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The Political Origins of Modernism

By Patricia Mainardi

The question of modernism has traditionally been couched in formal terms addressing issues of flatness, of painterly technique, of reduction of interest in subject matter. Manet is usually considered the first modernist painter, and the origins of the movement placed in the 1860s.[1] I should like to put these formal issues aside for the moment in order to propose another model, what might be called Institutional Modernism. By that I mean the political aspect, the structures by which art is presented to and perceived by its public. By focusing on some events of the 1850s in which the Government of the Second Empire attempted to depoliticize art, I hope to cast some light on the preconditions to our formalist-defined modernism.

Although nineteenth-century art history has usually been interpreted as the conflict between reactionaries and the avant-garde, the principal aesthetic division in France during this period would be more accurately characterized as between the Academy and all other parties. The Academy had been founded in the seventeenth century as a royal agency in charge of aesthetics; opposition to its doctrines would therefore quite naturally be interpreted as double-edged, encompassing both an aesthetic and a political stance. Conservatives never forgot that the Academy had been temporarily suppressed during the Revolution. As a result, they insisted that only a Legitimist monarch would adequately protect Academic interests, and, throughout the century, they attributed the developing aesthetic schism between Academic and anti-Academic to political events.[2]

Romanticism presented the first major challenge to the hegemony of Academic principles. As early as 1800, Mme de Staël announced that the new spirit of Republicanism required a revolution in the character of literature, and, by 1815, the *Journal des Débats* was proclaiming that Romanticism was nothing other than the extension of the political revolution.[3] Supporters of Romanticism in the visual arts took up this refrain, one critic stating that "society having changed its philosophical and political direction and renounced the majority of its old beliefs, all cultural expressions had to change as well."[4] Romanticism was thus identified by friend and foe alike as the fruit of the Revolution, and, despite the monarchist convictions of many of its early adherents, aesthetic battlelines were gradually drawn along political lines. By the 1820s, it was assumed that liberals would support Romanticism, Constitutional Monarchists might or might not, and only Legitimists would continue to be as committed to classicism as they were to the ancien régime.[5]

The best-known manifestation of the Academic–anti-Academic schism in art was the Ingres-Delacroix rivalry. Although we now define this antithesis in formal terms—as line versus color or Classicism versus Romanticism—it was perceived at the time as also embodying political issues. The Salon of 1824, at which Ingres exhibited his *Vow of Louis XIII* and Delacroix his *Massacre of Scios* ***(Figs. 1 and 2),*** first saw the articulation of this polarization in terms of *le beau* and *le laid,* the beautiful and the ugly.[6] For if *le beau* was identified with classical academic theory, finding its apotheosis in the work of Ingres, it was also increasingly identified with order, spirituality, and—by its enemies—with the ancien régime.[7] This polarization along political as well as aesthetic lines was catalyzed by the frontal attack on Romanticism emanating from the Académie française on April 24, 1824—the anniversary of the return of the king.[8] "The Salon is as political as the elections," wrote Jal three years later. "The brush and the sketch are the tools of parties as much as the pen. The wishes of the Church and the State are manifested in a dozen pictures or statues."[9] As a result, styles themselves soon acquired political content. Even Baudelaire described Ingres's art in political terms redolent of the ancien régime: "cruel," "despotic," and "unresponsive."[10] Ingres's support came from Legitimists, Orleanists, and Clericals, who praised him as a bulwark against change;[11] their espousal of the supposedly eternal values of tradition reflected their own adherence to throne and altar. A cartoon of 1855 ***(Fig. 3)*** shows two political reactions to a formal quality, Ingres's color. The gentleman on the left, distinguished by his top hat and goatee, says, "It entrances me," while the man on the right, whose dress and porcine physiognomy are intended to convey his lower-class status, responds, "It leaves me cold."

In contrast, the quality of "ugliness," exemplified by the paintings of Delacroix, seemed tied to anarchy, materalism, and modern life, all seen as consequences of the Revolution. Although suggested by a variety of earlier critics, this reading became established in 1827 when Victor Hugo, in his Preface to *Cromwell,* proclaimed "ugliness" the standard of Romanticism. "The beautiful has only one type: the ugly has a thousand," he wrote, and went on to claim for "ugliness" the virtues of modernity, variety, dynamism, and hu-

Fig. 1 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Vow of Louis XIII,* 1824, oil on canvas, 13′ 9¾″ x 8′ 8⅛″. Montauban, Cathédrale de Notre Dame.

