Rivals and Conspirators

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The Paris Salons and the Modern Art Centre

By

Fae Brauer

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FOR JUSTIN FLEMING

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

To make this book more accessible to English-speaking readers who have little or no knowledge of French, in most cases English translations of quotations and of terms have been provided, as indicated below. Exceptions include terms like *cercles, cimaise, refusé(s), exempté, hors concours, Sociétaire* and *vernissage* for which there is simply no English equivalent, and such well-established names as *École des Beaux-Arts, Grand Palais, Petit Palais, Salon de la Rose+Croix* and *Salon d'Automne.* The French term or title corresponding to the English translation is listed below.

Academician	Académician
Acquisitions	Achats d'Etat
Centennial	Centennale (Exposition Universelle)
Chamber of Deputies (lower house of parliament)	Chambre des Députés
Chief Inspector of Exhibition Services	Chef du service des expositions
City of Paris Municipal Council	Conseil Municipal de la Ville de Paris
Commission of Old Paris	Commission de Vieux Paris
Curator	Conservateur
Decennial	Décennale (Exposition Universelle)
Deputy (equivalent to MP)	Député
Fine Arts Academy	Académie des Beaux-Arts
Fine Arts Budget	Budget des Beaux-Arts
Fine Arts Superior Council	Conseil supérieur des beaux-arts
Fine Arts Inspector	Inspecteur des Beaux-Arts
Fine Arts Director	Directeur des Beaux-Arts
French Artists' Salon	Salon des Artistes Français
French Artists' Society	Société des Artistes Français
French Institute	Institut de France
French School Salon	Salon de l'École Française
General Assembly (parliament)	Assemblée Générale
General Commissioner of Exhibitions	Commissaire Général des Expositions
General Councillor of the Seine	Conseiller général de la Seine-Inférieure
General Inspector of Civil Buildings	Inspecteur Général des Bâtiments Civils
Independent Artists' Salon	Salon des Artistes Indépendents
Independent Artists' Society	Société des Artistes Indépendents
Luxembourg Museum	Musée du Luxembourg
Louvre School	L'École du Louvre
Municipal Paris Councillor	Councillor de la Ville de Paris
National Fine Arts Salon	Salon National des Beaux-Arts
National Fine Arts Society	Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts
National Museums	Musées Nationaux
National Museums Council	Conseil de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux
National Museums Superior Council	Conseil Supérieur des Musées Nationaux
National Museums Consultative Committee	Comité Consultatif des Musées Nationaux
National Prize	Prix National
Public Instruction and Fine Arts Minister	Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et aux Beaux-Arts
Principal Commissioner of Exhibitions	Commissaire principal des expositions
Principal Inspector of Provincial Museums	Inspecteur principal des Musées de province
Provincial Museums	Musées de province
Report on the Fine Arts Budget	Rapport sur le Budget des Beaux-Arts
Senate (upper house of parliament)	Sénate
Senator	Sénateur
Society for New Paris	Société de la nouvelle Paris
Special Consultative Commission	Commission Consultative Spéciale
State Fine Arts Undersecretary	Sous-Secrétaire d'État aux Beaux-Arts
Travel Grants	Bourses aux Voyage
Triennial Exhibition	Exposition triennale
Un Art d'État	State art
Union of Women Painters and Sculptors	Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs
Universal Exposition	Exposition Universelle
Winter Salon	Salon d'Hiver

PREFACE

VISITING *ONE FRIDAY AT THE FRENCH ARTISTS' SALON*

Figure I Jules Grün, *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français,* oil on canvas, 362x217 cms., no. 871, Salon des Artistes Français, 1911 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen; photograph of the author).

Fireworks of twinkling colours showered the Duke and Duchess of Guermantes' celebrated parties, while fountains flowed and orchestras played. Here distinguished artists from the French Artists' Society, like the Academician and renowned battle-painter, Edouard Detaille, hob-knobbed with princes and princesses, dukes and duchesses, ambassadors and scholars while savouring an ambience bubbling with the effervescence of the best champagne.[1] Fridays at the French Artists' Salon were like a Guermantes' party, as encapsulated by Jules Grün's painting, *One Friday at the French Artists' Salon*. (Fig. I) Friday was the most prestigious day of the week, "le jour sélect entre tous",[2] when the price of entry was the same as that for the Opening Day – nearly five times that of other days.[3] Fridays captured the surge of excitement of the Salon's traditional opening on May Day. It buzzed with the same kind of chatter as at the *vernissage* when the President of the Republic arrived with his official entourage to "unveil" the exhibition at midday.[4] Fridays and the opening day of the longest established Parisian Salon, like the launching of the Grand Prix of Paris at the Bois de Boulogne, the races at Longchamps or a Guermantes' party, was an unmissable event in the Spring social calendar. While the opening of the Independent Artists' Salon occurred on a Friday, often a week beforehand, in no way did this "down-market" social event pre-empt the openings or "Fridays" of this "official" salon. Like its predecessor, the Salon, it was in the words of Pierre Vaisse, "the great festival of art".[5]

Salon Fridays were a time when Parisian society women could be on parade in the latest Spring fashions specially designed for the occasion by the Magasins du Printemps or better still, by such *grands couturiers* as Callot, Cheruit, Doeuillet, Jacques Doucet, Pacquin, Worth or even Mariano Fortuny – the designer of unique garments for Marcel Proust's Duchesse de Guermantes.[6] It was a time when "Tout-Paris" came to see and to be seen in what Guy Debord calls the "Society of the Spectacle" – a society in which the accumulation of capital was displayed by exquisite silk parasols, hand-stitched chiffon ruffles, bowers of ostrich feathers, straw boaters and satin top-hats.[7] "All Paris" in the sense of the most cultivated in the capital, do appear to be in the painting as *L'Illustration* conveniently indicates by its enumeration of those one hundred or so portrayed by Grün.[8] (Fig. II)

Friday was also the day when poetry was recited, concerts were played and lectures on art were held, which may explain why the entry fee was so much more than on other days. Lecturers were introduced by the Academician Luc-Olivier Merson, who was President of the Fine Arts Academy. At the 1911 Salon, they included André Michael

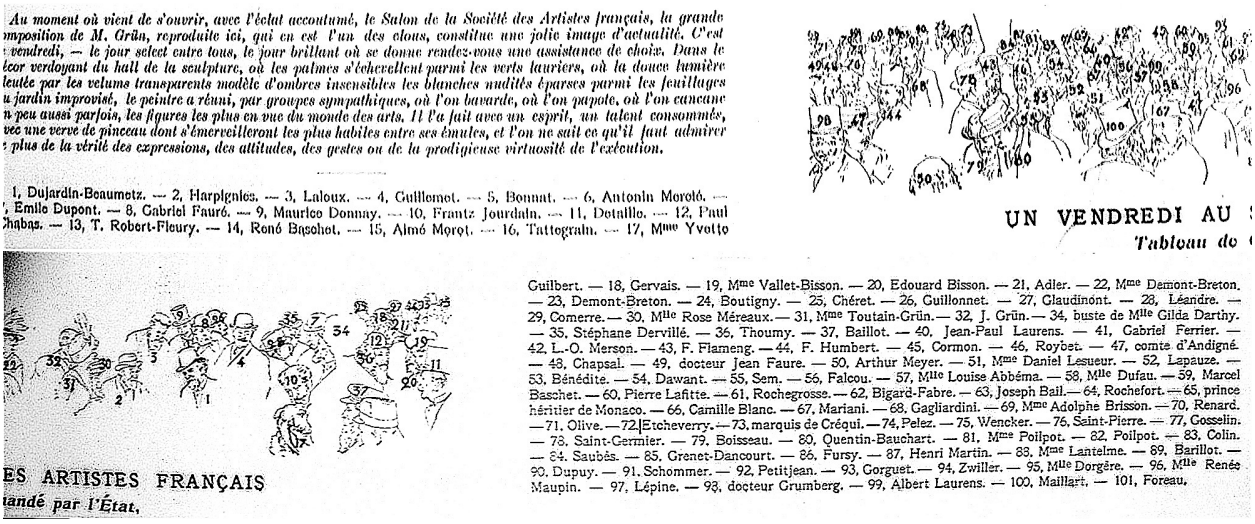

Figure II *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français, Tableau de Grün, commandé par l'État, L'Illustration*, No. 3558, 6 May 1911, pp. 360-361 (photograph of the author).

Figure III Anon., The Grand-Palais, as viewed from the Champs-Élysées, black and white photograph, 1902 (courtesy of L.L.-Viollet, Paris).

speaking on French sculpture at the Louvre; Albert Ballu on the ruins of Timgad and on castles designed during the Renaissance; Pierre Gusman on old and modern wood engravings; Louis Gillet on the painters of Christmas; Edmond Pottier on the distinctive quality of the earth in Tanagra and Meys on colour photography. Friday was also the day when the most prominent players in the art world congregated at the Salon for a buffet luncheon, organized by Labourdette, after which they nodded off at the afternoon concert or at a lecture held in the room designated for exhibitions of honour. More importantly for aspirant artists, it was the day when prestigious French art dealers like Georges Petit and the brothers Josse and Gaston Bernheim came to view, while Berlin dealers like Bruno and Paul Cassirer came to buy. Most importantly, the second Friday after the opening was not just the day when exhibitors

could apply for the National Prize and Travel Grants but when both the State and the City of Paris art authorities came to choose their acquisitions.[9] The setting of Grün's painting was no less strategic than its timing (Fig. III).

