Of the thousands of artists who exhibited drawings (including pastels and watercolors) in Paris between 1860 and 1890, art historians would be challenged today to recognize the names of even 5% of this number. Moreover, in many of these exhibitions, frustratingly few items can be identified with surviving works. It is thus hoped that by using a data-driven methodology to analyze the printed catalogues of state-sponsored exhibitions and those organized by artists’ societies and dealers during that period, we can begin to formulate a more complete picture of the artists then active, and of the kind of drawings they produced.

Data-driven art history—using the latest technological tools to compile and analyze printed records—represents one of the newest approaches in the field, part of an emerging collaborative approach to scholarship in the humanities and one that is able to elucidate long-term trends and to identify patterns. Besides providing insights into shifting taste and calling attention to the success of numerous artists who are nowadays completely unknown or very little studied, this article’s findings suggest that one motivator for the growing interest in drawings in late nineteenth-century Paris was arguably the competitive spirit the French held toward the British.

The Salon
Over 10,000 drawings were exhibited in the annual Salon at the Palais des Champs-Élysées between 1860 and the last of these yearly events, held in 1881. Drawings were always grouped with the decorative arts and listed as a subset to paintings in the annual Salon catalogues, but the drawings themselves were invariably displayed separately. Watercolors and pastels were also frequently set apart in rooms of their own, but nearer to paintings than to other types of drawing. While nowadays it might be assumed that such a separation was intended to restrict light levels on fragile works on paper (in line with modern museum practices), some photographs (e.g., Fig. 1) show that drawings were hung upstairs in the loggia surrounding the central sculpture courtyard and were thus exposed to light from the skylight.

In a review of the Salon of 1878, the critic Paul Mantz (1821–1895) sarcastically highlighted
the segregation of drawings from other media in the Salon, where they were relegated to peripheral spaces that attracted few visitors. Though Mantz remarked that visitors generally found these areas dreary and substandard, another critic perceived such locations in a more positive light, as places “where only artists and true lovers of art ventured, a place whose intimacy could be measured by the absence of history or anecdotal painting.”

ÉCOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS

The growing interest in drawings is reflected by the 1879 exhibition Dessins de maîtres anciens exposés à l’École des Beaux-Arts, curated by Charles Euphrussi (1849–1905) and Gustave Dreyfus (1837–1914). The Gazette des Beaux-Arts presented a series of five articles in support of the show by Marquis Philippe de Chennevières (1820–1899), the director of the École des Beaux-Arts and a former curator at the Louvre. He was a renowned connoisseur of drawings and personally collected nearly 4,000 sheets. In his first article, he began with “Après vous, messieurs, les Anglais!,” stating that while the English seemed to have beaten the French in having the first large exhibition of Old Master drawings, the French had better collectors and presented their objects with more class. The installation was organized by country, with the largest sections devoted to the French school, then the Italian school (Table 1). The article also discussed the Louvre’s strong collection of drawings, highlighting the superiority of the French artistic heritage. Chennevières pointed out that the 1879 exhibition, unlike those of the English, contained many “masters” and thus provided a more complete history of drawing, and was accompanied by a catalogue with more detailed information for each work. The 674 drawings represented 192 artists, 128 of whom showed fewer than two drawings. The artists whose works were on view in the exhibition truly constituted a “who’s who” in the history of art (Table 2). While the prominence of the French schools for a local public is perhaps not unexpected, there are a few surprises, such as, for example, Pierre-Paul Prud’hon (1758–1823) taking second place, between Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) and Rembrandt (1606–1669).

It was common to hold exhibitions at the École des Beaux-Arts to raise money for worthy causes. The profits from the 1879 exhibition went to poor art students to reduce their military service. In 1884, the École des Beaux-Arts held another exhibition of drawings to support struggling artists and their families. The money was presumably earned through admission fees and catalogue sales (one franc), since none of the drawings were for sale. In fact, in the catalogue the owners were

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**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Drawings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemish</td>
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<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Dessins de maîtres anciens, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1879*
named, and in this way it enabled a curious public to see art works normally on display only in the homes of the wealthy. Nearly 1,000 drawings were lent to this exhibition, demonstrating not only the charitable inclinations of the collectors but also the organizers’ logistical skills. Drawings were borrowed from dozens of collectors and family members, including the art critic Philippe Burty (1830–1890), Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896) and his brother Jules (1830–1870),14 the artists Eudoxe Marcille (1814–1890) and Léon Bonnat (1833–1922), and the dealers Georges Petit (1856–1920), Adolphe Goupil (1806–1893) and his son Albert (1840–1884).

The exhibition was divided into two parts: one for masters of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and one for living artists. In the first part (Table 3), a spectacular range of drawings was on display from 112 artists, among whom were some of the best-known draftsman of their
times. The quantity exhibited by these masters was impressive. Eighteenth-century masters, such as Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704–1788) and Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) and even the Spaniard Francisco de Goya (1746–1828), were well represented, by eleven, fourteen, and nine examples, respectively. The artist with the highest number of drawings exhibited was Prud’hon, with 55 sheets, followed by Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) and Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780–1867), shown almost equally, with 40 and 39 each, then Auguste Raffet (1804–1860), known for his lithographs, and Ingres’s teacher, Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), with 38 and 36, respectively. Among the Realist painters represented were Théodore Rousseau (1812–1867), Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot (1796–1875), and Jean-François Millet (1814–1875). The catalogue was very precise in its descriptions of medium; 164 of the 756 drawings in Part One contained more than one medium, and in half of those white highlights were specified.