Fig 2 Eugène Delacroix, *Scenes from the Massacre at Scios,* 1824, oil on canvas, 13′ 8¼″ x 11′ 7⅜″. Louvre.

manity.[12] It is not surprising that in an 1830 editorial entitled "De l'anarchie dans les arts," published in the *Journal des Artistes et des Amateurs,* Charles Farcy simultaneously attacked Hugo and Delacroix and mourned the passing of "the peaceful course of the ancien régime."[13]

Political progressives often stated with approval that Delacroix had overthrown tyranny and established the principle of liberty in art. One critic wrote: "There are very few people nowadays who aren't in one way or another revolutionary; Delacroix is their man."[14] The violence in his paintings seemed to echo the turmoil of his age, and, despite the conservatism of his own politics, he was seen as the representative of intellectuals, of revolution, of anarchy. And so, as a result of the polarization and politicization of aesthetics during this period, while Ingres was being attacked by political progressives as "the ancien régime in art," Delacroix was labeled by conservatives "the far left in painting."[15]

Our modernist lineage in art was first established by conservative nineteenth-century critics, who declared that the breakdown of order caused by the 1789 Revolution had produced Delacroix, the "Apostle of Ugliness."[16] He in turn, they claimed, begot his disciple Courbet, who, it was later claimed, begot Manet.

The confrontation of the Academic and the anti-Academic was the main issue, overriding stylistic distinctions; the same moral and political attacks, couched in the same language, were leveled at successive generations who deviated from Academic principles. In the conservative view, the movements of Romanticism, Realism, and Naturalism were all indiscriminately lumped together as the Cult of Ugliness, all opposed to the Academic ideal of *le beau.* Delacroix, Courbet, and Manet were each in turn accused of forsaking beauty for ugliness and, in political terms, all were accused of carrying on the subversive work of undermining both the French state and the French School.

Credit must go to E.J. Delécluze in particular for having established the modernist genealogy through his incessant attacks in the conservative *Journal des Débats.* It was he who had first divided the world of art into *le beau* and *le laid* at the Salon of 1824 and who later accused Delacroix of having introduced "the reign of ugliness" into art.[17] By 1850, without interrupting his attacks on Delacroix, he included Courbet as the newest recruit to the "cult of ugliness" and frankly traced the new naturalism in painting to the heresies introduced by the Romantics.[18] The attacks on Courbet, and Realist painting in general, for depicting "ugliness" are, of course, well known and need no repetition here.[19]

At Manet's first Salon, in 1861, the negative criticism he received linked him immediately both to Courbet and to what was by now a tradition of avant-garde "ugliness."[20] Such charges were to dog him throughout his career, becoming particularly vicious in 1865 when he exhibited *Olympia.*[21] He, too, was known as the "Apostle of Ugliness," and, although Baudelaire charged him with being the first artist of decadence, Baudelaire was mistaken, for that honor had previously been awarded to Delacroix.[22] Manet was, in fact, the third.

We today see the radical differences among these three artists. Their contemporaries saw, even more prominently, the gaping chasm that had opened up between Academic principles and, on the other side of the Great Divide, Our Three Heroes. What is it, then, that makes *us* perceive Manet, the last of this trilogy, as

the archetype of modernism? One of the major factors is that he is seen as politically, morally, even emotionally neutral. And yet, it is possible that this neutrality resides, at least in part, in the public rather than in the private perception, that it is something imposed on Manet's art by what I have called Institutional Modernism, as well as a quality inherent in his work. To examine this quality of neutrality in Manet's paintings, it is necessary first to study the moment when a protomodernist reading of art became institutionalized.

By the mid nineteenth century, the Academy, though still in theory the exclusive representative of the French School, was so no longer in fact. It now represented one style among many, although that style, embodied in classical history painting, was still considered the highest category of art. This presented a problem in the organization of the first international art exhibition at the 1855 Universal Exposition in Paris. The government of the Second Empire could stand neither above nor apart from this aesthetic conflict, for political exigencies demanded that it present a strong united front to foreign competition to show that, despite the 1851 coup d'état that had brought it to power, it did in fact represent all factions. Unlike previous regimes, this one was built on popular support. Since Napoleon III could not ignore any of the various power groups that constituted his electorate, he attempted to appease them all.

