille exhibited one painting of Napoleon in Egypt, and two watercolors, one of which was a military scene. The government purchased his other watercolor, the extraordinary *Inauguration of the Opera House; Arrival of the Lord Mayor's Procession* (fig. 7.1). The 20" x 25" highly finished work is a study in black and white; the bright white, especially noticeable next to the slightly off-white paper not painted in parts, is probably more of a gouache.



Figure 7.1. Édouard Detaille, *Inauguration of the Opera House; Arrival of the Lord Mayor's Procession*, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1875.

Around this time, Detaille also began exhibiting drawings outside of the Salon. In 1877, he submitted a drawing to the Cercle des Mirlitons. One British critic praised his work and ability to grow his career,

The great pupil follows close in the footsteps of his great master, Meissonier. The drawings of horses and figures alike is bold, vigorous, and correct; while the effect of colour produced by the gay tints of the uniforms, relieved against the weather-stained timbers of the old mill, is very admirably managed. Seven years ago such a picture as this from the pencil of the boy-artist could have been purchased for \$300; now it will readily command at least ten times as much. And his success has been legitimately won by sheer force of talent, and by the simple process of exhibiting his works at the *Salon*. No dealer *à la mode* ever puffed his pictures into popular favour. He did the best thing he could do, and set it where all men could see it – that was all.<sup>324</sup>

Detaille also exhibited three pen and ink drawings and some croquis at the held at L'École des Beaux-Arts's 1884 exhibition, which was designed to highlight the continuation of the talent of old masters with the skills of modern artists. All of these were military scenes.

Detaille became an active member of the Société des aquarellistes français, exhibiting 60 works with them between 1879 and 1896.<sup>325</sup> He was one of the more well-regarded artists to exhibit there, as is clear from an illustration of the event printed in *La Vie parisienne* in 1882 (Figs. 4.4 and 4.7). In the premiere exhibition, one critic gushed about the artist's seven drawings describing them as, "unrivalled examples of Detaille's executive power on a small scale. Detaille has too much talent to follow in the track of even of the great Meissonier."<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Lucy H. Hopper, "Paris Art-News. The Exhibition at the Cercle Des Mirlitons." *The Art Journal* (1875-1877) Vol. 3 (1877): 154.

<sup>325</sup> The French Watercolor Society is discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>326</sup> Unnamed, "The French Water-colour Society", *The Architect*, April, 26, 1879, 243.

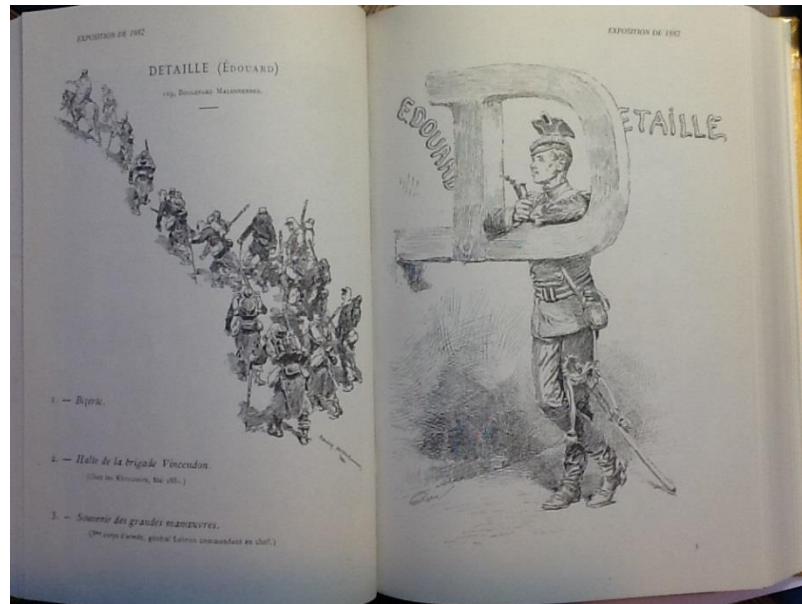


Figure 7.2. Édouard Detaille, catalog for *Société des aquarellistes français* exhibition, 1882.

Detaille's reputation continued to be based on military scenes, which he himself promoted as is shown in his catalog entries for the watercolor exhibitions (fig. 7.2). In 1870 he had enlisted in the Franco-Prussian War and made endless sketches of maneuvers, soldiers, and equipment; his skills were also utilized to create maps of the land.<sup>327</sup> In 1885, his works detailing French military uniforms since 1789 were published in a book called *L'Armée Française*. Detaille became so well known for his studies of soldiers and military uniforms that in 1912 he was hired to create new uniforms for the French Army. Although Detaille's fame may have started at the Salon, he was able to make a career through the medium of drawing.

On a primary level, this dissertation discovered and analyzed Parisian exhibitions of drawings that took place between 1860 and 1890. It has been shown that thousands of drawings were exhibited in both the public and private spheres, and that a shift occurred in this period in which drawings became an increasingly desired art form. Methodologically, however, this

<sup>327</sup> Frédéric Vors, "Edouard Jean-Baptiste Detaille," *The Art Amateur* 1, No. 5 (Oct. 1879): 92.

project explored the benefits and limitations of including quantitative analysis in art historical studies.

Near the turn of the previous century, 1797, the French government signaled a new respect for works on paper by presenting the first exhibition on drawings in the Louvre. Analysis of the state-sponsored exhibitions later in the century was enhanced by being able to do comparisons: works by living artists were compared with those that were displayed by old masters; nationalist participation was studied at World's Fairs; and examples of the French competing with both the Italian and British successes were shown.

The Salon catalogs provided a deluge of data, which led to discoveries about the nature of drawings that were exhibited. The data about drawings showed: submission regulations greatly affected the number of works and artists that were represented; watercolor was the dominant medium presented; and women participated in this section more than any other. This case study exemplified the benefit of quantitative analysis to determine qualities of artworks that we can no longer see.

The catalogs of exhibitions instigated by private artist societies did not contain much smaller data sets. Yet, quantitative analysis revealed patterns in how exhibitions grew or altered year to year. The Impressionists' considerable inclusion of works on paper in their exhibitions became undeniable when faced with the data. Importantly, however, these independent exhibitions were no more revolutionary in terms of quantity of drawings than the Salon.

While much of this project focused on the quantity of artists and works more than individual objects and people, one case study involved a single artist. The use of quantitative analysis proved limiting for studying the exhibitions of Edgar Degas. This was in large part due

to Degas's fascination with multi-media, and his desire to switch out works in an exhibition from those that were listed in the coresponding catalog. This dissertation has shown that even when artworks themselves cannot be studied, when biographies of artists are lost, or contemporary reviews are minimal, analysis of data can teach scholars a tremendous amount about art of the past.

## APPENDIX A

### METHODOLOGY

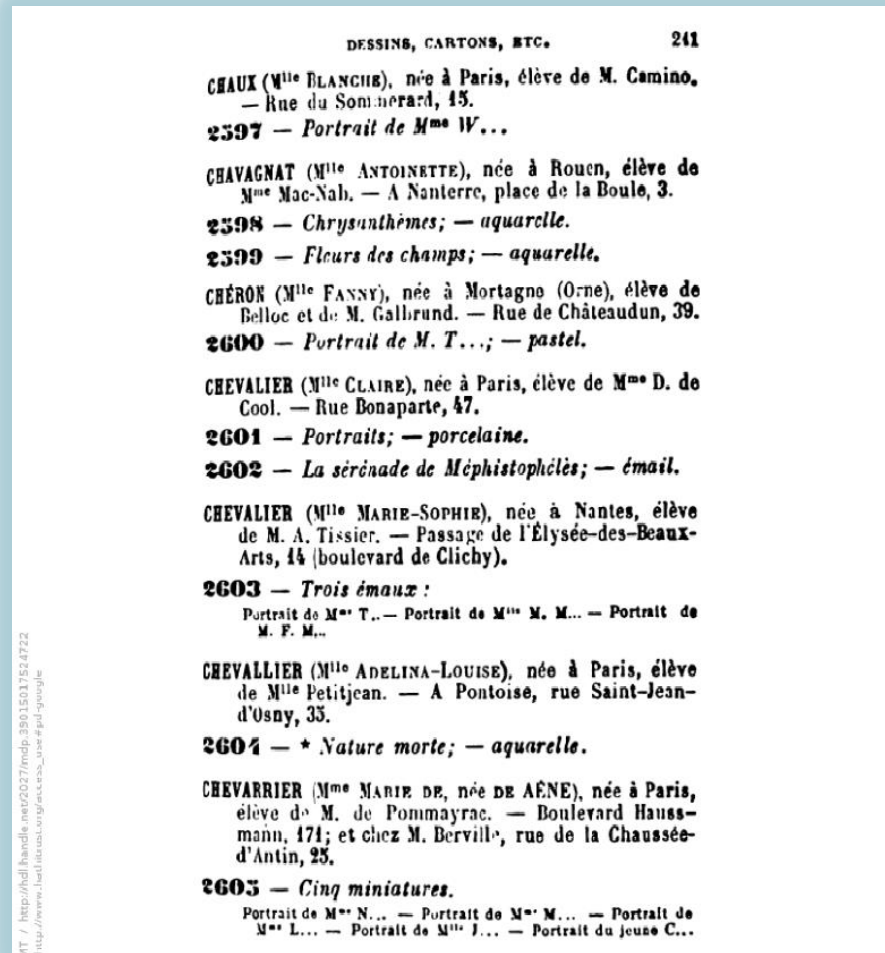


Figure A.1. Page from 1876 Salon Catalog

The most useful sources for this project were exhibition catalogs. The methodology outlined here explains the process used to retrieve data from the Salon livres (fig.A.1); the goal was to get the data from the catalog into an Excel spreadsheet where it could be analyzed for patterns. The process was similar for other exhibition catalogs; however, the Salon retrieval was much more complex because of the large quantity of works. Even a simple count of how many

drawings were in the Salon catalog is not an obvious number to determine. For example, in the 1876 catalog the number of works listed in the drawing section was 933, but this count also included porcelain, stained glass, enamel, etc. It was only after completing the process outlined here that I was able to determine that only 436 of those 933 were drawings.

dessins, cartons, etc. 211

rffAUX (M<sup>lle</sup> BLANCHE), m<sup>re</sup> à Paris, élève de M. Camino.  
— K ne d u Som norard, 15.

2397 — *Portrait de M<sup>m</sup>. 1K...*  
CBAVAGNAT (M<sup>lle</sup> ANTOINETTE), née à Rouen, élève de M<sup>re</sup> Mac-Nab. — A iNanterre, place do la Boule, 3.  
— *Chrysanthèmes*; — *aquarelle*.

3599 — *Fleurs des champs*; — *aquarelle*.  
CHÉRON (M<sup>lle</sup> FANNY), née à Mortagne (Orne), élève de Belloc et d< M. f.albrund. — Rue de Châteaudun, 39.

2G00 — *Portrait de M. T...* — *pastel*.  
CHEVALIER (M<sup>lle</sup> CLAIRE), née à Paris, élève de M<sup>re</sup> D. de Cool. — Rue Bonaparte, 47.

SGOfi — *Portraits*; — *porcelaine*.  
\$GOS — *La sérénade de Mcphistophclès*; — *émail*.  
CHEVALIER (M<sup>lle</sup> MARIE-SOPHIE), née à Nantes, élève de M. A. Tissier. — Passade de l'Élysée-des-Beaux-Arts, 14 (boulevard de Clichy),

2G03 — *Trois émaux* :  
Portrait do M- T... — Portrait de M. M... — Portrait dt M. F. M...  
CHEVALLIER (M<sup>lle</sup> A DELINA-LOUISE), née à Paris, élève de M<sup>lle</sup> Petitjean. — A Pontoise, rue Saint-Jean- d'Usny, 35.

2G04 — \* *Nature morte*; — *aquarelle*.  
CHEVARRIER (M<sup>re</sup> MARIE DE, née DE AfcNE), née a Paris, élève d' M. de Pommayrac. — Boulevard Hauss- mahn, 171; et ciicz M. Bervill\*), rue de la Chaussée- d'Antin, 25.

2G0o — *Cinq miniatures*.  
Portrait de M\*# N... — Portrait de M\*\* M... — Portrait de M\* L... — Portrait de M<sup>lle</sup> J... — Portrait du Jcuno C...

Figure A.2. Catalog page after being read by OCR software ABBYY

The catalog pages (A.1), once scanned into a pdf, were interpreted using OCR (optical recognition) software, the results of which are shown in figure A.2. Due to the old-fashioned font and poor quality of the print, several errors appeared in spelling and numbering. For example, in the case of Mlle Antoinette Chavagnat, her name was read by the software as CBAVAGNAT (Mne Antoinette). I.D. numbers were often incorrect as well; for example, Mlle Chaux's artwork



number 2597 was read by the software as 2397. Thus, the next step was to manually edit each catalog to correct errors such as these.

Because manually correcting the spelling on all the data would have been a very time consuming and, for this purpose, unnecessary process, I made decisions up front as to the information that was (a) most critical and (b) available from the data itself. The editing still took several months of focused work. In being selective in terms of balancing the data that would be most useful with the amount of time one person could devote to editing the data, I determined that the last name was essential but that the first name was not. Initially I wanted to include the subject matter or genre of each artwork, but after the first few catalogs I realized that it was not possible to determine the genre of even half of the drawings just by the title. Thus the value of the data would not be complete. So, I decided to only search for the ones that were portraits, a genre that is always readily apparent in titles. Fortunately for this purpose, the Salon catalog always lists women with Mlle or Mme, making it possible to pull data on the gender of an artist, a patron or teacher, and even on the subject of a portrait. Also, as I went through the data I corrected I.D. #'s and misspellings of media. Critically, I ignored any transcription errors related to works that were not drawings. Figure A.3 shows the catalog page from 1867 after it was manually edited.

Once the data was clean, programming was needed to transfer the data into an Excel spreadsheet. The code was more complex than might be assumed because the data on a catalog page is not organized in a clearcut manner. In order to appreciate the challenge of programmatically transferring this data into Excel, one must understand how the data is structured in the catalog.

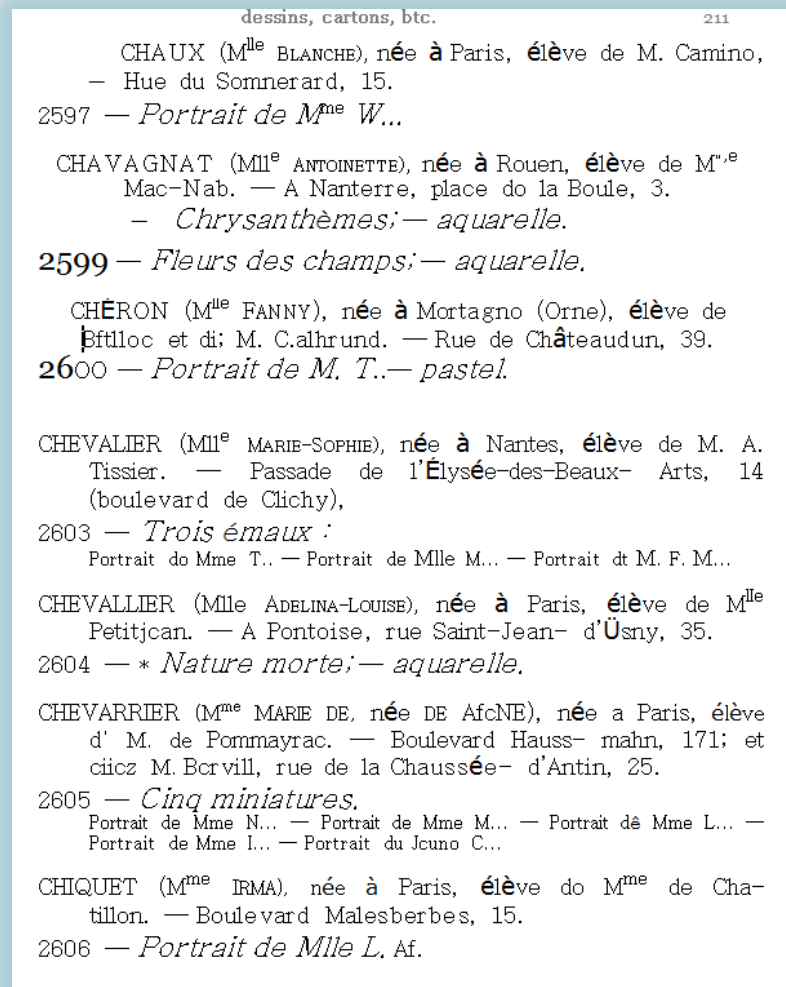


Figure A.3. Catalog page data after manually editing

In the Salon catalogs (fig. A.1), each group of data is organized first by artist, then by individual artwork; in computer terms this creates parent/child relationship where everything should relate to the artist. (Figure A.4 clarifies how data is arranged in the Salon catalogs.) The name of the artist's name, birthplace, gender, location of workshop and work of art are all

children of the artist. However, each work of art creates a new subset, or another parent; each work of art has an I.D., a title, medium, and an \* identifying it as owned by the artist.

ARTIST LAST NAME (Gender, First name), birthplace, name of supporting artist (gender) – location of workshop  ARTWORK # - (possible * if owned by artist) Title – medium.  Location of artwork if owned.  ARTWORK # - (possible * if owned by artist) Title – medium.  Location of artwork if owned.  (Where the artist exhibited elsewhere the Salon)  ARTIST LAST NAME (Gender, First name), birthplace, name of supporting artist (gender) – location of workshop  ARTWORK # - (possible * if owned by artist) Title – medium.  Location of artwork if owned.  ...
---

Figure A.4. Arrangement of data in catalog

Therefore, there are two “parents” or main categories (ARTIST and ARTWORK), and each of these has specific data that is related to it (children), as shown in Figure A.5. Further complicating the issue, the artist may have more than one work of art, which creates inconsistency programmatically. Within the Salon catalog, the information on each “child” is not organized in such a way that it can be easily understood by a program and linked to the correct parent. It becomes particularly tricky, for example, when the part of the data that describes

whether the artist exhibited is located below one or more artworks when it needs to be linked to its parent Artist.