The second part of the exhibition featured 343 drawings by 84 living artists. The highest number of works shown was by Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier (1815–1891); these 37 drawings were made from a wide range of materials. Nine artists showed eleven or more drawings each (including Meissonier); nineteen artists showed between four and seven drawings; the rest showed three or fewer. Of the living artists, 71 used mixed media, and 20 employed white for highlights.

Table 4 breaks down how much each medium was shown as a percentage of the total range of media in each part of the 1884 exhibition. Crayon (i.e., chalk, usually black) was represented the most in this exhibition at just under 20%. Although twice as many Old Master drawings were shown, an equal percentage of works in both parts featured black chalk. In the chart, “drawing” simply means that the medium was not specified in the catalogue. The media were more often defined for Old Masters than living artists. Fusain (charcoal) was more common in the works of the living artists, making up 7% of their total, compared to just under 3% of the total of Old Masters. Mine de plomb (lead pencil) was used more by the Old Masters than by the younger...
artists (17.57% vs. 8.75%). There was also a greater preference for white highlights among the older group. Despite the great popularity of watercolor and pastel with artists in the Salon and other exhibitions in the 1870s and 1880s, living artists did not present a larger portion of works in these media, contrary to expectations.

**World’s Fairs in Paris**
The degree to which drawings were included in the Expositions Universelles (World’s Fairs) in Paris depended on what each country chose to present. In the catalogues of these World Fairs, drawings were classified with the decorative arts, separate from paintings. Data was taken from the catalogue to determine the number of drawings from each country; however, there may have been more drawings not labeled as such. Interestingly, several non-French artists made it clear that their works were for sale by placing a price in the catalogue; by contrast, the French did not do this, but instead listed the owner of each artwork and whether it had been shown in the Salon.

In the World’s Fair of 1867, at least 442 drawings were exhibited from 27 countries (Table 5). All works of art—sculpture, prints, drawings, paintings, and decorative arts—from all countries were exhibited together in a large gallery within the Palais du Champs de Mars that surrounded the central garden of the fair, separated only by a section devoted to the history of labor. One quarter of the total was from France, but there was an even higher representation from Great Britain, which exhibited at least 127 drawings. Within the French section, 94 drawings were made by 24 living artists, among them Joseph Gabriel Tourny (1817–1880; Fig. 2), better known now for having encouraged Edgar Degas (1834–1917) to start making etchings. What is arguably most remarkable is that no less than 45% of the works by living artists consisted of submissions from only two relatively unfamiliar names: Alexandre Bida (1823–1895),

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Drawings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
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<td>Switzerland</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2**
Joseph Gabriel Tourny
Two Monks Crossing Themselves
Shown at the Salon of 1864, and the Exposition Universelle of 1867

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques*
each work was not listed. It is likely, however, that a large percentage of them was executed in watercolor since, by the 1860s, the British already favored that medium.

In terms of the exhibition of drawings, unlike many other areas of art, the French lagged behind the rest of Europe. In particular, England, Belgium, and even the United States were ahead of France in creating artists’ societies focused on drawings. The exhibition strategies used to create “private” spaces that seemed more intimate and domestic, in London in particular, inspired many of the artists’ societies in Paris. Martha Ward related that the press praised the English display practices at the Royal Academy and at the Expositions Universelles as being superior to those of the French. In one review of the 1867 Exposition Universelle, the hanging of English watercolors was described as having “generous spacing…on neutrally tinted screens, [with] the gentleness of the indirect lighting and the presence of neutrally colored carpets.”

The same review described the French exhibition as being dusty and having raking light. Indeed, who exhibited 30 drawings, most of which (e.g., Fig. 3) were for an edition of the complete works by Alfred de Musset (1810–1857), and Pierre Chabal-Dussurgey (1819–1902), who exhibited 14 drawings of fruits and flowers, perhaps similar to or identical to one reproduced here (Fig. 4).

Excluding these two artists, Austrians would have exhibited more drawings than the French, and Egyptians and Swiss artists about half as many.

Over half of the drawings listed in the catalogue did not identify a specific medium (66%), but were listed simply as “dessin.” Discounting those drawings for which the medium was not identified, watercolor was the most common drawing technique in the 1867 World’s Fair. A total of 84 watercolors was exhibited, with artists from France (20), Austria (12), and Switzerland (11) being the highest contributors. The British chose to make their own catalogue and, signifying the importance of watercolor to them, entitled the drawing section as “Water-colour Paintings and Drawings.” Yet the precise medium for
some critics encouraged the establishment of special spaces just for works on paper, arguing that this type of art work had different requirements, “It’s a delicate, intimate, lovable art that one can appreciate well only in a choice, elegant, distinguished milieu; it needs some care and installation; it needs a discreet light; the light of the street or the public space does not suit it at all.”

Art in the 1878 Exposition Universelle was again installed in the Palais du Champs de Mars. Nearly the same number of drawings was exhibited as in 1867—494 instead of 442—but this time from only 14 countries, half of the number represented in 1867. In 1878, France and Great Britain were almost equal in terms of the quantity of drawings shown (Table 6); France displayed 201, while Great Britain displayed 198. In the beginning of the section of the catalogue devoted to French drawings, France boasted about the achievements of its artists as draftsmen, Delacroix in particular. The efforts by the French to defend their artistic strength in drawing were apparently directly related to a tendency to compete with the British, which became more pronounced during World’s Fairs.