Bypassing the Academy, the Imperial Commission announced that each representative of a major style would be given a special retrospective exhibition in which he was to demonstrate his "Progress."[23] That idea was taken over from science and industry and redefined in aesthetic terms as what we would now call "development." Eclecticism, the ability to appreciate each style on its own terms, was declared characteristic of French genius.[24] The artists chosen in this historic venture, besides Ingres and Delacroix, were Horace Vernet and Alexandre Decamps. Even the renegade Courbet was approached, so eager was the government to give the appearance of unanimous support.[25] Courbet refused the invitation but, in setting up his own show, nonetheless borrowed the notion of a retrospective exhibition, for his centerpiece was *The Studio: A Real Allegory Defining a Phase of Seven Years of My Artistic Life* **(Fig. 4)**.

Although artists had held such shows earlier, the ideology of the individual retrospective exhibition was an innovation of 1855. It is itself a modernist tool, for it emphasizes the development of an

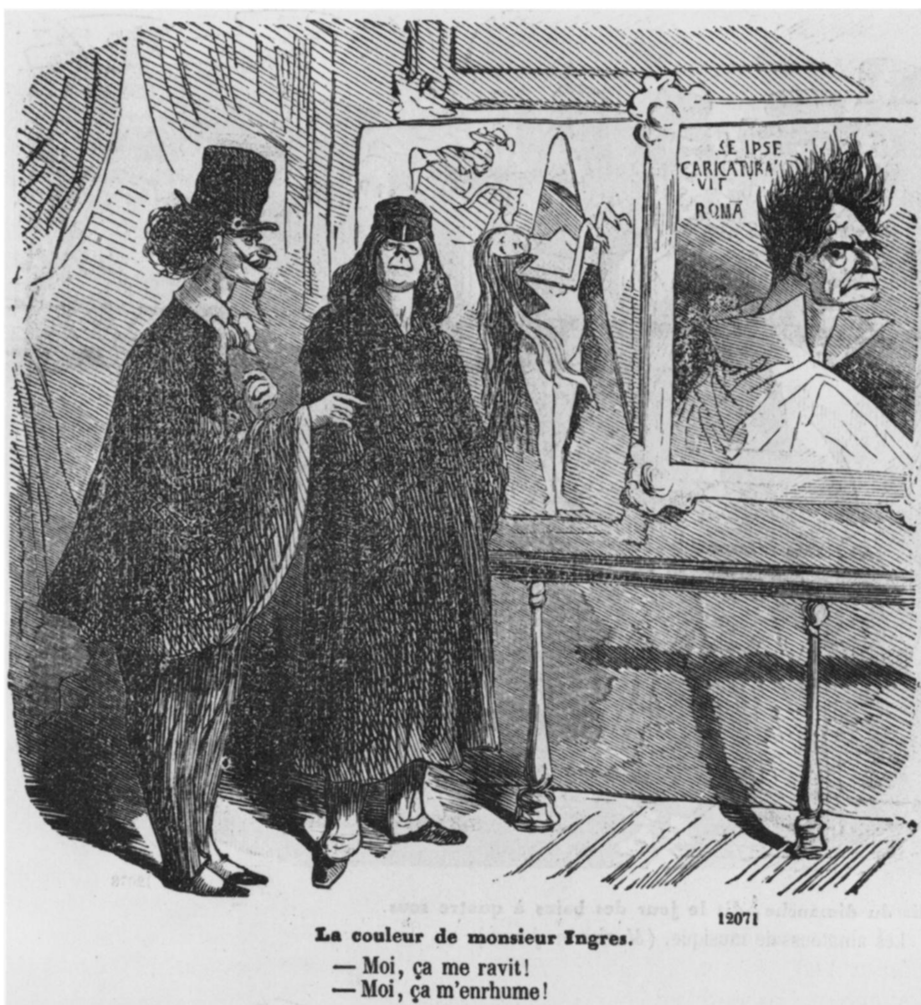

Fig 3 Marcelin, *La couleur de monsieur Ingres, Le Journal Pour Rire,* 17 November 1855.