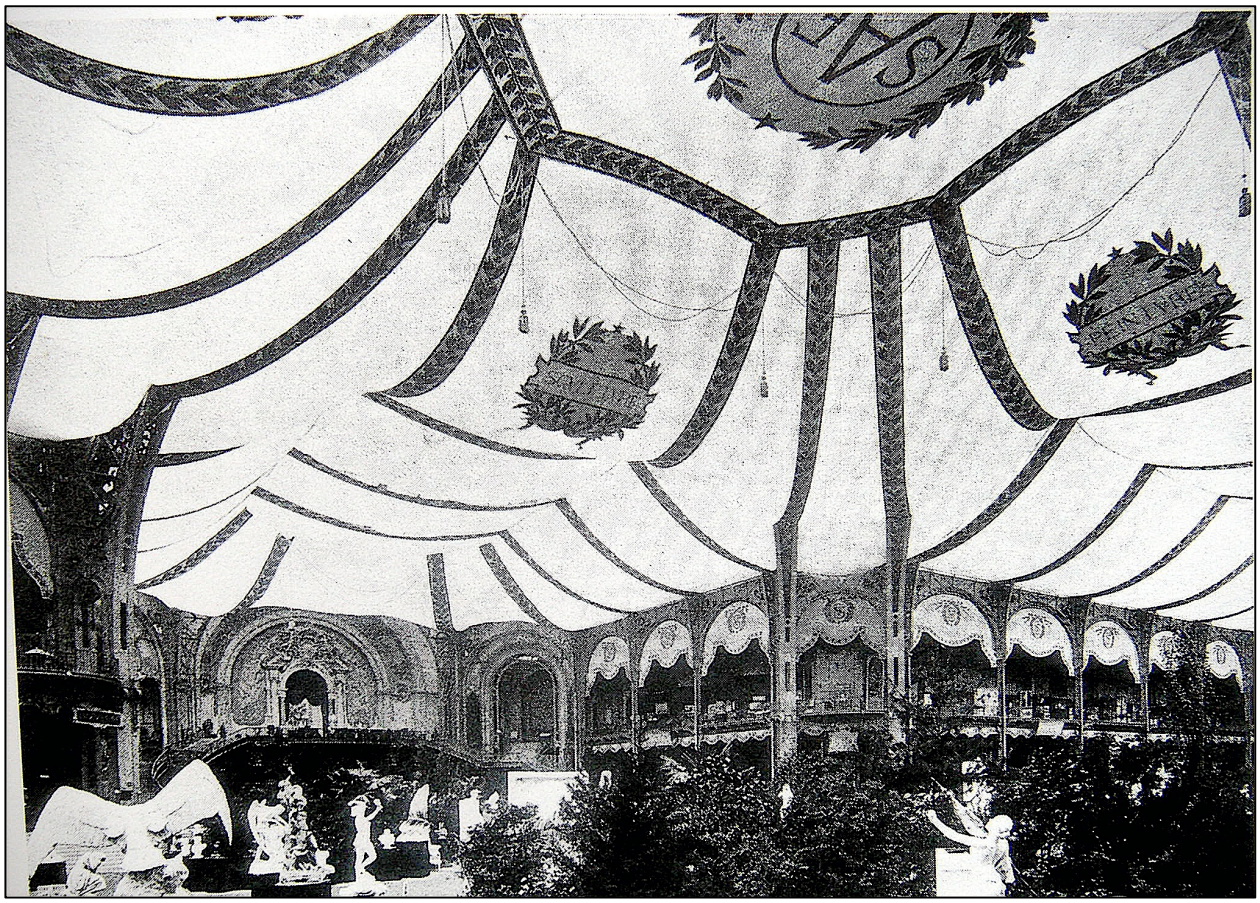

Figure IV Anon., black and white photograph of the vellum designed by H.-P. Nénot for the Jardin de la Sculpture of the Salon des Artistes Français, c. 1910, Biblioithèque Nationale de France.

With well over a thousand artists' submissions to be adjudicated, two-and-a-half thousand paintings to be hung, hundreds of prints, drawings, architectural plans and one thousand sculptures to be placed, flowers and plants to be arranged, furniture to be installed, caterers to be hired and security guards to be procured from the Louvre, the Salon took nine months to organize and well over a month to install. Held at the prestigious new palace for art located just off the exclusive Avenue des Champs-Élysées, rather than in the marquees erected by the City Council of Paris on the Quai d'Orsay for the Independents' Salons, the Grand Palais was a strategic site in the Parisian geography of fashion.[10] (Fig. III) There in Grün's painting of this site, "Tout-Paris" can be glimpsed chatting in the arcade galleries and spilling down the monumental staircases on either side of a huge arched niche into a vast open space. Far from being an incidental part of the Grand Palais, this was the Sculpture Garden. As may be gathered from the photograph of the vellum designed by H.-P. Nénot to modulate the light flooding its glass ceiling, there was an interplay of sculpture and plants in this garden. (Fig. IV) By 1911, the sculptures displayed there, as indicated by Grün's painting, were Raoul Larche's *La Sève;* Tissié's *Tout en Fleurs;* plaster busts of Mademoiselle Gilda Darthy and Madame Voucicault and behind the plants on the far right, Emmanuel Hanneaux' marble and bronze *Le Poète et la Sirène,* which won the Salon's 1903 Medal of Honour.[11]

Gathered between the sculpture and beneath the off-sight vellum softening the Spring sunlight, Grün portrays the most eminent artists, art collectors and art politicians of the day. "In every free space between the plinths and plants cultivated by the city's gardeners, sitting, standing and conversing," observed the art critic, Adolphe Tabarant, for *Le Gaulois*, "the most famous painters, the most renowned sculptors can be found mingling with art lovers, actresses and Parisian types."[12] These "Parisian types" include Grün (Fig. V) whose face appears far more concealed than in the engraving of him. (Fig. VI) By picturing himself standing behind his wife, the pianist and composer, Juliette Toutain, her ripe plum-coloured hat manages both to efface her husband and continue the circle of his beard from the spectator's viewpoint – perhaps not coincidentally. While the literati are hobnobbing face-to-face and back-to-back on the left-hand side of the canvas, a space seems to have cleared on the other side, leading like a pathway to a figure who appears to be holding court. (Fig. VII) Set in the fortieth year of the Third Republic, this is neither a Bourbon monarch like Louis XIV nor an Orléanist king like Louis-Philippe nor an emperor like Napoleon. As the enumeration in *L'Illustration* indicates (Fig. II), this was "number one" in the Paris art world: Henri-Charles Dujardin-Beaumetz.

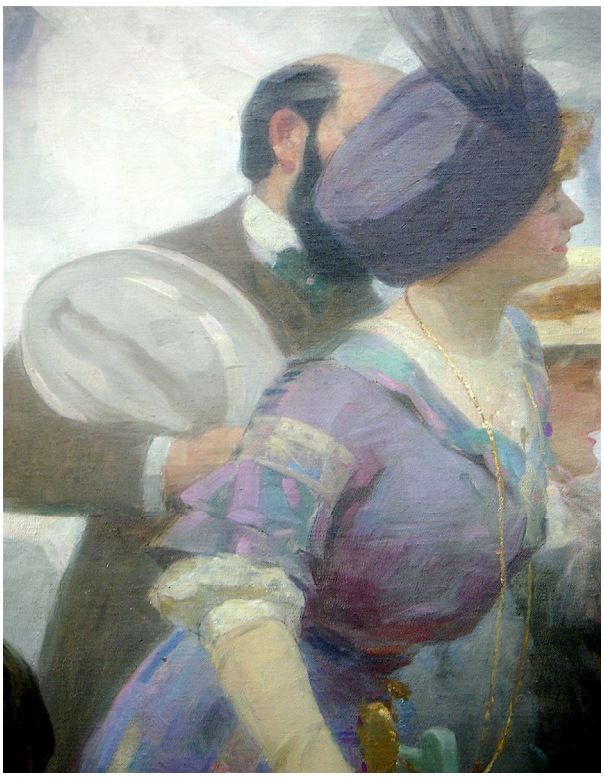

Figure V Detail, *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français,* Jules Grün behind his wife, Juliette Toutain (photograph of the author).
Figure VI Jules Grün, Engraving, J. Uzanne, Grün, *Figures Contemporaines,* (Paris: H. Fleury 1896-1908) (Musée d'Orsay Documentation; photograph of the author).

No. 1: State Fine Arts Undersecretary, Henri-Charles Dujardin-Beaumetz

The 1911 Salon was due to be officially opened by President of the Republic, Armand Fallières. As Fallières was away on colonial business in Tunisia, its forty-three galleries received the State's official sanction from the Minister for Public Instruction and Fine Art, Théodore Steeg, and the Fine Arts Under-Secretary, Dujardin-Beaumetz on 29th April. On 21st April, they had opened a very different kind of Salon, the twenty-seventh Independent Artists' Salon. Instead of being greeted by wholesome faces, bodies, buildings and plants depicted from single point perspective as in Grün's *Friday* and Bonnat's paintings, they encountered bodies and objects fragmented from multiple viewpoints by the Cubists, like Juan Gris' portrait of Picasso (Fig. 9.23), as revealed in Chapter Nine.

Puzzled but undeterred, unlike most of his colleagues, Dujardin-Beaumetz apparently sought the advice of the avant-garde poet-critic, Guillaume Apollinaire, as to how to decipher this artwork.[13] Unlike most Paris critics, he did not dismiss these young Cubists as immature pranksters mischievously misleading the public by a hoax, like the donkey-tail painting sent two years earlier to the Independent Artists' Salon in the name of Boranali.[14] This was possibly due to the fact that Dujardin-Beaumetz was one of those rare appointments to this position: A politician who had trained and exhibited as a professional painter,[15] who was an inaugural member of the French Artists' Society with renown as a spokesperson on universal suffrage in the arts, as revealed in Chapters Two and Three. As the Fine Arts Undersecretary he was also rare in exercising cultural pluralism in which painters as diverse as Matisse and Luc-Olivier Merson (no. 43) were acquired and Salons as polarised as the Independent Artists and French Artists were supported. Nevertheless his critics maintained that the ultimate beneficiaries of his policy were the Sociétaires at his own Salon.[16] This includes Grün.

Just as at the Guermantes parties, chairs were arranged strategically on the Salon's Fridays in little groups with their backs sometimes turned on one another.[17] In Grün's painting, the chairs around Dujardin-Beaumetz help to circumscribe his inner circle. To complete the circle, he may be gesticulating to Grün's wife (no. 32) to take the empty chair beside Rose Méreaux (no. 31). Alternatively, Grün's wife may have been seated and is now standing up to leave with her husband, who has doffed his hat to say goodbye. Just before leaving, Dujardin-Beaumetz may have grabbed a final word with the couple. With his right arm outstretched, his hand unfolded and upraised, the Undersecretary appears to be offering something. Judging from the wry smile rippling across the face of nonagenarian landscape painter, Henri Harpignies (no. 2), and the laughter bubbling from Méreaux, the Undersecretary's parting words are unlikely to be a pompous pontification.[18] Instead, they may have formed a wittily phrased proposition that went something like this:

> Jules, why don't you do a painting of the Salon on a Friday to commemorate its thirtieth anniversary next year? What a subject it would be for a painter of modern life in our time! It's a subject that would bring all your fine skills for irony and

caricature to the fore. Like Manet's *Music at the Tuileries,* it could make us laugh at ourselves. It could show us just how silly we look all dressed-up to the nines, chatting to one-another between potted plants and nude sculptures but seemingly oblivious to the ostensible reason for being here: The art!

Figure VII Jules Grün, *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français*, detail, portraying from left to right, Jules Grün, Juliette Toutain, Henri Harpignies (seated), Victor Laloux, Maurice Donnay, Henri-Charles Dujardin-Beaumetz (seated), Gabriel Fauré, Antoine Guillemet, Léandre, Stéphane Dervillé, Émile Dupont; by plinth and bust, Yvette Guilvert, Frantz Jourdain; to right of bust, Baillot (in uniform), Thoumy, Paul Chabas, Madame Vallet-Bisson and Edouard Detaille (photograph of the author).

Unlike Harpignies and Méreaux, Madame Toutain-Grün appears to be not quite so amused. With her head cocked to one side, Grün's wife seems to be listening attentively to what Dujardin-Beaumetz has to say. For her, as for her spouse, a State commission entailing almost as many portraits as Jacques Louis David painted for the Coronation of Napoleon was no laughing matter, especially as Jules had been somewhat overlooked in the commission stakes. That this may be the moment commemorated by Grün's painting is corroborated by the government inventory document, numbered 3830, proving that this huge canvas was commissioned by the State from the forty-two year old Grün on 25th February 1911, for the huge sum of 10,000 francs – around 100,000 euros today.[19] That this was a relatively unorthodox way for the State's art pontiff to commission an artist and acquire their artwork at a Salon may become clear after elucidation of the State's buying and commissioning processes.