In 1878, Great Britain had separate sections for watercolors and drawings within the official French catalogue; this unique separation of watercolors was not done by any other country and highlights the British predilection for the medium. Of the drawings exhibited by the British, 81% were watercolors; 62% of the drawings exhibited by the French were watercolors; and 69% of the total drawings exhibited at the World’s Fair of 1889 were watercolors.

The number of drawings on view at the 1889 Exposition Universelle increased dramatically from the two earlier ones held in Paris (1867 and 1878); artists from 24 countries were represented by 724 drawings (Table 7). Once again, watercolors were the most popular type of drawing, with Great Britain exhibiting 125, France 62, the Netherlands 34, and Italy, Russia, Spain, and Sweden 10 or more. Although France had fewer watercolors than Great Britain in the main art exhibition, the Société des Aquarellistes Français (Society of French Watercolorists) held a separate exhibition in their
Besides the abovementioned government-sponsored exhibitions, dealers and artists’ societies created numerous venues for works on paper during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The wish of many dealers to market less expensive art works on paper propelled the initial growth of independent drawings shows. By the 1880s, as can be seen in a caricature by Jules Jean Georges Renard (1833–1926), who used the anagram Draner, published in a journal from the time (Fig. 5), the public was inundated with art-viewing options, and artists also had more opportunities to show their work. The wall full of myriad announcements facing the dumbfounded man in this illustration promote a multitude of exhibitions defined by medium, nationality, theme, or gender. For this study, only a sampling

As interest in drawings increased between 1867 and 1889, so, too, did the quantity of artists who displayed them: in 1867, 24 artists exhibited a total of 94 drawings; in 1878, 51 artists exhibited 201 drawings; and in 1889, 73 artists exhibited 202 drawings, or many more if one includes the concurrent watercolor and pastel exhibitions. Interestingly, many of the artists who exhibited drawings in the World’s Fair had hung the same drawings in previous Salons; 66% of the artists in 1867, 27% in 1878, and 50% in 1889 displayed Salon drawings at the World’s Fairs.

The society’s show featured 463 watercolors, which, added to the main exhibition, makes the number of works in this medium shown by France at the 1889 World’s Fair four times greater than that of Great Britain.

Dealers and Drawings
Besides the abovementioned government-sponsored exhibitions, dealers and artists’ societies created numerous venues for works on paper during the second half of the nineteenth century. The wish of many dealers to market less expensive art works on paper propelled the initial growth of independent drawings shows.

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Figure 5
DRANER
“Giboulée de Mars”; illustration in the Révue Comique, 1880s
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
of the many exhibitions presented in this period can be discussed, and those chosen for study were created by artists’ societies that responded to the growth in the market for drawings: the Société des Aquarellistes Français (1879–96); the Société des Pastellistes Français (1885–1928); the Impressionists (1874–86); and *Noir et Blanc* and *Blanc et Noir* (1876–92).

Dealers also developed their own exhibitions of works by one or more artists, and these often included drawings. The same year that the 1876 Impressionist exhibition was held on the premises of Durand-Ruel, the dealer also held an exhibition of 745 works on paper, including examples by Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (1827–1875), Eugène Carrière (1849–1906), Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, Marcellin Desboutin (1823–1902), Gustave Doré (1832–1883), Henri Fantin-Latour (1836–1904), Ludovic Lepic (1839–1889), Léon Augustin Lhermitte (1844–1925), and Edouard Manet (1832–1883). The following year, Durand-Ruel presented the drawings of Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) and a retrospective exhibition of paintings and drawings by such artists as Courbet, Delacroix, Rousseau, and Millet.  

Dealers ensured that they were seen as connoisseurs not only in painting, but also in works on paper. They were commonly entrusted as official experts for auctions at the Hôtel Drouot, which included more drawings than paintings and which the dealers were responsible for identifying and valuing. Although a dealer might not necessarily have earned money directly from such auctions, his function as an arbiter of authenticity and quality might lead to future customers.

Dealers often collaborated as well. For example, on 11 June 1875, Durand-Ruel was the expert in an auction at Hôtel Drouot of 95 drawings by Jean-François Millet from the collection of Émile Gavet (1830–1904), who had commissioned Millet to create these stunning works in 1865, a group of which survives in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (e.g., Figs. 6–8). The auction itself was divided over two days and made 637,450 francs, or an average of 6,710 francs per drawing. After seeing this display, Vincent

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**Figure 6**

JEAN-FRANÇOIS MILLET

Dandelions

Auctioned by Durand-Ruel at the Hôtel Drouot, 11 June 1875

*Boston, Museum of Fine Arts*
van Gogh (1853–1890) was moved to say: “I felt something akin to: Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.”

However, Durand-Ruel was not the only dealer to enhance his reputation through the excitement surrounding Millet’s drawings. From 6 April to 6 June, one month prior to the sale at the Hôtel Drouot, 46 drawings from Gavet’s collection (including Figs. 6–7) were displayed at the gallery of François Petit (d. 1877). Petit’s exhibition was designed to whet appetites for the auction, while the auction catalogue referred to the success of the Petit exhibition. Thus, auctions provided a potent opportunity for dealers to build their reputations as experts and to promote their own galleries. In this setting, both rivalries and partnerships played out frequently between dealers.

As White and White were the first to highlight, while dealers were needed to create a market for art works, critics were needed to confer aesthetic and cultural value. However, dealers could also manipulate the role of the press through their own journalistic enterprises. Thus, it was not uncommon for dealers to produce their own journals. While Durand-Ruel’s two journals, *La Revue International de l’Art et de la Curiosité* and *L’Art dans les Deux Mondes*, have generally been seen as unsuccessful and expensive ventures, it is notable that he strove to include works on paper, particularly in his first journalistic endeavor.