Fig. 4 Gustave Courbet, *The Studio: A Real Allegory Defining a Phase of Seven Years of My Artistic Life,* 1855, oil on canvas, 11′ 10″ x 19′ 8″. Louvre.

individual self-referential style. In the traditional "School," in contrast, the artist's individuality is subsumed in the interests of shared concerns. This is pointed up by the Academy's unsuccessful counterproposal for the 1855 exhibition; namely, a show to demonstrate the development of the French School in the nineteenth century, which it saw as synonymous with history painting by Academicians.[26] Prince Napoleon described these two contradictory proposals as a show of artists (the eclectic model) and a show of works (the Academic mod-

el).[27] The innovation of individual retrospective exhibitions did not meet with popular comprehension; while critics and connoisseurs were enthusiastic about the unprecedented opportunity to study the development of an artist's style, the general public simply did not understand why it should pay to see old paintings. Low attendance plagued both the government's and Courbet's exhibitions, and both were forced to lower their entrance fees.[28]

The government's presentation of such a varied bouquet of artists as Ingres, Delacroix, Decamps, and Vernet was intended—and understood—as an attempt to cover all bases, both aesthetic and political. Alexandre Decamps's precious little genre paintings ***(Fig. 5)*** were known to be the favorites of the bourgeoisie and were widely criticized as reflecting the attributes of that class; namely, a rich and pleasant veneer concealing an essential lack of education and an absence of elevated principles.[29] Horace Vernet glorified French military victories and was acknowledged to be the most popular artist in France, the only one known to the common people. For conservatives he was a symbol of patriotism, for progressives of chauvinism.[30] In truth, one could find exceptions to these interpretations—aristocrats who favored Decamps, political radicals who detested Delacroix—but that is not the point.[31] The main issue is that these stereotypes had enough reality to be invoked repeatedly by both critics and government officials in defining the 1855 Exposition.

This strategy can be seen as an extension of Second Empire politics, for, as Theodore Zeldin has pointed out, government policy was to encourage prominent representatives of various political persuasions to rally to its support.[32] It is my theory that the same policy was pursued in art, and here I differ with Albert Boime's theory that the government attempted to make Realism the official style.[33] On the contrary, the regime was content merely to ratify all existing trends, provided that their principal proponents rallied to the Empire. In fact, there was no one in the Second Empire art administration who was capable of creating or carrying out a coherent policy.

The government's eclecticism in honoring a multitude of styles was reinforced by the jury, which, under the presidency of Morny, Napoleon III's half-brother (and the chief architect of his coup d'état), awarded Medals of Honor to nine different artists.[34] It was again the conservatives who understood the ramifications of this gesture, protesting that all styles were thus considered implicitly neutral and interchangeable, their differences reduced to mere questions of taste and popularity.[35] Conservatives understood quite well that the government had dealt a fatal blow to the classical hierarchy of categories, for it had established the principle that one could become as great an artist by painting monkeys as by painting gods and heroes.

But in order for gods and monkeys, to say nothing of apples and farmyards, to be accorded the same potential for greatness, subject and style had first to be disencumbered of their heavy political baggage. It was necessary to create a politically neutral methodology for evaluating art. This was done by Théophile Gautier and Prince Napoleon. Gautier, the only major art critic who had rallied to the Empire, was in consequence appointed official government critic for the Exposition.[36] His natural propensity

Fig. 5 Alexandre Decamps, *The Experts,* 1837, oil on canvas, 18¼ x 25¼″. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929, The H.O. Havemeyer Collection.

Fig. 6 Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People, 28 July 1830,* 1830, oil on canvas, 8′ 6⅜″ x 10′ 8″.

to say something nice about everyone would, in this context, be politically valuable. Prince Napoleon, President of the Exposition, turned art critic for the occasion and established the official line on each artist. Of Delacroix, whose *Liberty Leading the People* ***(Fig. 6)*** was removed from storage for the event, he wrote:

> There are no longer any violent discussions, inflammatory opinions about art, and in Delacroix the colorist one no longer recognizes the flaming revolutionary whom an immature School set in opposition to Ingres. Each artist today occupies his legitimate place. The 1855 Exposition has done well to elevate Delacroix; his works, judged in so many different ways, have now been reviewed, studied, admired, like all works marked by genius.[37]