A national museum cash deposit existed to provide ready cash outside the annual budget for just such spur-of-the-moment impulses.[20] Before Dujardin-Beaumetz became Undersecretary, his predecessors would visit the Salon accompanied by twenty members of the Artworks Committee (Comité des travaux d'art) who, after discussion, would make a list of acquisitions by the State. To focus upon acquisitions from the French Artists' and National Salons, Dujardin-Beaumetz's administration had established a Special Consultative Commission as a Sub-Committee composed of Sociétaires chosen by the Undersecretary from them exclusively for the task of determining what should be bought.[21] In order to cream off the best from these "official" Salons, as they were called, the Fine Arts Undersecretary

would visit them with all members of this Special Commission, before the vernissage or on the Friday after it, to make their first round of selection.[22]

The second round of selection involved sorting through requests for sales from those dismissed as mediocrities and hopeless cases who, to counter their neglect, besieged the administration with pleading letters or recommendations from their local member of parliament. These interventions did not always emanate from politicians, but from journalists, writers and art teachers pleading on behalf of their students.[23] In order to keep a tab on who said what, Dujardin-Beaumetz's administration kept a ledger book for each Salon with separate columns for the name of the artist, the title of their artwork, its number, its room, receipt of solicitations, politicians' recommendations and Committee members' comments. There followed bookkeeping entries for the number of votes it scored at the Selection Committee meeting to determine whether it was a "oui" or a "non". By the end of the Salon, the least bad out of the bunch were selected by Committee consensus. These acquisitions were then divided into two categories, according to their designation. The so-called "paucities" were despatched to provincial museums for the greater glory of their local electorate, whilst superior artworks were put aside for the national collection at the Luxembourg Museum.[24] However, before receiving the final stamp of approval, they needed to be vetted by the most powerful of all art committees, the Superior Arts Council. To ratify Grün's commission, Dujardin-Beaumetz would have needed to set in train a bureaucratic process no less complex.

First he would have needed to notify the Chair of the Artworks Committee and second, to inform the Chair of the Special Consultative Commission for acquisitions from the "official" Salons. He would then need to inform the Fine Art Inspectors responsible for checking the progress of commissions. Finally, he would need to contact his Head of Department, who needed to start the lengthy, often convoluted, paperwork leading eventually to an *arrêté* – a ministerial order, being issued and a contract being sent to the artist. As this time-consuming, paper-wasting procedure inevitably elbowed the State into taking the safe, middle course as a buyer, Dujardin-Beaumetz endeavoured to cut through the red tape and exercise his personal judgment uninhibitedly.[25] While the Committee Chairs and Inspectors may have raised their eyebrows and sighed in exasperation over such an unorthodox way of conducting government business, by 1911 they may have resigned themselves to their chief's cavalier attitudes. Impetuously buying a sea study by the twenty-four year old Francis Picabia on a rush visit to the Haussmann Gallery in 1905 and a Camille Maufra painting at his Durand-Ruel opening in 1910, without bothering to alert those he appointed to deal with such matters, Dujardin-Beaumetz became well-known for bypassing bureaucracy and taking matters into his own hands.[26] His off-the-cuff commission of Grün was no less idiosyncratic, which may explain the eight-month interlude between the vocal contract and the written agreement.[27] While the painting entered the Luxembourg Museum directly after being shown at the 1911 Salon, twenty years later it was despatched to the Rouen Fine Arts Museum.[28] Its ultimate destination may reflect Grün's dwindling status in the high art world when the tide had turned in 1932.

While the choice of Grün for such a massive group portrait was unusual, it was not unfortuitous. First choice would have been Bonnat (no. 5). From the time he exhibited his portrait of the first President of the Third Republic, Adolphe Thiers, at the 1877 Salon, Bonnat became, according to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, "the painter-laureate with the right to paint all the celebrities of the world, in politics, art, science and letters." Not without a touch of irony it surmised: "Everyone illustrious, as much in foreign countries as in France, was painted by Bonnat."[29] This included every President of the Republic and the Republic's most distinguished figures including its challenging historian, Ernest Renan (Fig. 5.3). Although best known for his paintings of prehistorical France, the next most likely candidate would have been President of the 1911 French Artists' Salon Painting Committee, Fernand Cormon. He would have been followed by Gabriel Ferrier (41), well-known for his society portraits as illustrated by Fig. 9.24, who would have been in turn followed by François Flameng (43) and Ferdinand Humbert (44) although both were better known for their history painting. The only eligible Sociétaire of the National Fine Arts Salon who was also an Academician portrait painter (Fig. 5.1), Carolus-Durand, was by that time President of the French Academy in Rome (at the Villa Medici) and out of this race. However, as none of these Academicians ever soiled their hands with the popular arts, they could not satirise the art-world players with such sparkling verve as Grün.

Ranked alongside Adolphe Willette and Jules Chéret as one of the three giants of the music hall poster,[30] while successfully navigating his painting career across the treacherous waters of the salon juries and State awards for twenty-five years, Grün would be no stranger to the underlying machinations at work during such prestigious occasions as a "vernissage" or Salon "Fridays". Dressed in a casual brown suit and beige crushed felt hat, (Fig. V) rather than in conformity with the sartorial elegance of Bonnat (Fig. VIII), Grün seems to have set himself apart from the crowd. Consistent with Baudelaire's *flâneur*, he seems to have rendered himself faceless and anonymous, "to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from it".[31] Both apart of the crowd and outside the mob, he is able to see what others may deny, disavow or be blind to: The lobbying and ostracizations behind the scenes of this dazzling stage.

Careerists and Lobbyists

Such occasions abounded in opportunities for lobbying. Six months after sitting next to the Fine Arts Under-Secretary at this opening, the ninety-two year old Henri Harpignies (Fig. VII) received the State's top award for his depictions of "la France profonde" (Fig. 1.25), and became Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour. Six months after bending so assiduously over Dujardin-Beaumetz, the prestigious architect and member of the Institute since 1909, Victor Laloux (no. 3), received the State's second top award to become Commander of the Legion of Honour. The painter François Schommer (91) was upgraded to Officer of the Legion of Honour; the painter Paul-Michel Dupuy

(90) became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, as did the painter Louis-Henri Foreau (101) and Grün himself. Admittedly, the groundwork had been laid well before this Friday opening, these awards being made largely for the patriotic participation by the French Artists' Sociétaire in the Brussels Universal Exposition that year where they were reportedly demonstrated the supremacy of French art. Yet as President of the French Artists' Society, Laloux carried a more loaded agenda. One of the most pressing issues to be negotiated was that of exhibition space, particularly as the success of the French Artists' Salon was so dependent upon its showcasing.

Figure VIII Jules Grün, *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français*, detail, portraying in the foreground from left to right, Arthur Meyer, director of the Legitimist Royalist newspaper, *Le Gaulois,* seated in conversation with the sculptor and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Société des Artistes Français, Emile-André Boisseau (1842-1923) and the writer, Pierre Quentin Bauchard (1881-1916), the history painter, Diogène Maillart (1840-1926) and the Italian portrait and landscape painter, Pompeo Mariani (1857-1927) (photograph of the author).

Laloux needed to ensure that the Fine Arts Undersecretary would continue to allocate to his Society the State's most modern and spectacular showcase, the Grand Palais, as is demonstrated in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.[32] Built for the 1900 Universal Exposition, the Grand Palais had been designed to replace the Palais des Industries as the State's largest exhibition palace, as its name signifies. While the French Artists' Society had been granted the Grand Palais for its annual Salon in 1901, as indicated in Chapter Seven, its traditional opening time and the Salon itself was threatened in 1902. Although singled out since 1907 as one of the few Salons permitted to exhibit there over a long term, Laloux would have been aware that the Grand Palais was not ceded automatically. His Society, just like others, needed to apply for it each year. Their application had to compete with many others that, by 1911, totalled nineteen, as revealed in Chapter Nine. These applications needed to be first inspected by a Grand Palais Sub-Commission, before being passed with their recommendations to a Commission consisting of two Deputies, one of whom was Georges Berger, who was not just the Government's architect and Fine Arts Reporter for the years 1897, 1898 and 1901, but Prefect of the Seine, head of the Office of Civil Buildings and National Palace, as well as head of the Office of Art Works, Museums and Exhibitions. The other was the meddlesome, domineering Inspector General of Civil Buildings, Jean-Louis Pascal, who was a member of the Institute and one of the two Vice-Presidents of the Salon's Architecture Jury. Since the President of this commission with the overriding say was the Fine Arts Undersecretary, it was imperative for Laloux to be part of his inner circle. As his presidential duties were extensive and not always straightforward, he was in need of every opportunity to have a quiet word in Dujardin-Beaumetz's ear.

One of Laloux's two Vice-Presidents, the sculptor, Emile-André Boisseau (no. 79) is pictured buttering up the only other "enthroned" male, Arthur Meyer (no. 50), director of the Legitimist Royalist newspaper, *Le Gaulois*. (Fig. VIII)

During the Radical Republic, the press had acquired so much power it was likened to a Fourth Estate, a situation Meyer did nothing to belie.[33] Since freedom of the press legislation, the newspaper had become, according to Meyer, as intrinsic to French ritual as the morning coffee. Due to Meyer's socialising, *Le Gaulois* had also become imperative to social climbing. The favoured newspaper of fashionable circles, this journal was mentioned by Marcel Proust in *Le Côté de Guermantes*, where he observed how this eminent family's name epitomising aristocratic exclusivity, was dropped daily in the social columns of *Le Gaulois.* Notoriously Dreyfusard, it was also far removed from such Radical Republican newspapers as *L'Aurore,* directed by Georges Clemenceau, which published Émile Zola's letter to the President of the Republic, *J'accuse,* on its front-page on 13 January 1898, the ramifications of which are pursued in Chapter Seven. Located at the other end of the political spectrum to the Socialist newspaper, *L'Humanité,* edited by Jean Jaurès, it was also at the other end of the cultural spectrum to such politically independent art newspapers as *Comœdia, Gil Blas, Paris-Journal* and *L'Intransigeant.* This was reflected by its choice of art critics. While *L'Humanité* employed Gustave Geffroy as art critic from its inception, the independent newspapers hired the polemical Louis Vauxcelles, as well as the young "poet-critics", Apollinaire, Francis Carco, Max Goth, Maurice Raynal and André Salmon to write about a diversity of art, including the avant-garde, as will be revealed throughout this book. Traditionalist to the point of openly opposing the avant-garde and the State's eclectic policy, *Le Gaulois* employed the relatively conservative critics, Louis de Fourcaud, Adolphe Tabarant and André Hallays, to write about academic art.[34] Proudly proclaiming itself as "backwards" *("arriériste"), Le Gaulois* was wholeheartedly supportive of the French Artists' Society, devoting at least ten six-column pages to review every Salon.[35] While it could be generally relied upon to give full coverage, it could also be relied upon to provide glowing reviews of the Salon's events, as illustrated by the extract cited earlier by Tabarant. Hence despite the spatial disparity of Laloux and Boisseau at the front and back of the sculpture garden, these two groups would have been mutually reinforcing, just as in a coterie.