Articles in Durand-Ruel’s *La Revue International de l’Art et de la Curiosité*, which ran from 1869 to 1870, show a respect for and interest in drawings. For example, two articles discussed drawings in the Salon of 1870: one on watercolors and pastels, the other on gouaches and miniatures. Generally, Salon drawings were rarely mentioned in journals, and it was even less frequent to have articles focused on them. It is also quite significant that about a decade before the first exhibitions of the Société des Aquarellistes Français, Durand-Ruel’s journal was reviewing positively and thoroughly similar exhibitions of watercolors being held in Belgium and England.
Watercolor Society

Durand-Ruel presented the first exhibitions of the Société des Aquarellistes Français, in 1879, 1880, and 1881. The new exhibition was well covered by the London press, evidently pleased by the fact that the French were imitating the English practice of mounting independent exhibitions of watercolors. One unnamed British journalist described the setting in Durand-Ruel’s gallery, but first criticized the treatment of drawings in the Salon:

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

An illustration of Durand-Ruel’s 1879 watercolor exhibition (Fig. 9) shows that the space was indeed a refined environment with plants, proper lighting, and some art works leaning on the rails. Framed objects were double hung, at eye level or just above (as opposed to the “skying” of works at the official Salon). Most were mounted in a large mat, usually white, and one can even see a fan-shaped art work at left center displayed in a fan-shaped frame. The experience of the gallery would have been both intimate and formal. Each artist had his or her own panel or section on which to arrange the works; the catalogue was organized alphabetically by artist’s name. Perhaps the drawings were also hung this way.

The dealer Georges Petit celebrated the opening of his gallery’s new location by holding the exhibition of the society of French watercolorists in February of 1882, essentially taking this annual
event away from Durand-Ruel. Two prints from journals reviewing the exhibition give a sense of the luxury in the new gallery (Figs. 10–11). In the foyer of Petit’s gallery was an elegant staircase surrounded by fine architecture, sculpture, and plants. Upon ascending the staircase, the visitor was guided to a red velvet curtain marking the gateway to the exhibition. Petit’s gallery was more spacious than Durand-Ruel’s, with a skylight for day and opulent chandeliers for night. Art works were hung in two or three rows, with walls draped in red; the extravagance was unparalleled.

During the seventeen years of the annual exhibition, a total of 73 artists participated, with varying numbers of works. The artists who exhibited the most were Henri Joseph Harpignies (1819–1916), with 128 works; Maurice Leloir (1853–1940), with 122; Louis Émile Adan (1839–1937), with 121; Gaston Béthune (1857–1897), with 116; and Albert Besnard (1849–1934), with 105. Those who received the most press attention were Maurice Leloir, his older brother Louis Leloir (1843–1884), and Édouard Detaille (1848–1912).

At the bottom of the print from La Vie Parisienne (Fig. 10), a work by Detaille is in the forefront, apparently a hilly landscape with soldiers and a wagon. Though Detaille was certainly best known for his military sketches and paintings, he was also skilled at rendering lavish interiors, as
can be seen from his *Arrival of the Lord Mayor of London’s Procession at the Inauguration of the Paris Opera House, 5 January 1875*, an ink and gouache drawing now in the Musée d’Orsay, which was shown not in the Aquarellistes’ exhibition, but in the Salon of 1878 (Fig. 12).  

Only those who were members of the watercolor society were allowed to participate in the Aquarellistes’ exhibition, but there was no limit to the number of works that could be submitted. The watercolor society catalogues devoted an entire page or more to each artist, and these pages were usually highly decorated, often featuring examples of the artist’s work (e.g., Fig. 13).

**Pastel Society**

Georges Petit also held exhibitions for the Société des Pastellistes Français. The first show, in 1885, contained both a retrospective section for historical artists—such as Maurice Quentin de La Tour, Jean-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779), and Elisabeth Louise Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842)—and a section for living artists. One of the first rooms displayed drawings by Jean-François Millet, who had died a decade earlier and who had the most works on view (e.g., Fig. 14). This exhibition was designed to reclaim the presence of pastel in the lineage of French art, and to herald the talent of new (liv-
focused on living artists. Like the watercolor society, the Société des Pastellistes Français exhibited in a separate pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. That year, 16 of the 19 artists who had shown their work in 1887, as well as an additional 9 artists, put works on view. In total, 153 works were shown in 1889.

**Edgar Degas and the Impressionists**

On average, 20% of all the art works in the eight Impressionist group exhibitions were drawings. However, there was considerable fluctuation in the percentage of drawings shown each year (Table 8). During the years 1876, 1877, and 1882, the percentage of drawings among the total art works was much lower than the average (between 12% and 15%). In both 1879 and 1886, around 100 drawings were included or 30% of the total number of works of art displayed. Of these 500 works of art, watercolor and pastel were by far the most common media.

Not surprisingly, Degas exhibited more drawings than anyone else (67), many of which were in mixed media. One example is the enormous *Aria, after the Ballet*, now in the Dallas Museum of Art (front cover), exhibited in 1879, in which he covered a huge, lightly printed monotype with pastel for the singer and dancers, gouache for the stage set in the background, and charcoal to outline the orchestral instruments. The same year he showed several fan mounts, including examples now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (e.g., Fig. 15). The other artists who exhibited the most drawings in the Impressionist exhibitions were Camille Pissarro (1831–1903), with 50 (e.g., Fig. 16); Henri Stanislas Rouart (1833–1912), with 49; Berthe Morisot (1841–1895), with 40 (e.g., Fig. 17); and Jean Louis Forain (1852–1931), with 39.

