

CHAPTER ONE - MEDICINE AND SURGERY AT THE PARIS SALON

Nearly two thousand artists exhibited more than 2,500 paintings at the Salon of 1887 [1] Despite this vast collection, nearly every guidebook and Salon review called the public's attention to a number of paintings which depicted scenes of doctors at work. These canvases were unlike the formal portraits of doctors the public had seen at previous Salons. Salon visitors were told to look for paintings that showed some of the leading members of the Parisian medical profession actually in their hospitals and clinics. Henri Gervex, already well-known to Salon regulars, had painted Dr. Jules Emile Pern about to perform surgery at the St. Louis hospital. The young artist Andre Brouillet's portrait of Jean-Martin Charcot showed the famous neurologist giving a clinical lecture at the Salpetriere, and Lucien Laurent-Gsell's painting of Louis Pasteur showed the famous scientist supervising the treatment of rabies patients with the new vaccine by the doctors who worked his laboratory on the rue Vauquelin. These were the "stars" of the medical scenes at the Salon, but only three of a large group.

Although doctors had appeared in many earlier nineteenth century Salon paintings, those on view in 1887 represented something new. Before the 1880s, the



FIGURE 1 - HENRI GERVEX

AVANT L'OPERATION

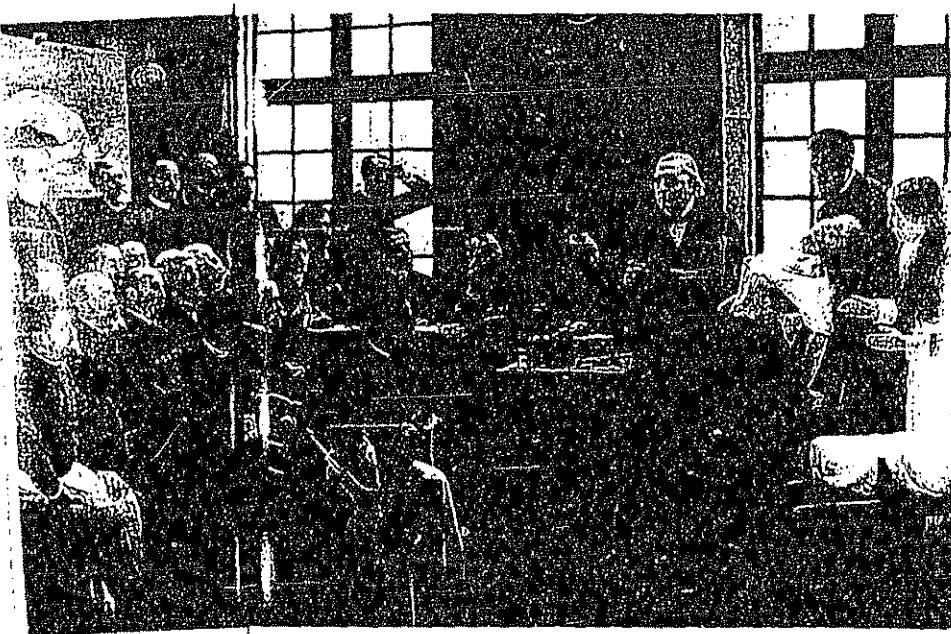


FIGURE 2 - ANDRÉ BROUILLET : UNE LEÇON CLINIQUE
A LA SALPETRIERE

most frequent "medical" painting had been the doctor's portrait. As will be shown in the next chapter, these were traditional portraits in which the sitter was not directly identified as a doctor, certainly not shown in a (possibly) horrifying surgical scene. The subject was either shown wearing his academic robes, or, if not a member of the medical faculty, either in military uniform (many were army surgeons) or wearing the ordinary jacket and tie of anyone of similar social standing. He might easily be taken for a lawyer or a banker. [2] These portraits followed established conventions of portraiture which, even by the early 1800s, had existed for quite some time. The medical instruments which had often accompanied the doctor and identified his profession in portraits of earlier centuries were, however, omitted from the nineteenth century portrait. Even when the doctor was famous for a particular invention or innovation, the painting might omit the instrument. It was only years after the Laennec's portrait had been completed that the doctor's family finally commissioned Alexandre Dubois to add a stethoscope to his portrait of the doctor. [3]

A second type of (pre-1887) medical scene frequently exhibited at the Salon had been the genre painting which showed an "anonymous" healer visiting



FIGURE 3 - ALEXANDRE DUBOIS PORTRAIT OF LAENNEC
IN 1812

the sick and the injured. In them, the unidentified general practitioner was shown attending his patient, perhaps applying bandages or comforting the dying. Here was the "medecin du quartier," whose personal concern for the patient and long-standing relationship with the patient's family was portrayed sympathetically. In some ways this doctor represented the very opposite ideal of the dispassionate and scientific surgeon. Even after the risks involved in surgery had been lessened, surgeons still had to combat an unpopular image, a feeling that they operated on "parts," and thought of their patients as procedures, "mastectomies," or "ovariotomies," not as individuals.

[4] At the Salon of 1887, as if to underscore the difference between the new scientific surgeon who treated the patient in the surgical theatre and the ordinary doctor who cared for his patient in the patient's own home, was Arturo Michelena's genre painting, L'ENFANT MALADE [5] which shows the family physician at the patient's own bedside.

A third type of medical scene that had been exhibited at various Salons before the 1880s depicted medical personnel - either students or professors - dissecting cadavers. Perhaps the world's most well-known "medical" painting is an anatomy lesson



L'ILLUSTRATION

#2722 April 27, 1895 p. 22

FIGURE 4 - PH. HEYL

AVANT LA DISSECTION

by Rembrandt. Although there were some some anatomy lessons painted after 1887, their number was very small. These did not seem to glorify the surgeon as the confident master of his profession. Ph. Heyl's AVANT LA DISSECTION (Salon of 1895), for example, is a striking contrast to Feyen-Perrin's 1864 painting of Dr. Alfred Velpeau. Heyl's shows the doctor alone, a female cadaver behind him. We see him just before he is to begin the dissection. He holds left hand on his cheek which emphasizes the uncertainty of his expression. [6]

All this is not to say that there had been no Salon paintings which, before the later 1880s, showed famous surgeons at work. There were. But they had been memorial portraits, painted well after - sometimes centuries after - their subjects had died. Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Pare, for example, had been the subjects of several mid-century paintings. [7] The new paintings of medical scenes exhibited at the 1887 Salon and after showed doctors who were still alive, still practicing their art and quite well-known in Paris.

The very few canvases that had depicted scenes of contemporary surgery were invariably of one or two types. Paintings of "bloody" surgery invariably showed a military surgeon performing an emergency



FIGURE 5 - EMILE BOUTIGNY LE MARECHAL LANNE A' ESELING



Foto - 1943

FIGURE 6 - EMILE BOUTIGNY LE LENDEMAIN DU COMBAT
D'ULM



FIGURE 7 - CLAUDE GAUTHEROT NAPOLEON WOUNDED AT RATISBON

military surgeon performing an emergency procedure on the battlefield, as in several paintings which showed Napoleon's surgeons treating soldiers wounded at Borodino or Ratisbon. [8] During the 1880s and 1890s, battlefield surgery continued to attract artists and Emile Boutigny's LE MARECHAL LANNES A ESSELING (Salon of 1894) showed Larrey minutes after operating on Lannes. In the painting, Larrey is still wearing his bloody surgical apron. He holds a towel spotted with his patient's blood and in the center foreground, Marshall Lannes, right leg amputated, is being comforted by Napoleon. Boutigny included the following historical note by Marbot in the Salon Catalogue: "Il supporta l'operation avec un grand courage, elle etait a peine terminee lorsque l'Empereur survint. L'entrevue fut des plus touchante: l'Empereur, a genoux au pied du brancard, pleurait en embrassant le Marechal." [9] Other wounded soldiers lie about the courtyard of the mill in which the surgery took place.