Just behind Boisseau's group is Louise Abbéma (57). Pictured conferring with the celebrated anticlerical history painter, Jean-Paul Laurens (40), his brother Albert (99) and Henri Martin (87), this group would have also been lubricated by the glow of their many successes. The Academician Laurens and Martin owed their success more to their political timing. When Martin had entered the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, he had studied under his fellow Toulousain, Laurens. Regarded as part of the Toulousian school, both gained prominence during the Radical Republic, particularly after the Radicals and Jaureè' Socialists received support from the South West of France. Given the role played by the Grand-Orient of France in the Radical Republic, Martin's close involvement with the French masons helped to ensure his success, as did his adaptability. Stridently anticlerical, Laurens' painting was lauded by those who advocated laicization of the State. (Fig. 9.13) Their paintings were hung in provincial museums, ministers' offices, ambassadors' houses, prefectures and municipal councils, the Capitol of Toulouse, as well as the Élysée Palace.[36] Amongst the most commissioned and acquisitioned artists of the Radical Republic, they were "official" artists at the peak of their career, with the authority to justify their position centre-stage. Yet none of them is placed more centre-stage than Bonnat. (Fig. IX)

Seated on the twin-chaise are two women, the one in white organza turning toward the spectator being the actress renowned for her beauty, Ginette Lantelme (88), who had just featured on the front-cover of *femina* for her performance in *Le Marchand de Bonheur,* and who was married to the Director of *Le Matin.*[37] Behind her to the right is Bonnat. Both he and the Academician sculptor, Antonin Mercié (6) are portrayed listening attentively to the faceless white-hatted woman sharing the twin-chaise with Lantelme. By the Radical Republic Bonnat and Mercié were the most acquisitioned and commissioned artists in the Republic and known to support one another like "comrades in arms". As indicated by the white-hatted woman's gesticulation to an illustration possibly of Mercié's sculpture, his *Gloria Victis* (1.19) and *La Douleur* were talking points. To Mercié's right stands Léonce Bénédite (53). President of the Society of French Orientalist Painters founded in 1894, Bénédite had succeeded in persuading the Grand Palais Commission to grant this Society exhibition space at the Grand Palais every year from 1901.[38] Also an art writer who published regularly on contemporary artists, Bénédite's chief role was to direct the Musée du Luxembourg.[39] Appointed Chief-Curator of the Luxembourg Museum on 31 March 1892, Bénédite held immense power, particularly as most works purchased from this Salon and others by the State were placed on view at the Luxembourg, before the State decided to retain or despatch them to a provincial museum. With direct access to the national museum cash deposit, the Luxembourg Museum was also able to exercise its own autonomy enabling Bénédite to buy artworks directly. Yet Bénédite's power almost paled into insignificance by comparison to that of Bonnat, as will be revealed by this book.

Figure IX Jules Grün, *Un vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français,* 1911, detail showing Léon Bonnat standing behind Antonin Mercié and the hat of Madame Lantelme; directly behind Bonnat to the right is Jules Chéret (photograph of the author).

Marginalizations and Ostracizations

Well off-centre at the far side of the garden are the mid-career artists, Huber-Denis Etcheverry (72) and Émile Renard (70). Pushed to the back of this throng, even further away from the heart of the discourse is the Alsatian painter, Marie-Augustin Zwiller (94).[40] Although a well-established Sociétaire with Hors Concours, who had successfully exhibited at the Salon since 1882, receiving an honourable mention in 1888 and medals in 1892 and 1896, as well as being made Chevalier of the Legion of Honour in 1910, he was a constant thorn in the Society's side who rarely missed an opportunity to carp about its awards, painting limitations and marginalization of young artists as is revealed in Chapter Eight.[41] Yet even the prickly Zwiller did not suffer the ostracization experienced by President of the Salon d'Automne, Frantz Jourdain (Figs. VII and X) as will be expounded in Chapters Eight and Nine when we shall return to scrutinize Jourdain's location in Grün's painting (Fig. 9.17).

That Jourdain may have felt out of place, like an outcast amongst the natives, is not surprising. Jourdain made no secret of the fact that he had instigated the Salon d'Automne "to repair a certain number of injustices" and "to combat academic routine, the hatred of new ideas and popular interests".[42] Next to the Independent Artists' Salon, the Salon d'Automne was the only other large Salon where those called Modernists today, particularly interdisciplinary artists, could exhibit. Unlike the French Artists' Salons elevation of "grand art", it provided a forum for what Paul-Boncour

defined as "popular art" with new sections on books, photography, industrial art and music as well as, through Roger Marx's intervention, "Child Art" and art made in schools.[43] Unique in granting the decorative arts parity with all the other arts, its culturo-political identity was aligned with what Roger Marx called "l'art social"– "art for society".[44] Not permitted to exhibit in the prestigious Grand Palais when it opened in 1903, it had the following year. Alarmed at this conferral of equivalent status, the French Artists' and National Fine Arts Salons had fought vociferously against it being installed in the Grand Palais. In the face of increasing competition from the Salon d'Automne, the two official Salons had banded together to excommunicate it as is revealed in Chapters Eight and Nine. During the exhibitions of Cubism at the Autumn Salon, they almost succeeded. This may be why Jourdain is perched within earshot of Dujardin-Beaumetz, ready to pounce. All too aware of the French Artists' hostility, he seems not just propelled to the margin but clinging to it for protection, the only person willing to talk to him being the singer famous for her songs of Parisian life, Yvette Guilbert (17). Yet those who are conspicuous by their absence in Grün's painting suggest that there may have been many others who would have felt marginalized, none more so than President of the Independent Artists' Salon, Paul Signac.

Figure X Jules Grün, *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français,* 1911, oil on canvas, 362x617 cm., detail, Frantz Jourdain and Yvette Guilbert, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen (photograph of the author).

Internationally renowned for his Neo-Impressionist paintings and drawings, Signac was esteemed by his peers for adamantly adhering to the Independent Artists' Salon principle of "neither jury nor awards". This principle was inherent to his model of the Anarcho-Communist artist who "without caring for money, without desire for recompense, struggles with all his individuality against bourgeois and official conventions … basing his work on the eternal principles of beauty which are as simple as those of morality."[45] The opposite of the bastion of gatekeepers and hierarchy of awards that littered the French Artists' Salon, rarely would Bonnat or Detaille resist an opportunity to dismiss cavalierly the Independents' Salon artists as a Salon des Réfusés – a dumping ground for all those who failed to make the top grade or who simply refused to do so. The other absences pertain to gender, professional and national differences.

The sea of black coats and top hats that dominate the courtyard testify to male dominance. By 1911 less than 20% of the total number of Salon exhibitors were women artists.[46] One of the most esteemed was President of the Union of Women Painters and Sculptors from 1895 until 1901, Virginie Demont-Breton (22). Pictured standing by her husband, the painter Adrien Demont (23), this only child of the Academician, French Artist Sociétaire and celebrated Naturalist painter of peasant life, Jules Breton, appears comfortably ensconced amidst the teaming throng to the right of Dujardin-Beaumetz.[47] (Fig. XI) Having been accepted at every French Artists' Salon since 1881 when she won her first medal and honoured with the status of Hors Concours, unlike Jourdain, Demont-Breton no doubt felt at home rubbing shoulders with her fellow Sociétaires.[48] This feeling of comforting security that the like-minded can confer upon one another was no doubt shared by the group of women standing close by. Unlike other Sociétaires, Clémentine

Hélène Dufau (58) exhibited at both the French Artists' and National Salons as well as the Salon d'Automne, had been commissioned to decorate the New Sorbonne and been made Chevalier of the Légion of Honour in 1909. The other woman painter mentioned earlier, who exhibited annually at the Salon and who, following her close friend, the actress Sarah Bernhardt, made a point of wearing violet and saffron was Abbéma.[49] (Fig. XII) Like Dufau, Abbéma was one of few women to become Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and be extensively acquired and commissioned by the State,[50] having just finished a painting of Anne de Bretagne for them for 1,000 francs.[51] Amongst some sixty or more male artists, these three women artists signal not only the gross gender disparity at this Salon against which the Union of Women Painters and Sculptors had railed since 1881 but also the absence of other women artists. Where, for example, is the President of the Union of Women Painters and Sculptors, the Duchesse of Uzès? This raises questions about further professional absences.

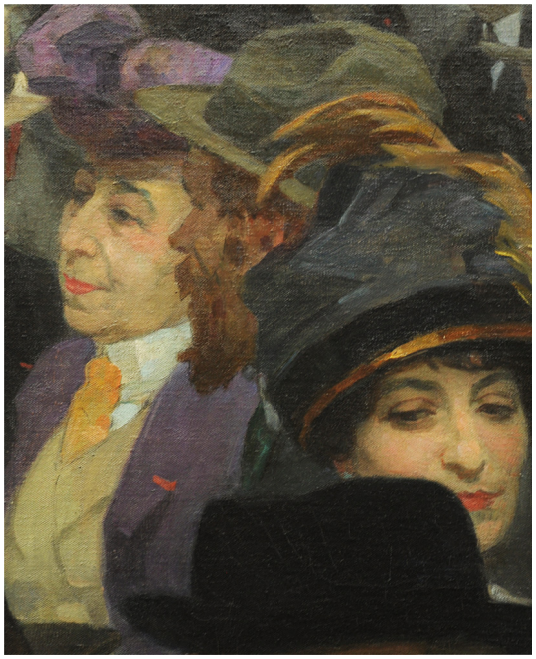

Figure XI *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Salon des Artistes Français,* detail, Virginie Demont-Breton (photograph of the author).
Figure XII *Un Vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français,* detail, Louise Abbéma with Hélène Dufau, right (photograph of the author).

Conspicuous Absences

Given the alliances forged between the National Fine Arts Salon and the French Artists' Salon from 1904 over international expositions and against the Salon d'Automne, as revealed in Chapters Eight and Nine, where is president of the National Salon, Alfred Roll? Given the closeness between many of their Sociétaires, where are Albert Besnard and Henri Gervex who were elected to the Academy in 1912 and 1913 respectively? These professional absences extend to those who worked in the decorative arts and who were therefore ranked as artisans rather than great artists at the French Artists' Society. Although the applied arts had been reluctantly admitted as a sub-section of the French Artists' Salon in 1892, admittedly without much success as is revealed in Chapters Five and Six, where is the renowned jeweller and silversmith who had exhibited at the French Artists' Salon since 1895 but who had migrated to the Salon d'Automne, René Lalique? Where are the "applied arts" medal of honour winners for 1910 and 1911, Marguerite Pangon and Louis Mathey? These absences extend to generational and cultural differences: Where are the young artists of this Society? Where also are those identified today as French Modernists, Georges Braque, Marcel Duchamp, Roger de La Fresnaye, Marie Laurencin, Fernand Léger, André Mare, Francis Picabia and Jacques Villon, all of whom were actively exhibiting their artwork at this time although not at the French Artists' Society? This list extends to what the French called *les artistes étrangers* – rather than *les artistes immigrés* – which may be translated as foreign, Diaspora or alien artists.