Delacroix the Revolutionary has been transformed into Delacroix the Colorist, and the quality of genius has been pressed into service to neutralize and depoliticize his art. Gautier praised this laundered version of Delacroix to such an extent that the artist informed him that a friend "assured me, after having heard your article read, that she thought I had died, thinking that one only so praised those dead and buried."[38] The reference to death was apt: a number of critics referred to 1855 as a cemetery.[39] What was dead and buried was the contemporary political vitality of art; art would henceforth be confined to museums. After 1855, Delacroix was elected to the Academy despite six previous failures, and even Courbet was affected by the new ambiance and became somewhat acceptable.[40] One may note that Marxist historians often cite 1855 as the end of Courbet's great political period.[41] Delacroix's friend Pérignon, looking back to the Universal Exposition, wrote, "Today everything is forgotten, everything is smoothed over, there are no longer either halos or scars; the works appear isolated, deprived of the interest they had borrowed from circumstances, from judgments, from passing events. Above all, they've lost the train of violent passions that gave them their magic life."[42]

The magic life that disappeared with 1855 was the ability of art to carry many significances in popular understanding, to serve as vehicle for a variety of discourse. Violent passions did not, of course, disappear, but in a sense 1855 is the cemetery that marks the end of the political art wars of the first half-century. The canonization of all opposing styles after decades of vituperation had a traumatic effect on contemporaries; an article in one of the art periodicals lamented—and this is the modernist lament: "Alas, in art as in politics, isn't the error of today almost always the truth of tomorrow."[43] The security offered by tradition was giving way to the anxiety of the present, for in all facets of life France at mid century was moving into uncharted waters.

Aesthetic evaluations later in the century tended to replace political judgments with moral ones and moral judgments with formal ones. The schism of the earlier period, Academic or anti-Academic, encompassing at the same time both aesthetic and political issues, was replaced by the merely formal judgment, stated by Mallarmé in 1874 as "The jury has only to say: this is a painting or that is not a painting."[44] The eclecticism of the earlier period, so valuable in breaking the hegemony of history painting, proved to be but an interim stance, soon to be replaced by the hegemony of modernism.

The modernist view of art as contentless and politically neutral, which we take as the grounding of all that makes Manet at once so enigmatic and provocative, thus had its seeds in the deliberate manipulation of power, in Napoleon III's successful attempt to deprive art of its traditional role as partisan tool in order to co-opt it as window dressing for his regime. We may cite Mallarmé, Roger Fry, and Clement Greenberg as brilliant theoreticians of modernism, but at the same time we must acknowledge the role of Napoleon III, Prince Napoleon, and the Duc de Morny, for it was they who, even earlier, saw the political advantage that might be derived from neutralizing art.

And so, if Delacroix's *Liberty* seems more straightforward in its sympathies than does Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* ***(Fig. 7),*** if Delacroix was a symbol of revolution and Manet of modernism, if, in fact, neither artist was politically radical and both paintings, as recent scholarship has emphasized, share an enigmatic quality, one may account for these differences by the "magic life" that *Liberty* enjoyed, but that no longer existed in 1867.

I propose that we not leave modernism to be defined by modernists, who would state that the issues raised here are peripheral or irrelevant. Instead I suggest that whenever there is an attempt to separate art from its social and political milieu by redefining it exclusively in formalist terms, we look for two interrelated phenomena. One is the attempt on an institutional level to co-opt it for political advantage. The other is the parallel attempt on the aesthetic level, by artists and their friends, to protect art from partisan attacks by stressing its political insignificance. In any case, modernism has existed from the very beginning, Janus-faced, in this contradiction: one face gazes resolutely at the work of art, the other attentively regards current events.

Fig. 7 Manet, *The Execution of the Emperor Maximilian,* 1868, oil on canvas, 8′ 3″ x 10′. Mannheim, Städtische Kunsthalle.

Notes

An earlier version of this paper was read at the 1984 Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in Toronto at the Panel "Judging Modernity: Manet Revisited," chaired by Thierry de Duve. Parts of it are taken from my forthcoming *Universal Expositions: Art and Politics of the Second Empire* (Yale University Press). I am indebted to Louis Finkelstein and Joel Isaacson for their advice and criticism.