ARTIST: Last name, First name, Gender, birthplace,  
supporter/teacher, supporter's gender, address of workshop,  
whether and where (besides the drawing section) they exhibited  
in the Salon

ARTWORK: ID #, whether the artwork was owned by the  
artist (\*), Title, Medium, if owned by someone and who.

Figure A.5. Criteria garnered from the catalog, organized by artist then artwork

It was also necessary to code the program to ignore the data that I had previously deemed unnecessary; otherwise, works that were not drawings would have been included in the data.

Figure A.6 identifies the data selected for retrieval.

ARTIST: Last name, ~~First name~~, Gender, ~~birthplace~~,  
~~supporter/teacher~~, supporter's gender, ~~address of workshop~~,  
whether and where (besides the drawing section) they exhibited  
in the Salon

ARTWORK: ID #, whether the artwork was owned by the  
artist (\*), ~~Title~~ (unless it said the word portrait), the gender of  
the subject of a portrait, medium, ~~if owned by someone and~~  
~~who~~.

Figure A.6. Selection of desired data

Once the selected data was input into an Excel spreadsheet, it was possible to analyze the data in a variety of ways. The results formed much of the discussion in Chapter 2.

## APPENDIX B

### *DESSINS DE L'ÉCOLES MODERN*

Table B.1. Quantity of drawings exhibited in *dessins de the Écoles modern* Part I (Old Masters), at L'École des Beaux-Arts, 1884, Arranged by Artist

Artist	Quantity of Drawings
Prud'hon	55
Delacroix	40
Ingres	39
Raffet	38
David	36
Delaroche	34
Millet, J-F.	32
Gericault	31
Bellange	18
Viollet-le-Duc	18
Gleyre	16
Regnault	16
Rousseau, T.	16
Fragonard	14
Duplessis-Bertaux	13
Fromentin	13
Gavarni	13
Barye	12
Vernet, H.	12
Charlet	11
Flandrin	11
Latour, M-Q	11
Corot	9

Goya	9
Pils	9
Boulangier	8
Decamps	8
Scheffer	8
Brascassat	7
Chasseriau	7
Granet	7
Huet	7
Benouville	6
Daumier	6
Deveria	6
Duban	6
Unknown	6
Monnier	5
Sechan	5
Vernet, Carle	5
Bonington	4
Bonvin	4
Caraffe	4
Cogniet	4
Couture	4
Dutilleux	4
Gros	4
Jacquemart	4
Jeanron	4
Daubigny	3



Dreux	3
Dubufe	3
Greuze	3
Marilhat	3
Millet, F.	3
Redoute	3
Robert, L.	3
Roberts	3
Spaendonck	3
Aligny	2
Bertin	2
Boilly	2
Brion	2
Butin	2
Fortuny	2
Girodet-Trioson	2
Le Barbier	2
Le Guay	2
Le Peintre	2
Leloir, A.	2
Ouvrie	2
Valenciennes	2
Vernet, C-J.	2
Alaux	1
Barque	1
Boissieu	1
Borel	1

Calamatta	1
Celerier	1
Couder	1
Drouais	1
Fastin-Besson	1
Gerard	1
Girardet	1
Gudin	1
Guerin	1
Guichard	1
Heim	1
Hess	1
Houdon	1
Imer	1
Isabey	1
Johannot, A.	1
Johannot, T.	1
Laemlein	1
Lariviere	1
Lefevre	1
Lepicie	1
Mallet	1
Marchal	1
Moreau	1
Nanteuil	1
Parent	1
Richomme	1

Robert, A.	1
Robert, H.	1
Roqueplan	1
Sellier	1
Tassaert	1
Troyon	1
Wicar	1
Wile	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>756</b>

Table B.2. Media used in *dessins de the Écoles modern* Part I (Old Masters),  
at L'École des Beaux-Arts, 1884  
And the media they used. (Several drawings contained more than one medium.)

Artist	stone	charcoal	crayon	dessin	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wc	white	Total
Alaux											1			1
Aligny						1		1						2
Barque								1						1
Barye			8									7		15
Bellange			4		1	3		3	1		1	13	1	27
Benouville			1	1	1		1	3			1		1	9
Bertin						1		1						2
Boilly	1										1		1	3
Boissieu				1										1
Bonington			1									3	1	5
Bonvin												4		4
Borel							1							1
Boulanger						3		4		1		1		9
Brascassat			1					3		4				8
Brion		1						1						2
Butin		1						1						2
Calamatta			1										1	2
Caraffe								4						4
Celerier												1		1
Charlet			2		1	1		2	1		2	5	1	15
Chasseriau								5	1			2		8
Cogniet			2	1								1	2	6
Corot		2				6	1	2						11
Couder				1										1

Artist	stone	charcoal	crayon	dessin	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wc	white	Total
Couture			3			1							3	7
Daubigny			1				1					1		3
Daumier					1							6		7
David			6			16	3	14			1	6	2	48
Decamps		1	3	1				1				2		8
Delacroix			1	2		4	2	17	1		2	16		45
Delaroche		2	5	2		1		23	3	1	4	2	2	45
Deveria											5	1		6
Dreux				3										3
Drouais										1				1
Duban				2								4		6
Dubufe			1			1			1	1			1	5
Duplessis-Bertaux						10		2		1				13
Dutilleux		4												4
Fastin-Besson			1										1	2
Flandrin			8			1		2						11
Fortuny						1						1		2
Fragonard			3				2			1	9	1		16
Fromentin		1	11					1				1	1	15
Gavarni			1	4	2	3	3	1		1		5	1	21
Gerard												1		1
Gericault			6	7	1	11	4	4			3	2	2	40
Girardet						1								1
Girodet-Trioson	1						1							2
Gleyre		6	7					6					1	20

Artist	stone	charcoal	crayon	dessin	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wc	white	Total
Goya						1	8							9
Granet							1				12			13
Greuze						1				2	1			4
Gros			1			1	1	1						4
Gudin												1		1
Guerin				1										1
Guichard										1				1
Heim			1											1
Hess												1		1
Houdon										1				1
Huet		2				2	1					2	1	8
Imer			1										1	2
Ingres				8				30			1	1	3	43
Isabey						1		1		1				3
Jacquemart						1						3		4
Jeanron			1	3										4
Johannot, A.												1		1
Johannot, T.											2			2
Laemlein								1						1
Lariviere			1										1	2
Latour, M-Q									11					11
Le Barbier							2							2
Le Guay					2									2
Le Peintre								2						2
Lefevre		1												1
Leloir, A.						2							1	3

Artist	stone	charcoal	crayon	dessin	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wc	white	Total
Lepicie			1										1	2
Mallet					1									1
Marchal			1											1
Marilhat		1						1	1				1	4
Millet, F.				2					1			1	1	5
Millet, J-F.			24			1			9			3	1	38
Monnier				1			1	1				3		6
Moreau					1									1
Nanteuil						1								1
Ouvrie												2		2
Parent												1		1
Pils			1		1	1						7	1	11
Prud'hon		1	50	3		5	2		2				38	101
Raffet			1		5	3	1	7			3	24		44
Redoute										1		2		3
Regnault			6	2		3	1	3				2		17
Richomme								1						1
Robert, A.								1						1
Robert, H.			1				1							2
Robert, L.						3					2	1		6
Roberts												3		3
Roqueplan												1		1
Rousseau, T.		1	4	1	1	4	2		2		4	3		22
Scheffer				1				6				1		8
Sechan						5								5
Sellier				1										1

Artist	stone	charcoal	crayon	dessin	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wc	white	Total
Spaendonck						1						2		3
Tassaert			1											1
Troyon		1												1
Unknown		1	1				2	1	1			1		7
Valenciennes											4			4
Vernet, Carle			1					1			1	4		7
Vernet, C-J.						1					2			3
Vernet, H.			4	3	2	3	1	1			5	2		21
Viollet-le-Duc		1	2		1	4	1	7			1	2		19
Wicar	1													1
Wile								1		1				2
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>956</b>



Table B.3. Quantity of drawings exhibited in *dessins de the Écoles modern* Part II (Living Artists), at L'École des Beaux-Arts, 1884, arranged by artist

Artist	Quantity of Drawings
Meissonier	37
Galland	20
Baudry	15
Delaunay	13
Giacomelli	13
Cabat	12
Bouguereau	11
Cabanel	11
Puvis de Chavannes	11
Barrias	7
Français	7
Gerome	7
Bonheur	6
Gervex	6
Lhermitte	6
Boulanger	5
Cazin, J.-C.	5
Detaille	5
Gigoux	5
Laurens	5
Neuville	5

Brown	4
Gaillard	4
Hugo	4
Lenepveu	4
Levy	4
Mazerolle	4
Robert-Fleury	4
Ballu	3
Bellel	3
Bida	3
Chaplin	3
Dubois	3
Frere	3
Lefebvre	3
Lemaire	3
Maillot	3
Thirion	3
Vibert	3
Vollon	3
Benouville	2
Bracquemond	2
Cazin, Mme	2
Chaplain	2
Dumaresq	2
Dupre	2

Hebert	2
Hillemacher	2
Jacques	2
Lacombe	2
Lameire	2
Lami	2
Lechevallier- Chevignard	2
Legros	2
Pille	2
Ribot	2
Saint-Marcel	2
Sege	2
Stevens	2
Ulmann	2
Vidal	2
Worms	2
Allonge	1
Bellay	1
Beraud	1
Berthon	1
Bodmer	1
Courtois	1
Dagnan-Bouveret	1
Domingo	1
Dubufe	1

Dupres	1
Feyen-Perrin	1
Guillaume	1
Herbelin	1
Jacquet	1
Jourdain	1
Knaus	1
Marcke	1
Matout	1
Merson	1
Pointelin	1
Rops	1
Vetter	1
<b>Total</b>	342

Table B.4. Media in *dessins de the Écoles modern* Part II (Living Artists),  
at L'École des Beaux-Arts, 1884  
(Several drawings contained more than one medium.)

Artist	crayon	dessin	fusain	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wcolor	white	Total
Allonge			1										1
Ballu							2				1		3
Barrias	3			1	2	1	2	2					11
Baudry	8	7	1						1			1	18
Bellay							1						1
Bellel			1			1					1		3
Benouville										2		2	4
Beraud					1								1
Berthon					1	1							2
Bida	2					1						1	5
Bodmer			1										1
Bonheur	1	1					3			1			6
Bouguereau	1						10					5	16
Boulanger							3		2				5
Bracquemond					1			1					2
Brown	2					1	1				1		5
Cabanel	4		4						7				15
Cabat	8			2	3					4		1	18
Cazin, J.-C.	5												5
Cazin, Mme	2												2
Chaplain							1		1				2
Chaplin				1					2		1		4
Courtois	1												1
Dagnan-Bouveret					1								1

Artist	crayon	dessin	fusain	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wcolor	white	Total
Delaunay	5	5							4				14
Detaille		2			3								5
Domingo	1		1									1	3
Dubois	3											3	6
Dubufe	1		1										2
Dumaresq	2												2
Dupre	1										1		2
Dupres											1		1
Feyen-Perrin						1							1
Francais		1			5	5	1						12
Frere			2	1	1								4
Gaillard	2						2				1	1	6
Galland		20											20
Gerome	1	2			2		2						7
Gervex	2	1	4					2					9
Giacomelli											13		13
Gigoux	5			1								1	7
Guillaume							1						1
Hebert	2							1				1	4
Herbelin										1			1
Hillemacher	2												2
Hugo					3	1					1		5
Jacques			1								1		2
Jacquet						1							1
Jourdain						1							1
Knaus	1												1

Artist	crayon	dessin	fusain	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wcolor	white	Total
Lacombe					1	1							2
Lameire											2		2
Lami					1						2		3
Laurens	1		2		1	3							7
Lechevallier-Chevignard		2											4
Lefebvre	2						1						3
Legros	1			1	1								3
Lemaire					3								3
Lenepveu									4				4
Levy	1	2			1								4
Lhermitte			6										6
Maillot		2							1				3
Marcke		1											1
Matout		1											1
Mazerolle	2		2						1			2	7
Meissonier	1	17	1	5	2	3	3		2	4	5		43
Merson						1	1						2
Neuville		1		1	4	2							8
Pille					2								2
Pointelin								1					1
Puvis	1						1		9				11
Ribot	1					1						1	3
Robert-Fleury	3								2				5
Rops			1										1
Saint-Marcel	2												2
Sege	1					1							2

Artist	crayon	dessin	fusain	gouache	ink	wash	pencil	pastel	sanguine	sepia	wcolor	white	Total
Stevens	1				2								3
Thirion	2	1											3
Ulmann							2						2
Vetter								1					1
Vibert				1	3	3							7
Vidal	1	1											2
Vollon	3		1					1					5
Worms					2	1							3
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>423</b>



## APPENDIX C

### DRAWINGS PURCHASED BY THE STATE FROM THE SALON (1863-1881)

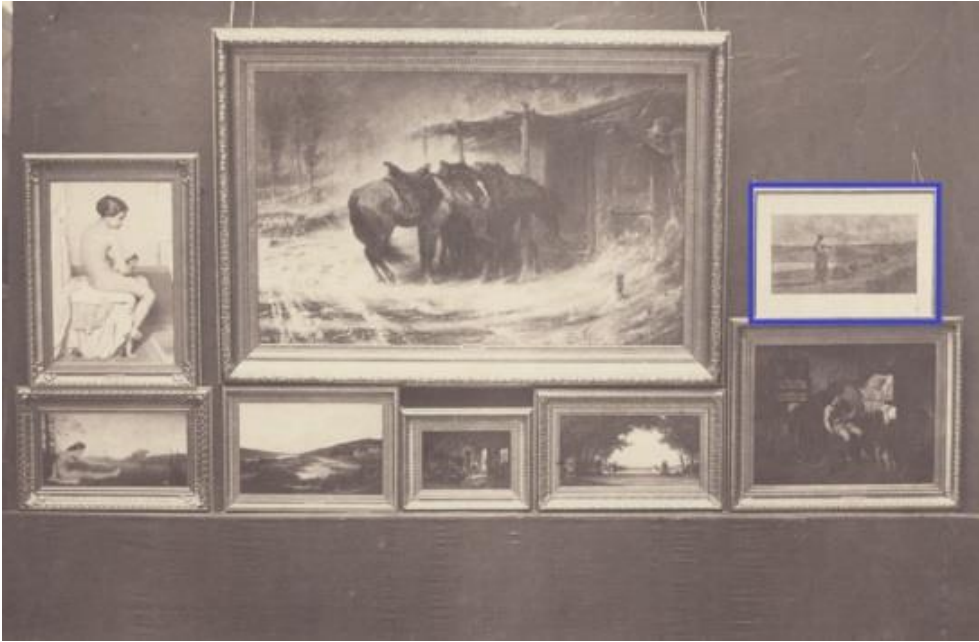


Figure C.1. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1864. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Adolph Appian, *Retour des champs*, drawing with charcoal.)



Figure C.2. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1864. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights Justin Ouvrié, *Canal á Amsterdam*, watercolor. Blue rectangle highlights Mlle Elise Pretot, *Saint Famille, d'après Andrea des Sarte*, drawing.)



Figure C.3. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1864. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Charles Pipart, *Étude l'après nature*, drawing.)



Figure C.4. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1864. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Joseph-Gabriel Tourny, *Deux moines près d'un bénitier*, study, watercolor.)

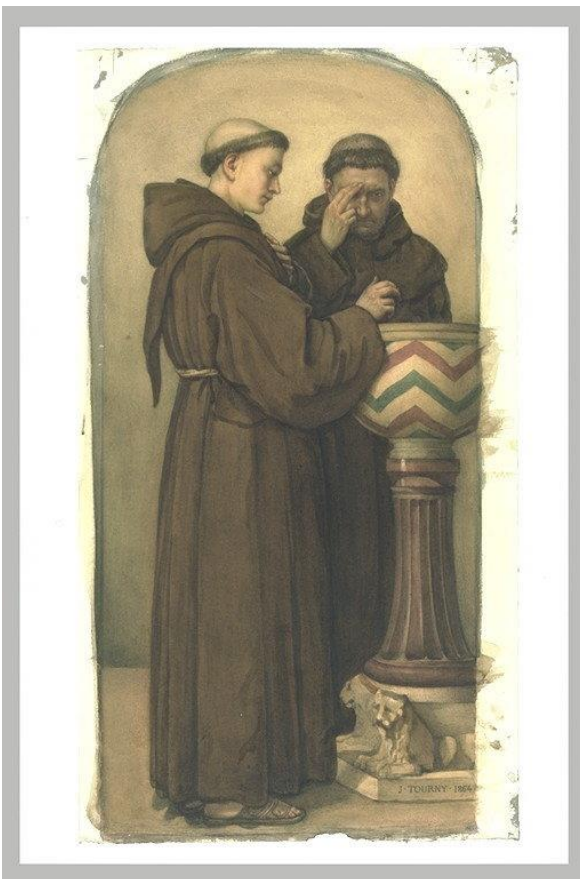


Figure C.5. Joseph-Gabriel Tourny, *Deux moines se signant*, Louvre, Salon 1864.



Figure C.6. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1865. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Hubert Clerget, *Visite de S.M. l'Empereur au tombeau des ducs de Bourgogne, à Dijon*, watercolor. Red rectangle highlights Clerget, *Vue du grand canal à Venise*, watercolor. Yellow rectangle highlights Léon Saint-François, *Veuve mauresque sur un tombeau*, drawing.)