With more than one-third of the exhibition consisting of submissions from non-French nationals, those alien artists who helped to form and forge this Salon appear conspicuous by their absence. Where is the internationally acclaimed American painter, who was winner of the Grand Prix for painting at both the 1889 and 1900 Universal Expositions, Commander of the Legion of Honour, member of the Institute and Member of Honour of the Society, John Singer Sargent? Where is the Parisian American who had attained Hors Concours status at the Salon and who was integral to the Society of American Artists in Paris in 1911, Daniel Knight, and who, unlike many of his compatriots, had not defected to the National Salon?[52] Where are the expatriate Americans, who faithfully submitted their paintings to every Salon for almost twenty years and who had also achieved Hors Concours, Frank Boggs and Walter Gay? Where are those American artists listed in the 1911 catalogue, such as R.-C. Gamble, who lived at *The American and Art* on

boulevard Montparnasse? Where are the Australian painters, Julian Ashton, John Longstaff, James Quinn and Arthur Streeton who, unlike Rupert Bunny, Emmanuel Phillips Fox and his wife Ethel Carrick Fox, had not defected to the National and Autumn Salons? Where is the well-known Australian painter, Marie Tuck and her compatriot, Hilda Rix, whose feminist painting of a woman hunter astride a horse, with a rabbit slung over her shoulder, was hung "on the line" in this Salon and reproduced in the catalogue?[53] Where are the Algerian painters, Rigotard, Suykens and Tanzi? Where is the celebrated German painter, Max Liebermann, as well as the German artists, Schildknecht, Schmitt, Tzschupke and Umbricht, who had all attained the status of H.C.? Where are the huge number of English exhibitors listed in the catalogue from Brown to Woodforde?[54] Where are the Scottish painters, Robert Eadie and Kay Hunt? Where are the Spanish painters who regularly exhibited, Placide Zuloaga and Joaquim Sorolla-y-Bastida, who was also a member of honour? There are only two artists included in Grün's painting with non-French names, the fifty-four year old Italian painter who was an Honorary Sociétaire, Pompeo Mariani (67) and the sixty-five year old landscape painter born in France, Julien-Gustave Gagliardini (68).

This litany of absences are not just off-camera or off-canvas as if possibly caught up in the throng within the vicinity, but off-location. They are nowhere to be seen. If this tableau of the most important day at the most prestigious Salon personifies the hub of the Paris art world in 1911 according to a reliable but quizzical witness, where are those artists called Modernist who dominate most histories of art written about this time? Where are the Spaniards, Picasso, Juan Gris and Marie Blanchard? Where is the Czechoslovak František Kupka, the Poles Leopold Gottlieb and Eugène Zak, the Rumanian Constantin Brancusi, the Dutchman Piet Mondrian and the Polish Lithuanian sculptor Jacques Lipchitz? Where are the Italians Georgio de Chirico, Amedeo Modigliani, Rembrandt Bugatti, Umberto Boccioni and Gino Severini? Where are the large contingent of Russians − Archipenko, who had exhibited at the "coup de Cubisme" in 1911, Marc Chagall, Sonia Delaunay, Sergei Diaghilev, Alexander Exeter, Lyubov Popova, Marie Vasilieff, Ossip Zadkine, Wassily Kandinsky and his artist partner, Gabriele Münter, Mikhail Larianov and his artist partner, Nataliya Goncharova? Where is the Swiss painter Alice Bailly? Where is the Portuguese Amadeo de Souza-Cardosa and the Mexican Diego Rivera? Where are the American modernists who founded the New Society of American artists in Paris, John Marin, Patrick Henry Bruce and Morgan Russell? Where are these massive numbers of alien artists who, from the turn of the century, consolidated in their homelessness and "otherness" to form the "School of Paris"?[55] Although that term was not common usage until 1925, bonds were forged across these Diaspora artists' diverse ethno-cultural boundaries at their studios, cafés, bars and balls, teaching ateliers, dealer galleries and at the salons. Yet although many histories are written as if the Paris art world revolved around these artists, they were not the dominant "players". Despite the loudly trumpeted eclecticism of Dujardin-Beaumetz' policy, most Diaspora modernists were marginal and marginalized, having to form sub-cultures or countercultures in order to achieve visibility.

During the time that Grün's painting was exhibited at the French Artists' Salon in 1911, France's protectorate over Morocco was endangered unleashing a storm of xenophobic nationalism throughout the French press, which was only compounded by disappearance of the *Mona Lisa*. Within this siege psychosis, it was the international rather than national artist who was seized upon by the press as a negative, life-threatening incursion from the outside. Just as foreign businesses were accused of invading France through an influx of foreign labourers and products, as is unravelled in Chapter Eight, so were foreign artists accused of doing so through their art and culture in an insidious process that the new nationalist press and politicians called *"pénétration pacifique":* "Peaceful infiltration".[56] Cast into the role of the menacing outsider and rivalrous persecutor by nationalist politicians and the press, the once welcomed international artist was spurned as an alien. At the peak of this persecutionist paranoia, as revealed in Chapter Eight, it was not a French citizen who was arrested for the theft of the *Mona Lisa*, but the Polish born Apollinaire, prime defender of what he called "modern painting". Despite Cubism being "a thoroughly French invention", according to Gleizes and Metzinger, and despite the dominance of French artists within the Cubist Salon groups, "Kubisme" spelt with a German "K" was indicted as an alien art produced by aliens determined to corrupt French art. Accused of taking over the Salons with their inexorable Modernism, international Modernists were indicted as undesirable aliens contaminating French art − the one product regarded as unconditionally securing France's global supremacy and its "civilizing mission". By returning to the cultural and political events that lead to the end of the old Salon and formation of the French Artists' Salon in 1881, followed by the circumstances in which the Autumn, Independent, National and Women's Salons emerged as alternative forums, this book will unravel the complexity of relationships in which this happened.

Notes

[1] In *Remembrance of Things Past, IV, Sodom and Gomorrah* (trans. G. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin, London: Vintage, 1996) p. 41, Marcel Proust narrates how high society milled around the battle painter, Edouard Detaille, at a Guermantes party. On Princesse de Guermantes' introductory gesticulation towards him, Madame de Villemur was quick to retort that while not acquainted with Detaille, she was with his work. Proust narrates that Villemur's insistence was accompanied by "a respectful and winning air", together with "an imperceptible bow to the celebrated painter". Ignorance of Detaille's *œuvre*, particularly after the public acclaim of his painting, *Le Rêve (The Dream),* would have been regarded as a social *faux-pas*. Upon winning the Medal of Honour at the 1888 Salon des Artistes Français, as revealed in Chapter Two, *Le Rêve* was directly acquired by the State and hung in a prominent place in the Musée du Luxembourg from 20 February 1893 (Archives du Louvre, L2). Engraved reproductions were

displayed throughout the country in lycées, mayoral offices, provincial and colonial museums and sold through Detaille's art dealer, Georges Petit.

[2] G. G. (Gilles Grandjean, Conservateur territorial du Patrimoine), *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, Guide des Collections XVIIIe, XIXe et XXe Siècles,* Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994, pp. 176-177.

[3] *1883 Salon des Artistes Français, Chapitre IV: Des entrées: Par exception, le jour de l'ouverture et le vendredi de chaque semaine, le droit d'entrée est fixé à cinq francs toute la journée.* The Salon was open everyday from 8 a.m. – 6 p.m., except for Mondays, when it was open from 12 – 6 p.m. The cost of entry was two francs in the morning and one franc in the afternoon, except for Sundays and Fridays. On Sundays, it was one franc in the morning and free in the afternoon. On Fridays, it was five francs all day.

[4] The Salon's traditional public opening day of 1st May, can be traced back to the first Salon's openings at the Palais de l'Industrie, in 1857, after the Universal Exposition.

[5] Pierre Vaisse, "Introduction", «Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène», Le Salon de peintre et de sculpture, 1791-1890 (Bern: Peter Long AG, European Academic Publishers, 2010) p. 1: *la grande fête de l'art.*

[6] Ghenya, *Au Vernissage,* Le Figaro, 1 May 1910, p. 3: *... les expositions sont prétexte à toilettes nouvelles et nos jolies mondaines luttent de chic et d'inédit dans leurs robes et leurs chapeaux. Un des grands événements de la saison, le vernissage a été l'occasion, pour les Magasins du Printemps, d'un véritable triomphe. Ce ne fut une révélation pour personne, car nul n'ignore les efforts considérables faits par cette importante maison pour offrir à son élégante clientèle des robes et des chapeaux dignes des plus grandes maisons de la rue de la Paix.*

[7] Guy Debord, *La Société du spectacle* (Paris: Éditions Buchet-Chastel, 1967; Éditions Gallimard, 1992) p. 16: *Le spectacle est le capital à un tel degré d'accumulation qu'il devient image.*

[8] *L'Illustration* of 6 May 1911 lists 101 portraits painted by Grün; other accounts estimate the number at 104.

[9] Archives Nationales F21 4091: Letter, 20 April 1901, Director des Beaux-Arts to Bouguereau as President of the Salon des Artistes Français and Carolus-Duran as President of the Salon Nationale des Beaux-Arts in which the date for the acquisitions by the State of artworks exhibited at the 1901 Salon was set, in keeping with tradition, at 15 May. Applications for the *Prix National* and *Bourses aux Voyage* were the same day.

[10] The term, "geography of fashion", is used by Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion. A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Inc. 1988; revised, Oxford: Berg, 1998) p. 136.

[11] Hanneaux was best known for his sculpture, *Le Bûcheron,* exhibited at the 1883 Salon. His *Le Poète et la Sirène* was acquired by the State directly from the 1903 Salon des Artistes Français for 14,000 francs and remained in the Musée du Luxembourg until 1935. Three years after *Un vendredi au Salon des Artistes Français* was despatched from the Dépôt de l'État to the Musée des Beaux-Arts du Rouen, it was joined by *Le Poète et la Sirène.* These two artworks are generally exhibited alongside one another.

[12] Tabarant, *Les Salons de 1911: La Société des Artistes Français,* Le Gaulois, 29 April 1911, p. 3: *Entre les socles, sur le front des verdures disposées par les jardiniers municipaux, dans tous les espaces libres, assis, debout, devisant à l'envi, on reconnaît les peintres les plus célèbres, les sculpteurs les plus réputés, mêlés à des amateurs, à des actrices, à des types parisiens.*

[13] Pierre Cabanne, *L'Épopée des Cubistes* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Amateur, Paris, 2000) p. 146.

[14] Fay Brauer, L'Art *Révolutionnaire: The Artist as Alien. The Discourses of Academicism, Modern Painting and Cubism in the Radical Republic* (Ph.D. The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1997) chapter 3.2: *From the "Salon des Cubistes" to "Le triomphe de cubisme": The discourses of "néo-mallarmisme" and "la blague".*

[15] This is illustrated by the following anecdote told by Marquis Philippe de Chennevières*, Souvenirs d'un directeur des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Aux bureaux de l'Artiste, 1889) II, p. 54; cited by Roos, 1995, note 6, p. 262. When Guizard, who replaced Charles Blanc as Fine Arts Director in 1850, was asked the reason for his appointment, he apparently retorted: *"It's very natural ... my wife paints a little and my daughter plays the piano."* Dujardin-Beaumetz was married to the painter Marie Petiet, renowned for her exhibitions of genre scenes, portraits and her *Diane endormie* shown at the Salon des Artistes Français.

[16] Vaisse, *La Troisième République et les Peintres* (Paris: Flammarion 1995) p. 158, describes Dujardin-Beaumetz's policies as a form of *éclectisme prudent*. Vauxcelles, Salmon, Apollinaire, Puy and Goth all complained of his all-consuming eclecticism.

[17] Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, p. 658.