When the paintings were more decorous, they depicted surgeons engaged in "non-bloody" surgery, invariably of the well-established specialty, eye-surgery [10]. A painting of Dupuytren, for example, shows him in removing a patient's cataracts.[Figure 32]

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PRIX DU NUMERO : 10 CENTIMES

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A. ROBIDA

La Caricature

Séjournement d'un an : Paris et Département : 30 francs. — Caisse postale : 14 francs. — Traite nautique : 1 franc. — Itinéraire : 7, rue de Crimée.

AU SALON — par A. ROBIDA



FIGURE 8 - A. ROBITDA

AU SALON

If Salon visitors were familiar with the vaguely aware of the contributions they had made to medicine and surgery. Pasteur and Charcot were of course exceptions since, throughout the 1880s articles about them had appeared in the popular press on a regular basis. Jules Emile Pean was a leading Parisian surgeon, but even few residents of the capital were likely to have known what a hemostatic clamp was or that Pean had invented the one most widely used at the time. In his review of the painting for *L'ILLUSTRATION*, Roger Ballu had to provide that information for his readers. He wrote, "Voici la pince hemostatique; M. Gervex lui a fait les honneurs de la peinture. -- Qu'est-ce cela? allez-vous dire, repetant ainsi une question que j'addressais moi-même il y a quelques jours. -- C'est un instrument à l'aide duquel pendant, ou après les operations, on arrête les hemorrhages, et qui...[sic]. Mais, je dois parler peinture, non chirurgie; pour plus amples renseignements, adressez-vous aux gens du metier. Qu'il vous suffise de savoir que nous sommes dans un hopital." [11]

Even when caricaturists poked fun at these canvases, they alerted the public to the new paintings of medical scenes, noting that recent surgical progress had provided artists many new ways to paint the (nude)

reads:

Le Salon Medical Et Chirurgical

PROGRESS IN SURGERY, a thesis presented at the Academy of Medicine by H. Gervex; STUDY ON GRAND HYSTERIA, by A. Brouillet, student of Charcot; the TREATMENT OF CHOLERA MORBUS, by A. Gautier, etc.

A new path is open to the truly modern artists. Medicine offers them a quantity of subjects worthy of their brushes. What a resource for the painter of parts. Especially surgery! If you wish to make a tasteful study of the nude, a fine amputation session would be very interesting. Do you prefer a study of expressions or of skin colors, what diversity follows illness! The ancients have preceded us: everyone knows that the Venus de Milo never had any arms since she is the portrait of a lady amputated following a carriage accident. [12]

These "truly modern artists" began to paint doctors in this new way around the same time, after 1886. Can this be attributed only to coincidence? Why did the subject begin to interest them simultaneously? What did these artists have in common? The painters of these canvases, although fairly young, were already members of what might be described as the art "establishment." Or they wished to be. Nearly all had studied in the studios of the leading academic teachers. They had competed for the Prix de Rome and some, like Theobald Chartran, had won it. Their canvases had been awarded Salon medals or honorable mentions. Their paintings commanded high prices, had sold well privately or had been purchased by the public

authorities. They received commissions from the State and municipal governments to decorate public buildings. They received the highest votes in the elections to the Salon juries. They were not the independents or "refuses."

A second question that is raised by the appearance of these paintings at about the same time concerns the new image of medicine at a time when doctors and surgeons were seeking to establish a professional monopoly. Hospitals had suffered from a very poor reputation throughout the century. Surgery had long been considered a terrifying ordeal. Many doctors even shared the general opinion that surgery was torture. Alfred Velpeau had said, "Instrument tranchant et douleur en medecine operatoire sont deux mots dont il faut toujours adopter l'association." [13] Why then did these doctors agree to have themselves painted while at work in the hospital? According to Borsig and Michel, it was the hospital that became the site of medical progress. "L'hôpital devient à la fois le lieu et l'instrument indispensables de toute avancée scientifique importante, de tout progrès médical." [14] Medical application of the latest scientific discoveries in chemistry, biology and physics did indeed take place at the hospital and elite doctors

wished to be associated with such scientific progress.

Thirdly, how well did the public receive these paintings? Salon reports indicate that they attracted the largest crowds. Charles Ponsonailhe wrote in *L'ARTISTE*, "Les sujets empruntés à la science medicale ont particulierement attiré l'attention des visiteurs du Salon cette année. MM. Gervex, Andre Brouillet parmi les Français, Laurent G'sell [sic] et Richard Bergh parmi les étrangers, reproduisent des scenes d'hopitaux ou de clinique, des experiences touchant aux plus recente decouvertes de cet art." [15]

These hospital and clinic scenes were popular in Paris. One might wonder why the crowds of Salon visitors weren't repelled by the subjects depicted in the canvases? After all, in America at the very same time, paintings like these, even the great paintings of doctors at work by Thomas Eakins received a hostile response. The contrast may be instructive. Eakins had studied at the atelier of Jean-Leon Gerome, and received the same art training there as the artists who painted the new medical portraits. It is revealing to compare the enthusiastic response of the French professional art world and wider public to the opposite greeting Eakins' medical paintings received at about

the same time. Eakins had submitted the GROSS CLINIC (1875) to the art committee of the Centennial Exposition planned for Philadelphia in 1876. It was turned down for the main exhibition. The committee considered the painting more appropriate for a medical exposition than to an art exhibition and only allowed it to be displayed at another site, "relegated to the United States Hospital, or to the 'medical department.'" [16] Perhaps they believed that no one except members of the medical profession would be venturing into that part of the centennial. A few years later, when Eakins exhibited the painting at a New York exhibition, a critic wrote, "the more we praise it, the more we must condemn its admission to a gallery where men and women of weak nerves must be compelled to look at it.'" [17]

Eakins' AGNEW CLINIC (1889) did not fare better. "In its time," notes Judith Fryer, "it was turned down by the directors of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts for an 1891 exhibition because it violated museum standards of decorum." [18] The general American public was not yet considered ready to view these scenes. Had the painting's viewers been restricted to surgeons or medical students, it might perhaps have not caused any problem. But when the setting was to be the Academy of Fine Arts, the

painting was deemed unsuitable. Patricia Hills adds, "To the directors - not artists but businessmen - it clearly breached decorum, not on the grounds that it violated the dignity of the hero/doctor or that it failed to be accurate, but because in that Victorian, genteel era such pictures of mastectomies were unsuitable to the art museum setting. For male professionals to view mastectomies, either real or pictorial, in hospitals was one thing, but women and children spectators in art museums was quite another."

[19]

Robert Hinckley, another American artist who had studied in Paris, had his "medical" scene, THE FIRST OPERATION WITH ETHER, suffer a similar rejection in the United States. Hinckley was also born in the 1850s, and as Eakins had, travelled to Paris to study art. He began the "Ether" painting in 1882, while a student in Carolus-Duran's atelier. Hinckley apparently thought very highly of the work, keeping it in his own studios in Paris and later in Washington. He did not consider it finished until 1893, when, having returned to America, he offered the painting to the National Medical Museum. It was refused for "lack of space," an often-cited excuse for not accepting less-well-thought of canvases. Hinckley allowed the

painting to be shown at a jubilee celebration of the ether demonstration in 1896, perhaps because Morton's widow and other family members were scheduled to attend.

[20] It was only through the persuasiveness of his friend James Reed Chadwick, that Hinckley was convinced that the painting should go to the Boston Medical Library where it remained until transferred to its current location, the Countway Library of Medicine in Boston. [21]

Gervex did not include any reference to Eakins' GROSS CLINIC in his memoirs. [22] If he knew of the painting when he planned his own portrait of Pean, he most likely would have known of its chilly reception. Gervex was certainly prepared to have his work cause a stir in the Parisian art world. He did not back away from controversy. When his ROLLA had been rejected by the Salon judges, it exhibited privately for three months. Just the year before the Pean painting, LA FEMME AU MASQUE had created quite a different scandal. It is clear that he minded being ignored, not being the subject of controversy.