Figure C.7. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1866. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights: Mlle Elise Pretot, *La Vierge Aux Saints-Innocents* (copy after Rubens), pastel.)

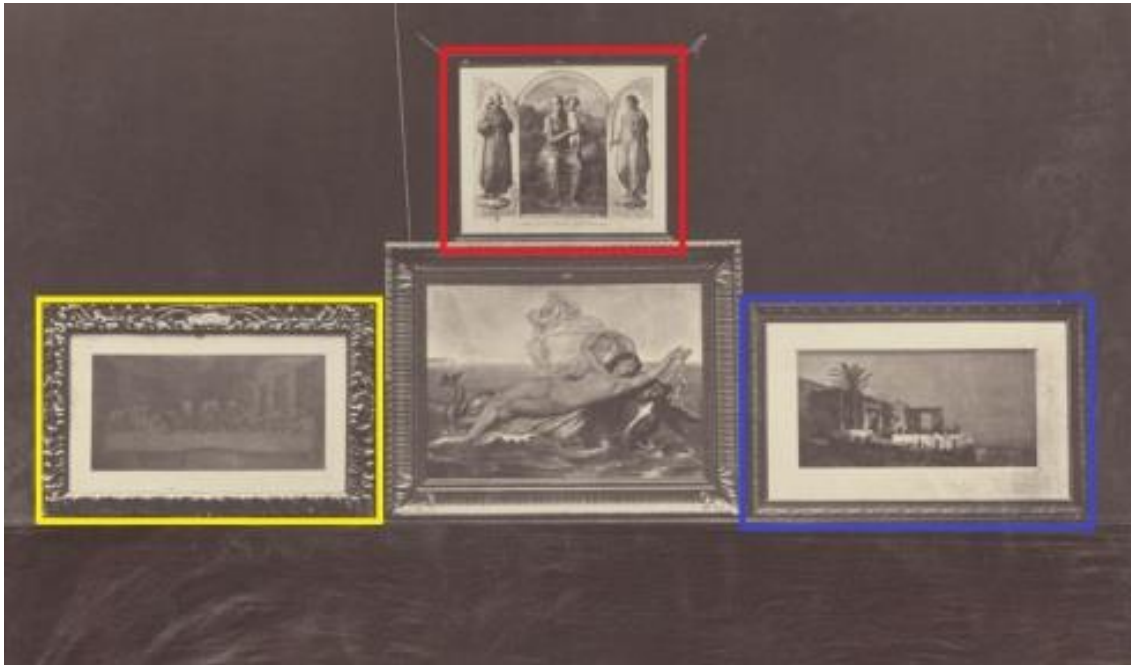


Figure C.8. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1867. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Ferdinand Gaillard, *La Cène (d'après Léonard de Vinci)*, drawing. Red rectangle highlights Louis Janmot, *La Vierge et l'Enfant-Jésus, saint Vincent de Paul et Sainte-Sophis (d'après le Triptyque de la reine de Naples)*, cartoon. Blue rectangle highlights Luc-Raphael Ponson, *Guinguette aux environs de Toulon*, gouache.)



Figure C.9. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1868. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow square highlights: Henri Baron, *Fête officielle au palais des Tuileries pendant l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, watercolor.)

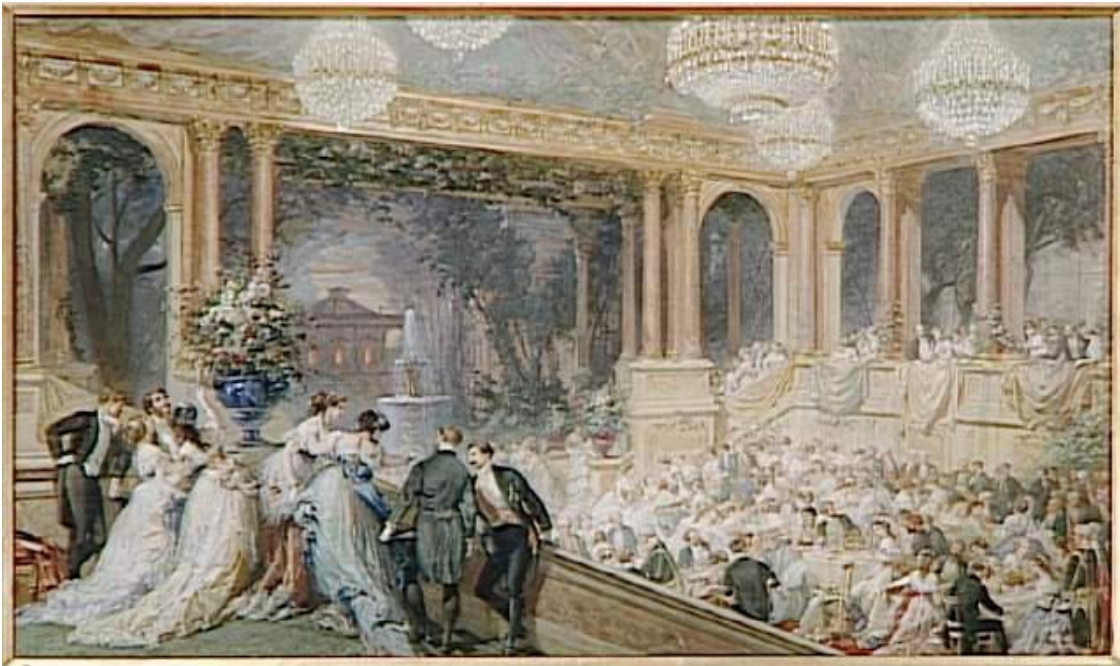


Figure C.10. Henri Charles Antoine Baron, *Fête au palais des Tuileries pendant l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, Louvre, Salon 1868.



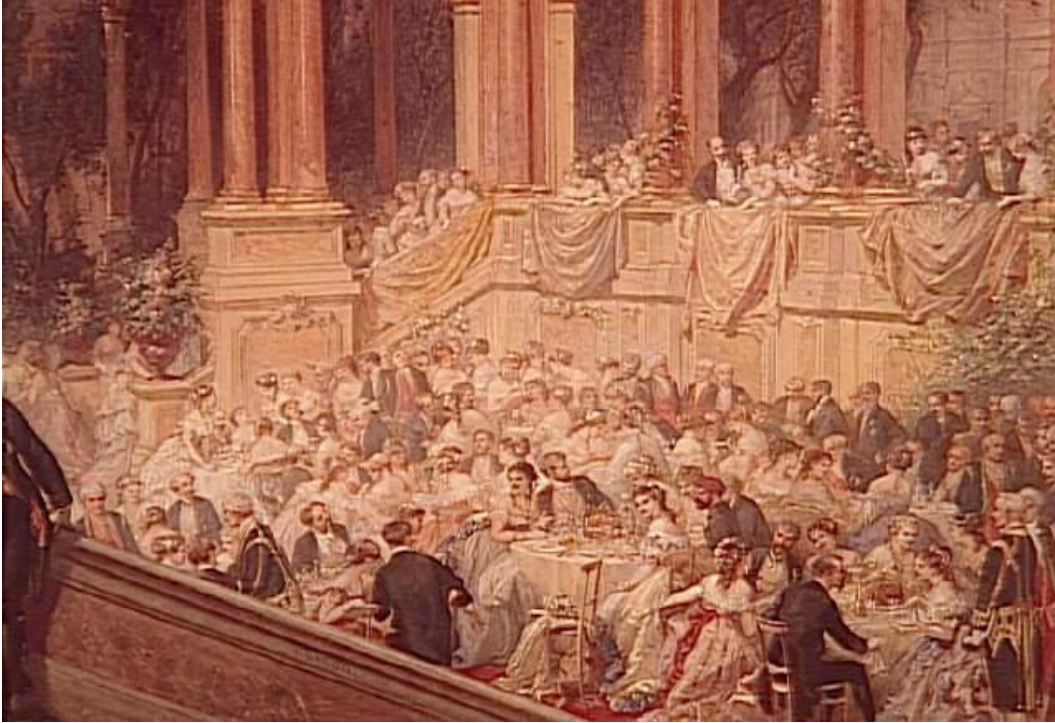


Figure C.11. Detail: Henri Charles Antoine Baron, *Fête au palais des Tuileries pendant l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, Louvre, Salon 1868.



Figure C.12. Detail: Henri Charles Antoine Baron, *Fête au palais des Tuileries pendant l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, Louvre, Salon 1868.



Figure C.13. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1868. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Mme Pauline Girardin, *Fleurs des champs*, pastel.)



Figure C.14. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1868. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights Hector Guiot, *Zéphire, d'après Prud'hon*, pastel.)



Figure C.15. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1869. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Joseph Tourny, *Moines au lutrin*, watercolor.)





Figure C.16. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1870. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights Alphonse-Louis Galbrund, *La jeune ménagère*, pastel. Blue rectangle highlights Hector Guiot, *Rue Saint-Jean, à Chanmont-en Bassigny, XVIe siècle*, watercolor.)



Figure C.17. Alphonse Louis Galbrund, *La jeune menagerie*, Louvre, Salon 1870.

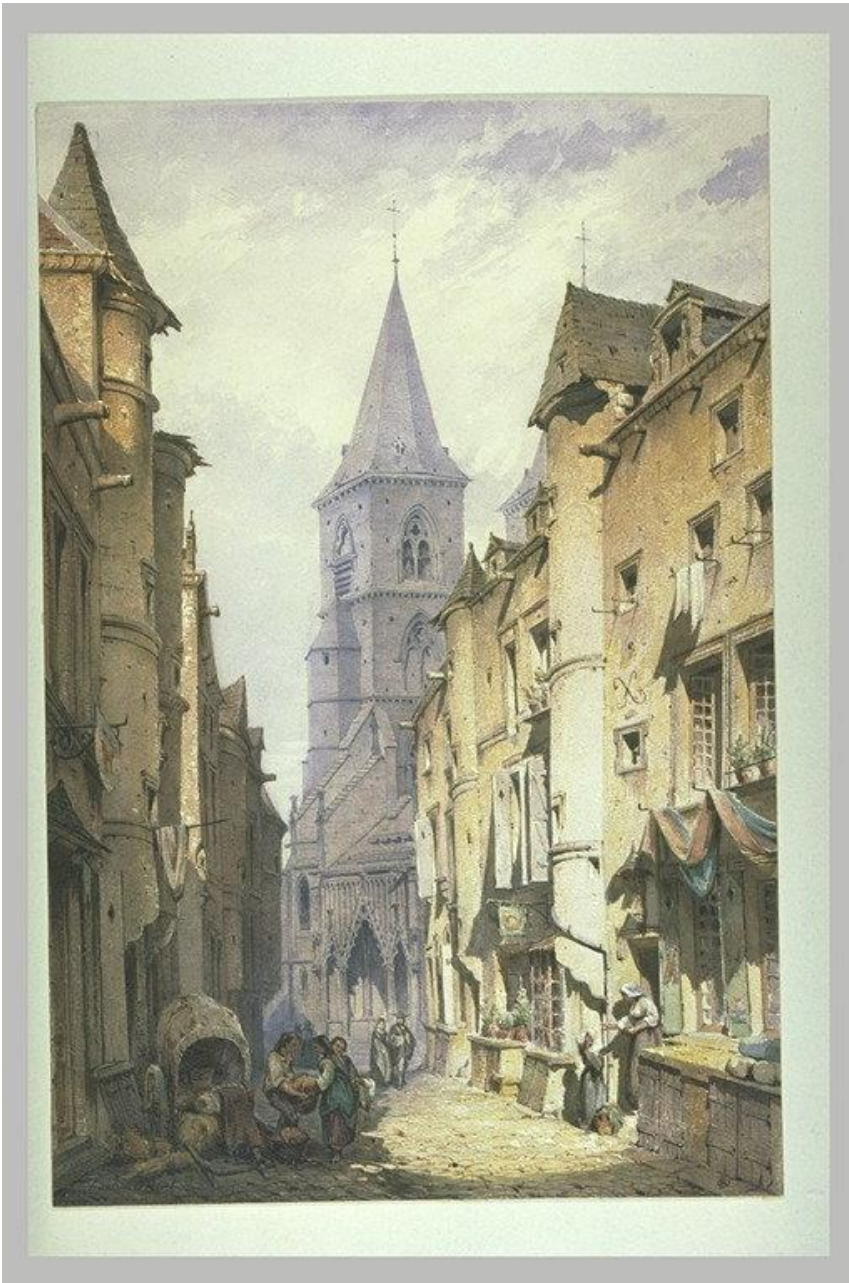


Figure C.18. Hector Guiot, *La rue Saint-Jean à Chaumont en Bassigny*, Louvre, Salon 1870.





Figure C.19. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1870. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights Mme Pauline Girardin, *Aubépine*, watercolor. Yellow rectangle highlights Joseph Tourny, *La leçon de tricot*, watercolor.)



Figure C.20. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1872. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Albert Adam, *Épisode de la bataille de Wærth*, watercolor. Red rectangle highlights Feu Albert Coinchon, *Tête de Christ mort*, charcoal. Blue rectangle highlights Léon Gaucherel, *Murs de l'Arsenal à Venise*, watercolor.)



Figure C.21. Albert Coinchon, *Tete de Christ mort*, Salon of 1872





Figure C.22. Charles Michelez, photograph of Emile Bayard's charcoal triptych *Gloira Victis* purchased by the French government prior to its exhibition in the Salon of 1872. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm)

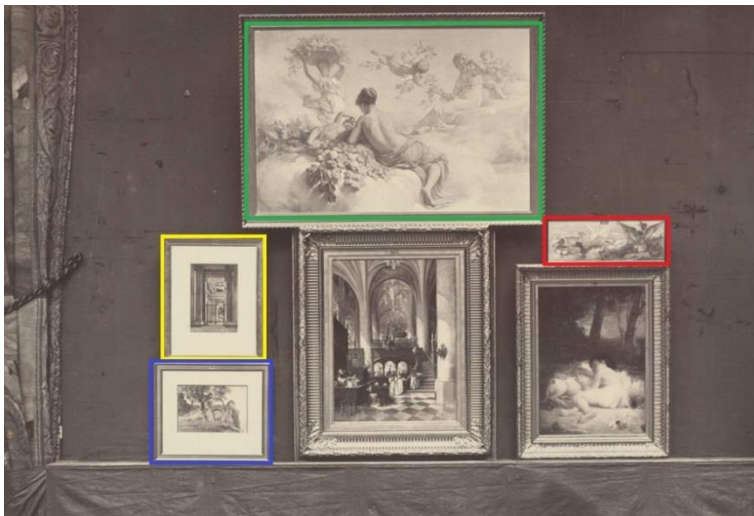


Figure C.23. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1872. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights: Émile Benard, *Vestibule de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, watercolor. Red rectangle highlights Feu Albert Coinchon, *Canards*, pastel. Green rectangle highlights Tony Faivre, *Pomone et Flore*, cartoon. Blue rectangle highlights Maxime Lalanne, *Pèlerinage de Sainte-Barbe (Bretagne)*, charcoal.)



Figure C.24. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1872. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Jean-Henri Chouppe, *Vue e Vitré, Ille-et-Vilaine*, watercolor. Red rectangle highlights Georges Lefebvre, *Italienne*, charcoal.)



Figure C.25. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1872. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Green square highlights Eugène Huot, *Bataille de Constantin*, d'après la fresque de Raphael, watercolor.)



Figure C.26. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1873. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris.  
Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Jean-Adolphe Beaucé, *Les dames de Metz; souvenir du siège de Metz*, drawing. Red rectangle highlights François Ehrmann, *Ariane abandonnée par Thésée*, watercolor. Green rectangle highlights Benoît Thollot, *Fileuse picarde*, watercolor. Blue rectangle highlights Joseph-Gabriel Tourny, *La prière dans l'église San-Antonio, à Madrid*, watercolor.)



Figure C.27. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1873. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris.  
Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights Maxime Lalanne, *Coin de parc à Montgeron (Seine-et-Oise)*, charcoal.)





Figure C.28. Charles Michelez, photograph of Emile Bayard's charcoal triptych *Gloira Victis* purchased by the French government prior to its exhibition in the Salon of 1874. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm)

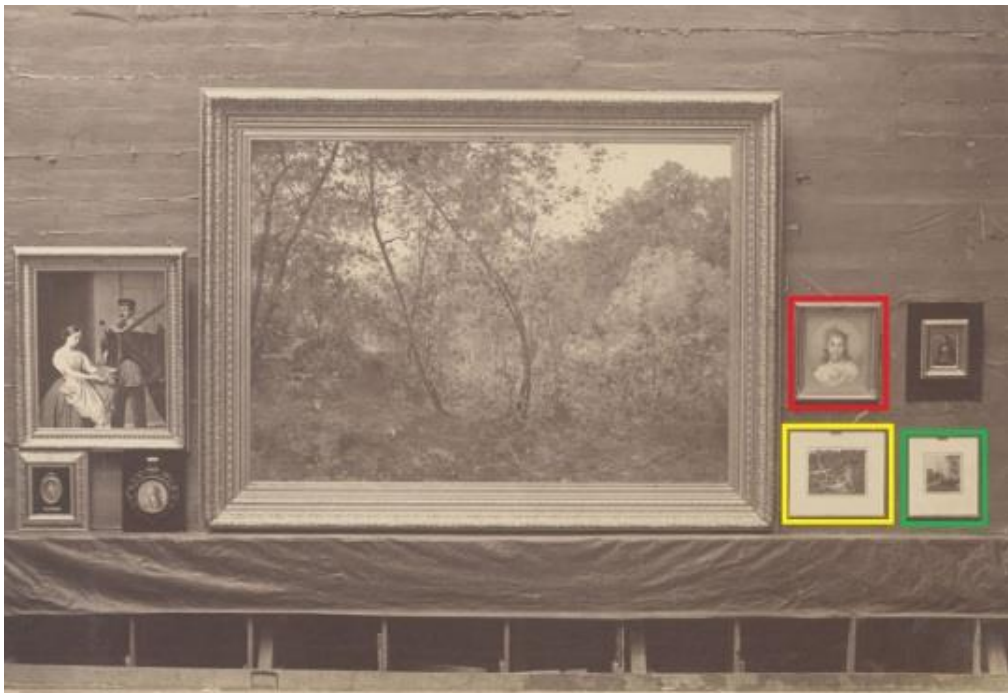


Figure C.29. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1874. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Red rectangle highlights Mlle Maria Dubois, *Fleur de Mai*, pastel. Yellow rectangle highlights Feu Célestin Nanteuil, *Chiens de Chasse au Repos*, watercolor. Green rectangle highlights Nanteuil, *Faune*, pastel.)