How unique, then, were the Impressionists in terms of their production of works on paper? In some ways, they were not very revolutionary at all, for they were actively participating in a growing interest in drawings that was evident at other venues. During the six years that both the Impressionists and the state-run Salon

*Table 8 (below)*

Proportion of drawings to total number of art works in the eight Impressionist exhibitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total no. of art works</th>
<th>Total no. of drawings</th>
<th>% of total that were drawings</th>
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<td>230</td>
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<td>22%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>278</td>
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<td>1877</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 15
EDGAR DEGAS
Fan Mount: The Ballet, 1879
Shown at the Fourth Impressionist exhibition, 1879
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Figure 16
CAMILLE PISSARRO
Boulevard Rochechouart, Paris, 1880
Shown at the Fourth Impressionist exhibition, 1879
Williamstown, MA, Clark Art Institute
offered public exhibitions, the Salon included a greater percentage of drawings as compared to paintings than the Impressionists did (Table 9). 54 The First Impressionist exhibition in 1874 (shown in orange) marks the only time that the Impressionists exhibited a higher percentage of drawings than were shown in the Salon.

Degas, who was very involved in how works were exhibited in the eight Impressionist shows, detested the style of the Salon, which he perceived as a kind of shameful bazaar, full of commercialism and debauchery. On 12 April 1870, one month prior to the opening of that year’s Salon, Degas addressed a public letter to the Salon jury. He recommended several ways to improve the exhibition. For instance, art works should be hung in only two rows, separated by at least 20–30 cm, and positioned according to their own needs rather than the overall desires of the Salon; he further suggested that there be a mixture of drawings and paintings within the same visual space, that works should be displayed on screens, and that exhibitors should have the right to withdraw works after a few days if displeased with the hanging. 55 These recommendations seem fairly unremarkable and even obvious to twenty-first century audiences used to seeing art works displayed at eye level, generously spaced, and presented in a single row, but Degas’ remarks were in clear protest to the Salon’s established hanging practices. While we do not have photographs of the Impressionist exhibitions, we do know that Degas was able to implement many of these innovative curatorial ideas.

In drawings, as with paintings, one of the key contributions of the Impressionists was the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Drawings in Impressionists exhibitions</th>
<th>Drawings in Salon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877</td>
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<td>26%</td>
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<td>1880</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
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extent to which some of the works looked sketchy or “unfinished” compared to those in the Salon. However, there were also examples in the Impressionist exhibitions of cartoons for books or other projects and drawings—such as the Portrait of Edmond de Goncourt by Félix Bracquemond (1833–1914), shown in the Fifth Impressionist exhibition of 1880 (Fig. 18)—that were just as “finished” as those in the Salon.

**Noir et Blanc**

In 1876, an exhibition called Noir et Blanc took place in Paris, largely mimicking the London-based exhibitions of works of art in black and white, held annually in London at the Dudley Gallery between 1872 and 1881. The first Noir et Blanc exhibition in Paris took place at the gallery of Durand-Ruel, who had witnessed the success of the London initiative. In fact, many French artists who exhibited in 1876 had been involved with the English Black and White exhibition, such as Lhermitte, Bracquemond, and Maxime Lalanne (1827–1886). Just like the London exhibitions, Noir et Blanc included both prints and drawings. The show was mostly ignored by the press, except for the journal L’Art, which reviewed the exhibition to focus on the journal’s own role: at least 41 drawings exhibited in the 1876 Noir et Blanc were specifically made for L’Art.

Although the premiere exhibition in Paris was not a financial or critical success, a second exhibition took place in 1881 at the offices of L’Art. This exhibition coincided with the Impressionist and Aquarellistes Société exhibitions, but did not receive nearly as much attention. The review printed in L’Art, was, of course, positive and stated their expectation that Noir et Blanc would be as successful as its English model. One difference between this exhibition and the previous one at Durand-Ruel’s gallery was that copies were no longer permitted. In 1876, 26 of the 439 drawings exhibited in Noir et Blanc were copies after other artists, and nine additional drawings had either been shown in the 1876 Salon, or were copies of art works that had been presented in that Salon.

**ERNST BERNARD AND BLANC ET NOIR**

From 1885 to 1892, the publisher Ernest Bernard organized new black-and-white exhibitions, and reversed the colors in the name. Bernard was primarily a publisher, so his passion for the Blanc et Noir exhibitions is particularly intriguing. He published three iterations of essentially the same journal to promote discussions about drawing, its history, and its importance for education. Le Fusain (Charcoal) began publishing in July of 1880, lasting about a year. Then, in October of 1883 Bernard printed a new journal, Le Dessin, stating that the new name represented the publisher’s desire to be a guide for students and teachers of the arts.