[18] Born on 24 July 1819, Harpignies would have been 92 by the 1911 Salon. From 1852, he exhibited at every Salon until 1912. *"Le Michelange des arbres"* as Anatole France called him, Harpignies' landscapes of the Île-de-France, Brittany, Normandy, Bourgogne and the Midi were regularly acquired by the State and despatched to provincial museums at Bordeaux, Lille and especially his hometown, Valenciennes. Although awarded six medals at the Salon and supremely eligible for the Académie des Beaux-Arts, he refused to ever become an Academician.

[19] Archives Nationales F21 4160.

[20] The Caisse des musées nationaux was created in 1896, to provide ready cash for acquisitions outside the annual budget. It was administered by the Conseil Supérieur des musées nationaux, under the presidency of Bonnat.

[21] Archives Nationales F21 4091. The Commission Consultative Spéciale d'acquisitions aux Salons de la Société des Artistes Français et la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts was constituted by Decree on 27 February 1905. A Sub-Committee of the Comité des travaux d'art were responsible for acquisitions from the Salon d'Automne and the Salon des Artistes Indépendants, as well as all other exhibitions.

[22] Vaisse, *La Troisième République et les Peintres*, 1995, p. 136: *Pour éviter qu'elles ne fussent vendues, le directeur et les membres de la sous-commission "écrémaient" le Salon avant le vernissage.*

[23] Letters in Archives Nationales F21 4749 and F21 2767 reveal that Laurens, Bonnat, Puvis de Chavannes, Paul and Victor Margueritte, Camille Saint-Saens and Zola all pleaded on behalf of their students and friends.

[24] Professor of French Literature and theatre critic, Gustave Larroumet was appointed by Lockroy in 1888, *Chef de cabinet* taking on the functions of Fine Arts Director. While secretary of the Fine Arts Academy, he had written *L'Art et l'État en France,* 1895, p. 11, making this point.

[25] Juste Guérin, "L'Exposition des acquisitions et des commandes de l'État au quai Malaquais", *Art et Décoration,* supplément de décembre 1911: *... les conditions dans lesquelles l'État opère comme acheteur sont telles et si complexes qu'il porte en lui une espèce d'obligation de médiocrité et du juste milieu.* As Guérin points out, the conditions in which the State functioned as a buyer were so complex that it was invariably forced to take the middle course and settle on mediocrity.

[26] Archives Nationales F21 4257 reveals that in 1905, Dujardin-Beaumetz bought Picabia's *Étude de marine* and in 1906, *Le Pont de Villeneuve sur Yonne par la neige,* which was exhibited with the State's acquisitions. In 1908, he also acquired two of Picabia's coloured engravings. He acquired the Maufra painting in November 1910.

[27] This interlude suggests that Dujardin-Beaumetz may have forgotten, yet again, to alert his administrators and was only reminded to do so when Grün reported on his painting's progress.

[28] Musée des Beaux-Arts Archives, Rouen. In a letter dated 7 March 1932, Le Préfet de la Seine–Inférieure advised the Maire du Rouen that le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts had assigned Grün's painting to the Rouen Museum. Apropos of transport costs, he advised: *Cette œuvre vous sera expédiée prochainement contre remboursement des frais d'emballage et de transport qui demeurent, comme d'usage, à la charge de la ville.* The receipt for the painting was signed by the Directeur du Musée de Peinture, F. Guey, on 8 May 1932.

[29] Musée d'Orsay Documentation: "Bonnat 1833-1922", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1922, p. 12: *Bonnat, dès lors, continue avec toutes les célébrités du monde, de la politique, des arts, des sciences, des lettres. Tout ce qui est illustre, tant à l'étranger qu'en France, veut être peint par Bonnat.* This was despite what this reviewer identified as his formulaic approach to portraiture whereby his sitters were only ever depicted detached from their environments and illuminated by a dentist's spotlight. His concept of *"plein air"*, as this reviewer points out, was only something to breathe.

[30] Gustave Soulier, "Grün", *Art et Décoration,* Tome X, 2e semester, 1901, pp. 147-154. While Grün had studied painting under Guillemet, first exhibiting at the Salon aged seventeen, he had also studied the decorative arts under Lavastre, the major decorator of the Paris Opera. Some of his best known posters were: *Avoir une bicyclette Kymris,* 1898; *La boîte à Fursy,* 1899; *T'y viens t'y* (for the *Revue de la Cigale*), 1900; *Loïe Fuller,* 1900, *Napoli* (for the Folies-Bergère ballet-pantomine), 1901; *High Life Tailor*, 1902 and *Le Bal Tabarin,* 1904.

[31] Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (London: Phaidon, 1964) p. 9.

[32] According to the Minutes of the "Sous-Comité du 15 décembre 1911", *Compte Rendu du Société des Artistes Français Procès-Verbaux,* 15 December 1911, p. 270, the letter from the Fine Arts Undersecretary confirming the State's allocation of the Grand Palais to the French Artists' Salon was dated as late as 5 December 1911.

[33] Fay Brauer, "Commercial Spies and Cultural Invaders: The French Press, Pénétration Pacifique and Xenophobic Nationalism in the Shadow of War", *Printed Matters: Printing, Publishing and Urban Culture in Europe in the Modern Period,* eds. Malcolm Gee and Tim Kirk (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002) pp. 105-132.

[34] Brauer, *L'Art révolutionnaire*, 1997; refer specifically Chapter One.

[35] Louis Vauxcelles and Paul Pottier, "La Presse d'aujourd'hui, 'Le Gaulois'", *Gil Blas,* 2 October 1903, p. 1. *«Je suis arriériste»*, Meyer a dit. *«Ici nous restons fidèles au culte d'une doctrine, d'une tradition, d'un dogme.»* Vauxcelles claimed it had not always steered a straight Royalist course over its 34 years, having been the official organ of Imperialism on the death of the Prince, before leaning towards Legitimism and momentarily deviating into the Republicanism of Jules Simon.

[36] The most famous history painter of his time, Laurens' *Homme du Saint-Office* was placed in the Élysée Palace at the behest of Sadi Carnot. Not just commissioned to decorate the Panthéon and the Capitole de Toulouse, he undertook vast mural cycles at the Hôtel de Ville, Odéon and Théâtre de Castres. Henri Martin was also commissioned to decorate the Capitole de Toulouse; refer Richard Thomson, *Framing France: The Representation of Landscape,* 1870-1914 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

[37] *Femina,* No. 236, 5 November 1910, p. 1: *Mlle Lantelme dans "Le Marchand de Bonheur".*

[38] For more on the Société des Peintres Orientalistes Français, refer Roger Benjamin, *Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) pp. 57-77.

[39] Léonce Bénédite, 1859-1925, studied law at the École des droits and the history of philology at École des hautes-études. After starting his career by helping to organize the annual exhibitions at the Champs-Élysées in 1880, he became Assistant Curator at the Château de Versailles from 1882 before being appointed Curator of the Musée du Luxembourg in 1886. He published a large number of monographs on such artists as Meissonier, Puvis de Chavannes, Millet, Courbet and Rodin. He also became Curator of the Musée Rodin. One of the founders of the *Bulletin des musées,* the art journals that most published Bénédite's writing were the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Art et Décoration* and *L'Art et L'Artiste.* As Benjamin indicates, ibid., Bénédite was devoted to exhibiting and publicizing the art of the Orientalists.

[40] Augustin Zwiller, 1850-1939, was an industrial designer and teacher at Mulhouse before arriving in Paris to study with Boulanger and Lefevre. Alongside his intense involvement in the French Artists' Society, he founded and presided over the Automobile Club's Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture. Some of his portraits and Alsatian scenes were acquired by Museums at Dijon, Mulhouse and Strasbourg.

[41] As the *Procès Verbaux de la Société des Artistes Françaises,* 1911, p. 117, reveals, Zwiller was a thorn in the side about many other matters. After the 1911 vernissage, at the *Comité des 90* meeting, 22 May 1911, Zwiller had also argued that due to the Painting Section having the largest membership, they should be granted more awards than the other sections. However, he was mollified by Focillon's assurance that the proportionality of awards was not calculated according to the quantity of Sociétaires in each section, but the number of exhibitors. A fervent proponent of the large salon, he protested against new regulations restricting the number of places in painting, as indicated in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

[42] Arlette Barré-Despond, *Jourdain* (Paris: Éditions du Regard, 1988) p. 20: *... réparer un certain nombre d'injustices"* and *"combattre la routine académique, la haine des idées neuves et les bas intérêts.* For Jourdain's further explanation, see p. 85: *J'étais obsédé par le désir de grouper des artistes modernes qui arrivaient péniblement à obtenir la notoriété à laquelle ils avaient droit et auxquels La Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts dont le libéralisme des débuts s'était peu à peu refroidi, témoignaient une méfiance hargneuse, et dissimulaient mal le désir de tenir à l'écart ces gêneurs aux allures suspectes.*

[43] *Salon d'Automne Catalogue d'Exposition,* 1911: "Troisième Exposition de la Société Nationale "L'art à l'école" organisé par Georges Moreau".

[44] Roger Marx, *L'Art social* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, Eugène Fasquelle, Éditeur, 1913); Joseph Paul-Boncour, *Art et démocratie* (Paris, 1912).

[45] Paul Signac, unpublished manuscript written c. 1900 and excerpted in translation by Eugenia W. Herbert, *The Artist and Social Reform. France and Belgium, 1885-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961) p. 190.