Figure C.30. Charles Michelez, photograph of Xavier-Alphonse's *Les quatre Évangélistes* (cartoon for a fresco), which hung in the Salon of 1874 and was purchased by the state. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm)



Figure C.31. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1876. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris.  
 Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Pierre Nicolas Théodore Maillot, *Procession de la chasse de Sainte Geneviève, à Paris, le 12 janvier 1496*, cartoon, destinée Panthéon).



Figure C.32. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1876. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris.  
Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Laurent Charles Meréchal, *Les Traces*, pastel.)



Figure C.33. Charles Laurent Marechal, *Les traces*, Salon 1876, pastel. Louvre





Figure C.34. Charles Michelez, photograph of Puvis de Chavannes's *Sainte Geneviève* (cartoon), which hung in the Salon of 1876 and was purchased by the state. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm)





Figure C.35. Charles Michelez, photograph of Édouard Detaille's *L'inauguration du nouvel Opéra: arrivée du cortège du lord-maire* (watercolor), which hung in the Salon of 1878 and was purchased by the state. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm)



Figure C.36. Jean-Baptiste Edouard Detaille, *Inauguration of the Opera House, 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1875*, Salon 1878, watercolor and white on paper, Chateau de Versailles.



Figure C.37. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1879. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris.  
Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Green rectangle highlights Mlle Jenny Haquette-Bouffé, *Un intérieur*, watercolor. Yellow rectangle highlights David Gabriel Liquier, *Fumeurs*, watercolor.)



Figure C.38. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1879. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris.  
Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Blue rectangle highlights Mme Marie Marthe Lanjalley, *La sieste*, d'après M. J. Breton, watercolor.)





Figure C.39. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1880. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights Emmanuel Lansyer, *Flore Champêtre: études pour une tapisserie des Gobelins destinée au Sénat*, drawing. Green rectangle highlights François Reverchon, *Tête de la République, après M. J. Gautherin*, drawing.)



Figure C.40. Charles Michelez, photograph of some works purchased by French government from the Salon of 1880. Courtesy: Archives Nationales, Paris. Source: [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them\\_bis\\_collect-suite-historique.htm](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/arcade/them_bis_collect-suite-historique.htm) (Yellow rectangle highlights: Ernest Boetzel, *Laveuses près la Méditerranée*, charcoal. Red rectangle highlights: Auguste Clément Herst, *Solitude*, watercolor. Green rectangle highlights: Auguste Clément Herst, *Effet de brouillard*, watercolor. Blue rectangle highlights: Léon Augustin Lhermitte, *La vieille demeure*, drawing.)



Figure C.41. Giuseppe Ferrari, *Arabs in Prayer*, watercolor, honorable mention in Salon 1881.

## APPENDIX D

### DRAWINGS EXHIBITED AT THE IMPRESSIONIST EXHIBITIONS (1874-1886)

Table D.1. All drawings displayed at the Impressionist exhibitions, arranged by year and then catalog ID. Columns identify artist, title, medium, catalog ID, whether the drawings has been identified today (Known), and the number of contemporary reviews each drawing received. Medium abbreviations: G (gouache); P (pastel); WC (watercolor)

\*Known works can be visually seen in TNP: Documentation, Volume 2.

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1874	ASTRUC	Le Bouquet a la Penitente	WC	1		
1874	ASTRUC	La Lecon du vieux Torrero	WC	2		1
1874	ASTRUC	Dames flamandes a leur fenetre	WC	3a		
1874	ASTRUC	Scene de Somnambulisme	WC	3b		
1874	ASTRUC	Enfants flamands dans une serre	WC	3c		
1874	ASTRUC	Poupees japonaises	WC	3d		2 to 4
1874	ASTRUC	Les Presents chinois (londres)	WC	3e	x	
1874	ASTRUC	Interier parisien	WC	3f	x	0 to 2
1874	ATTENDU	Nature Morte: Musique	WC	10		
1874	ATTENDU	Nature Morte: Cuisine	WC	11		
1874	ATTENDU	Nature Morte: Cuisine	WC	12		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20a		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20b		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20c		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20d		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20e		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20f		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20g		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Etudes de ciel	P	20h		
1874	BOUDIN	2 Cadres. Etudes diverses	P	21a		
1874	BOUDIN	2 Cadres. Etudes diverses	P	21b		
1874	BOUDIN	2 Cadres. Etudes diverses	P	21c		

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1874	BOUDIN	2 Cadres. Etudes diverses	P	21d		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22a		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22b		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22c		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22d		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22e		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22f		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22g		
1874	BOUDIN	4 Cadres. Plage de Trouville	WC	22h		
1874	BRACQUEMOND, F.	Portrait	dessin	23		2
1874	BRANDON	Portrait de M.A.Z.	dessin	30		1
1874	BRANDON	WCs	WC	31a		1
1874	BRANDON	WCs	WC	31b		
1874	BRANDON	Expo. du corps de St.Brigette, 1392	carton charcoal	32		1
1874	DEBRAS	San Juan de la Rapita (Espagne)	dessin	52		
1874	DEGAS	Depart de Course	Esquisse. Dessin.	58		3
1874	DEGAS	Faux depart	Dessin a l'essence	59		1
1874	DEGAS	Une Blanchisseuse	charcoal, white chalk, P	61	x	1 to 4
1874	DEGAS	Apres le bain	etude. Dessin	62		
1874	LEPIC	L'arrivee de la maree a Cayeux	WC	74		2
1874	LEPIC	La Peche: etude en pleine mer	WC	75		2
1874	LEPIC	Golfe de Naples	WC	76		2
1874	LEPIC	Le Depart pour la peche du hareng	WC	77		2
1874	MEYER	Idylle	dessin	91bis		
1874	MONET	deux croquis	P	99a		



Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1874	MONET	deux croquis	P	99b		
1874	MONET	deux croquis	P	100a		
1874	MONET	deux croquis	P	100b		
1874	MONET	deux croquis	P	101a		
1874	MONET	deux croquis	P	101b		
1874	MONET	un croquis	P	102		
1874	MORISOT	Portrait de Mme M.T.	P	108	x	1 to 3
1874	MORISOT	Un village	P	109	x	0 or 1
1874	MORISOT	Sur la Falaise	WC	110	x	3
1874	MORISOT	Dans le Bois	WC	111	x	3
1874	MORISOT	...	WC	112	x	3 to 4
1874	MORISOT	Portrait of Madame Pontillon	P	None	x	1 or 2
1874	OTTIN	La Fete chez Therese	WC	132		
1874	RENOIR	Croquis	P	146		
1874	ROBERT	Cadre	WC	160a		
1874	ROBERT	Cadre	WC	160b		
1874	ROUART	Ferme bretonne	WC	154		1
1874	ROUART	Maisons bearnaises	WC	155		
1874	ROUART	Maisons bearnaises	WC	156		
1876	CALS	Portrait of Mme X	dessin	33		
1876	CALS	Les Enfants du pecheur	dessin	34		1
1876	CALS	Le Repas frugal	dessin	35		
1876	DEGAS	Ebauche de portrait	P	42		
1876	DEGAS	Danseuse rajustant son chausson	diverse croquis	51a	x	2
1876	DEGAS	Danseuse debout, de dos	diverse croquis	51b	x	2 to 3

<b>Year</b>	<b>Artist</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Known*</b>	<b>Reviews</b>
1876	LEPIC	Pompeii	WC	124a		2
1876	LEPIC	Pompeii	WC	124b		2
1876	LEPIC	Pompeii	WC	124c		2
1876	LEPIC	Pompeii	WC	124d		2
1876	LEPIC	Pompeii	WC	124e		2
1876	LEPIC	Le Quai Sancte Lucia a Naples	WC	125		
1876	LEPIC	Filets	WC	126a		
1876	LEPIC	Filets	WC	126b		
1876	LEPIC	Barque echouee	WC	127a		
1876	LEPIC	Barque echouee	WC	127b		
1876	LEPIC	Falaises du Treport	WC	128		1
1876	LEPIC	Soleil en mer	WC	129		
1876	LEPIC	l'Eglise de Cayeux	WC	130		
1876	LEPIC	Barque Napolitaine	WC	131		
1876	LEPIC	Les Souterrains du port de Naples	WC	132		
1876	LEPIC	Fontaine a la Cava	WC	133		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	Femme gardant les Vaches	WC	138		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	La Ferme	WC	139		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	La Chaumiere	WC	140		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	Moulin a eau	WC	141		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	Le Pre	WC	144		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	Le Verger	sepia	145		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	Le Labourage	sepia	146		
1876	MILLET, J.-B.	La Fermiere	WC	147		
1876	MORISOT	Avant d'un Yacht	WC	179	x	

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1876	MORISOT	Entrée de la Midina. Ile de Wight	WC	180	x	
1876	MORISOT	Vue de la Tamise	WC	181	x	1
1876	MORISOT	dessin	P	182a		
1876	MORISOT	dessin	P	182b		
1876	MORISOT	dessin	P	183c		
1876	RENOIR	Portrait of M	P	226		
1876	ROUART	Dans un Parc	sepia	235		
1877	CEZANNE	Impression d'apres nature	WC	30	x	1 to 4
1877	CEZANNE	Impression d'apres nature	WC	31	x	1 to 4
1877	CEZANNE	Fleurs	WC	32	x	0 to 2
1877	DEGAS	faits a l'encre grasse et imprimes	monotype	58a		1
1877	DEGAS	faits a l'encre grasse et imprimes	monotype	59a		1
1877	DEGAS	faits a l'encre grasse et imprimes	monotype	60a		1
1877	DEGAS	faits a l'encre grasse et imprimes	monotype	58b		1
1877	DEGAS	faits a l'encre grasse et imprimes	monotype	59b		1
1877	DEGAS	faits a l'encre grasse et imprimes	monotype	60b		1
1877	DEGAS	Femmes devant un café, le soir	montoye with P	37	x	6
1877	DEGAS	Ballet	montoye with P	39	x	0 to 3
1877	DEGAS	Danseuse, un bouquet a la main	essence and P on paper	40	x	5 to 7
1877	DEGAS	Café-Concert	montoye with P	43	x	1 to 10
1877	DEGAS	Café-Concert	montoye with P	44	x	4 to 10
1877	DEGAS	Femme sortant du bain	montoye with P	45	x	2
1877	DEGAS	Femme prenant son tub le soir	montoye with P	46	x	2
1877	DEGAS	Choristes	montoye with P	47	x	5
1877	DEGAS	Petite Fille peignee par sa bonne	essence on paper	50	x	4

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1877	DEGAS	Cabinet de toilette	montotype with P	56	x	3
1877	MORISOT	P	P	125	x	5 to 8
1877	MORISOT	Vue de la Tamise	P	126	x	3 to 6
1877	MORISOT	WC	WC	127		1
1877	MORISOT	WC	WC	128		1
1877	MORISOT	WC	WC	129		1
1877	MORISOT	dessin	dessin	130		1
1877	MORISOT	dessin	dessin	131		1
1877	PIETTE	Prairie, Crepuscule	WC	146		
1877	PIETTE	Rue, a Lassy; Neige fondante	WC	147		
1877	PIETTE	Fete des Fosses, a Pontoise	WC	148		
1877	PIETTE	Cirque forain	WC	149		1
1877	PIETTE	Marche aux porcs, a Lassay	WC	150		
1877	PIETTE	vue de Cluny, a Paris	WC	151		1
1877	PIETTE	Vue de Pontoise	WC	152		
1877	PIETTE	Jardin de la Ville, au Mans	WC	153	x	
1877	PIETTE	Fete de l'hermitage a Pontoise	WC	154	x	
1877	PIETTE	Fenaison	WC	155		
1877	PIETTE	Jardin	WC	156		1
1877	PIETTE	Bois en automne	WC	157		
1877	PIETTE	Chute des feuilles	WC	158		
1877	PIETTE	Givre	WC	159		
1877	PIETTE	Battage du grain a la mecanique	WC	160		
1877	PIETTE	Fenaison	WC	161		
1877	PIETTE	Fauche des foins	WC	162		

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1879	BRACQUEMOND, M.	carton pour peinture sur faïence	dessin	1a	x	16
1879	BRACQUEMOND, M.	carton pour peinture sur faïence	dessin	1b	x	16
1879	BRACQUEMOND, M.	carton pour peinture sur faïence	dessin	1c	x	16
1879	CAILLEBOTTE	Baigneurs	P	26	x	1
1879	CAILLEBOTTE	Canotiers	P	27	x	6
1879	CAILLEBOTTE	Vallée de l'Yerres	P	28	x	
1879	CAILLEBOTTE	Potager	P	29	x	1
1879	CAILLEBOTTE	Rivière d'Yerres	P	30		
1879	CAILLEBOTTE	Prairie	P	31	x	1
1879	CALS	Portrait de Mme A.R.	dessin	41		1
1879	CALS	Le Dimanche a St-Simeon-Honfleur	dessin	42		1
1879	CALS	La Mere et les engants	dessin	43		1
1879	CALS	Le Coin du feu	dessin	44		1
1879	CALS	La Mere Doudoux	dessin	45	x	1
1879	CASSATT	Portrait de M.D.	P	53	x	1 to 2
1879	CASSATT	Au theatre	P	54	x	1
1879	CASSATT	Au theatre	P	55	x	1
1879	CASSATT	Dans un jardin	couleur a la destrempe	56		0 to 2
1879	DEGAS	Portrait de M. Duranty	distemper	58	x	2
1879	DEGAS	Portrait, after costume ball	distemper	59	x	
1879	DEGAS	Portrait d'amis, sur la scene	P	60	x	2 to 3
1879	DEGAS	École de danse	distemper	65		2 to 7
1879	DEGAS	Essai de decoration	distemper	67		
1879	DEGAS	Portrait baignoire a l'Opera	P	68		
1879	DEGAS	Chanteuse de café	P	70	x	9 to 11

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1879	DEGAS	Loge de danseuse	P	71	x	1 to 2
1879	DEGAS	Grand air, apres un ballet	P	73	x	
1879	DEGAS	Portrait de danseuse, a la lecon	P	74	x	0 to 5
1879	DEGAS	Portraits de M. et de Mme	distemper and P	75		
1879	DEGAS	fan	WC, india ink, silver, gold	77	x	0 to 3
1879	DEGAS	fan	WC w/silver	78	x	0 to 3
1879	DEGAS	fan	G	79	x	0 to 3
1879	DEGAS	fan	WC, gold, silver	80	x	0 to 3
1879	DEGAS	fan	WC, gold, silver	81		0 to 3
1879	DEGAS	The ballet	P	None	x	1
1879	FORAIN	Portrait de M. Coquelin Cadet	WC	83		1
1879	FORAIN	Portrait de M.H. (Huysman?)	WC	84		1
1879	FORAIN	Portrait de M.H. (Huysman?)	WC	85		1
1879	FORAIN	Interieur de café	WC	86		
1879	FORAIN	Fin d'un souper	WC	87	x	2 to 3
1879	FORAIN	Loge d'actrice	WC	88		3
1879	FORAIN	Sortie de theatre	WC	89		1 to 2
1879	FORAIN	Pourtour des Folies-Bergere	WC	90		0 to 2
1879	FORAIN	Pourtour des Folies-Bergere	WC	91		0 to 2
1879	FORAIN	Pourtour des Folies-Bergere	WC	92		0 to 2
1879	FORAIN	Entr'acte	WC	93		1
1879	FORAIN	Coulisses de theatre	WC	94	x	0 to 1
1879	FORAIN	Coulisses de theatre	WC	95		0 to 1
1879	FORAIN	café d'acteurs	WC	96		

<b>Year</b>	<b>Artist</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>ID</b>	<b>Known*</b>	<b>Reviews</b>
1879	FORAIN	Femme au café	WC	97		1
1879	FORAIN	Coin de Salon	WC	98		1
1879	FORAIN	Cabotin en demi-deuil	WC	99		
1879	FORAIN	Pourtour des Folies-Bergere	WC	100		0 to 2
1879	FORAIN	fan	fan	101		
1879	FORAIN	fan		102		
1879	FORAIN	fan		103		
1879	FORAIN	fan		104		
1879	FORAIN	Un dessin	dessin	107		
1879	LEBOURG	Portrait de femme	dessin	128		11
1879	LEBOURG	Portrait d'homme	dessin	129		11
1879	LEBOURG	La lecture (le soir)	dessin, black chalk	130	x	11
1879	LEBOURG	La Veillee	dessin, black chalk	131	x	11
1879	LEBOURG	La Menagere	dessin	132		11
1879	LEBOURG	Jeune fille	dessin	133		11
1879	LEBOURG	Femme jouant aux echecs	charcoal on paper	134	x	11
1879	LEBOURG	Jeune fille	dessin	135		11
1879	LEBOURG	Jeune fille	dessin	136		11
1879	LEBOURG	Jeune fille	dessin	137		11
1879	PIETTE	Marche de petite ville	WC	None		4
1879	PIETTE	Parterre	WC	None		4
1879	PIETTE	Coin de verger	WC	None		6
1879	PIETTE	Cliriere	WC	None		5
1879	PIETTE	Les Bles	WC	None		5
1879	PIETTE	Marche aux environs	WC	None		4