In Le Dessin’s first issue, the journal’s editors boasted about the quality of reproductions they would offer, and they stated that they would include works by both Old Masters and modern artists. The topics chosen, they affirmed, would be based on their didactic purpose: images, history lessons, excerpts from the writing of authors, and

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**Figure 18**

FÉLIX BRACQUEMOND

Portrait of Edmond de Goncourt, 1880

Shown at the Fifth Impressionist exhibition, 1880

*Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques*
art exercises would be included as reading material for both young artists and professors to use for training. While all this was indeed incorporated in the journal, so, too, were frequent reviews of drawing exhibitions, as well as promotions of Bernard’s upcoming *Blanc et Noir* exhibition, even though this did not take place until 1885.65

In 1887, the journal’s title once again changed, this time in order to link itself more clearly to the exhibitions and to the editors’ continued educational aims: *Le Blanc & Noir: Revue des Beaux-Arts et de l’Enseignement des Arts du Dessin*. This journal promoted training in drawing and design to create a strong work force for various industries (Fig. 19).66 The stated intentions of the *Blanc et Noir* exhibitions were not only to promote individual artists, but also to demonstrate the importance of drawing in artistic and public education.

In 1885, the first *Blanc et Noir* exhibition organized by Bernard opened. It was dedicated to Jean-Baptiste Claude Eugène Guillaume (1822–1905), the director of the Beaux-Arts in 1878 and 1879 and an instrumental proponent of teaching reforms that made drawing compulsory in primary and secondary schools. His views were very much in line with those printed in Bernard’s journals, for which Guillaume frequently wrote articles. This exhibition, held in the Louvre in the *Salle des États*, received positive attention in the press.67

The 1885 catalogue for *Blanc et Noir* was
divided into three sections, one each for drawings, charcoal, and engravings. This was the only year that did not include works on paper with color. The following year, in 1886, two more sections were added: one for pastels and watercolors, and one for drawings related to the decorative and industrial arts. In 1888, the third exhibition retained those categories and allowed for a section of Japanese decorative objects and illustrated prints from the collection of the dealer Siegfried ("Samuel") Bing (1838–1905). Making the exhibition even more of a commercial endeavor, several journals were each given their own area to display illustrations they had printed. By the final exhibition in 1892, more sections had been added to include Japanese prints and sculpture. When the Blanc et Noir exhibition began in 1885, prints made up about 10% of the works; by the final exhibition, that proportion had increased to approximately one-third of the total.

Thus, the Blanc et Noir exhibitions evolved to include more than just black-and-white images, but also colored prints, pastels, watercolors, and decorative objects. While this created a broader appeal for the exhibitions, it lessened the focus on drawings in particular. Also, although the number of black-and-white drawings remained essentially steady, the number of colored drawings (pastels and watercolors) increased and eventually overtook the number of monochrome works (Table 10). It was perhaps this broad acceptance of so many art forms and the lack of identity or focus that hastened the end of the Blanc et Noir exhibitions in 1892.

Because of Bernard’s personal interest in the Blanc et Noir exhibitions, photographs of the exhibition of 1888 were printed in his journals (e.g., Fig. 20). These photographs document rows of walls or screens covered at least three rows high with art works. These were set within the space of the Pavillon de la Ville de Paris, on the Champs-Élysées, where the exhibition took place. Art works were not organized by genre, suggesting that they may have been arranged alphabetically by artist, as they were in the catalogue. Le Blanc & Noir journal also promoted concerts and entertainment that would take place during the exhibition.

The many cartoons satirizing Blanc et Noir exhibitions testify to its presence in the public
ANONYMOUS PRINTMAKER

Reprints of caricatures made in other journals about the Blanc et Noir exhibitions; reproduced in *Le Blanc & Noir: Revue des Beaux-Arts et de l'Enseignement des Arts du Dessin*, 1888

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Estampes
conscience, and in 1888, the journal Le Blanc & Noir reproduced many of these satires (Fig. 21). Most of these are a play on the words “blanc et noir.” For example, the man in the upper left has a black eye so he can see only out of his good “white” eye; he thus thinks he should have to pay only half price. Also, the cartoon at upper right, below the word “Noir” in the title, shows a black man and a white man with the line, “Et avec quel soin le secrétariat a recruté son personnel pour maintenir l’harmonie du blanc et du noir!” (“And with what care the secretariat has recruited his staff to maintain the harmony of white and black!”). The presence of the journals at the exhibition obviously made a big impression, since many of the satires either refer to the journals or show them in the background.

More than any other contemporary journal, Le Blanc & Noir wrote about the importance of drawings in the late nineteenth-century art world. Bernard’s journals faithfully reviewed drawing shows sponsored by both independent artists’ societies and the government; this included those held by the Salon, the Société des Aquarellistes Français, the Société des Pastellistes Français, and, of course, Blanc et Noir. Moreover, they explored the meaning and purpose of drawing, continually emphasizing its status as the foundation of all the arts.

This history of the exhibition of drawings between the 1860s through the 1880s shows the complex and symbiotic relationships between the government, dealers, and artists’ societies. Undercurrents of economic changes and nationalism fueled the explosion of drawing exhibitions during these years. Although too few of the drawings that were in these exhibitions have been identified as such today, it is hoped that a deeper awareness of the prevalence of these exhibitions will contribute to our understanding of the remarkable increase in drawing production during this period.


Author’s Note
I would like to thank the Edith O’Donnell Institute of Art History and Richard Brettell for their support of this project. I am particularly grateful to Maximilian Schich for his guidance with compiling and analyzing big data.

Notes
1. This paper is part of a larger study: see Debra J. DeWitte, “Public Exhibitions of Drawing in Paris, France (1860–1890): A Study in Data-driven Art History,” PhD thesis, Dallas, University of Texas, 2017. Marie Leimbacher (“Les Arts graphiques dans les Salons parisiens de la deuxième moitié du XIXe, 1863–1892,” MA thesis, Paris, École du Louvre, 2007) has also studied the exhibition of drawings in the second half of the nineteenth century and also utilized data analysis as the most effective methodological approach for this material. Her Salon research focused on seven years, 1857, 1863, 1864, 1879, 1881, 1885, and 1892, while I focused on the years 1863 to 1881. Leimbacher also studied exhibitions outside of the Salon, as have I. Any discoveries made by her cited in this article are credited to her. I would like to thank her for the generous sharing of her work, her suggestions for finding resources, and her guidance in maneuvering through the procedures at different French institutions.