[46] Lois Marie Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (Smithsonian Institution and Cambridge University Press, 1990) p. 135.
[47] Daughter of Jules Breton, Virginie Demont-Breton (1859-1935) married Adrien-Louis Demont in 1880, the year of her Salon debut. She did not become President of the Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs until 1894. In *Sisters of the Brush, Women's Artistic Culture in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994) Tamar Garb examines the events leading to Mme Bertaux's decision to not stand for re-election for the presidency and her recommendation for members to vote for Mme Demont-Breton. Her presidency was relatively short-lived, the Duchess d'Uzès becoming president six years later.
[48] Demont-Breton's involvement with the Union did not deter her from exhibiting annually at the Salon des Artistes Français. The *Salon des Artistes Français Fichier, Peinture années d'expositions (Salons), No. 1177,* reveals that Demont Breton exhibited at every Salon until her death in January 1935. It also shows that she became a Sociétaire in 1883 and Hors Concours in 1889 after having received a third-class medal in 1881, a second-class medal in 1883 and gold medals at the 1889 and 1900 Expositions Universelles. She was also promoted to Officier of the Legion on Honour in 1914.
[49] *Salon des Artistes Français Fichier, Mlle Abbéma, Peinture Années d'Expositons (Salons),* No. d'inscription 3335, reveals that Abbéma first exhibited at the Salon in 1874, and exhibited annually until 1926, the year before her death. It indicates that she received an honourable mention in 1881 and a bronze medal in 1900.
[50] Abbéma was commissioned to paint decorative panels for mayoral chambers in the 7th, 10th and 20th arrondissements of Paris, at the Paris Hôtel de Ville, Musée de l'armée, Sarah Bernhardt theatre, Horticultural Society, French Government's Palace in Dakar and at the Fécamp Abbey.
[51] Abbéma's *Anne de Bretagne* was commissioned by the State for the Redon town hall, Île-et-Vilaine.
[52] John White Alexander, William T. Dannat, Thomas Alexander Harrison, Gari Melchers and Julius Stewart.
[53] Better known as Hilda Rix Nicholas (1884-1961) after her marriage to Major George Matson Nicholas in 1916, she moved to Paris in 1907, where she enrolled at the Académie Delécluze for a short time. Rix also studied with the American painter, Richard Miller, as well as Claudio Castelucho and Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière. From 1910 until the outbreak of war, she painted for a part of each year at the well-known artists' colony at Etaples in northern France, which may have inspired this painting. Travelling to Morocco in January 1912, she also spent some time painting in Tangier and the Rif city of Tétouan, exhibiting this work at the Société des Peintres Orientalistes Français in 1913 and 1914. One of her drawings, *Grand marché, Tangier,* was acquired by the State for the Musée du Luxembourg; refer Jeanette Hoorn, *Hilda Rix and Elsie Rix's Moroccan Idyll: Art and Orientalism* (Miegunyah; Melbourne University Press, 2012).
[54] The English exhibiters are listed in the catalogue as Bundy, Calderon, Carpmael, Coates, Collings, Cope, Eaton, Elias, Emslie, John Fraser, Andrew Garratt, Griffiths, Halhed, Hankey, Harcourt, Hayley-Lever, Hayward, Hemy, Henriques, Hill, Holmes, Howland, Hubbell, Hughes-Stanton, Miss Jones, Mrs. Jopling, Kemplen, Miss Kindon, Koe, Laidlay; Lander, Laslo, Lund, Mann, Manning, Meade, Meeson, Moser, Nowell, Olsson, Olver, Palin, Parton, Patry, Robertson, Schafer George Scott, Sheard, Skipworth, Small, Temple, Waite, Watson, Weiss, Williams and Willoughby, Wolinski and Woodforde.
[55] Gladys Fabre, *Qu'est-ce que l'École de Paris?*in *L'École de Paris 1904-1929, la part de l'autre* (Paris: Musée d'Art moderne de la Ville de Paris, 2001) pp. 26: *Au cours des années 1900, l'arrivée massive d'artistes étrangers venus étudier ou s'installer à Paris pour diverses raisons – exclusion politique, désir d'émancipation ou attrait du mythe qu'est devenue la capitale des arts et des droits de l'homme – transforme le quartiers de Montmartre et de Montparnasse ...* . Fay Brauer, "Forging a New 'School of Paris': Chez la Cité des Arts", Catalogue Essay, *Paris Days* (Ivan Dougherty Gallery, March-April 2002).
[56] Brauer, *Commercial Spies and Cultural Invaders*, 2002, pp. 105-132.

INTRODUCTION

THE PARIS SALONS AND THE MODERN ART CENTRE

"The Holy Place of our time": Paris and its Networks

> Paris had been the Holy Place of our time. The only one. ... Twentieth-century Paris was to the intellectual pioneer what nineteenth-century America had been to the industrial one. Here, the world beat a pathway to the door of the inventor.[1]

Aghast at what he called "the fall of Paris" in 1940, the New York based art writer, Harold Rosenberg, poignantly captured the implications for what he called "modern art". "The laboratory of the twentieth century, he lamented, had been shut down."[2] While Rosenberg recognised that the experimental spark that had ignited such movements as Cubism had long petered out before its "fall", in his eyes this did not diminish the unique position Paris had once held. According to Rosenberg, it was only through the magnetic attraction and centripetal power Paris exerted on international artists from František Kupka to Ossip Zadkine that the style he termed "the Modern" had been formed.

> Paris represented the International of Culture. … What was done in Paris demonstrated clearly and for all time that such a thing as international culture could exist. Moreover, that this culture had a definite style: the Modern.[3]

A multitude of "international" artists, some of whom are mentioned by Rosenberg, flocked to Paris.[4] These "modern artists", as they were often called without differentiation, were not just lured by the international reputations of French artists and the "international culture" of Paris with its distinctly "modern style". They were also lured by the conditions for living, learning, producing and showing their artwork in a capital in which artists were held in the highest esteem. "In France, he (sic) whom art makes great occupies an important role to the state as well as society," wrote the inspired American, Henry Bacon in 1880. "A country whose monuments are a record of its history, France fosters art, because it recognizes in its growth not only a magnificent industry, but a means of education and refinement."[5] Most of all artists were lured by the cultural legitimation conferred by exhibiting in its immense Salons. This book aims to reveal how Paris became the "Holy Place" and the "centre" of modern art through its Salons.

In cartography, a centre is a fixed point that permits the measuring and evaluation of relationships of proximity. In geopolitics, it is a privileged position from which all other spaces are distributed in an organized manner. In the political economy, it is the point of greatest concentration of wealth. In culture, it is the place most saturated with art makers, collectors and influential institutions ranging from art schools to art museums, all producing what Michel Foucault calls "power/knowledge".[6] As the cultural centre dominates discursive sites and communicative devices, it is the controller or giver of meaning. While the history of France's claim upon global art power may stretch back to Louis XIV, or even Francis I, and while Paris has long been regarded as the cultural capital of the nineteenth century, it was only after the Republic of Republicans came to power when the 'old' Salon was dissolved that it was able to operate as the "modern art centre". As the term "centre" implies, modern Paris acquired a density of scale and an immense complexity. Like the globalization attained by multinational cartels in the late nineteenth century, it attained global power. This was due to liberalization of the Republic, the strategic deployment of art and culture for Republicanization and colonization and the density and complexity of interrelationships forged between the French State, the Paris salons, Academicians, art councils, art committees, art societies, art dealers, auction houses, art schools and art academies, artists' studios, art teachers, newspaper critics and journal writers before the First World War as illustrated by the preceding analysis in the Preface of the French Artists' Salon in 1911. Since these interrelationships converged in Paris, as Robert Jenson surmises: "France possessed the most centralized of all European art worlds, with almost all important art activities, from pedagogy to auctions concentrated in Paris."[7]

Due to the efflorescence of its artist *ateliers* in the late nineteenth century, as John Milner has demonstrated, Paris had been able to become, in his words, "the capital of art".[8] No longer was the École des Beaux-Arts, as Gabriel P. Weisberg points out, "seen as the only venue in which an artist could be trained."[9] With teaching studios dotted across Paris from Montmartre to Montparnasse, artists wanting instruction in a range of traditional and modern academic practices could choose to attend one of such well-established academies as the Julian, Colarossi, Delécluse, Grande-Chaumière and the Vitti presided over by President of the Fine Arts Academy, Luc-Oliver Merson. They could study at a diversity of modernist teaching studios ranging from the Académie Ranson, the Matisse, the Vassilieff, La Palette to the Académie moderne. With its ramshackle ateliers stretching from the Bateau Lavoir in Montmartre to La Ruche south of Montparnasse, huge numbers of artists could be accommodated cheaply. With cafes, music halls, cabarets and satirical reviews, Paris offered a vast array of meeting points at which artists could linger over a glass of beer or wine or a cup of coffee while absorbing the passing parade. With freedom-of-the-press legislation and the proliferation of art criticism, it was also the only city with weekly if not daily publication of art reviews by seventy-six national

newspapers and a panoply of art journals, which by 1913 ranged from the scholarly *Gazette des beaux-arts* to the popular *La Grande Revue* and Guillaume Apollinaire's avant-garde *Soirées de Paris*.

With over one hundred and thirty art dealers by 1911, together with a huge array of *amis, cercles, salonnets, sociétés* and *unions,* Paris was the only city providing such a diversity of exhibiting forums by the time that Grün painted and exhibited *One Friday at the French Artists' Salon*. With the Hôtel Drouot, it also offered a State-sponsored auction house dealing in contemporary art where hundreds of paintings and drawings were displayed every day.[10] More importantly, with the Salon des Artistes Français, Salon National des Beaux-Arts, Salon des Artistes Indépendants and Salon d'Automne, it was the only capital that offered four huge salons on the scale of universal expositions in which artists could exhibit their major artworks each year. It was also the only capital with a Women's Salon held annually by the Union of Women Painters and Sculptors. Once the annual Salon was replaced by these immense international Salons with a range of culturo-political identities, more and more artists came to try their luck at forging professional careers and acquiring international reputations. To be cosmopolitan was to be in Paris. "Incessantly foreigners arrive in large numbers", commented the art critic renowned for supporting Impressionism, Théodore Duret. "They know that Paris is the centre of an artistic life."[11] Since the Paris Salons constituted the ultimate stamp of validation, exhibiting at them was the best way for artists to become known internationally. In order to gain legitimacy, appear cultivated, professional, cosmopolitan and civilized, it became imperative for artists to exhibit at these Salons in this "modern art centre".

Once the State removed itself from the Salon, it has been assumed that the importance of this form of exhibition dwindled until it was displaced and effaced by numerous art associations, art auction houses and art dealers.[12] Nevertheless the end of the monopoly held by the Salon was not necessarily the end of the power of the Salons as a pluralist phenomenon. No sooner had the three-centuries old State-run and State-funded Salon closed than an array of independent Salons mushroomed starting with both the French Artists Salon and the Women's Salon in 1881, the Independent Artists' Salon in 1884, the National Salon of Fine Arts in 1890 and the Salon d'Automne in 1903. Hundreds of Salonnets followed either in the form of mini-models of these grand Salons as epitomised by the French School Salon *(Salon de l'École française)* and the Winter Salon (*Salon d'Hiver*) or as short-lived alternatives demonstrated by Louis Anquetin's Third Salon examined in Chapter Four and Sâr Péladan's Salon de la Rose+Croix, discussed in Chapter Five. Even though Pablo Picasso chose not to exhibit at the grand Salons and indeed was precluded from doing so by his exclusive contract with his art-dealer, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, nevertheless from the time he moved to Paris he reputedly never missed a Salon.[13] Given the long established rapport between the salons and the press, it was rare for an artist before the First World War, with the exception of Picasso, to receive peer reviews and to achieve public stature through the exclusive agency of dealer exhibitions. While an exhibition with Bernheim-Jeune or Georges Petit might draw a thousand viewers and attract a few short newspaper notices, this reception could not compare with exposure to half a million members of the public and extensive critical coverage by the national press received by the Salons. As Renoir so succinctly surmised in 1881:

> In Paris there are scarcely fifteen art lovers capable of liking a painter who doesn't show at the Salon. There are 80,000 who won't buy so much as a nose from a painter who is not hung at the Salon.[14]

Each Salon provided artists with public exposure of their artwork for nearly three months every year. Able to list their addresses clearly in the catalogues, the Salons provided opportunities for buyers to negotiate the purchase of artwork directly with artists without the intervention of an agent and without incurring commission fees. Since artists in the old Salon were ostensibly meant to elevate themselves above the sordid fray of commerce, as discussed in Chapter One, they were not meant to exhibit "pictures to sell" but only, as the politician and art writer, Léon de Laborde, so aptly put it, "to show to a limited public some pictures commissioned in advance for a specific destination."[15] That this proved to be less fact than fiction with the old Salon dually serving aesthetic and commercial functions, has been revealed by excellent new research in this field, Marie-Claude Chaudonneret establishing how, at this embryonic phase in the contemporary art market, "it was the only place where artists could show their production, make a reputation and find commissioners and acquirers".[16] Although Armelle Jacquinot points out that the Salon was long criticized for showing only small saleable artwork, this decorum prevailed until the 1880 Salon brought it to an end.[17] Incepted during the laissez-faire economy of the Republic of Republicans when free enterprise was touted, the new Salons were unencumbered by such propriety although it never ceased to remain a bone of contention at the French Artists' Salon.