1 The most influential exponent of this reading has been Clement Greenberg; see his classic article "Modernist Painting," *Art and Literature,* 4 (Spring 1965), pp. 193–201.

2 For a sampling of such opinions, see: Charles Ernest Beulé (secrétaire perpetuel of the Académie des Beaux-Arts from 1862 to 1874), "Du Danger des Expositions," in his *Causeries sur l'art,* Paris, 1867, pp. 1–39, and Louis Dussieux, *L'Art considéré comme le symbol de l'État social,* Paris, 1838. Léon Rosenthal, *Du Romantisme au réalisme,* Paris, 1914, gives many examples of the use of 1830 Revolution to mark the decline of art; see pp. 3ff.

3 Mme de Staël, *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales,* ed. Paul van Tieghem, 2 vols., Paris, 1959, see especially, II: pp. 296–317. "H", "Les Scrupules littéraires de Mme la baronne de Staël, ou Réflexions sur quelques chapitres du Livre de l'Allemagne," *Journal des Débats,* February 8, 1815. René Bray traces the development in his *Chronologie du Romantisme (1804–1830),* Paris, 1932.

4 Auguste Jal, *Esquisses, croquis, pochades, ou tout ce qu'on voudra sur le Salon de 1827,* Paris, 1828, pp. 103–4.

5 Bray (cited n.3), gives 1823 as the decisive date; see pp. 140–59 for the process by which Romanticism becomes identified with liberal thought.

6 See: E.J. Delécluze, "Beaux-Arts. 1824," *Journal des Débats,* September 1, 1824. The terms *le beau* and *le laid* were used by most critics after 1824. Théophile Thoré, "Artistes contemporains. M. Eugene Delacroix," *Le Siècle,* February 24, 1831, says the Academy called everything *laid* that wasn't *beau,* and dates the inception of these "critical categories" at 1824 when the *culte du laid* was invented as a term of opprobrium for Delacroix.

7 See, for example: "Y," "Paris. Beaux-Arts. Exposition de 1824," *Le Globe,* September 17, 1824, where the critic states "on est pour les règles ou pour la barbarie" (one is either for the rules or for barbarism). Some of the most articulate anti-Ingres critics were Alexandre Decamps, Théophile Thoré, and Laurent-Jan, all in the political as well as aesthetic opposition. See: Decamps, *Le Muse, Revue du Salon de 1834,* Paris, 1834, pp. 20–26, and "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1838," *Le National,* March 5, 1838; Thoré, "M. Ingres," *La Revue Indépendante* III, June 1842, pp. 794–803; Laurent-Jan, "M. Ingres Peintre et Martyr," *Le Figaro,* December 30, 1855, pp. 2–7 (originally published in the 1840s and reprinted in his *Légendes d'Atelier,* Paris, 1859); Nadar [Gaspard-Felix Tournachon], "Salon de 1855," *Le Figaro,* 16, September 23, 1855. Also see: Carol Duncan, "Ingres's *Vow of Louis XIII* and the Politics of the Restoration," in Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics,* Cambridge, Mass., 1978.

8 See: Stendhal [Henri-Marie Beyle], *Racine et Shakespeare No II ou Réponse au manifeste contre le Romantisme prononcé par M. Auger dans une séance solennelle de l'Institut,* Paris, 1825.

9 Jal (cited n.4), p. iv.

10 He does not refer to Ingres by name, but it is clear who is meant; see his "Exposition Universelle. Beaux-Arts. Eugène Delacroix," *Le Pays. Journal de l'Empire,* June 3, 1855, reprinted in Charles Baudelaire, *Écrits sur l'Art,* ed. Yves Florenne, 2 vols., Paris, 1971, I: pp. 403–4.

11 See: Charles Blanc, *Ingres, sa vie et ses ouvrages,* Paris, 1870, pp. 174–75; Henry Lapauze, *Ingres, sa vie et son oeuvre, 1780–1867,* Paris, 1911, pp. 465–73; also Duncan (cited n. 7).

12 On Delacroix, see, for example: E.J. Delécluze, "Exposition du Louvre 1824," *Journal des Débats,* October 5, 1824, and "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1827," *Journal des Débats,* December 20, 1827; Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1831," *Le National,* May 30, 1831. Victor Hugo, *Cromwell,* XXII-XXXVI. I am indebted to Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner for their interesting discussion on this question; see their *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art,* New York, 1984, pp. 18–19.