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1879	PISSARRO, C.	L'Hiver. Retour de la foire	fan, G, WC on silk	189	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	L'Hiver. Lower Norwood	fan, G, WC on silk	190	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Clair de lune	fan, G and silver	194	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	La Grande Route. Printemps	fan, G	196	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Pommiers en fleurs	fan, G	197	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	L'Etang de Montfoucault	fan, G and silver	199	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Cueillette de petits pois	fan, WC on vellum	200	x	4
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Portrait de Mlle E.E.	P	201	x	
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Portrait de Mlle M.	P	202	x	
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Le Pâtissier	P	203	x	
1879	PISSARRO, C.	Interieur campagnard	P	204		
1879	ROUART	Chateau de Tour-Noel	dessin	214		1
1879	ROUART	Royat	dessin	215		1
1879	ROUART	Chateldon	dessin	216		1
1879	ROUART	Chateau de Cahteldon	dessin	217		1
1879	ROUART	Thiers	dessin	218		1
1879	ROUART	Vue prise de Pau	dessin	219		1
1879	ROUART	Sous les frenes	dessin	220		1
1879	ROUART	Port de Melun	dessin	221		1
1879	ROUART	Cour de ferme	dessin	222		1
1879	ROUART	Plaine de Brie	dessin	223		1
1879	ROUART	Sous les chataigniers	dessin	224		1
1879	ROUART	Crozant	dessin	225		1
1879	ROUART		dessin	226		1
1879	ROUART		dessin	227		1



Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1879	SOMME	Dessin a la plume pour illustration	dessin	230a	x	6
1879	SOMME	du Livre des Baisers, de V. Billaud	dessin	230b	x	6
1879	SOMME		dessin	230c	x	6
1879	SOMME		dessin	230d	x	6
1880	BRACQUEMOND, F.	Portrait de M. Ed. De Goncourt	charcoal on canvas	4	x	17
1880	CAILLEBOTTE	Portrait de M.C.D.	P	14	x	1 to 4
1880	CAILLEBOTTE	Tete d'enfant	P	15	x	1 to 4
1880	CAILLEBOTTE	Paysage	P	16	x	0 to 2
1880	DEGAS	Portrait de M. Duranty	distemper	None	x	2
1880	DEGAS	Etude de loge au theatre	P	38	x	6
1880	DEGAS	Toilette	P	39	x	4
1880	DEGAS	Examen de danse	P	40	x	5
1880	DEGAS	Danseuses	P and G	41	x	3
1880	DEGAS	Dessin	dessin	42a		2 to 5
1880	DEGAS	Dessin	dessin	42b		2 to 5
1880	DEGAS	Dessin	dessin	43a		1 to 3
1880	DEGAS	Dessin	dessin	43b		1 to 3
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	G	47	x	1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	dessin	48		1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	dessin	49		1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	dessin	50		1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	dessin	51		1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	WC, pen, brown ink	52a	x	1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	WC, pen, brown ink	52b	x	1
1880	FORAIN	Dessin	WC, pen, brown ink	52c	x	1

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1880	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Mlle. B	P	81		
1880	GUILLAUMIN, A.	M. Martinez	P	82	x	1
1880	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Mme M.	P	83	x	1
1880	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Mme G.	P	84		
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	95		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	96		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	97		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	98		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	99		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	100		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	101		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	102		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	103		10
1880	LEBOURG	Dessin	charcoal	104		10
1880	MORISOT	WC	WC	123		1
1880	MORISOT	WC	WC	124		1
1880	MORISOT	WC	WC	125		1
1880	MORISOT	WC	WC	126		1
1880	MORISOT	fan	WC	127	x	
1880	PISSARRO, C.	fan	G and WC	138	x	2
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Rodeur de barrieres	WC	147		3
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Le mouvement, rt. d'Argenteuil	P	153		
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Tete d'Auvergnat	P and WC	155		2
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Marchand d'habits rt.d'Argenteuil	P and WC	157		2
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Chiffonnier ereinte	WC	158		4

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Tete de vieille femme	P	159		1
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Chiffonnier hors les murs	WC	161	x	
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Plaine couverte de neige	P	165		
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Par de la brume et du vent	WC	168		
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Chiffonniere	WC	171		1
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Dessin de mon tableau	dessin	175		3
1880	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Anes et poules dans l'herbe	WC	179	x	10
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	185		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	186		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	187		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	188		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	189		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	190		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	191		6
1880	ROUART	Venice	WC	192		6
1880	VIDAL	Dessin pour le portrait M. Taillade	dessin	209		3
1881	CASSATT	Tete de jeune fille	P	5	x	1
1881	CASSATT	Tete de jeune fille	P	6		0
1881	CASSATT	Tete d'enfant	P	7		0 to 4
1881	CASSATT	Mere et Engant	P	8	x	11
1881	CASSATT	Portrait d'enfant	P	9		1 to 3
1881	CASSATT	Portrait d'une jeune Violoniste	P	10		6
1881	CASSATT	Tete d'enfant	P	11		1 to 3
1881	FORAIN	Loge d'actrice	WC, G	22		8 to 17
1881	DEGAS	Physionomie de Criminal	P	17	x	26

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1881	DEGAS	Physionomie de Criminal	P	18	x	24
1881	DEGAS	Vue de coulisses	P	None	x	3
1881	DEGAS	Portraits en frise	chalk, P	None	x	2
1881	FORAIN	Couloir de theatre	WC, G, pencil, pen, ink	23	x	7 to 16
1881	FORAIN	Marine	WC	24		
1881	FORAIN	Portrait de Mlle Madeleine C.	P	25		
1881	FORAIN	dessin	dessin	26		
1881	FORAIN	dessin	dessin	27		
1881	FORAIN	dessin	dessin	28		
1881	FORAIN	dessin	dessin	29		
1881	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Quai Saint-Bernard	WC	50		
1881	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Portait de M.J.A.	P	51		
1881	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Portrait de M. Martinez	P	52		
1881	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Portrait de M.C.G.	P	53		
1881	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Portrait de Mlle M. L.	P	54		1
1881	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Etude de bateaux	P	55		
1881	MORISOT	Portrait d'enfant	P	59	x	7
1881	MORISOT	Esquisse au P	esquisse au P	60		0 to 1
1881	MORISOT	Esquisse au P	esquisse au P	61		0 to 1
1881	PISSARRO, C.	La Moisson	G	74		4 to 5
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Village de la Mayenne	G	75		
1881	PISSARRO, C.	La Recolte des pommes de terre	G	76		0 to 4
1881	PISSARRO, C.	La Recolte des pommes de terre	G	77	x	1
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Fendeur de bois	G	78	x	1
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Paysanne bechant	G	79	x	

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1881	PISSARRO, C.	La Gardeuse de chevres	G	80		2
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Une Rue a Lower Norwood	WC and G	81	x	
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Paysage	G or tempera	82	x	
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Enfants dessinant	G	83	x	1
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Paysan emondant	G	84	x	2
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Le Retour a la ferme	G	85	x	3
1881	PISSARRO, C.	La Foire de St-Martien a Pontoise	G or tempera	86	x	1
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Paysannes du Val Herme causant.	G	87	x	3
1881	PISSARRO, C.	La Ravaudeuse	G	88	x	3
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Paysage	P	89		1
1881	PISSARRO, C.	Boulevard Rochechouart	P	90	x	5
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Dans l'Orage	P	103		
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Vue sur la Cour d'un charron	WC	106		
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	La Neige, au bord de l'eau	WC	112		0-3
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Homme portant un sac	WC	116		4
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Route d'Argenteuil	WC	119		1
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Dessin a la plume	Dessin a la plume	120		
1881	RAFFAELLI, J.-F.	Le Tas de verres casses	WC	121		4
1881	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	Portrait	dessin	168		
1882	CAILLEBOTTE	Marine	P	14		4 to 8
1882	CAILLEBOTTE		P	15		8
1882	CAILLEBOTTE		P	16		2
1882	GAUGUIN, Paul	Bebe. Etude	P	25		3 to 4
1882	GAUGUIN, Paul	Usine a gaz	P	28	x	5
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Etude dans un jardin	P	44		

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Etude dans une jardin	P	45		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Le Port Louis Philippe	P	46		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Petite fille	P	47		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Etude	P	48		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Etude au bord de l'eau	P	49		1
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Quai des Celestine.	P	50		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Carriere	P	51		2
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Payuax a la Bezin	P	52		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Carriere	P	53		1
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Pare d'Issy	P	54		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Jardin	P	55		
1882	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Bateaux sur la Seine	P	56		
1882	MORISOT	Vue d'Andrevy	P	98		3
1882	MORISOT	Paysage	P	99		
1882	MORISOT	Paysage	P	100		
1882	PISSARRO, C.	Paysan bechant la terre	G	126	x	
1882	PISSARRO, C.		G	127		
1882	PISSARRO, C.	Le Marche des fosses	G	128	x	
1882	PISSARRO, C.		G	129		
1882	PISSARRO, C.		G	130		
1882	PISSARRO, C.		G	131		
1882	PISSARRO, C.		G	132		
1882	PISSARRO, C.	La Recolte des haricots verts	G	133		2
1882	PISSARRO, C.	Paysanne couchee sur l'herbe	G	134	x	
1882	PISSARRO, C.	La Moisson	G	135		

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1882	VIGNON, Victor	tete d'adolescent	crayons	203		1
1886	BRACQUEMOND, M.	Jeunes filles	carton charcoal	1	x	
1886	BRACQUEMOND, M.	Cueilleuse de pommes	WC	5		1
1886	BRACQUEMOND, M.	Dans le jardin	WC	6		1
1886	CASSATT	Mere et Enfant	P	13		4
1886	DEGAS	Femme essayant un chapeau	P	14	x	11 to 19
1886	DEGAS	Petites modistes	P	15	x	10 to 18
1886	DEGAS	Portrait	P	16	x	4
1886	DEGAS	Ebauche de portraits	P	17		
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	19	x	27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	20		27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	21	x	27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	22	x	27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	23	x	27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	24	x	27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	charcoal and P	25	x	27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	26		27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	27		27
1886	DEGAS	Tetes de femme	P	28		27
1886	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Portrait	P	78		
1886	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Tete de jeune fille	P	79		
1886	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Enfant endormi	P	80		2
1886	GUILLAUMIN, A.	Travesti	P	81		
1886	MORISOT	Series de Dessin	dessin	92a		2
1886	MORISOT	Series de Dessin	dessin	92b		2

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1886	MORISOT	Series de Dessin	dessin	92c		2
1886	MORISOT	Portrait of Mlle L.	P	90	x	1
1886	MORISOT	Series d'WCs	WC	93a		3
1886	MORISOT	Series d'WCs	WC	93b		1
1886	MORISOT	Series d'WCs	WC	93c		
1886	MORISOT	Portrait of Mlle P.G. (P. Gobillard)	P	91	x	2
1886	MORISOT	fans - Le Patinage	WC	94a	x	8
1886	MORISOT	fans- Oies au bord du lac	WC	94b	x	8
1886	PISSARRO, C.	Vaches et paysannes	G	103		2
1886	PISSARRO, C.	Paysannes au soleil	G	104		4
1886	PISSARRO, C.	Gardeuse d'oies	G	105	x	8
1886	PISSARRO, C.	fan, Paysannes	G, red chalk, pencil	106	x	1
1886	PISSARRO, C.	6 etudes de paysannes	P	107a		9
1886	PISSARRO, C.	6 etudes de paysannes	P	107b		9
1886	PISSARRO, C.	6 etudes de paysannes	P	107c		9
1886	PISSARRO, C.	6 etudes de paysannes	P	107d		9
1886	PISSARRO, C.	6 etudes de paysannes	P	107e		9
1886	PISSARRO, C.	6 etudes de paysannes	P	107f		9
1886	PISSARRO, C.	etude d'entant	P	108		
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Illustration:Il etait une bergere	pen, ink, WC	116a	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Illustration:Il etait une bergere	ink and WC	116b	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Qui gardait ses moutons	ink and pencil	116c	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	elle fit une fromage	pen, ink, WC	116d	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	elle fit une fromage	pen and ink	116e	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Son chat qui la regarde	ink and WC	116f	x	5



Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1886	PISSARRO, L.	La Bergere en colere	pen, ink, WC	116g	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Elle s'en fut a confesse	ink and WC	116h	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Mon pere, je m'accuse	ink and WC	116i	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Nous nous embrasserons	pen, ink, WC	116j	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Nous recommencerons	pen, ink and pencil	116k	x	5
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Etude a Pontoise	WC	117		1
1886	PISSARRO, L.	Eglise de Bazincourt	WC	118		1
1886	REDON	Tete lauree OR L'Prisonnier	charcoal	124	x	4
1886	REDON	Beatrix	charcoal	130	x	2
1886	REDON	Profil de Lumiere	charcoal	137	x	5
1886	ROUART	Jardin de' L'Eveche a Blois	WC	143		7
1886	ROUART	Chateau du Moulin	WC	144		7
1886	ROUART	Porte du chateau de Blois	WC	145		7
1886	ROUART	Ruines de Bury	WC	146		7
1886	ROUART	Village de Moulineux	WC	147		7
1886	ROUART	Belle-Croix	WC	148		7
1886	ROUART	Interier de parc	WC	149		7
1886	ROUART	Jardins Beaumont, a Pau	WC	150		7
1886	ROUART	A Jurancon	WC	151		7
1886	ROUART	Place de Jurancon	WC	152		7
1886	ROUART	Fondamenta Nuove (Venice)	WC	153		7
1886	ROUART	Barque de Coggia (Venice)	WC	154		7
1886	ROUART	Falli (Venise)	WC	155		7
1886	ROUART	Bateaux de foin (Venise)	WC	156		7
1886	ROUART	Giudecca (Venise)	WC	157		7

Year	Artist	Title	Medium	ID	Known*	Reviews
1886	ROUART	Derriere le Redemptore (Venise)	WC	158		7
1886	ROUART	Pres la Dogana (Venise)	WC	159		7
1886	ROUART	Un soir dans la Giudecca (Venise)	WC	160		7
1886	ROUART	Pont St-Zanni et Paolo (Venise)	WC	161	x	7
1886	ROUART	Dans la Giudecca (Venise)	WC	162		7
1886	ROUART	A Murano (Venise)	WC	163	x	7
1886	ROUART	Maison des Morets (Mans)	WC	164		7
1886	ROUART	La grabaterie (Mans)	WC	165		7
1886	SCHUFFENECKER	P	P	174		
1886	SEURAT	Une parade	conte crayon	181	x	2
1886	SEURAT	Condoleances	conte crayon	182	x	2
1886	SEURAT	La banquiste	conte crayon	183	x	1
1886	SIGNAC	Au Café-Concert	dessin	199		3
1886	SIGNAC	Aux Tuileries	dessin	200		2
1886	SIGNAC	L'Ile des Ravageurs	conte crayon	201	x	2
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	239		2
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	240		2
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	241	x	11 to 13
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	242		2 to 4
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	243		3
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	244	x	7 to 8
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	245		4
1886	ZANDOMENEGHI, F.	P	P	246		4 to 6

APPENDIX E

DRAWINGS BY EDGAR DEGAS EXHIBITED THROUGH 1917,  
THE YEAR OF HIS DEATH

Table E.1. Locations of exhibitions that contained drawings by Edgar Degas through 1917  
(year of artist's death)

<b>Date</b>	<b># drawings</b>	<b>Exhibition</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Location</b>
1865	0	Salon	Paris	Palais de l'Industrie
1870	1	Salon	Paris	Palais de l'Industrie
1874	4	1st Impressionist	Paris	35 boulevard des Capucines
1876	1	Twelfth Exhibition of Pictures by Modern French Artists	London	Deschamps Gallery
1876	3	2nd Impressionist	Paris	11 rue le Peletier
1877	16	3rd Impressionist	Paris	6 rue le Peletier
1878	1	11 <sup>th</sup> Annual Exhibition of the American Watercolor Society	New York	National Academy of Design
1879	17	4th Impressionist	Paris	28 Avenue de l'Opera
1880	9	5th Impressionist	Paris	10 rue des Pyramides
1881	4	6th Impressionist	Paris	35 boulevard des Capucines
1882	2		London	White's Gallery (organized by Durand-Ruel)
1883	7		London	Dowdeswell and Dowdeswells
1885	3	Hotel de Grand Miroir	Brussels	
1886	14	8th Impressionist	Paris	1 rue Lafitte
1886	3+	Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionist of Paris	New York	American Art Association and National Academy of Design
1887	2		New York	Moore's Gallery
1888	2+		Paris	Boussod et Valadon
1888	1	Nederlandsche Etsclub	Amsterdam	
1888	1		London	New English Art Club
1888	1		Paris	Durand Ruel
1889	1		London	
1890	1			Camentron Gallery
1891	1		London	Mr. Collie's Rooms, 39B Old Bond Street
1891	1	Seventh Exhibition	London	New English Art Club

1892	1		Glasgow	La Societe des Beaux-Arts
1896	4+		Paris	Durand Ruel
1898	1		Berlin	Bruno and Paul Cassirer Gallery
1898	2	Exhibition of International Art	London	Prince's Skating Ring, International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers
1898	1		London	Boussod, Manzi, Joyant et Cie
1899	1	Fruhjahrs-Austellung	Dresden	Kunst Salon
1900	1	Exposition centennale de l'art francais	Paris	Grand Palais, Exposition Internationale Universelle
1901	4+		New York	Durand Ruel
1903	1		Paris	Bernheim-Jeune et Fils, Exposition d'oeuvres de l'ecole impressionniste
1903	1		Weimar	
1903	1	Entwicklung des Impressionismus in Malerei u Plastik	Vienna	Secession
1905	4	Pictures by Boudin, Cezanne, Degas, Manet...	London	Grafton Galleries/org by Durand-Ruel
1907	1	Modern French Paintings	Manchester	Manchester City Art Gallery
1908	1		London	New Gallery
1909	1	Aquarelles et pastels de Cézanne, H.-E. Cross, Degas, etc.	Paris	Benheim-Jeune
1911	1	Loan Exhibition of Paintings and Pastels by Degas	Cambridge	Fogg Art Museum
1913	1		Sao Paulo	Exposition d'art francais de Paulo
1914	1		Copenhagen	Statens Museum for Kunst
1914	2	Exposition de la peinture francaise au XIXsiele	Dresdin	

1914	1		Paris	acquired by Louvre - Caillebotte collection exhibited at some point
1915	6	Masterpieces by Old and Modern Masters	New York	M. Knoedler and Co.
1915	1	Panama-Pacific International Exposition	San Francisco	Palace of Fine Arts
1916	1	Founder's Day Exhibition	Pittsburgh	Carnegie
1917	1		Paris	Galerie Paul Rosenberg



Figure E.1. Edgar Degas, *Rehearsal of the Ballet*, 1873, gouache and pastel over monotype on paper, Nelson Atkins. (Exhibited at the National Academy of Design, *American Watercolor Society, Eleventh Annual Exhibition*, New York, 1878, and possibly at the Impressionist Exhibition III, Paris, 1877). L356.