Is it legitimate to group these paintings together? Almost from the very moment of their first exhibition at the Salon, the paintings were recognized as constituting a "group." At the turn of the

century, Leonce Benedite wrote that "AVANT L'OPERATION (1887), entre autres, qui represente le grand chirurgien Péan entouré de ses eleves, appartient à ce genre de peintures d'hôpitaux, de cliniques, de laboratoires et de pharmacies qu'il [Gervex] avait inauguré et qui eut tant de vogue." [23] Two years earlier, one art historian even less sympathetic to Gervex had seen a connection among the new style medical paintings. He wrote, "Henri Gervex, the spoilt child of French painting, turned to the lecture-rooms of the universities, and by his picture of Dr. Péan at the La Salpêtrière gave the impulse to the many hospital paintings, surgical operations and so forth which have since inundated the Salon." [24] Muther's error of placing Péan at the Salpêtrière instead of the St. Louis Hospital possibly indicates that he had confused Gervex's portrait of Péan with the LECON CLINIQUE by Brouillet. Such an inadvertant slip might be taken as further evidence that, in his opinion, the paintings were related. In any case, when paintings exhibited at the Salon depicted medical scenes, critics invariably reviewed them together as a group. They frequently compared the paintings at one year's Salon to those which dealt with medicine and surgery at previous exhibitions. They also frequently contrasted

them to the earlier depictions of medicine with which they assumed their readers were familiar. Critics wrote that artists had painted scenes of doctors at work because they had been influenced by the success of the earlier medical paintings of medical laboratories, hospitals and clinics. In 1888, for example, Paul Le Prieur wrote that several paintings he had seen reminded him of the hospital scenes at the 1887 Salon. "Un certain nombres de peintres s'y sont transportés avec succès l'an dernier. D'autres les imitent cette année." [25]

In 1887, Gervex was already an important Parisian artist. He was certainly the most important of those mentioned by Benedite and Muther. His portrait of Dr. Pean was the most striking of these new medical scenes and it is probably for these reasons that both Benedite and Muther, writing twenty years after, ascribe a seminal position to it. But as will be shown later on, Gervex did not inaugurate these scenes. At the time he started his portrait of Dr. Pean, he had in fact already seen a portrait of another member of the Academy of Medicine at work in his laboratory conducting a medical experiment, Edelfelt's 1886 portrait of Louis Pasteur.

Despite this error, the point is that the

scenes of doctors at work were recognized by contemporary observers to constitute a significant and related group. Why then have they not been noticed as such by modern historians? The answer is found in several factors. For one thing, the paintings are not collected in one place. Some are in museums, but others adorn the walls of medical faculties, hospitals and clinics. Earlier, I noted that in the 1880s and 1890s, the doctors depicted in these scenes were well-known to the Parisian public. But if they were famous men then, their names are not so familiar now. Some might still recognize the name of Dr. Samuel Pozzi because of the portrait of him by John Singer Sargent. But few now know that in his own time he was considered by many the most important French surgeon who performed gynecological laparatomies. [26] Not very many would recognize Dr. Jean Casimir Felix Guyon's name, even when seeing it on a 1 franc postage stamp with his picture. [26a] In the late 1880s and 1890s, Guyon [1831-1920] was one of the premier urologists in Paris. Edouard Bisson's painting, APRES L'OPERATION (Salon of 1890) is a portrait of Dr. Guyon immediately after he successfully completed a lithotomy. Georges Chicotot, another artist who painted several modern hospital scenes, was also a doctor, who among other things was a



FIGURE 9 - FELIX GUYON 1FRANC80 POSTAGE STAMP

pioneer in the use of X-Rays to treat cancer. He included his own portrait in several of his medical canvases. [27] The current obscurity of many of the doctors in these paintings has been a factor in explaining why these canvases have not been studied.

Recently some of the more well-known of these paintings have been included in the work of several historians. Their references to the paintings, however, have generally been fairly brief, either limited to one or two of the paintings, or in reference to something other than the representation of medicine and surgery. For example, when Jane Kromm discusses Brouillet's painting of Charcot, it in comparison to Tony Robert-Fleury's painting of Pinel at the Salpetriere (1876). Since both represent female patients, Kromm included them as illustrations of "The Madwoman and Marianne." [28] Elaine Showalter has also discussed the same paintings as illustrations of French attitudes towards "The Female Malady." [29] These two paintings, both set at the Salpetriere, have often been discussed together, but not often in relation to the other medical paintings of the 1880s and 1890s. Similarly, Gervex's portrait of Pean has been discussed by Margaret Supplee Smith, but as a reference to Eakins' development as an

artist. She argues that we can see "how far Eakins has pushed the documentary nature of the traumatic surgical procedure...by comparing [the AGNEW CLINIC] with a slightly earlier French painting by Henri Gervex, BEFORE THE OPERATION: DR. PEAN EXPLAINING THE USE OF HEMOSTATIC CLAMPS...." [30]

Why should paintings exhibited at the Salon, an institution associated with the least progressive art and described as nearly moribund interest us? Even when the paintings had been commissioned to be exhibited in other places, public or private, artists first showed them at the annual Paris Salon. Some of the paintings became widely known through photographic or other reproductions, but the public first saw them at the Salon. The publishers of illustrated reviews and catalogues for the Salon hired artists (sometimes they were the artists who had created the original oil painting) to make copies of the Salon work that would be printed in their journals and Salon guides. When the FIGARO began its illustrated Salon review in 1885, its critic Albert Wolff wrote that it was doing so for several reasons. There were so many people who never got to the Salon, that understanding the paintings was nearly impossible. Secondly, the ability to reproduce the paintings had finally become adequate to meet the

FIGARO's standards, "parvenu au supreme degré de la perfectibilité ou vulgarise l'art dans le bon sens du mot." [30a] Reproductions were also sold individually. After 1877, the Ministry of Public Instruction had relaxed its previously restrictive policy and began to grant permission to those who wished to photograph art works owned by the state and held in museums and other public places (city-halls and other state-owned buildings) [31]

The young painters who sent their work to the Paris Salon did so because, even as late as the last decade of the 19th century, the Salon was still the place where they could establish a reputation. During their professional lifetimes the Salon remained the premier art event each year. They hoped to attract attention to their paintings by having them accepted for display. The Salon had become an important social setting as well and Varnishing Day an important event on the social calendar. In the mid-1880s, L. de Ronchard reminded his readers that

Everyone knows the great Salons where contemporary painting and sculpture come before the public's eyes to be displayed and to solicit its looks; it is a French tradition....The opening of the Salon on its fixed date has become a solemn day, a festival of art. One waits and prepares for it, the old and the young talents, those whose fame has already been made and those for whom it is still to be made. There they meet in a courteous battle which resounds in the press and in which the artist is judged at

simultaneously by the public, by his teachers and by his peers.

The crowd never fails to come there. On opening day they lay siege to the doors of the Salon, and even break them down. They come there from far away, and foreigners mix together with French nationals to applaud the first successes of our artists and the glory of our art.

One cannot deny the usefulness for artists of these annual expositions which make them known, appreciated and where they find buyers for their works. Without these grand bazaars where each spring the productions of contemporary art are gathered, artists and the public would not be able to come together....In order to find their way, our artists need to be placed in the current. They need public discussion, the opinions and the encouragement of the critics. The expositions are like great greenhouses where, in the midst of a crowd of visitors and under the excitation of the public and the press, contemporary art, a product combined from diverse influences, blossoms under an artificial heat. [32]

Getting noticed at the Salon, however, was not an easy task for young artists. The jury often "skied" their paintings, placing them high above eye level where they were easily overlooked by the public. From time to time, reviewers testified that despite their diligent efforts, they had not been able to find particular works whose titles they had noticed in the

catalogue. In 1889, for example, the Salonnier for L'UNION MEDICAL, Dr. P. Norech, complained about the placement of several "medical paintings. One was so well hidden that his search for it had been unsuccessful. "Plus simple et surtout trop haut perchée est la scène envoyée par M. Haus: A BICETRE. Deux vieux sont assis sur un banc adossé à des feuillages et l'un d'eux lit le PETIT JOURNAL à l'autre. Il est malheureusement impossible de bien voir une peinture de petite dimension placée à une telle hauteur....Nous n'avons pu, malgré de conscientieuses recherches, trouver le tableau de M. Sivori: FEMMES MEDECINS." [33]

Some critics alleged that there were collectors (especially those who came from America) who would not buy a painting from any artist who had not previously exhibited at the Salon. They asserted that these wealthy collectors, amateurs in several different senses of the word, needed the reassurance that there had been others who already approved of these artists.