2. For this study, I retrieved data, including the artist’s name, gender, title of work, and medium, from Parisian exhibition catalogues using OCR (Optical Character Recognition Software) to “read” page scans. Custom computer programs, written by Bill Gibney, were designed to extract the desired information from the unstructured text in the catalogues. Imported into spreadsheets, it was then possible to organize these data sets in a variety of ways to evaluate the information.

3. Several art historians have utilized data analysis, particularly in socio-economic studies. See the work of Michael Montias, Hans J. Van Miegroet, Maximilian Schich, and the canonical book by Harrison White and Cynthia White, Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World, Chicago, 1965. It is interesting to note that writers living in the nineteenth century made use of data analysis—to the degree that it was then possible—in studying the Salon, particularly in the journal La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité.

Les aquarelles sont exposés comme l’année dernière.

All of these splendid national and international festivals of art, [a tradition] of generous sharing of their own treasures, and we see today Messieurs Malcolm and Mitchell preferring to see their rare wonders over our French exhibition.”

The catalogue did include a brief visual description, medium, size, and owner of each drawing.

The De Goncourt brothers were significant in the evolution of an appreciation for drawing in the nineteenth century. Their eighteenth-century French drawings were shown to the public three times. Two were the Old Master drawing exhibitions held at the École des Beaux-Arts, to which they contributed 108 drawings in 1879 and 7 drawings by Pierre Gavarni in 1884. The third time occurred on the death of Edmond de Goncourt, who requested in his will that their collection be auctioned off. One auction was devoted solely to the De Goncourts’ eighteenth-century French drawings; 377 art works filled three rooms at the Hôtel Drouot (see the sale catalogue, “Collection des Goncourt: Dessins, aquarelles et pastels du XVIIIème siècle,” Paris, Hôtel Drouot, February, 1897).

This structure is similar to how art works were handled in the Salon. Architectural drawings were placed with architectural models and are not included in this study.

This data was taken from the Catalogue général for the Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris. Exhibitions were listed by country and then class. Drawings were under “Classe 2: Peintures Diverses et Dessins,” which also includes miniature paintings, earthenware, porcelain, etc. Usually the type of art work was listed after the name of the artist and the work’s title; but, when it was not, there is no way of knowing whether the work was a drawing or a decorative art object. There were thus probably more drawings than the data here shows.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF 3985. Watercolor; 612 x 340 mm; see http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr.

London, British Museum, inv. no. 1991,0615.28. Brush and gray ink, over graphite; with scratching out; 238 x 165 mm; see www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online. ED. NOTE: We are grateful to Marie-Noëlle Grison for locating this illustration by Bida for the complete works of De Musset published in ten volumes by Charpentier in 1855–66.

Paris, Les Arts Décoratifs, inv. no. CD 4672. Charcoal, with red chalk and white highlights, on blue paper; dimensions unknown; see www.lesartsdecoratifs.fr/francais/musees/musee-des-arts-decoratifs/collections/dossiers-thematiques/les-arts-decoratifs-depuis-1864-1171/transmettre-une-mission-fondatrice/recueils-echantillons-modeles-un-repertoire-de-formes-et-de-motifs-accessible-a. All of the artist’s works were subsequently dispersed at his sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 27 May 1904 (see http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k12466814). The drawing reproduced in this article could be lot 135 of this sale (with the same title). ED. NOTE: We are grateful to Marie-Noëlle Grison for this reference.


Societies for watercolor artists were formed in England in 1804, in Belgium in 1856, and in the United States in...
1866. The French watercolor society was founded only in 1879. By contrast, the French formed the Société des Pastellistes in 1885, long before the British, who created the Society for Pastel Artists in London in 1898. However, the American Painters in Pastel was formed in 1882, before those in both countries.

22. See Ward 1991, p. 601, describing a review in La Vie Parisienne from 1867.


24. As with the 1867 World’s Fair catalogue, the quantities reflected here represent the minimum number of drawings exhibited; at times it was unclear from the catalogue whether an art work was a drawing or another art form.


26. Belgium exhibited separately in 1889. The United States did not list the medium, so there was no way to differentiate between drawings and decorative art objects.

27. Dealers were integral to this new market, which catered to a growing middle class. The pioneering study on the role of dealers and critics during this period is White and White 1965; see also Nicholas Green, “Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” Art History, 10, no. 1, 1987, pp. 59–78.


29. See ibid.

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

31. Inv. nos. 17.1524 (pastel on tan paper; 406 x 502 mm), 06.2425 (pastel and black conté crayon on light brown paper; 759 x 978 mm), and 06.2426 (black conté crayon and pastel on green-brown wove paper; 420 x 537 mm); see www.mfa.org/collections.


34. Since 1890, some of the artists in the contemporary artists’ section were actually no longer living, such as Giuseppe [Joseph] de Nittis (1846–1884), Prosper Marilhat (1811–1847), Constant Dutilleux (1807–1865), and Jean-François Millet.

35. See White and White 1965, passim.


43. Paris, Musée d’Orsay, inv. no. RF 1406. Pen and black ink, with gray wash, opaque white; 520 x 380 mm; see http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr.