13 Charles Farcy, "De l'anarchie dans les arts," *Journal des Artistes et des Amateurs,* January 31, 1830, pp. 81–83.

14 Eugène Loudun [Eugène Balleyguier], *Le Salon de 1855,* Paris, 1855, pp. 13–14; originally published in the Legitimist journal *L'Union.* For the progressive point of view, see: Auguste Jal, *L'Artiste et le philosophe. Entretiens critiques sur le Salon de 1824,* Paris, 1824, pp. 48–53.

15 On the identification of Ingres and Classicism with the ancien régime, see: Jal (cited n. 4), p. 102; Jal divides art into *classique* and *anticlassique,* "faire beau" or "faire laid." On the identification of Delacroix and Romanticism with "l'extrême gauche," see: Delécluze, "Beaux-Arts. Salon de 1827," *Journal des Débats,* March 21, 1828. For a general discussion of the politicization of art during this period, see: Hugh Honour, *Romanticism,* New York, 1979, pp. 217–44.

16 Although the phrase "l'apôtre du laid" was undoubtedly in use earlier, the first recorded instance I have found is in an 1855 letter of Ingres, quoted in Blanc (cited n. 11), p. 183, and Lapauze (cited n. 11), p. 500; also see: Delécluze, *Les Beaux-arts dans les deux mondes en 1855,* Paris, 1856, p. 214.

17 Delécluze, "Exposition du Louvre 1824," *Journal des Débats,* October 5, 1824; and idem (cited n. 11), p. 214. On Delécluze, see: Robert Baschet, *E.J. Delécluze, Témoin de son temps, 1781–1863,* Paris, 1942.

18 See: Delécluze, "Exposition de 1850," *Journal des Débats,* 7, January 21, 1851. A similar opinion was expressed by Louis Peisse, "Salon de 1850," *Le Constitutionnel,* January 8, 1851.

19 For a discussion of the issue, see: Emile Bouvier, *La Bataille réaliste (1844–1857),* Geneva, 1973, pp. 214–57; also see: Timothy J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic, 1848–1851,* Greenwich, Conn., 1973, pp. 137–38; and my "Gustave Courbet's Second Scandal: *Les Demoiselles de Village,*" *Arts Magazine* 53 (January 1979), pp. 95–109.

20 See: Hector de Callias, "Salon de 1861," *L'Artiste,* July 1, 1861, p. 7; Léon Lagrange, "Salon de 1861," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* July 1, 1861, p. 52. For a discussion of the relationship of the two artists, see: Theodore Reff, "Courbet and Manet," *Arts Magazine* 54 (March 1980), pp. 98–103.

21 See: Hamilton 1969, pp. 65–80.

22 Fêlix Jahyer called Manet the "Apostle of Ugliness" in 1865; see: his *Etude sur les beaux-arts. Salon de 1865,* Paris, 1865, p. 23. Baudelaire wrote to Manet in the same year: "Vous n'êtes que le premier dans la décrépitude de votre art"; Baudelaire, *Ecrits sur l'art,* II, pp. 350–52. The Legitimist Alphonse de Calonne called Delacroix "Un peintre de décadence," in "Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts," *Revue contemporaine* 21 (1855), p. 128. For the context of this charge, see: Koenraad W. Swart, *The Sense of Decadence in Nineteenth-Century France,* The Hague, 1964.

23 The decision is set forth in a memorandum of the Imperial Commission "Placement définitif" in the Archives Nationales, Paris, F21 519. Prince Napoleon discusses the concept in his *Visites et études de S.A.I. le Prince Napoléon au Palais des Beaux-Arts,* Paris, 1856, pp. 55–56.

24 The theory was set forth by Théophile Gautier, *Les Beaux-Arts en Europe,* Paris, 1855, pp. 5–9, and quoted by Prince Napoleon (cited n. 23), p. 59. Both Gautier's and Prince Napoleon's articles were originally published in the Government newspaper *Le Moniteur Universel;* other critics followed their lead.