Figure E.2. Edgar Degas, *Dancer with Red Stockings*, 1869, gouache and pastel over monotype, Hyde Collection. (Exhibited at American Art Association and National Academy of Design, *Special Exhibition: Works in Oil and Pastel by the Impressionists of Paris*, New York, 1886.) L760.



Figure E.3. Edgar Degas, *The Tub*, 1874. Hill Stead. pastel on blue-grey paper. (Exhibited at Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, 1911.)



Figure E.4. Edgar Degas, *The Ballet Master, Jules Perrot*, 1874. Philadelphia Museum of Art. essence on tan paper. (Exhibited at Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, 1914.) L364.





Figure E.5. Edgar Degas, *Rehearsal of the Ballet Onstage*, 1874. Metropolitan Museum of Art. essence with traces of watercolor and pastel over pen and ink on cream-colored wove paper, laid down on bristol board and mounted on canvas. (Exhibited at Deschamps Gallery, London, 1876; New English Art Club, London, 1891-2; Prince's Skating Ring, London, 1898; World's Fair, Paris, 1900; Knoedler Gallery, New York, 1915.) L400.



Figure E.6. Edgar Degas, *Rehearsal Onstage*, c. 1874. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Havemeyer Collection, pastel. (Exhibited at Knoedler, New York, 1915 and Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L498.



Figure E.7. Edgar Degas, *Standing Dancer Seen from Behind*, 1875. Orsay, essence on pink paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist II, Paris, 1876.) Not in Lesmoines.



Figure E.8. Edgar Degas, *The Chorus*, 1876. pastel over monotype, Orsay. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877; American Art Association, New York, 1886; Panama-Pacific International, San Francisco, 1915; Founder's Day Exhibition, Carnegie, Pittsburgh, 1916.) L420.



Figure E.9. Edgar Degas, *Dancer Onstage with a Bouquet*, 1879. pastel over monotype. (Exhibited at Knoedler Gallery, New York, 1915.) L515.



Figure E.10. Edgar Degas, *Ballet (The Star)*, 1878, pastel over monotype, Orsay. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L491.



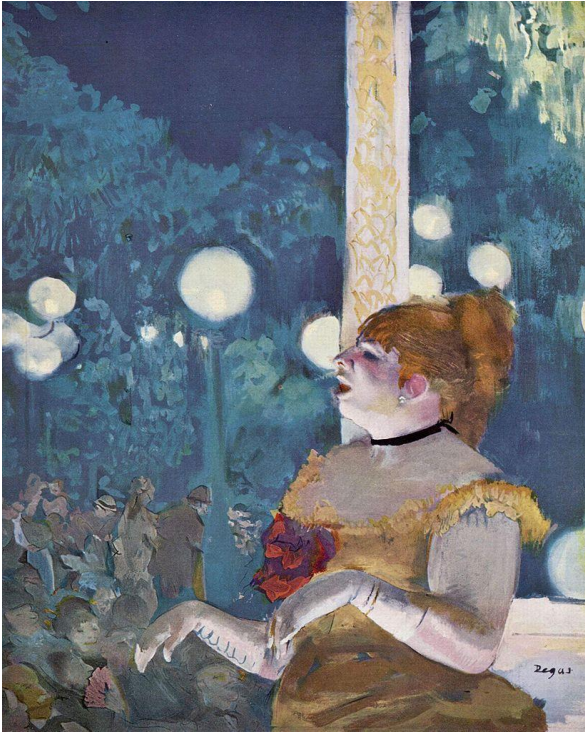


Figure E.11. Edgar Degas, *Song of the Dog*, 1879, gouache and pastel over monotype. (Exhibited at Galerie Rosenberg, Paris, and in New York, 1915.) L380.



Figure E.12. Edgar Degas, *The Café-concert Singer*, 1880. Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe watercolor and gouache on silk. (Exhibited in Bruno and Paul Cassirer Gallery, Berlin, 1898.) L459.



Figure E.13. Edgar Degas, *Portrait of a Dancer at Her Lesson*, 1879. Met, 1971.185 black chalk and pastel on three piece wove paper. (Exhibited at American Art Association, New York, 1886, and Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L450.



Figure E.14. Edgar Degas, *The Green Dancer*, 1882. Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum, Madrid, Spain, pastel and gouache. (Exhibited at New English Art Club, London, 1888; London, 1889; Bernheim-Jeune, 1903.) L572.

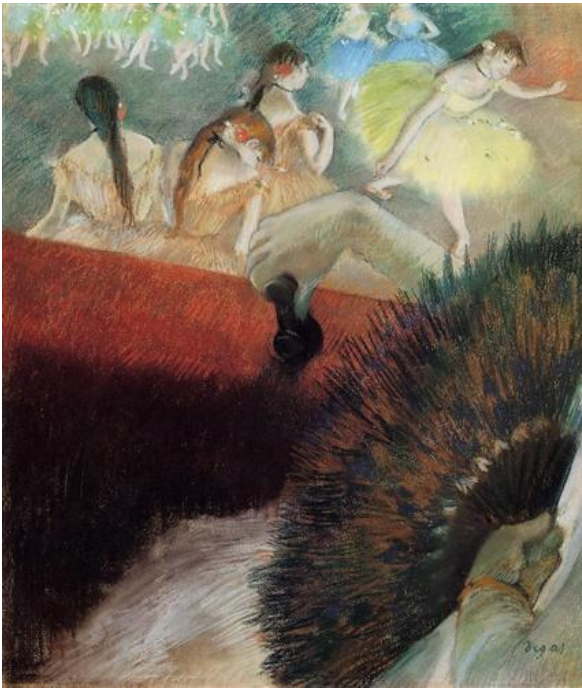


Figure E.15. Edgar Degas, *At the Ballet*, 1882. Private, France, pastel. (Exhibited in London, 1905 and Sao Paulo, 1914.) L577.



Figure E.16. Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's*, 1882. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Switzerland, pastel on pale gray paper. (Exhibited at Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, London, 1882, and White's Gallery, London, 1882.) L729.





Figure E.17. Edgar Degas, *Box at the Opera or La Loge*, c.1880. Private Collection. Pastel. (Exhibited at Impressionist V, 1880; Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, London, 1882 and White's Gallery, 1882.) L584.



Figure E.18. Edgar Degas, *Jockey's before the Race*, 1883. Barber Institute, Birmingham. oil, essence, gouache and pastel on paper. (Exhibited in Dowdeswells' in London, 1882.)



Figure E.19. Edgar Degas, *Jockeys*, 1885, pastel on paper on board. (Exhibited in Moore's, New York, 1887.) BR 111



Figure E.20. Edgar Degas, *At the Milliner's*, 1882. Metropolitan Museum of Art, pastel on pale gray paper (industrial wrapping paper) laid down on silk bolting. (Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886; Camentrans, 1890; Mr. Collie's Room, London, 1891-2; and Glasgow, 1892.) L682.





Figure E.21. Edgar Degas, *Woman Leaving Her Bath*, 1886. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Gibson. pastel over monotype mounted on canvas. (Exhibited at Boussod et Valadon, Paris, 1888.) L 891.

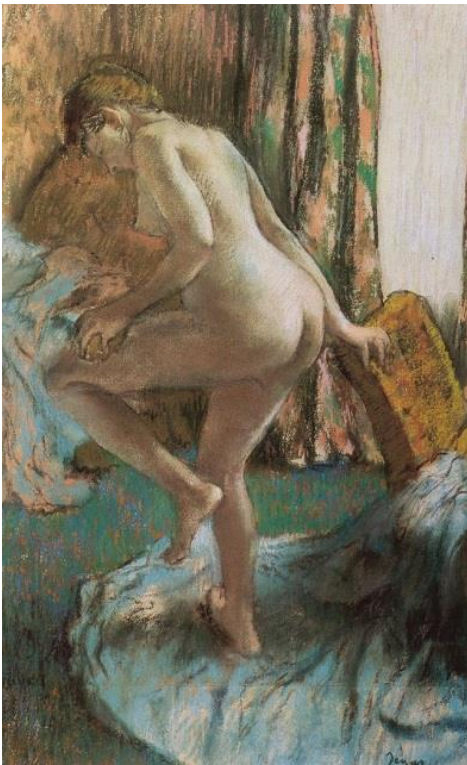


Figure E.22. Edgar Degas, *After the Bath*, 1886. Durand Ruel Collection. pastel over monotype mounted on canvas. (Exhibited at Boussod et Valadon, Paris, 1888; Weimar, 1903-4, and London, 1905.) L 717.



Figure E.23. Edgar Degas, *Dancers on Stage*, 1883. Dallas Museum of Art, pastel on paper. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, Paris, 1888.) L 720.



Figure E.24. Edgar Degas, *Singer in Green*, 1895. Metropolitan Museum of Art, pastel on light blue laid paper. (Exhibited in Dresden, 1899; Vienna Secession, 1903; Grafton Galleries, London, 1905.) L772.

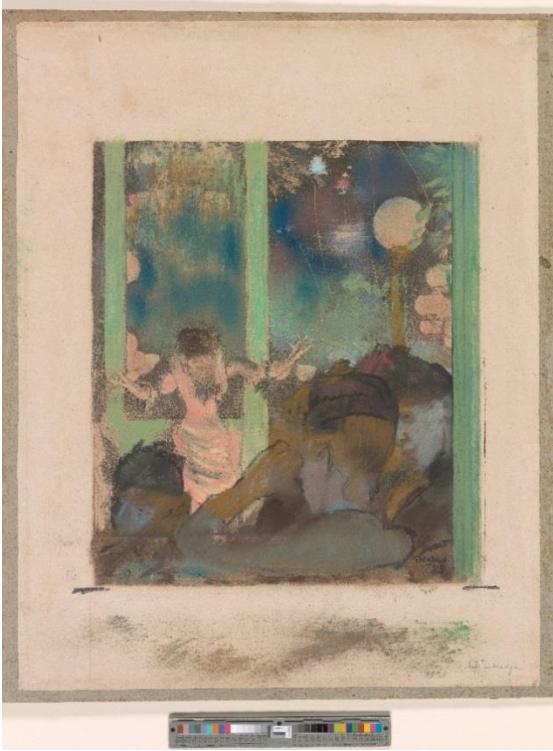


Figure E.25. Edgar Degas, *Mlle Becat at the Café des Ambassadeurs*, 1895. Thaw/Morgan, lithograph reworked in pastel. (Exhibited in London, 1898 and New Gallery, London, 1908.) BR 121.

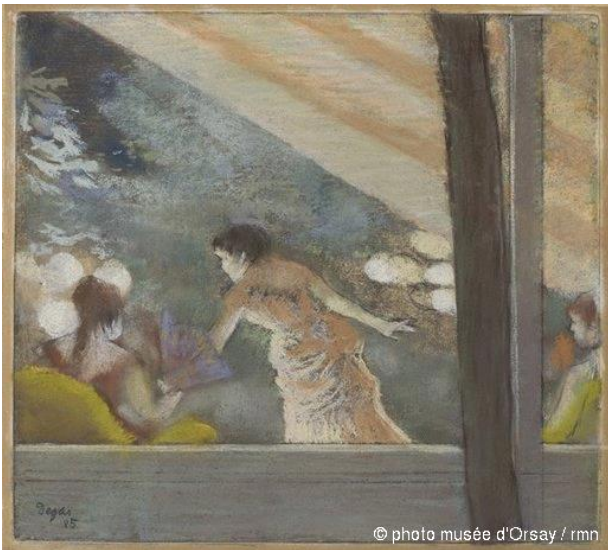


Figure E.26. Edgar Degas, *At the Café des Ambassadeurs*, 1885. Orsay, pastel over etching, monotype. (Exhibited in New York, 1886; Louvre permanent collection, 1914.) L814.





Figure E.27. Edgar Degas, *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub*, 1876-77. Metropolitan Museum of Art, charcoal and pastel. (Exhibited: Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L816.



Figure E.28. Edgar Degas, *The Morning Bath*, 1876-77. Metropolitan Museum of Art, pastel on buff wove paper affixed to pulpboard mount. (Exhibited at Impressionist VIII (Paris, 1886). L877.



Figure E.29. Edgar Degas, *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub*, 1876-77. Orsay, pastel on buff wove paper affixed to pulpboard. (Exhibited at Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886,) L872.

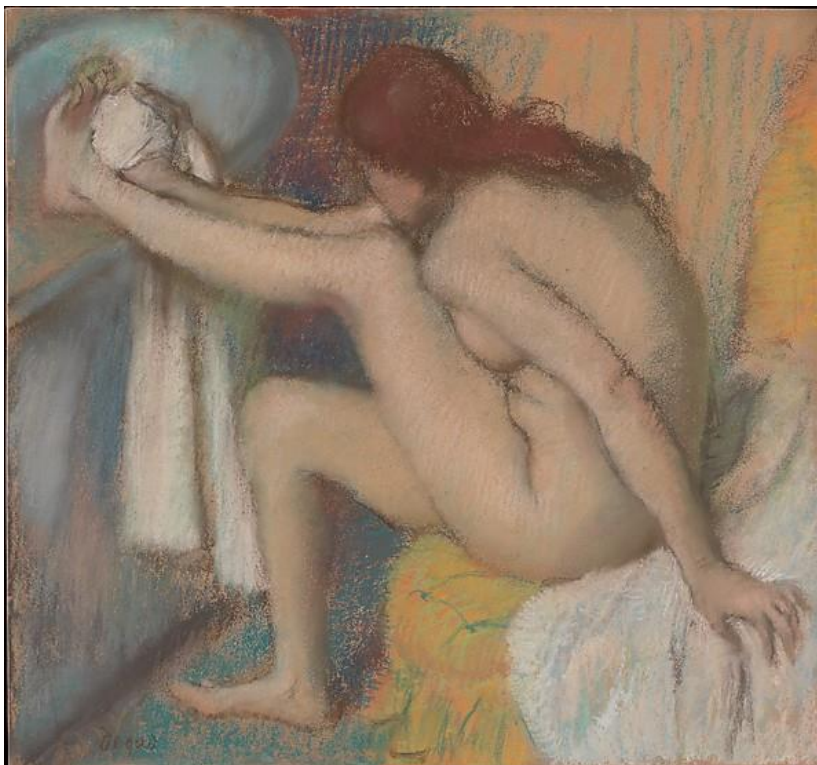


Figure E.30. Edgar Degas, *Nude Woman Drying Her Foot*, 1876-77. Met, 29.100.36 pastel on wove paper affixed to pulpboard. (Exhibited: New York, 1915, and (Maybe) Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L875.





Figure E.31. Edgar Degas, *Nude Woman Having Her Hair Combed*, 1876-77. Met, 29.100.35 pastel on light green wove paper affixed to pulpboard. (Exhibited at Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886; Bernheim-Jeune, Paris; New York, 1915.) L847.

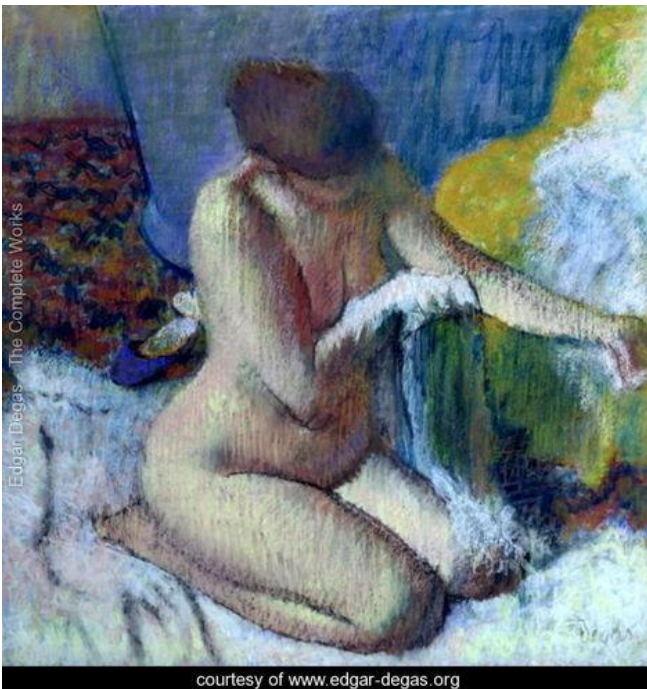


Figure E.32. Edgar Degas, *After the Bath*, 1882-84. Louvre RF 31343 pastel on wove paper with strip at top. (Exhibited: *Exposition de la peinture française du XIXe siècle*, Dresdin, 1914.) L1335.