In 1881, Renoir noted that "there were at best in Paris scarcely fifteen art-lovers capable of liking a painter without Salon approval." [33b]

Many had come to see the paintings of the artists whom they already knew (at least whose names they recognized) and whose work was already at the Luxembourg (Cervex's REDACTION DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE was purchased for the Luxembourg by Waldeck-Rousseau) or which was about to be sent there. Having been selected for the Luxembourg certified that the artist was at the top of the profession. Daniel Sherman writes that "The most prestigious destination for works of art purchased by the state was the Musée de Luxembourg....A commission of curators from the Louvre as well as the Luxembourg's lone curator generally selected the works the state wished to purchase at the beginning of the Salon. This practice effectively gave the state the right of first refusal, and it also gave the Salon's organizers the opportunity to publicize the government's choices by hanging them in choice locations and by affixing special labels denoting official endorsement." [34]

Because of the events that occurred between January and the summer of 1871, no Salon was organized that year. But the government of the Third Republic

reinstituted it the next year. Many in France hoped that the Universal Exposition planned for 1878 would demonstrate that France had regained its place among the world's nations. But in the meantime, the annual Salon would show that Paris remained the center of the world for art and more importantly that the nation was on the way to recovery. [35] Thousands of artists exhibited one or two works every year. Between 1872 and 1878, the number of Salon entries rose from just over 2,000 to nearly 5,000. [36] Each day the Salon was open, on average, 10,000 visitors passed through the doors of the Palace of Industry on the Champs-Elysees, for a total of nearly half a million during the Salon's six-week run.

The alphabetically arranged official Salon Catalogue listed the most essential information about the artist. It identified his place of birth, his teachers and the address of his studio. Although artists from all over the world were eligible for the Salon's medals and awards, those born in foreign countries but whose parents were French considered it important enough (and catalogue compilers agreed with them) to include the designation "of French parents" next to their name. [37] The catalogue also listed the previous awards the artist had won and if he or she

might be HC (hors de concours). If the artist had been awarded the Legion of Honor or had been promoted to one of the higher ranks in it, the information was noted by the inclusion of the appropriate symbol placed next to the artist's name. From time to time, the Catalogue would print a few lines submitted by the artist "explaining" his work, that is, a reference to a literary or historical work from which the artist had chosen his subject. [38] Some of the "medical" paintings included an explanation of the procedure depicted on the canvas. The catalogue would also note if the painting was to decorate a public building (e.g., the 1880 Salon Catalogue noted that Tony Robert-Fleury's GLORIFICATION DE LA SCULPTURE FRANCAISE was a "Plafond pour le Palais de Luxembourg) or, the name of the owner if it had already been purchased privately (at the same Salon of 1880, for example, Gustave Popelin's SACRIFICE À ESCULAPE was listed as already belonging to Princess Mathilde). The French State and the city government of Paris both made purchases from among Salon entries. Artists who had already shown at the Salon were the fortunate ones commissioned to decorate the public buildings that were being erected or refurbished, even when these commissions were awarded through apparently open competitions. [39]

Including such information not only "validated" the artist's importance, it increased his space in the Catalogue and improved the odds of standing out from the thousands of other entries.

Second only to having one's painting purchased by the state or winning a medal at the Salon, perhaps the most important way for an artist to have his Salon paintings noticed was to be mentioned in a prestigious review. The thousands of paintings on display presented an overwhelming challenge to the visitors, and to help them assess the Salon, they turned to professional art critics. A comment Patricia Mainardi makes about the 1855 Universal Exposition applies equally to the annual Salons. "The critic became more important than ever, for alone and unprepared, the visitor would be unable to make sense out of this enormous display." [40] Mainardi writes that, "In attempting to assess the import of the Exhibition in France, the principal evidence is the writing of critics and artists (although that of the latter is scanty), changes in artist's work or careers, or subsequent changes in the administrative structure of the fine arts. It is to the critics that one looks first, for the official guides to the Exposition are merely lists." [41] Our search through the Salons is

equally guided by the contemporary reviews, especially in an effort to follow the paths of the Salon visitors. For every Salon, visitors could read several dozen reviews and guides. [42] They offered the public an overall assessment of that year's exhibition (the review often began with the formula, "This year's Salon is no better or worse than last year's." [43]) followed by the critic's remarks about individual paintings. In general, critics wrote in any length about only forty-odd paintings out of the several thousands exhibited each year (they reviewed a smaller number of sculptures, engravings, water-colors and prints). Therefore, simply to be mentioned would enable an artist to advance his career, even when the mention came at the end of the review when the critic often finished his article with a list of interesting artists but, claiming to have run out of space, said nothing about his or her works. The reviews also might comment on the reception a particular piece by the public or by other artists. Their comments, despite reflecting the critic's point of view, do help the modern historian understand the art at the Salon, especially when several reviews discuss the same canvases. In commenting about the historian's use of contemporary critical reviews, Patricia Mainardi warns

that "The danger is, of course, that citing art criticism is a bit like citing the Bible: almost anything can be proved thereby." [44] It is certainly not difficult to find critics who differed in their judgments over particular works. But, as in the Bible, there is also truth in the critical reviews of the Salons. I have relied on them as a guide to contemporary judgments about particular canvases as well as trends. Most reviewers signed their articles and one finds the same names appearing year after year. Some of the most popular reviewers had official connections to the art world: Roger Ballu and Henry Havard were Fine Arts Inspecteurs; Leonce Benedite was Conservator of the Luxembourg Museum; Gustave Ollendorff was a Director of Museum Administration; Georges Lafenestre was a Commissioner-General of Exhibitions. Other powerful critics included Henry Houssaye, Alfred de Lostalot, Charles Yriarte, Arsene Alexandre and Albert Wolff, [45] They read each other's work. In 1879, F.-C. De Syene assessed the work of his colleague Albert Wolff who "continue sa critique du Salon dans Le Figaro: C'est un vrai critique d'art original, curieux et voyant." [46] Even the medical journal, L'UNION MEDICAL, sent a reviewer to write the annual "Promenades Au Salon."

Dr. Norech, its Salon reviewer in the later 1880s, identified one of his non-medical colleagues, "un de nos critiques d'art les plus éminents, M. Georges Lafenestre." [47] Some reviewers were already well-known to the public as novelists and playwrights. Because their names kept appearing year after year, the reading public understood the critic's point of view and trusted his opinions. Jacques Emile Blanche noted how important these critics were to the professional life of the artist. "In the FIGARO, Albert Wolf [sic] the critic, or a man like Octave Mirbeau, had power to make a fortune of a poor beginner from one day or another by merely publishing an article on the Salon. What happy days for the artist who was the protégé."

[47b] Salon reviews appeared in successive issues of the Parisian journals. The REVUE DES DEUX MONDES normally began its Salon review in the June 1 issue each year. The NOUVELLE REVUE generally began its Salon review with the July 1 number, a full month after the DEUX MONDES.