25 Courbet's account of his luncheon with Nieuwerkerke sometime in 1854 describes the Government's efforts to procure his *ralliement* with a commission for the 1855 Universal Exposition. His letter to Alfred Bruyas is published in "Lettres inédites," *L'Olivier, Revue de Nice* 8 (September–October 1913), pp. 485–90.

26 The first proposal was made by the Marquis de Pastoret in 1851, forwarded by the Academy to the Minister of the Interior the same year; see: the *Procès-verbaux* of March 1, and 8, 1851, Institut de France, Archives de l'Académie des beaux-arts. Pastoret and Prince Napoleon continued to support this plan; see: Paris,, Exposi-

tion Universelle de 1855, Commission Impériale, *Rapport sur l'Exposition Universelle de 1855 présenté à l'Empereur par S.A.I. le prince Napoleon,* 1857, p. 13.

27 "Discours prononcé par S.A.I. le Prince Napoléon, Président de la Commission Impériale, à la séance d'inauguration de l'Exposition Universelle, le 15 mai 1855," in *Rapport* (cited n. 26), pp. 399–403.

28 For the Government's entrance fees, see: Frédéric Bourgeois de Mercey, "L'Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts en 1855," *Revue contemporaine* 31 (1857), pp. 466–94; Mercey was the *Commissaire général* of the art exhibition. For Courbet's fees, see: Eugène Delacroix, *Journal, 1822–1863,* ed. André Joubin, Paris, 1980, entry of August 3, 1855.

29 See: Gustave Planche, "L'Exposition des Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1855," *Revue des Deux-Mondes,* September 15, 1855, p. 1150; Antoine Etex, *Essai d'une revue synthétique sur l'Exposition Universelle de 1855,* Paris, 1856, pp. 37–39.

30 For the identification with patriotism, see: Claude Vignon [Noémi Cadiot], *Exposition Universelle de 1855. Beaux-Arts,* Paris, 1855, p. 220; for the charge of chauvinism, see: Maxime DuCamp, *Les Beaux-Arts à l'Exposition Universelle de 1855,* Paris, 1855, p. 205.

31 In a recent article, Francis Haskell has attempted to use the exceptions to disprove the rule by citing critics whose politics and aesthetic positions were incongruent as well as collectors whose taste differed from the expected norm. This only demonstrates that history is a social science; regardless of individual variants, the generalization stands. See: Francis Haskell, "Enemies of Modern Art," *New York Review of Books,* June 30, 1983, pp. 19–25.

32 See: Theodore Zeldin, *The Political System of Napoleon III,* London, 1958.

33 See: Boime 1982.

34 Besides Ingres, Delacroix, Decamps, and Vernet, the medallists included Cornelius, Landseer, Leys, Heim, and Meissonier. The lists are included in the 1857 Salon catalogue.

35 See: Charles Blanc, "Au Secrétaire de la Rédaction," *La Presse,* October 30, 1855. Delacroix noted in his *Journal,* October 15, 1855, that the Academicians were outraged over the plurality of medals.

36 On Gautier, see: Taxile Delord, *Histoire du second Empire, 1848–1869,* 6 vols., Paris, 1869–75, II, p. 272. His articles were published in the official Government newspaper, *Le Moniteur Universel.*

37 Prince Napoleon (cited n. 23), pp. 118–19; 1855 is mistakenly written as 1851 in the text.

38 Delacroix to Théophile Gautier, July 22, 1855, in Eugène Delacroix, *Correspondance générale,* André Joubin, ed., 5 vols., Paris, 1926–38, III, pp. 279–80.

39 See, for example: Paul Mantz, "Salon de 1857," *La Revue Française* IX (1857), p. 422.

40 See: Louis Hautecoeur, "Delacroix et l'Académie des Beaux-Arts," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 62 (December 1963), pp. 349–64.

41 See, for example: Clark, (cited n. 19), pp. 155–56.

42 Alexis-Joseph Pérignon, *A Propos de l'Exposition de peinture,* Paris, 1856, pp. 3–4.

43 "Chronique," *La Revue Universelle des Arts,* 1855, I, p. 240.

44 Stéphane Mallarmé, "Le Jury de Peinture pour 1874 et M. Manet," in *Oeuvres complètes de Stéphane Mallarmé,* Henri Mondor and G. Jean-Aubry, eds., Paris, 1945, p. 699.

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