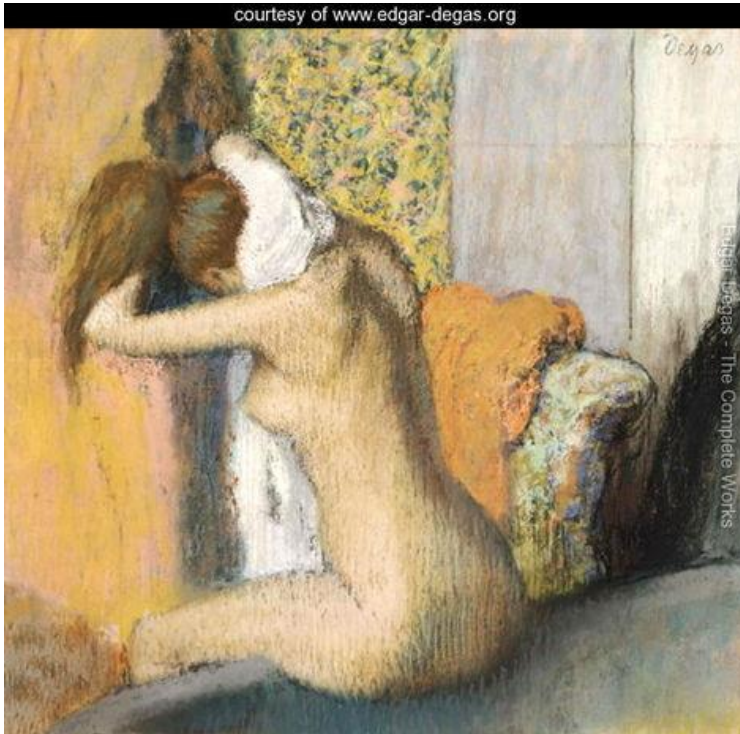


Figure E.33. Edgar Degas, *After the Bath, Woman Drying Her Neck*, 1883-84. Orsay, pastel on wove paper with strip at top. (Exhibited: *Exposition de la peinture française du XIXe siècle*, Dresdin, 1914.) L1306.

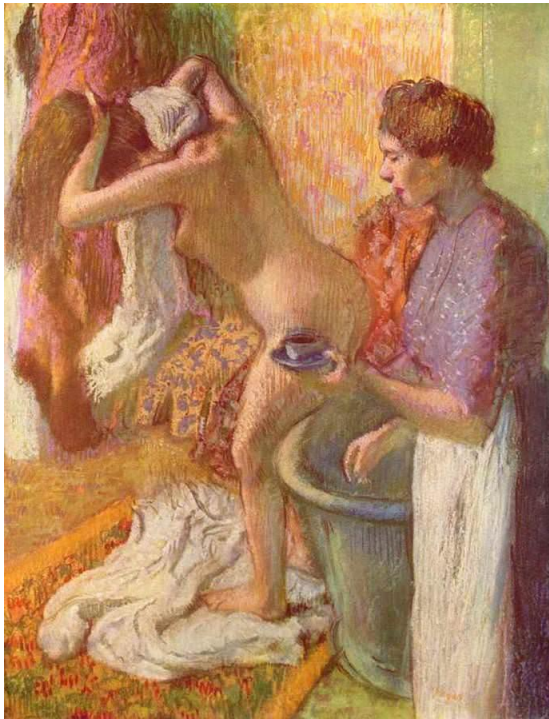


Figure E.34. Edgar Degas, *The Breakfast After the Bath*, 1883-84. Private pastel and brush, several pieces joined. (Exhibited in Paris, 1917.) L724.



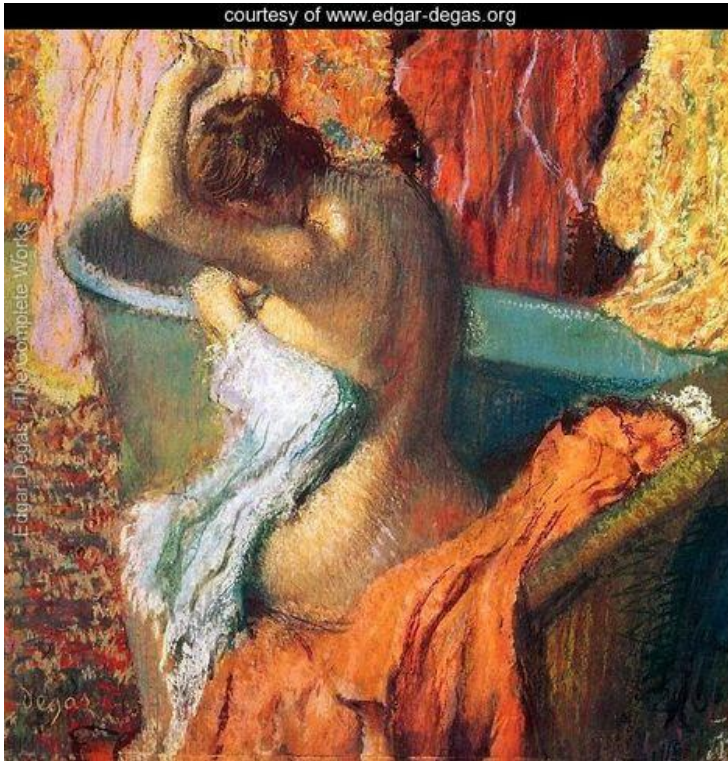


Figure E.35. Edgar Degas, *Seated Bather Drying Herself*, 1885-6. Robert Guccione and Kathy Keeton, pastel with strips. (Exhibited: London, 1905.) L1340.



Figure E.36. Edgar Degas, *Woman with a Towel*, 1885-6. Metropolitan Museum of Art, pastel. (Exhibited in New York, 1915.) L1148.





Figure E.37. Edgar Degas, *Washerwomen and Horses*, 1894 or 1898. Lausanne, charcoal and pastel on tracing paper. (Exhibited in Manchester, 1907-08.) L1418.



Figure E.38. Edgar Degas, *Mme Theodore Gobillard, nee Yves Morisot*, 1869, Metropolitan Museum of Art, pastel on paper. (Exhibited in Salon, Paris, 1870.) L214.



Figure E.39. Edgar Degas, *Bains de mer; Petite Fille peignée par sa bonne/ Beach Scene* National Gallery, London, essence on paper. (Exhibited Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L406.

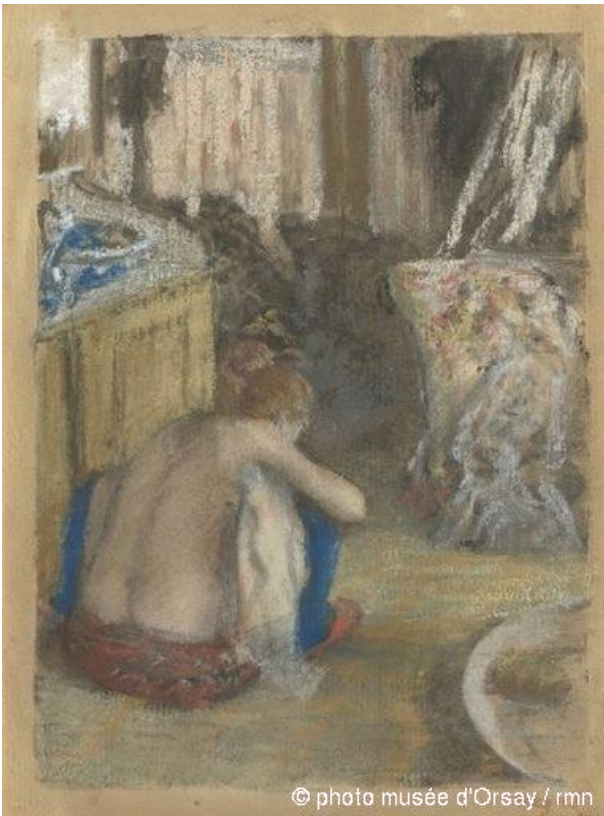


Figure E.40. Edgar Degas, *Femme nue accroupie de dos*, 1876, Orsay, pastel on monotype. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L547.





Figure E.41. Edgar Degas, *Femme sortant du bain*, 1876. Orsay, pastel on monotype. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877) L422.

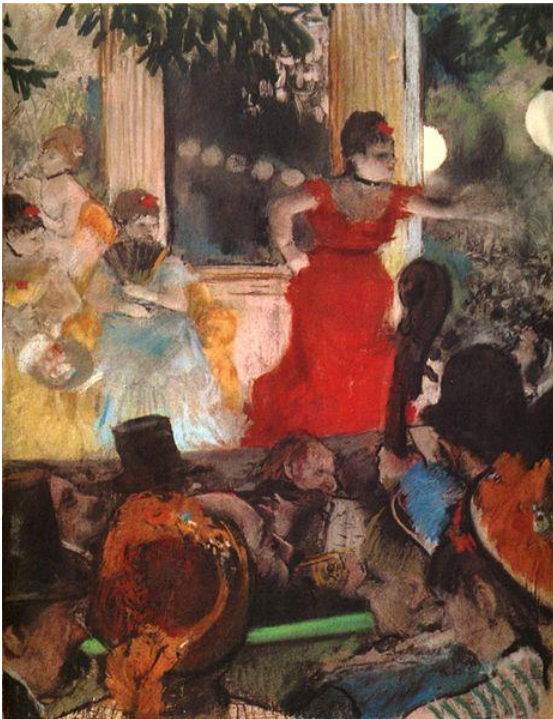


Figure E.42. Edgar Degas, *Café-Concert at Les Ambassadeurs*, 1876-77, Musée des beaux-arts, Lyon, pastel on monotype. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L405.



Figure E.43. Edgar Degas, *Café-Concert*, 1876-77, National Gallery of Art (via Corcoran), pastel over monotype on paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L404.



Figure E.44. Edgar Degas, *Danseuse, un bouquet a la main*, 1877. Orsay, essence and pastel on paper/canvas. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L418.





Figure E.45. Edgar Degas, *Femmes devant un café, le soir*, 1877. Orsay, montotype with pastel. (Exhibited in Impressionist III, Paris, 1877.) L419.



Figure E.46. Edgar Degas, *Woman in her Bath*, 1884. The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, pastel on paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L765.



Figure E.47. Edgar Degas, *Toilet of a Woman*, 1884. The State Hermitage Museum, pastel on mounted brown paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) B&R 82.

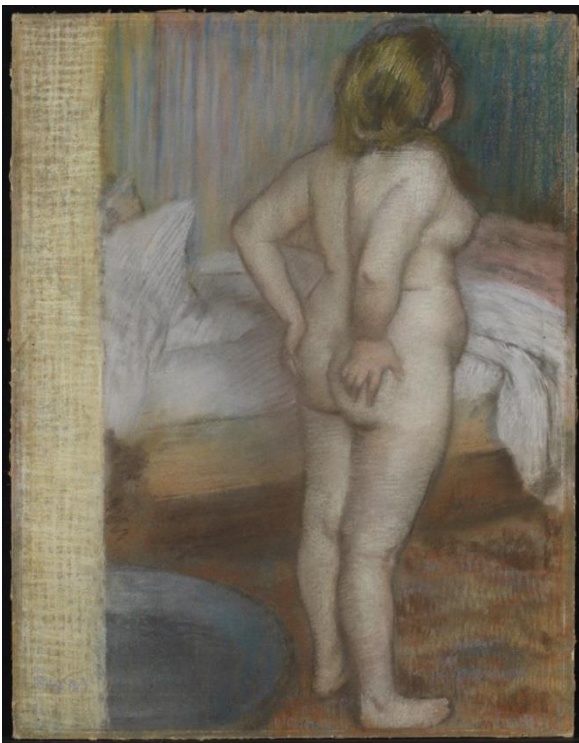


Figure E.48. Edgar Degas, *The Morning Bath*, 1886. The Henry and Rose Pearlman Collection, pastel on mounted brown paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L877.

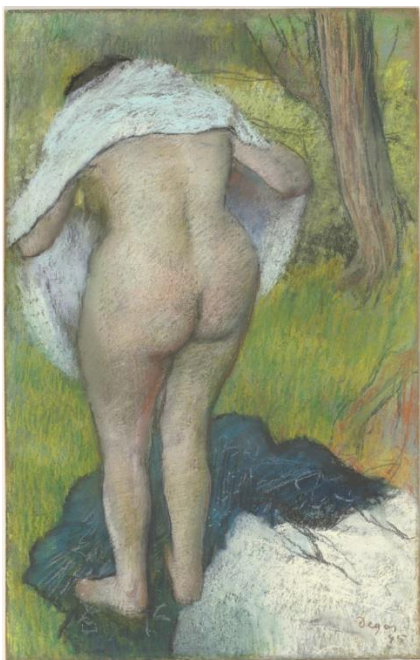


Figure E.49. Edgar Degas, *Girl Drying Herself*, 1885. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., pastel. Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) B&R 113.



Figure E.50. Edgar Degas, *Woman Bathing in a Shallow Tub*, 1885. Metropolitan Museum of Art, charcoal and pastel on light green wove paper, now discolored to warm gray, laid down on silk bolting. (Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L816.





Figure E.51. Edgar Degas, *Woman Combing Her Hair*, 1885. Hermitage, pastel on greyish-brown paper pasted on cardboard. (Exhibited in Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886, maybe.) L848.



Figure E.52. Edgar Degas, *Six Friends at Dieppe*, 1885. Rhode Island School of Design, pastel on wove paper laid down on canvas. (Exhibited at Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L824.





Figure E.53. Edgar Degas, *Portrait of Zacharian*, 1885. Private, Paris, pastel on paper. (Exhibited at Impressionist VIII, Paris, 1886.) L831.

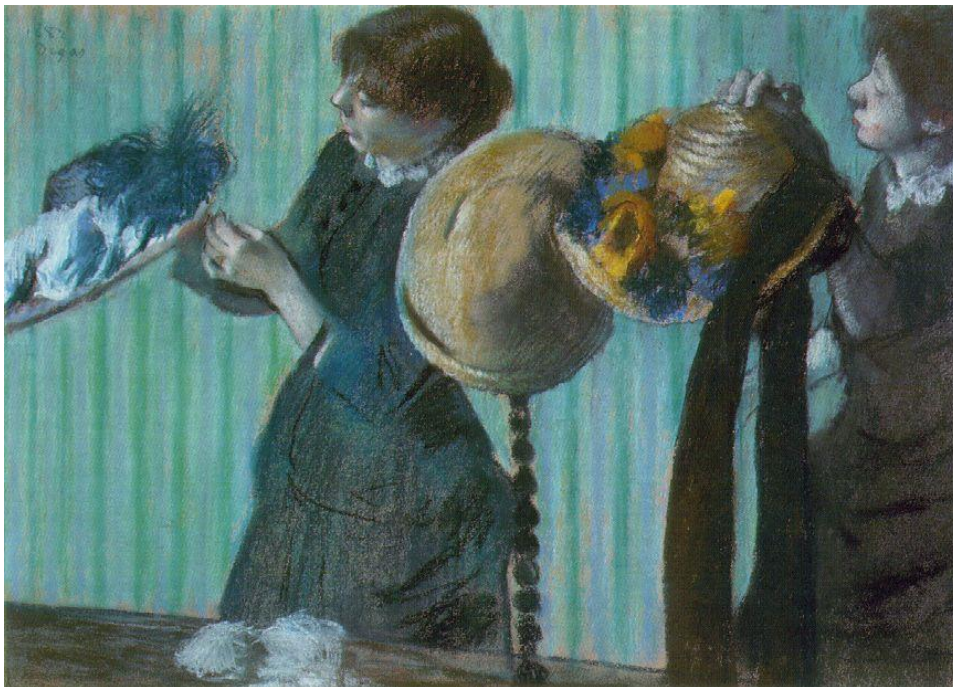


Figure E.54. Edgar Degas, *Milliners*, 1885. Nelson Atkins, pastel on paper. (Exhibited at Impressionist Exhibition VIII, Paris, 1886.) L681.



Figure E.55. Edgar Degas, *Portrait of Duranty*, 1879. The Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, pastel, tempera, watercolor, and charcoal on linen. Exhibited in Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879 and Impressionist V, Paris, 1880.) L517.



Figure E.56. Edgar Degas, *Two Ballet Girls*, 1879. Shelburne Museum, Vermont, pastel and gouache. (Exhibited at Impressionist V, Paris, 1880.) L559.





Figure E.57. Edgar Degas, *Dance Examination*, 1880. Denver Art Museum, pastel and charcoal on heavy gray wove paper, on three pieces. (Exhibited in Impressionist VI, Paris, 1880 and London, 1898.) L576.



Figure E.58. Edgar Degas, *Le Couché (Toilette)*, c. 1880. Alex Reid and Lefevre Ltd., pastel on paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist V, Paris, 1880.) L749.



Figure E.59. Edgar Degas, *Fan Mount: Ballet Girls*, 1879. Metropolitan Museum of Art, watercolor, gold, silver on silk. (Exhibited at Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L566.



Figure E.60. Edgar Degas, *Eventail: Le Ballet*, 1879. Present location unknown, gouache on silk. (Exhibited at Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L613.



Figure E.61. Edgar Degas, *Eventail: Deux Danseuses sur scene*, 1879, watercolor with silver on silk. Present location unknown. (Exhibited at Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) B&R 72.