Despite the number of visitors, works of art exhibited there and the critical notice they received, if one were to read many recent works about the French art world of the 1880s, it would be easy to conclude that the Salon had ceased to be a significant arena for

artists and public to meet. Christopher Parsons and Martha Ward have written that "the Paris Salons of the Second Empire (1852-1870) mark the zenith of the state-sponsored exhibitions of contemporary art in France....Not until the Third Republic would a plethora of small independent shows seriously erode the institution's prestige and disperse critical acclaim."^[48] Certainly, during the last decades of the century, the near-monopoly the Salon had once enjoyed was seriously challenged. Artists began to exhibit their paintings outside the Salon, in private galleries or at small exhibitions. Because many artists took advantage of these new opportunities, some modern writers have argued that the Salon had become obsolete. Richard Brettell, Searle Curator of European painting at Chicago's Art Institute expressed the view most strongly when he wrote that the Salon had become "irrelevant."^[49] Patricia Mainardi adds that "after 1870 the modern system was in place. The best artists no longer expected a career of government medals, honors and commissions. The Salon and the Academie des Beaux-Arts had lost their former authority, private galleries, dealers, even private art-training, had replaced government institutions, and artists had begun to organize their own shows."^[50] Mainardi even calls

her more recent book, THE END OF THE SALON ART AND THE STATE IN THE EARLY THIRD REPUBLIC. In this work, Mainardi actually dates the Salon's demise in 1880, when the government withdrew its official support and turned over the administration of the Salon to the artist's themselves. Without the government's continued support and protection, "the huge, badly installed Salon could not compete with these smaller shows." [51]

The complaint that the Salon had grown into a huge trade fair and that the quality of the paintings exhibited had become increasingly mediocre did not begin during the first two decades of the Third Republic. Daniel Sherman notes that "as early as the 1840s many critics and other observers had begun taking note of the dramatic increase in the size of Salons and in the number of works submitted. The exposition, they complained, had become a huge picture bazaar rather than a showcase for the best in contemporary art. This change in the character of the Salon corresponded to the emergence of alternative outlets for the sale of art, including dealers and small-scale private patronage, all developments scholars have traced to the appearance of the bourgeois art market." [51] The complaint was heard even before the 1840s. In 1822, no

less a critic than Thiers complained that the 2,000 canvases being exhibited were too many and that "Le public, est arrivee plein d'indulgence sans avoir eprouve aucune grande sensation, s'est retire mecontent et criant a la mediocrite." [51b]

Contemporary accounts of many Salon observers do not, however, match these modern reports of the Salon's demise. They were, of course, aware of the increasing number of venues where artists might exhibit their work, including the several "cercles" formed by art-collectors. These private exhibitions displayed new paintings and helped arrange for their purchase. By 1882 there were more than a half-dozen "petits salons" in Paris.[52] Many opened in April, just preceding that of the official Salon. But because the exhibition dates of the small salons did not compete with the annual Salon, these contemporary reviewers believed that these shows actually increased the public's interest in the annual Salon on the Champs-Elysees. Salon reviewers explained that the artists who showed at the Georges Petits or the Mirlitons (two of the small salons mentioned by Mainardi) sent their works there because the rules of the juried Salon did not permit them to exhibit more than two paintings each year. Henry Houssaye wrote in the REVUE DES DEUX

MONDES that "The exposition of the cercles are less rehearsels than annexes of the Salons....The rules of the expositions which limit to two works that can be sent to the Salon, prevent artists from showing everything." [53] Artists, Houssaye continued, "reserved their best works for the official Salon."
[54] Jerryold Seigel, although noting that the smaller exhibitions were a way for artists to show work that might be ahead of the public's taste, has noted that "the independent exhibitions seemed at first to be only a stage on the way to the Salon, not a substitute for it." [54b]

Art reviewers of the time maintained that the Paris Salon, even in the last two decades of the century, continued to be the single-most important art forum in the world. For example, in 1880, Emile Michel, remarked that "in spite of some abstentions by design or involuntarily, the Salon remains for the arts du dessin, the most complete representation of artistic activity."
[55] That same year, the year Mainardi cites as marking the end of the Salon, Emile Zola wrote the following concerning Renoir's decision to send his work to the Salon:

For a moment, the Impressionist exhibitions have occupied all of Paris. Some sing their praises, others greet them with jeers and laughter, but

crowds of visitors come there. Unfortunately, it is only noise, this Parisian noise which blows with the wind.

Monsieur Renoir was the first to realize that commissions never arrive this way, and, since he needs to earn a living, he has again begun to send his work to the official Salon, that which treated him as a renegade. I am for independence in all things. I admit, however, that M. Renoir's conduct appears perfectly reasonable to me. One must know the admirable means of publicity that the Salon affords to young artists. With our ways, it is only there that they can triumph seriously....It is a simple question of opportunism, as is presently said among our politicians. [56]

In the mid-1880s, Albert Wolff commented that even if the Salon no longer could claim the exclusive power it had once enjoyed, admission to it continued to be a major advantage for the artist's professional life. He wrote, "That which still demonstrates in an incontestable way the supremacy of French art and the importance of the Paris Salon, is the eagerness of foreigners to send their works to it; those who have even been ranked for a long time in their own countries, still want to earn their stripes with us; foreigners know very well the significance of obtaining success in Paris. It is for them the consecration of their talent, for the fame which speaks of Paris is expanded more quickly because of the interest which is attached to the great city." [57] Four years later, Wolff still held the same opinion of the Salon. In 1889, he wrote that "the Salon remains, as in the past,

the terrain where the most living forces of art meet."

[58] Even as late as 1899, Arsene Alexandre wrote visitors to the Salon still went there to see the best that the art world had to offer and that overall, the standard of quality of the works shown at the Salon had not declined very much, it was "sensiblement la meme."

[59]

When Meissonier felt slighted at the way medals had been awarded at the 1889 Universal Exposition, he protested by forming the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts to rival the older Societe des Artistes Français. One of its first actions was to sponsor a competing Salon. Its first exhibition opened on May 15, 1890 at the former grounds of the Universal Exposition on the Champs-de-Mars. A group of about a hundred artists followed Meissonier, including Dagnan-Bouveret, Edelfelt (who exhibited eight paintings), Gervex (who outdid Edelfelt by one with nine paintings), Lhermitte (whose SAINTE-CLAIRES DEVILLE was among the four paintings he exhibited) and Puvis de Chavannes (who was content to exhibit the large decoration for the Rouen Museum, INTER ARTES ET NATURAM). Laurent-Gsell remained at the Champs-Elysees in 1890 (UNE LECON DE MANIPULATION CHIMIQUE A LA FACULTE DE MEDECINE) but was at the Champ-de-Mars in

1891. The total number of works visitors were able to view did not diminish because of the split. Leonce Benedite commented that, "The annual production, far from having decreased, has been considerably augmented. Salon of the Champs-Elysees continues to have its usual number of works and that of the Champ-de-Mars has also received a good number. Even better, the split from one original society into two distinct and competitive Expositions has affirmed an overflowing vitality. So regrettable as the consequences of this situation may appear to some, nothing about it seems sad to us." [60]

A year later, Georges Lafenestre wrote that the competition from the newer Salon had in fact spurred the older one to make improvements. "Déjà, grâce à cette meilleure présentation, le Salon, du premier coup, a semble mieux composé que les années précédentes....La secousse imprimée par les evenemens [sic] de l'an dernier n'aura donc pas été inutile."

[61]

At first, some critics like Jean Darric, believed that the new Salon would be the home of progressive artists. "Nous avons deux societes," he wrote in 1891, "absolument differentes, dans l'organisation, les tendances, les principes même....Le Champ-de-Mars...est le pays des originalités." [62]

Soon, however, critics realized that the split represented a difference in personalities rather than in philosophies. Lafenestre's remarks are representative. He wrote that "Au point de vue de l'art, le seul qui nous préoccupe, la scission n'a pas d'ailleurs grosse importance. Ce n'est point une école dressée vis-a-vis d'une école, un drapeau déployé vis-a-vis d'un drapeau." [63] In 1893, Lafenestre wrote that "la scission entre les deux groupes, au point de vue de l'art, devient d'ailleurs de plus en plus inexplicable....Quelque effort qu'on fait, toutefois, pour justifier théoriquement cette séparation, en lui attribuant pour cause une incompatibilité de principes, le visiteur impartial ne saisit plus guère, entre les deux Salons, de différences notables, au point de vue du système et des tendances." [64] A decade later, Pierre Baudin summed up. "Il n'y a plus maintenant aucune différence entre le Salon de la Société Nationale et celui des Artistes Français." [65] For my own part, therefore, I will consider paintings shown at either the Champs-Elysées or the Champ-de-Mars as Salon paintings.