In providing a site for artists to show their artwork, attract clients, establish their reputation and operate as free-market producers, the new Salons were able to act as free markets for sales to private patrons, museums, gallery agents, collectors and art dealers. This salon free-market provided a focal point for professional agents or "scouts", as they were sometimes called, to buy on behalf of European, North and South American, South African, Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and Japanese museums and galleries. Since the addresses of exhibitors was not only listed in the catalogue but also available in the list of exhibitors held at the cashier's bureau of each Salon, the Salons provided free promotion of the artist's *ateliers* where collectors could call to negotiate to buy the Salon exhibit and peruse other artwork although invariably they would find that artists had kept their best for the Salon. Given their close link with the State, Paris City Council and provincial museums, these Salons were also a means of mediating State acquisitions, commissions, grants, awards, national and international expositions all of which accrued prestige. Due to the extensive Salon-State-museum-collector-critic-dealer support network, these Salons guaranteed extensive critical reception

through the national press and the burgeoning art publishing market of books, journals and magazines, while facilitating contact with the growing number of art dealers and collectors hungry for contemporary artists.[18] With agents, art dealers and collectors, galleries and museums, newspaper and journal critics, as well as the State and local councils all working in a mutually supportive relationship with the Salons, they generated an unsurpassable art industry that was far from an interregnum between the fall of the Salon and the rise of the art dealer. Offering an unparalleled choice of art identities and alliances, together with undreamed of opportunities for sales, commissions, prizes and art criticism, these great Salons guaranteed the centripetal and centrifugal power of Paris as the "modern art centre". Yet by no means were these Salons equal in power let alone did they negotiate to work in unison with one another in order to forge this "modern art centre".

Formed on the basis of their culturo-political differences, constantly these Salons rivalled one another for State acquisitions and commissions, State awards, exhibition spaces, places and times, showcasing at the Luxembourg Museum, placement at one of the top-ranking French museums, selection for universal expositions and international exhibitions, collectors and art dealers and press reviews enhancing their legitimacy. Each competed for a space, if not the best place at the old Palais de l'Industrie and at the new palace, the Grand Palais commissioned by the State to showcase art at the 1900 Universal Exposition. Each tried to coerce the State and the Paris Municipal Council into buying their exhibits and dissuade them from buying others. Each tried to persuade the State and the Paris Municipal Council to commission their members to decorate such prestigious sites as the Hôtel de Ville, the Panthéon and the new Sorbonne. Each exhorted the State to award lucrative grants and travel bursaries to their exhibitors and to choose their members to represent France at universal expositions in Paris and other French cities as well as at international expositions. By no means were the avant-garde salons those most successful at doing so. Instead they were, as this book demonstrates, the French Artists' and National Fine Art Salon, which is why they, not the Women's, Autumn or Independent Salons, were designated the "official" salons. Of these two, it was the French Artists' Salon, as signified by Grün's painting of *One Friday* at this Salon, that attracted the largest number of spectators, the most prestigious collectors and dealers, that achieved the most acquisitions and commissions, the largest number of grants and travel bursaries, the greatest representation at universal expositions and international exhibitions and the most extensive critical coverage. The Salon with the greatest cultural, political and financial capital, this is why more attention has been devoted to the French Artists' Salon in this book rather than the other Salons. Due to its dominance of the "modern art centre" and its culturo-political differences from the National, Women's, Independent and Autumn Salons, incessantly there was intense rivalry between it and them. Given the paranoiac mechanisms of projection and transference, frequently there were accusations of conspiracies and invasions. This subculture of rivalry and conspiracy was played out between the Salons as much as within each one.

Despite each Salon having a distinctive identity with a constitution that bound all members of its society to the same objectives, there were immense differences amongst their ranks. Alliances, allegiances and coteries were forged in each Society, particularly amongst the French Artists, as Grün conveys in his painting, *One Friday*. Each Society was riddled with underlying machinations, behind the scenes lobbying, marginalization to the point of utter ostracization, and dissimulation whereby power was concealed. Each Salon was filled with internecine struggles. From inception of the French Artists' Salon, constantly there was a struggle between those who, like Henri Charles Étienne Dujardin-Beaumetz, ardently supported democratizing its constitution as a "universal suffrage" salon and those who wished to perpetuate the hierarchies and meritocracies of the old Salon, including their exclusively male gender politics. Due to their continuing gender discrimination, the Union of Women Painters and Sculptors was formed. Due to their abandonment of a democratic Salon model able to absorb some of the principles of Anarcho-Communism, the Independent Artists' Society emerged. There was also a struggle between artists like Alfred Roll who wished to expose the diversity of workers and their conditions through Republican Naturalism, those like the French battle painters Edouard Detaille and Ernst Meissonier who insisted that art should be a patriotic act, those like Bonnat who pursued anatomical Realism like a surgeon armed with new medical knowledge and, as will be revealed at the start of Chapter One, those like William Bouguereau who persisted in churning out mythological paintings as the prime demonstration of an enlightening "grand art". It was due to the ways in which these differences erupted over the 1889 Universal Exposition that the National Salon was launched. Yet by no means was the turmoil of culturo-political differences within the French Artists' Salon quelled by these secessions, as illuminated by the eruptions that ensued after the State "encouragement" of the decorative arts.

The Republican promotion of the utilitarian model of "art by and for the people", deriving from William Morris, led to immense struggles within the French Artists' Society over the "Bouguerites" adherence to "grand art" in order to "elevate the aesthetic intelligence of the public" and their strident opposition to opening their Salon doors to "craft" and an "invasion" by manufacturers. During this period there were immense struggles within each salon and across all of them over what "the unity of the arts" would entail in terms of redefining the disciplinary boundaries of art and what the repercussions of Roger Marx's "Social Art" and Paul-Boncour's "popular art" would be upon the identity of the artist and the salons. The very intricacy and complexity of these struggles charted in this book paints a very different picture of this time in the French Third Republic to that conveyed by art historicist models of an *arrière-garde* battling an *avant-garde.* It reveals that battles were indeed waged over those artists and salons pursuing a "unity of the arts" and interdisciplinary models but not for the formalist reasons so often cited. As this book establishes, these battles were waged over the different positions that artists, groups of artists and the salons negotiated in relation to the fusion of culture and politics within the Republic of Republicans and the Radical Republic, as signified by use of the term throughout this book, cultural politics.

The identity of each salon is elicited in this book by unravelling their specific culturo-political positions within the Republic through the artists that chose to endorse them. Due to the culturo-political struggles across these salons, it is possible to deduce that modernism emerged in many different forms and for many different cultural and political reasons, many of which pertained to the dissolution of all boundaries between the fine and decorative arts to achieve a "unity of the arts". However, given the persistence of tradition and the dominance of the French Artists' Salon, by no means did this trajectory of modernism dislodge let alone displace "grand art" in terms of mythological painting or French history paintings, the academic anatomical Realism of painters like Aimé Morot, Bonnat and Cormon or the vibrant new art of the people by such painters as Léon Lhermitte and Roll identified with Republican Naturalism. In fact so dominant did Naturalism become during this period that, as Richard Thomson has recently demonstrated, if such a phenomenon as Heinrich Wölfflin's "period style" emerged during this time, it was not modernism but Naturalism within which, he conjectures, Impressionism arose.[19] As revealed by Grün's *One Friday at the French Artists' Salon* (Fig. I) and by identification of its figures by *L'Illustration* (Fig. II), the most powerful artists in this "modern art centre" in 1911 were those who supported and shaped the most powerful Salon. They were not modernists like Picasso or even Fernand Léger who exhibited at the Independent Artists' and Autumn Salons but such Academicians as Bonnat, Cormon, Detaille, Ferrier, Laurens, Lhermitte, Merson and Morot who exhibited at the "official" Salon supported by the machinery of the State. To unravel the networks of relations and machinations that comprise these cultural politics and to "unmask" their subcultures of rivalry and conspiracy is the task of this book and its institutional art history.

"The Field of Cultural Production": An Institutional Art History

> It seems to me that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked.[20]

To discover how Paris became the "modern art centre", this history has been modelled upon a relational theory of art emerging from what French Sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu calls "the field of cultural production".[21] It adapts Bourdieu's concept of "field" *(champ)* to the cultural structures in which art was rendered visible. Just as formation of these cultural structures was political, so was their function. In keeping with the Third Republic of Republicans' policy of democratic pluralism, there was a complex array of political alliances rather than only two dominant political parties as occurs within many democratic nations today. In broad terms, there was Bonapartism, Legitimism, Orléanism, Boulangism, Barrèrisme and from 1899, *L'Action Française* at the conservative end of the spectrum; the *Alliance Démocratique* on the capitalist side of the centre; *La Gauche démocratique* on the Republican Socialist side; followed by Gambettist, Progressist, Solidarist and Radical Republicanism and then Anarchism, Syndicalism, Socialism and Communism at the other end. Within this spectrum existed a range of further distinctions. This is illuminated by differences between the two major Socialist parties, the *Parti Socialiste de France* (Socialist Party of France) formed by orthodox Marxists, anti-ministerialists and blanquistes under the leadership of Jules Guesde, to overthrow the State and expropriate capitalist machinery, and the *Parti Socialiste Français* (French Socialist Party) which, under the leadership of Jean Jaurès, pursued a policy of evolutionary revolution through social reform, the general strike, pacifism and international fraternity. As freedom of the press legislation permitted members of parliament to be not just employed on newspapers, but to own them and to publish their own articles in them, this factionalism was perpetuated by the press, which became in the words of Madeleine Rebérioux, "profoundly political".[22]

Through the role played by the press in the formation of discourses, culture became profoundly politicized. This meant that while visual artists developed if not cultivated particular culturo-political identities, allegiances and alliances, what they produced was subject to politicization. This was not just signified by those they chose to vote for at the ballot box. It was conveyed by what they chose to represent on their canvases, etching plate, lithographic block, or with their clay, marble, plaster, textiles, tin or architectural tools, how they chose to represent it, the newspapers they chose to read, those with whom they chose to be seen, their ideological allegiances, their cultural alliances and the Salons in which they chose to visibilize their artwork. As their culturo-political identities were immensely complex and fluid, they cannot be neatly categorized. The co-existence of this panoply of culturo-political identities means that by no means can artwork be neatly divided between *avant-garde* or *arrière-garde* in this "field of cultural production".[23]

Drawing upon research into the State's documents, Salon archives and critical discourses, some of the most visible artworks commissioned or acquired by the Third Republic are investigated in relation to these issues in each chapter. By examining the artwork of Émile Gallé, as well as many other artists currently classified as modernist, including such Salon Cubists as Léger, alongside the array of practices manifest by Bonnat, Bouguereau, Jules Dalou, Detaille and Meissonier, it seeks to capture aspects of the cultural pluralism fostered by the different culturo-political identities of the Salons and ostensibly by the Radical Republic's policy, "the liberty of art". As this formidable diversity in art occurred during the Third Republic's forty-year period stretching from 1871 to 1919, the time span of this book breaches the temporal divide in art historical scholarship between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[24] In this case, the year 1900 is neither treated as a convenient centennial cut-off point nor as a point of rupture and transformation due to the myth that most artists became overwhelmed by modernism by that time.[25] Far from being overwhelmed, the