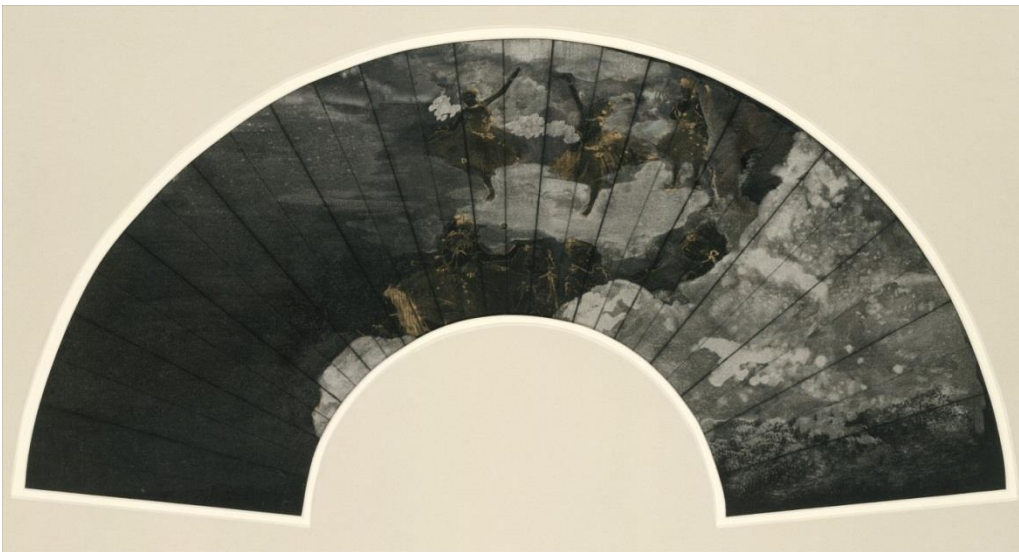


Figure E.62. Edgar Degas, *Fan Mount: The Ballet*, 1879, watercolor, india ink, silver, and gold on silk. Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Exhibited at Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L457.





Figure E.63. Edgar Degas, *Aria after the Ballet*, 1879, essence on paper, heightened with pastel and gouache over monotype, Dallas Museum of Art. (Exhibited in Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L521.



Figure E.64. Edgar Degas, *Loge de danseuse*, 1878-79, pastel and gouache on paper. Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz', Winterthur. (Exhibited at Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L529.



Figure E.65. Edgar Degas, *Chanteuse de Café*, c.1878, pastel. Fogg Art Museum. (Exhibited in Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L1946.



Figure E.66. Edgar Degas, *Ludovic Halevy et Albert Boulanger-Cavé dans les coulisses de l'Opéra*, 1879, Pastel and tempera on paper. Orsay RF 31140. L526  
Exhibited: Impressionist Exhibition IV, 60 (Paris, 1879)

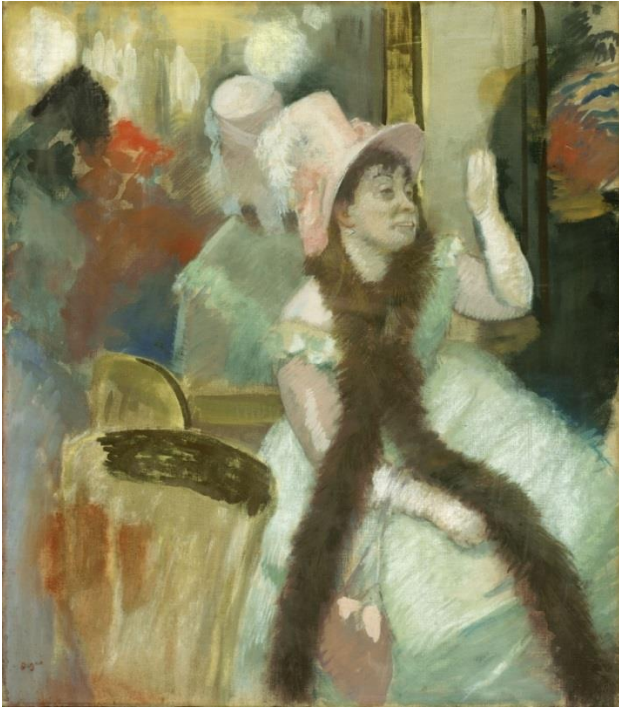


Figure E.67. Edgar Degas, *Portrait after a Costume Ball (Portrait of Mme. Dietz-Monnin)*, 1877/1879, distemper, with metallic paint and pastel on canvas. Art Institute of Chicago. (Exhibited in Impressionist IV, Paris, 1879.) L526.



Figure E.68. Edgar Degas, *Dancer Adjusting her Slipper*, 1875, thinned oil paint and sepia on pink paper. Private. (Exhibited in Impressionist II, Paris, 1876.) L388.





Figure E.69. Edgar Degas, *Woman Getting Out of the Bath*, 1876-77. Norton Simon, Pastel over monotype on paper. (Maybe exhibited in Impressionist IV, Paris, 1877.) L423.

**OR**



Figure E.70. Edgar Degas, *Woman Drying Herself after the Bath*, 1876-77. Norton Simon, pastel over monotype on paper. (Maybe exhibited in Impressionist IV, Paris, 1877.) L890.



Figure E.71. Edgar Degas, *Une Blanchisseuse*, 1869. Orsay, charcoal, white chalk, and pastel on tan paper. (Exhibited in Impressionist II, Paris, 1876.) B&R 62.

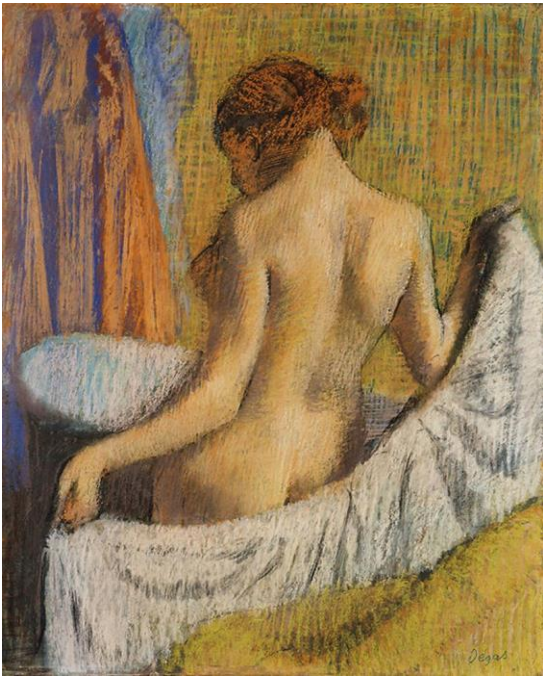


Figure E.72. Edgar Degas, *After the Bath*, c.1893-97, Fogg Art Museum, pastel. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, New York, 1901.) L1221.

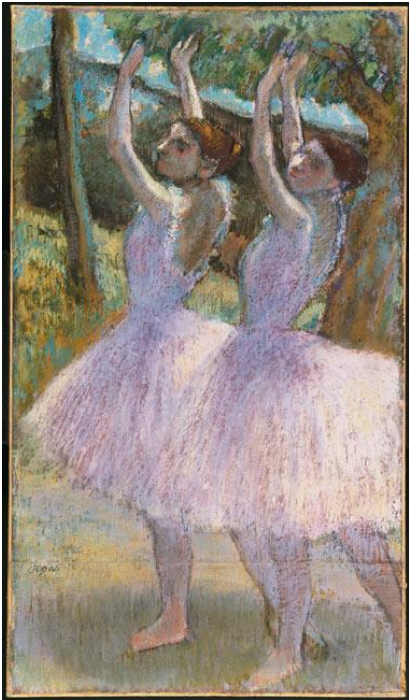


Figure E.73. Edgar Degas, *Dancers*, c. 1895-98, Fitzwilliam. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, New York, 1901.) L1386.



Figure E.74. Edgar Degas, *Autumn Landscape*, monotype with pastel. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, Paris, 1892-3.) L1055.



Figure E.75. Edgar Degas, *Landscape*, monotype with pastel. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, Paris, 1892-3.) L1045.





Figure E.76. Edgar Degas, *Landscape*, monotype with pastel, 1890-93. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, New York, 1901.)

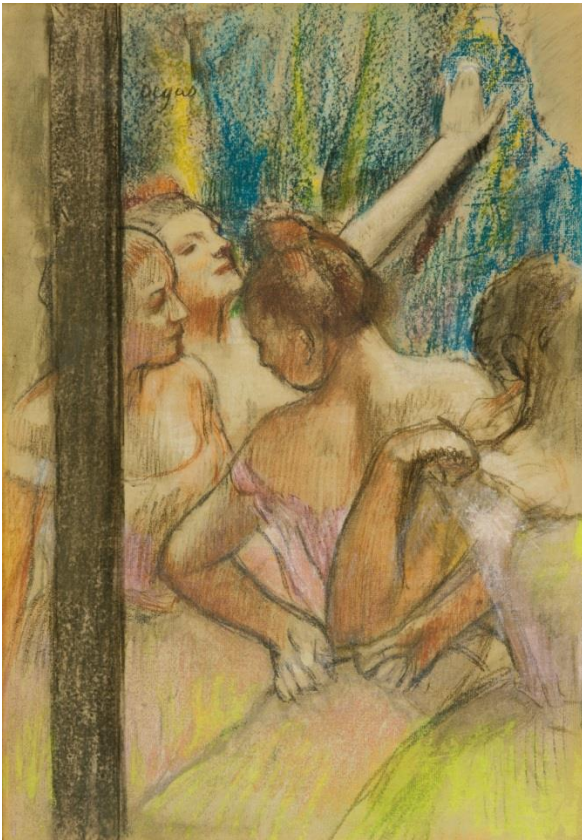


Figure E.77. Edgar Degas, *Dancers*, c. 1896. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, New York, 1901.) L.1248.

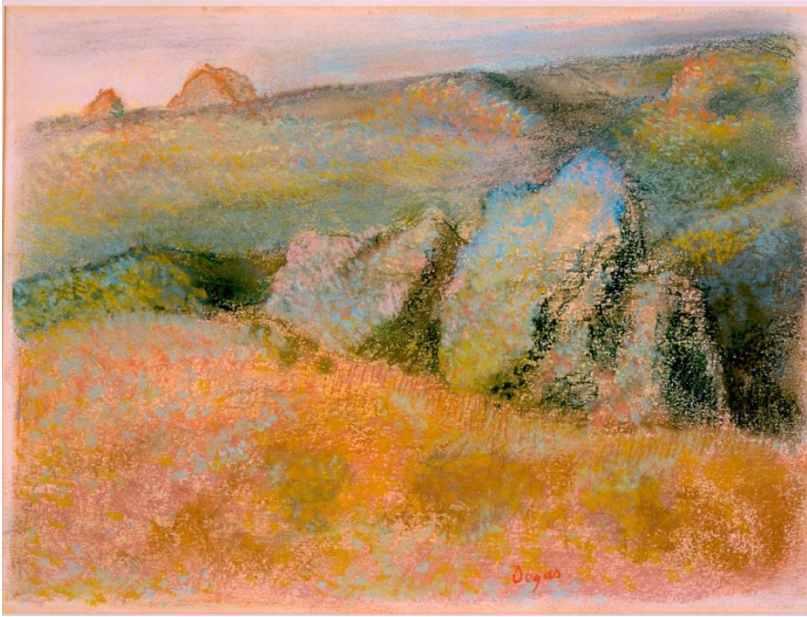


Figure E.78. Edgar Degas, *Landscape with Cliffs near Seashore*, monotype with pastel. High Museum of Art. (Exhibited by Durand Ruel, Paris, 1892-3.) L1041.

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Le dessin par les procédés phototypiques, revue des beaux-arts et de l'enseignement artistique, Ernest Bernard & C<sup>ie</sup>, Paris, octobre 1883 - décembre 1886.

*Le fusain*, E. Bernard et C<sup>ie</sup>, Paris, juillet 1880- juin 1883.

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Debra J. DeWitte completed her B.A. in art history at the University of Texas at Arlington and her M.A. in art history at Southern Methodist University. She is also the coauthor of *Gateways to Art: Understanding the Visual Arts*, which has been republished as *The Thames & Hudson Introduction to Art* and *Gateways to Art: AP Edition*. She has taught art history and art appreciation for over fifteen years and lives with her husband, daughter, and one dog.



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**M.A. in Art History, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX  
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Thesis: *Édouard Vuillard, Misia Natanson, and the Album Series: A  
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**B.A. in Art History, University of Texas, Arlington, TX (Honors  
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Honors thesis topic: *Looking Back on Velázquez: The Master's  
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### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

**Adjunct Assistant Professor at University of Texas at Arlington,  
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*Survey of Art History I & II* (50 students per class),

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**Instructor of Record at University of Texas at Dallas, Richardson, TX, 2009-2012**

Teacher of record for *Understanding Art*, an introductory art appreciation course. Fall, 2009, Spring 2010, Fall 2010, Fall 2011, Spring 2012, Fall 2012, Spring 2013.

**Adjunct Professor of *Survey of Art History II*, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX, Spring 2012**

**Adjunct Professor of *Methodologies of Art History*, University of Dallas, Spring 2011**

**Adjunct Professor of *Survey of Art History I and II*, Dallas County Community College, Dallas, TX, 2003 –2005**

**Curatorial Intern, Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas, TX, 2002 - 2003**

Participated in selection, categorization, and research of museum's 100 best works for upcoming Centennial Exhibition. Assisted in exhibition space planning and installation for large, multicultural gallery space. Trained docents, gave numerous tours, and participated in a variety of interpretive techniques. Responsible for all aspects of exhibition *Progressive Texas* under the tutelage of Dr. Dorothy Kosinski. Wrote essays for large Centennial publication and actively involved in team editing 100 articles. Acquired rights and photography for 50 essays in the Centennial publication.

**Intern, Exhibitions and Public Programs, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., Summer 2002**

Researched for video on Édouard Vuillard produced for exhibition on artist. Focused and prioritized large body of material on the artist for videographer.

**PUBLICATIONS**

Art Appreciation textbook *Gateways to Art*, coauthored by Kathryn Shields and Ralph Larmann (Thames & Hudson, October, 2011). Second edition released in October, 2015.

Book Chapter "Drawings in the Salon" in *The Paris Fine Art Salon, 1791-1881*, edited by James Kearns (Peter Lang, 2015).

Exhibition Review "Misia: Queen of Paris," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, Spring 2013.

Article "Vuillard's Album Series: A Mise-en-scène for Misia Natanson" *Rutgers Art Review*, Volume 21, Spring 2006.  
Essay *War and Photography* in Routledge's *Encyclopedia of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Photography*, Spring 2006.

Entry *Edouard Vuillard* in Routledge's *Encyclopedia of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Photography*, Spring 2006.

Essay *Alexandre Hogue's Drouth Stricken Area* for *Dallas Museum of Art, 100 Years*, 2003.

Essay *Texas Centennial Exhibition of 1936* for *Dallas Museum of Art, 100 Years*, 2003.

Entry devoted to American Art Collection for *Dallas Museum of Art, 100 Years*, 2003.

### **SELECTED PRESENTATIONS**

*Biographical Portraits of Lytton Strachey*, Human Kind: Transforming Identity in British and Australian Portraits, 1700-1914. The University of Melbourne, Australia, September 10, 2016.

*Analysis of the Exhibition of Drawings, Watercolors and Pastels in Paris, 1860-1890*. Graduate Student Symposium in Nineteenth-Century Art, Association of Historians of Nineteenth-Century Art (AHNCA), New York, March 20, 2016.

*Edgar Degas as Draftsman and Exhibitor*, Exhibition Design as a Vehicle for Artistic Expression, Research-Art-Writing (RAW), University of Texas at Dallas, March 5, 2016.

*Drawings at the Salon*, Painting for the Salon: 1791-1881/ *Le Salon, 1791- 1881*, University of Exeter, England, September 6, 2013.

Gave interview for radio program *Art Matters* (WWR, FM 101.1) on teaching Art Appreciation and writing *Gateways to Art*, May 24, 2012.

*Gauguin's Christ Complex: Sacrifice and Redemption in the Works of Paul Gauguin*, Research-Art-Writing (RAW), University of Texas at Dallas, March 24, 2012.

*Exhibitions in Paris: 1900-1914*, Session: Belle Époque – Fin de Siècle Southeastern College Art Association (SECAC), Savannah, GA, November 10, 2011.

*Magritte and the Matrix*, Research-Art-Writing (RAW), University of Texas at Dallas, March 27, 2010.

Chair: *The Absence of Art: War, Power, and Iconoclasm*. Southeastern College Art Conference (SECAC), October 19, 2007

*Teaching Visual Analysis Online*, Southeastern College Art Conference (SECAC), October 26, 2006.

*Édouard Vuillard, Misia Natanson and the Album Series: A Musical Mise-en-scène at Staging the Body Politic* symposium, University of Southern California, April 5, 2003.

## **AWARDS**

Paul Mellon Centre in British Art grant to speak at Human Kind conference in Melbourne, Australia.

Edith O'Donnell Scholarship and assistantship towards Ph.D in Aesthetics at University of Texas at Dallas, 2014 – present.

Edith O'Donnell Travel Award for Dissertation work in Paris, September-November, 2014.

Departmental Scholarship towards Ph.D. in Aesthetics at University of Texas at Dallas.

Platinum - Best Practices Award for Excellence in Distance Learning Teaching from United States Distance Learning Association (USDLA), 2008.

Nominated for Provost's Award for Teaching Excellence at University of Texas at Arlington, 2006.

Granted Provost's award to create and implement an online Art Appreciation course with the Center for Distance Education, University of Texas at Arlington, 2004.

Full scholarship and assistantship to M.A. Program in Art History, Meadows School of the Arts, Southern Methodist University, 2000-2002.