Even if the Salon had lost some prestige after 1880, the paintings sent there would still be considered important and worth investigation by the

historian. In 1887, when Georges Lafenestre noted that the Salon had changed he argued not that the Salon had become unimportant, but that it had acquired a different set of visitors. He noticed that the crowds now included many more "uninstructed" people, to use his word. It was their attendance, Lafenestre wrote, that changed the Salon. That change he added, "is just what makes it important for the historian, since paintings were not simply for an elite of nobles, but for a general middle-class audience." [66]

It has been frequently noted that in the later nineteenth century, doctors, hospitals and medicine were often portrayed in French literature. While B. L. Rideout's statement that "nearly every French novel of consequence written in the latter half of the nineteenth century deals with some aspect of medicine," [67] may seem to have overstated the case, La Berge and Feingold's express the view that "medical discourse infused all areas of French society from the bastions of science - the academies and research institutions - to newspapers, novels and the theatre, to the daily lives of citizens as patients." [68] Jacques Leonard has found that "dans plus de deux cent cinquante oeuvres litteraires parues en France, en 1899, le grand rôle est dévolu au médecin." [69] There

have been a number of studies of doctors in French literature. Some have focused on fairly narrow topics such as medicine in a single novel (e.g., MEDICAL IDEAS IN LE DOCTEUR PASCAL [70]), a single author ("Paul Bourget et la Medecine," [71]) or on a single disease as in Jan Goldstein's recent, "The Uses of Male Hysteria: Medical and Literary Discourse in Nineteenth-France [72]. Other studies have been more general, such as Rideout's work cited above or Marie-Christine Faucheuix's IMAGES DE L'HOPITAL DANS LA LITTERATURE DU XIX^E SIÈCLE. A fairly recent journal has been devoted to LITERATURE AND MEDICINE. Medicine in art, however, has not received the same attention. Carl Zigrosser's MEDICINE AND THE ARTIST is a general survey which tries to cover as wide a range of material as possible. Other works are either "Illustrated Histories" (of medicine, of surgery, of surgery in America, etc.) or exhibition catalogues (e.g., IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH, MEDICINE AND HEALTH CARE IN 19TH CENTURY FRENCH PRINTS The Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museuem, Rutgers, 1984; LA LECON DE CHARCOT VOYAGE DANS UNE TOILE Exposition Organisée Au Musée De L'Assistance Publique de Paris 1986). [72b]

Older medical histories have generally concentrated on the biographies of medical heroes,

famous men who contributed to the progress of medicine. Laignel-Lavastine's FRENCH MEDICINE (1934) tells us about the great doctors and their "firsts:" Laennec's first use of the stethoscope; Jobert de Lamballe's first use of general anesthesia at the Saint Louis Hospital (December 22, 1847); Koeberle's first removal of an ovarian cyst. Elie Metchnikoff's study, which covers less territory, is entitled, THE FOUNDERS OF MODERN MEDICINE, (1939) Pasteur, Lister and Koch (He notes that it "was not only my privilege to witness this transformation from its very outset, but also to have been a personal friend to its three principal originators." p. 9) In Guy Williams's account, their work was THE AGE OF MIRACLES (1987). Some recent works have told the story of the daily lives of ordinary French doctors. Jacques Leonard's LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DES MEDECINS DE PROVINCE (1977), for example, has been supplemented by Borsa and Michel's LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DES HOPITAUX EN FRANCE AU XIXe SIECLE (1985) and Pierre Darmon's LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DU MEDECIN PARISIEN EN 1900 (1988). Recent studies have told the story from the patient's perspective. Roy Porter's work, "The Patient's View: Doing History From Below," appeared in 1985. In view of these developments, my study combines older and newer historiographical tracks. The

portraits I examine are those of the "great" doctors.
The genre paintings depicted the ordinary practitioner
in his daily life.

NOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1. 1,923 painters and 2,521 canvases. The number of paintings had grown so unmanageably large during the 1870s, that regulations adopted for the Salon of 1881 limited the number of paintings to 2,500. In 1886, for example, there were 2,488 oil paintings exhibited.
2. In the earlier part of the century, the "tie" would have been a silk scarf. Dr. Portal's ordinary clothes, as will be seen in the next chapter, were quite extraordinary for his time.
3. See Figure 3. According to Webb, the portrait was purposely misdated in order to make it eligible for exhibition at the 1813 Salon. [Webb, Geral B. RENE THEOPHILE HYACINTHE LAENNEC A MEMOIR, Paul B. Hoeber, Inc. New York, 1928. This information is beneath the picture, which faces the title page]. According to the more recent work of Jaclyn Duffin, however, the portrait was never exhibited at the Salon. Duffin writes that "the portrait was shipped to Brittany, preventing the dismayed artist from entering it in the Paris Salon." [Duffin, Jacalyn, 'Private Practice and Public Research: The Patients of R. T. H. Laennec,' in La Berge, A. and M. Feingold, FRENCH MEDICAL CULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Editions Rodopi, Amsterdam, Netherlands and Atlanta, GA, 1995, p. 145, f.n. 44]
4. There were a few paintings which showed medicine or surgery in which the names of the patients were known. The patient in Brouillet's painting of Charcot, for example, was the famous Blanche Wittmann. M. Osiris, was patient and donor of Ed. Bisson's painting of Dr. Guyon.
5. Michelena, Arturo. L'ENFANT MALADE, Salon of 1887. See Figure 9, Chapter 3.
6. Heyl, Ph. AVANT LA DISSECTION, Salon of 1895. See Figure 4.
7. For mid-nineteenth century images of Vesalius and Pare, see Figures 71, 72, 74, 75 and 76.
8. L'EMPEREUR BLESSE DEVANT RATISBONNE, Salon of 1810. Figure 7. An anonymous critic wrote of the painting, "Le chirurgien, dont la figure est bien inventee (a dit M. M.B. dans le JOURNAL DE L'EMPIRE) est placee d'une

maniere fort adroite pour faire ressortir, par le raccourci et les demis teintes, le developpement de sa majeste et la lumiere qui l'environne. Cette figure, si bien inventee, est celle de M. le baron Ivan, premier chirurgien de l'Empereur. J'ai l'honneur de le connaitre." Anon., ENTRETIENS SUR LES OUVRAGES DE PEINTURE, etc., EXPOSES EN 1810 AU MUSEE NAPOLEON. Gueffier, Jeune, Paris, 1811.

At the Salon of 1822, a painting by the elder Gudin depicted Doctor Dubois bandaging General Kleber, wounded at Alexandria, Egypt. "Celui qui connaît le docteur ne peut s'y méprendre, son portrait est très ressemblant, c'est ouvrage [est] très-bien traité." NICAISE OBSERVATEUR AU SALON DE 1822, Imprimerie de F.-P. Hardy, Paris, 1822.

9. Boutigny, Emile. LE MARECHAL LANNES A ESSLING, Salon of 1894, Figure 5. His painting, LE LENDEMAIN DU COMBAT D'ULM Figure 6 a very similar surgical scene. In this one, the surgeon is not Larrey.

10. According to Ira Rutkow, "Surgery of the eye was widely practiced in France by Antoine Jan-Maitre (1650-1730), Michel Brisseau (1676-1743), Dominique Anel (1678-1725), Pierre Demours (1702-1810). Jacques Daviel (1696-1762) originated the modern method of treating cataract by extraction of the lens during the 1740s and 1750s in Paris....In 1789 Guillaume Pellier De Quengsy (1751-1835) authored the two-volume PRECIS DU COURS D'OPERATIONS SUR LA CHIRURGIE DES YEUX, the first separate book on ophthalmic surgery." Rutkow, Ira M. SURGERY AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY, Mosby-Year Book, Inc., St. Louis, 1993, p. 256.