44. It appears, however, that foreign guest artists were sometimes welcomed, as was the case with the Italian painter Giovanni Boldini (1842–1931) in 1891; see Leimbacher 2007, p. 46.


46. As pointed out by Marie Leimbacher (2007, p. 45), some of the artists in the contemporary artists’ section were actually no longer living, such as Giuseppe [Joseph] de Nittis (1846–1884), Prosper Marilhat (1811–1847), Constant Dutilleux (1807–1865), and Jean-François Millet.

47. Paris, Musée d’Orsay, inv. no. RF 3969. Pastel and conté crayon on beige paper; 440 x 345 mm; see www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works.

48. If more of the works by Odilon Redon (1840–1916) were charcoal, which is likely, the percentage of drawings in 1886 would also be 30%.
49. At least 177 were made with watercolor, 144 with pastel, 20 in charcoal, and 40 with gouache. About 120 were another form of drawing, such as pen and ink or pencil.

50. Inv. no. 1985.R.26 (The Wendy and Emery Reves Collection). Pastel, charcoal, and gouache over monotype, on wove paper; 597 x 749 mm; see www.dma.org/collection.

51. Inv. no. 29.100.554. Watercolor, black ink, silver, and gold, on silk; 156 x 540 mm; see www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search.

52. Williamstown, MA, Clark Art Institute, inv. no. 1996.5. Pastel on beige wove paper; 599 x 735 mm; see www.clarkart.edu/Collection/1663.

53. Williamstown, MA, Clark Art Institute, inv. no. 1955.1964. Watercolor, over graphite, on cream wove paper; 207 x 268 mm; see www.clarkart.edu/Collection.

54. It is important to note, of course, that the total number of works in the Salons was much higher than that in the Impressionist exhibitions.

55. “A Propos du Salon,” Paris-Journal, 12 April 1870, p. 180: “Un ou deux de vous, une fois la chose arrêtée, seraient délégués à la surveillance...Ne mettre que deux rangs de tableaux et laisser entre eux un intervalle d’au moins 20 ou 30 centimètres, sans lequel on nuit à ses voisins et ils vous nuisent...Disposer de grands et petits écrans, comme les Anglais en avaient à l’Exposition...universal, y placer les dessins délogés et les distribuer dans les deux grandes salles, dites dépotoirs, ou ailleurs...Les dessins seraient tirés de leur désert et mêlés aux tableaux, ce qu’ils méritent...Et même je crois que sur ces écrans, dans les deux grandes salles, dites dépotoirs, ou ailleurs...Les dessins seraient tirés de leur désert et mêlés aux tableaux, ce qu’ils méritent...Et même je crois que sur ces écrans, dans les salles ordinaires, en reléguant plus loin les bancs, il y aurait place pour nombre de tableaux...Tous exposant aura le droit, au bout de quelques jours, de retirer son oeuvre; car rien ne doit l’obliger à laisser en vue quelque chose dont il rougisse et qui lui nuisse...Avec deux rang de tableaux seulement, il arrivera ceci: l’exposant désigne sur sa notice celui des deux rang où il veut être place. La cimaise, la détectable cimaise, source de toutes nos discords, ne sera plus une fausse, un hazard de commande. On la choisira pour ceci, on s’en passera fort bien pour cela. Telle peinture est faite pour être vue haut, telle autre pour être vue bas;” reproduced in Theodore Reff, “Some Unpublished Letters of Degas,” Art Bulletin, 50, no. 1, 1968, pp. 87–88.

56. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. RF 22889. Charcoal on canvas; 550 x 379 mm; see http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr.

57. An exhibition that focused on works on paper, like that at the Dudley Gallery, was also held in New York in 1873.


60. The total of 41 is based on the number of illustrations in the exhibition catalogue in which artists stated that their work was made for L’Art. According to one article, over 100 works in total were made for the journal, so approximately 60 prints for the journal must also have been exhibited; see L. Decamps, “Exposition d’oeuvre d’art exécutées en noir et en blanc,” L’Art, 1876, p. 198.


62. See “Expositions,” L’Art, 25, 1881, p. 40. As Méneux (2005, p. 42, n. 17) pointed out, however, this exhibition was not even mentioned in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, L’Artiste, or Le Journal des Arts.

63. The names of the colors in the title were perhaps reversed to distinguish the new shows from the two earlier ones.

64. “E. Bernard et Cie” published books on the Salons and Expositions Universelles, but he also published on other subjects, particularly engineering and mathematics.

65. See Le Dessin, 1, 15 October 1883, p. 6.


67. See La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité, 21 March 1885, p. 90. This article also commented on the lack of success of the previous exhibition, which had, in their words, “échoué entièrement et n’a pas été renouvelée l’année suivante” (“failed completely and was not repeated the following year”).

68. See Bernard’s catalogue by François Bournand, Première année: Catalogue illustré de l’exposition international de Blanc & Noir au palais du Louvre, exh. cat., Paris, Louvre, 1885. Although the exhibition now included the word “international” in the title, the majority of the artists were French.


70. Journals that participated included Le Chat Noir, L’Estampe Originale, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, L’Illustration, Japon Artistique, Monde Illustre, L’Univers Illustre, La Vie Moderne, La Vie Parisienne, and, not surprisingly, L’Art.

71. To the contrary, Méneux (2005, pp. 29–44) saw the inclusion of colored works as inevitable and necessary for the survival of the exhibition.