11. Roger Ballu, L'ILLUSTRATION, #2305, April 30, 1887, non-paginated.

12. LA CARICATURE, June 18, 1887. Reprinted in Rutkow, Ira (1993), op. cit., p. 425

13. Velpeau, Alfred. Cited in Borsa, Serge and Claude-Rene Michel, LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DES HOPITAUX EN FRANCE AU XIX^e SIECLE, Hachette, Paris, 1985. p. 122

14. Borsa and Michel, ibid., p. 113. Doctors who had held hospital appointments had earlier held positive attitudes towards the hospital since the title "hospitalier" brought them a certain prestige. Later on, however, their positive attitudes were shaped by

the recognition that the hospital had become the site of scientific progress in medicine. "D'abord en raison du prestige moral et social que le titre hospitalier confere. Ensuite parce que l'hôpital devient à la fois le lieu et l'instrument indispensables de toute avancée scientifique importante, de tout progrès médical. L'histoire de la médecine et celle des hôpitaux sont désormais indissociables."

15. Ponsonailhe, Charles. "Le Salon: Peinture," L'ARTISTE, June, 1887, p. 444

16. Hendricks, Gordon. "Thomas Eakins' GROSS CLINIC," THE ART BULLETIN, #51, 1969, p. 61

17. Reviewed in THE TRIBUNE, March 8, 1879. Cited in Hendricks, Gordon, *ibid.*, p. 62

18. Fryer, Judith. "'The Body In Pain' In Thomas Eakins' AGNEW CLINIC," MICHIGAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. XXX, Number 1, Winter, 1991

19. Hills, Patricia. "Thomas Eakins' AGNEW CLINIC and John S. Sargent's FOUR DOCTORS: Sublimity, Decorum, and Professionalism," PROSPECTS, Vol. 11, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 219

20. Vandam, Leroy D. "Robert Hinckley's 'The First Operation With Ether,'" ANESTHESIOLOGY, vol. 52, 1980, p. 62

22. Gervex, Henri. SOUVENIRS RECUELLIS PAR JULES BERTAUT, Paris, Flammarion, 1924, pp. 33-35

23. Benedite, Leonce. LA PEINTURE AU XIXIÈME SIECLE, Flammarion, Paris, 1909. p. 189

24. Muther, Richard, THE HISTORY OF MODERN PAINTING, vol. 3, E.P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1907. p. 28

25. Le Prieur, Paul, "La Peinture Au Salon de 1888, Extrait de L'ARTISTE (Juin-Juillet), p. 33

26. A painting of Dr. Pozzi is part of the collection of the Assistance Publique of Paris, see Figure 116. Its author and date are unidentified. Pozzi's work is described in an article by H. Buess, "Samuel Pozzi (1846-1918), Einer Der Schöpfer Der Gynäkologie in Frankreich," PRAXIS, No. 10, March, 1947, pp. 160-163. Buess concludes, "Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass

Pozzis Wirken als Lehrer, Schriftsteller und Operateur immer mehr Beachtung fand. Bei seinen Reisen ins Ausland demonstrierte er seinen Fachgenossen die von ihm erfundenen neuen Instrumente und die schwierigen Unterleibsoperationen. Der dadurch erzeugte eindruck konnte auch in Paris nicht ohne widerhall bleiben." p. 163

26a. See Figure 9. [Reproduced in Pecker, Andre, LA MEDECINE A PARIS XIIIE AU XXe SIECLE, Editions Hervas, Paris, 1984, p. 78

27. A brief sketch of Charcot as having two careers is presented by Gerald Weissmann in, "The Seine Also Rises," HOSPITAL PRACTICE, vol. 23, Number 4, April 15, 1988, pp. 65-85 and Weissmann, Gerald, THE DOCTOR WITH TWO HEADS AND OTHER ESSAYS, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1990, pp. 3-23.

28. Kromm, Jane. "Marianne and the Madwomen," ART JOURNAL, Winter, 1987, p. 300 See also Mary Poovey, "'Scenes of An Indelicate Character: The Medical 'Treatment' of Victorian Women," REPRESENTATIONS, 14, Spring, 1986, pp. 137-168.

29. Showalter, Elaine. THE FEMALE MALADY WOMEN, MADNESS AND ENGLISH CULTURE, 1830-1980, Virago Press, N.Y., 1985

30. Supplee Smith, Margaret. "THE AGNEW CLINIC: 'Not Cheerful for Ladies to Look At'," PROSPECTS, Vol. 11, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK and New York, 1987, pp. 161-184.

30a. Wolff, Albert. FIGARO SALON, #1, Bousod, Valadan et Cie, Paris, 1885, p. 1

31. English, Donald E. POLITICAL USES OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC 1871-1914, UMI Research Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984, p. 9

32. de Ronchard, L. "De L'Encouragement de Beaux-Arts par L'Etat," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, v. 33, March 1, 1885. pp. 143-144. Ronchard's argues that the Arts Administration has relied too heavily on acquisitions of works at the Salon and should rather spend more of its money on commissions.

33. Norech, P. "Promenades Au Salon," L'UNION MEDICAL, v. 47, No. 70, June 6, 1889, p. 845

33b. Letter from Renoir to Durand-Ruel. Quoted in Seigel, Jerrold, BOHEMIAN PARIS CULTURE, POLITICS AND THE BOUNDARIES OF BOURGEOIS LIFE, 1830-1930, Penguin Books, New York, 1981, p. 307

34. Sherman, Daniel. WORTHY MONUMENTS, ART MUSEUMS AND THE POLITICS OF CULTURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, pp. 21-23

35. Clark, T.J., THE PAINTING OF MODERN LIFE PARIS IN THE ART OF MANET AND HIS FOLLOWERS. Princeton University Press, Princeton. (1984). p. 273, note 3.

36. Many in the professional art world and among the general public complained about the enormous number of paintings accepted for exhibition. They rose to "unprecedented heights" (Daniel Sherman, WORTHY MONUMENTS, op. cit., p. 270, f.n. 14) in 1879 and 1880. There were a minority of critics who expressed a slightly different opinion. Victor Cherbuliez, for example, in 1876 wrote:

Cependant de zeles defenseurs du grand gout et du grand art ont repete leurs doleances accoutumees. Ils se plaignent que le Palais de l'Industrie est un etablissement trop hospitalier, qu'on y reçoit tout le monde, que les bons ouvrages s'y perdent dans la foule des productions frivoles, hatives, mediocres ou decidement mauvaises. Ils reprochent au jury son excessive indulgence, ils le voudraient plus rigoureux dans ses choix, plus resolu dans ses exclusions. Ils revent d'en finir avec les capharnaums de la peinture, de leur substituer des expositions restreints, qui ne renfermeraient qu'un petit nombre de tableaux tries sur le volet, et seraient pour le public, comme pour les jeunes artistes, des ecoles de style et de gout. Ce projet est louable, mais nous croyons qu'a la pratique il souffrirait de grandes difficultes. Admettons que votre jury soit compose d'intraitables justiciers, plus severes pour leurs amis que pour leurs ennemis. Vous n'empecherez pas chacun de ces Catons d'avoir ses opinions particulières et peut- etre ses partis-pris d'école." Cherbuliez, Victor, "Le Salon de 1876," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 15, June 1, 1876, p. 514

37. One typical example from the Salon of 1878: "Mlle.

Camille Deschamps, born in New York of French parents."

38. In 1881, for example, Jules Daubell claimed that the subject of his painting MORT DE VANINI (1619), #601, was taken from a passage in Victor Cousin's FRAGMENTS DE PHILOSOPHIE CARTESIENNE. The Catalogue notes gave the reader the following information: "Condamné à avoir la langue coupée à être brûlé pour ses opinions philosophique au pied de l'échafaud, il rejettait les consolations que lui offrait le moine et repoussa le crucifix, disant 'Lui, à sa dernière heure, sua de crainte; moi, je meurs sans effroi.'

39. For competitions to decorate the public buildings and the artists who won these commissions during the late 1870s and 1880s, see LE TRIOMPHE DES MAIRIES, GRANDS DECORS REPUBLICAINS A PARIS 1870-1914. Musée du Petit Palais, 1986. See also a contemporary brief account in Vachon, Marius, "L'Art Au Conseil Municipal De Paris," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, v. 1, Dec. 1, 1879, pp. 1088-1103, especially pages 1096-1103.

40. Mainardi, Patricia. ART AND POLITICS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1987, p. 66

41. Mainardi, ART AND POLITICS, op. cit. p. 67. Parsons and Ward have prepared an extensive listing of contemporary reviews, journal articles and monographs. Parsons, Christopher and Martha Ward. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SALON CRITICISM IN SECOND EMPIRE PARIS, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York.

42. Bergmans En Brouwer of Beaufort-En-Vallée, France has published its CATALOGUE OF BOOKS, PRINTS AND CONTEMPORARY SOURCES (Catalogue 10, 1983) which does include sources available for the early years of the Third Republic.

42. The reviews very often began with the words, "This year's Salon is no better or worse than that of the year before." Even critics noted that the expression had become a formula. In the NOUVELLE REVUE's review for 1892, Henry Chantavoine begins, "Le Salon de 1892 n'est, dans son ensemble, ni meilleur ni plus mauvais que le Salon de l'année dernière." (vol. 76, May 15, 1892, p. 374). Georges Lafenestre starts his review of the 1894 Salons, "Les deux Salons qui viennent de s'ouvrir ne sont ni pires, ni meilleurs que les précédents [sic]...." REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 123, June 1, 1894, p. 650

43. In 1888, Thiebaut-Sisson briefly described some of the more "luxurious" art journals available. For example, he wrote about L'ARTISTE that "born in 1831, it is especially to an elegant and shallow public that it is directed." (c'est surtout à un public élégant et léger qu'il s'adresse.") "La Presse Française Illustré Les Publications De Luxe," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, #53, August 15, 1888, p. 928. Among the others he described were REVUE DES LETTRES ET DES ARTS (twelve editions @300 francs per annum); GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS (he noted that it had been established in 1859 by Charles Blanc); L'ART, appearing twice a month at a price of 60 francs per year, "son programme est à peu près le même que celui de la GAZETTE et il s'accompagne comme elle d'une publication de nature inférieure, purement documentaire, Le COURRIER DE L'ART."

44. Mainardi, ART AND POLITICS, ibid., p. 68

45. Weisberg, Gabriel. "Jules-Alexis Meunier and Photo Realist Painting," GAZETTE DES BEAUX ARTS, VIe. period, v. 21, Feb., 1995, p. 108. Weisberg writes that Meunier's work, THE CATECHISM LESSON at the 1891 Salon "was warmly praised by a number of critics including the powerful Albert Wolff of LE FIGARO."

46. De Syene, F.-C. "Salon de 1879," L'ARTISTE, June 1879, p. 81

47. Norech, P. "Promenades Au Salon," L'UNION MEDICAL, v. 47, No. 72, June 13, 1889, p. 874

47b. Blanche, Jacques Emile. PORTRAITS OF A LIFETIME, Translated by Walter Clement. J.M. Dent and Sons, London, 1937, p. 68

48. Parsons, Christopher and Martha Ward. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SALON CRITICISM IN SECOND EMPIRE PARIS, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York. p. vii.

49. Brettell, Richard. FRENCH SALON ARTISTS, Art Institute of Chicago and Harry N. Abrams, N.Y. (1987). p. 3

50. Mainardi, Patricia. ART AND POLITICS OF THE SECOND EMPIRE, Yale University Press, New Haven (1987), p. 1

51. Mainardi, Patricia, THE END OF THE SALON, Cambridge

University Press, Cambridge and New York (1993) p. 93

51. Thiers, A. "SALON DE 1822 OU COLLECTION DES ARTICLES INSERES AU CONSTITUTIONNEL SUR L'EXPOSITION DE CETTE ANNEE, Maradan, Paris, 1822, p. 44. In 1861, Henri De La Borde also argued that the Salon was no longer the most important place for French art; it was simply another exhibition. MELANGES SUR L'ART CONTEMPORAIN, Librairie Jules Renard, Paris, 1866, pp. 161-167

52. Mortimer D' Ocagne remarks that the small exhibitions should be considered an annex of the main Salon, not simply an "avant-gout." "Les Petits Salons de Peinture," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, #15, March 15, 1882, p. 121. D'Ocagne's count of more than half-dozen of the small salons included the following: 1. The Galerie Petit (operated by Georges Petit); 2. The "Mirlitons" at the Place Vendome. This was the popular name for the Cercle de L'Union Artistique; 3. Le Cercle Artistique de la rue Volney; 4. Les Arts Liberaux, un cercle, rue Vivienne; 5. The Permanent Exposition of Scandinavian art, rue de l'Opera; 6. the Special Exhibit organized by the Societe de Secours des Artistes Russes. (pp. 421-432)

53. Henry Houssaye "Les Petites Expositions de Peinture," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 38, March 1, 1880, p. 193.

54. The artists who showed at these exhibitions were the same as those who sent their works to the Official Salon in May.

54b. Seigel, Jerrold, BOHEMIAN PARIS, op. cit. p. 307

55. Michel, Emile. "Le Salon de 1880," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, v. 39, June 1, 1880. p. 662

56. Zola, Emile. "Le Naturalisme Au Salon," LE VOLTAIRE, June 18-22m 1880, reprinted in SALONS RECUEILLIS, ANNOTES ET PRESENTES PAR F.W.J. HEMMINGS ET ROBERT J. NIESS, Librairie Minard, Paris, 1989, p. 239

57. Wolff, Albert. FIGARO SALON, Paris (1885), p. 99

58. Wolff, Albert. FIGARO SALON, Paris (1889), p. 2

59. Alexandre, Arsene. FIGARO SALON, Paris (1899), p.

6. At the Salon of 1895, Georges Lafenestre noted that "ces fetes annuelles de l'art, plus fréquentes que jamais par les gens du peuple comme par les gens du monde, par les bourgeois comme par les artistes, sont entrées dans les habitudes de notre vie nationale!" (REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, June 1, 1895, v. 129, p. 643.
60. Benedite, Leonce. "Le Salon de 1890," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, #64, May 1, 1890, p. 170
61. Lafenestre, Georges. "Les Salons de 1891," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 105, June 1, 1891, p. 616
62. Darric, Jean. "Salon de 1891," LA NOUVELLE REVUE, vol. 70, May 15, 1891, p. 386.
63. Lafenestre, Georges. "Les Salons de 1890," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 99, June 1, 1890, p. 645
64. Lafenestre, Georges. "Les Salons de 1893," REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, vol. 117, June 1, 1893, p. 659. See also Sherman, Daniel. WORTHY MONUMENTS, ART MUSEUMS AND THE POLITICS OF CULTURE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FRANCE. Harvard U. Press, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, 1989. p. 41,
65. Baudin, Pierre. "Les Salons de 1904," GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS, 3rd period, vol. 31, May 1, 1904, p. 366
66. Lafenestre, Georges. DIX ANNEES DU SALON DE PEINTURE ET DE SCULPTURE, Librairie des Bibliophiles, Paris, 1889, pp. 103-104. This work reprinted articles that had appeared in various journals in the previous decade. The quote is from the chapter for the year 1887.
67. Rideout, Blanchard L. THE MEDICAL PRACTITIONER IN THE FRENCH NOVEL 1850-1900, Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., 1936. Rideout refers to a similar comment in a medical history by F.H. Garrison, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, Philadelphia, 1929, p. 755.
68. La Berge, Ann and Mordechai Feingold. FRENCH MEDICAL CULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Editions Rodopi, Amsterdam, Netherlands and Atlanta, GA, 1994, p. 3
69. Leonard, Jacques. LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE DU MEDECIN DE PROVINCE, Hachette, Paris, 1987, p. 218

70. MEDICAL IDEAS IN LE DOCTEUR PASCAL

71. Michaut, Dr. CHRONIQUE MEDICALE, August 1, 1900. p.
449-457

72. Goldstein, Jan. "The Uses of Male Hysteria: Medical
and Literary Discourse in Nineteenth Century France,"
in La Berge and Feingold, op. cit., pp. 210-247