Modernization and Rural Imagery at the Paris Salon: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Economic History of Art

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I.

> "Behind the three gleaners one sees, vaguely silhouetted on the leaded horizon, the pikes of the popular riots and scaffolding of [17]93."[1]

> "Millet's gleaners—ugly, old, dirty, dusty—give birth to a classic idea of beauty that does not come from any nymph ... With elements so simple, means so sober, and resources so restrained, the artist has created one of the most serious canvases at the Salon."[2]

> "Millet sculpts [misery] on canvas with somewhat pedantic proficiency. Like his gleaners, from the previous Salon, *Woman Grazing a Cow* has gigantic pretensions."[3]

These quotes each describe or reference the same painting, Jean-François Millet's (1814–75) *The Gleaners* (1857) (fig. 1). In the same work, one critic sees the threat of revolution, one sees beauty in ugliness, and the other sees pretentiousness. The painting depicts a lavender and powder blue sky shining over a golden wheat field; hay stacks, cows, and a small village lie on the horizon. Three large female figures dominate this Georgic landscape. They collect the bits of wheat that reapers have left behind after the harvest. Hunched and clad in rough clothing, none of their heavy-boned bodies breaks the horizon line. A wide and beautiful scene stretches behind them, but they seem unaware of it or simply unconcerned. As the opening quotes show, Millet's image of rural life was controversial in its own time. After the artist's death in 1875, however, *The Gleaners* developed into a beloved French national icon.[4]

This upward critical trajectory of *The Gleaners*—and French landscape and rural genre painting more generally—coincides with significant changes in the French economy. Over the course of the nineteenth century, France transformed from a collection of isolated localities into an integrated nation with a shared economy and shared social customs.[5] A growing national transport network drove this change.[6] National transport neither linked to nor affected most communes until the July Monarchy, when an 1836 law made maintenance of local roads compulsory. But there was a lag in the improvement and increased use of these routes. Only from the 1850s onward was the isolation of most rural communes substantially reduced. By 1870, a network of around 370,000 kilometres of maintained local roads existed—about 28 times more than in 1840.[7]

Waterways and railways also grew. The railroad was particularly important to French integration. Railroads appeared in France in the late 1820s, but became more common only after 1842 legislation allocated money for establishing private partnerships that would create and manage a rail network radiating outward from Paris. Under the Second Empire, rail construction accelerated and, in 1870, an integrated network of 17,466 kilometres of railway crisscrossed the country. By 1913, this had grown to 40,770 kilometres.[8] Although many villages did not have a railway station in the nineteenth century, the success of the railroad fostered larger and more integrated regional, national, and international markets for goods and services. People could circulate or emigrate with greater ease, and activity on the rails translated into a need for more and better-maintained local roads leading to the trains. These local roads ultimately linked towns to a world far beyond the boundaries of a commune.[9]

Peasants—the people living and working in small rural communities economically dependent on agricultural production[10]—inhabited this changing world. The peasantry was an

important social and economic entity in nineteenth-century France. In 1846, 76 per cent of the population was rural; even in 1872, this share was 69 per cent.[11] Prior to the late nineteenth century, the life of this majority was difficult, precarious, and inescapable. The growing transport network, however, allowed peasants to move from community to community, and often from the countryside to the city.[12]

Cultural historians have attributed nineteenth-century French artists' and audiences' apparent growing interest in landscape painting and rural genre painting—images of daily life in a rural setting—to the progression of industrialization and urbanization. They believe Millet's *Gleaners* and similar images by his contemporaries reflect an industrializing society nostalgically grasping for a simpler pre-industrial era before environmental pollution, gruelling factory work, and class conflict.[13] In this primarily art-historical literature, however, the transition from a pre-industrial to industrialized society is presented as monolithic. Grouped together, changes in transport, employment, urbanization, and other phenomena of the Industrial Revolution are considered to be co-occurring and often equally important in provoking a nostalgic impulse in art. Furthermore, such analyses focus almost exclusively on famous works like *The Gleaners*.[14] This essay draws on a novel dataset about the content of the Paris Salon, a major state-sponsored art exhibition, and the methods of economic history to quantitatively examine the relationship of rural imagery to social and economic change. The analyses here unpack modernization into its constituent parts—such as changing transport prices and decline in agricultural employment share—and expand the sample of art under consideration far beyond Millet's masterpiece.

The Whiteley Index, a keyword index to the titles of 148,000 paintings shown at every Salon from 1673 to 1881, provides the data to trace the development of rural imagery in art over

time. While the Whiteley Index begins in the seventeenth century, this essay will focus on the approximately 115,000 works shown between 1831 and 1881, from the July Monarchy to the final unitary Salon early in the Third Republic. The choice to narrow the focus to the nineteenth century was made for several reasons. First, there is greater availability of annual or bi-annual data about the Salon and social and economic conditions in France beginning with the July Monarchy. Second, mid-nineteenth-century paintings like *The Gleaners* have been the primary focus of theories about links between art depicting rural life and social and economic change. Focusing on the nineteenth century addresses these existing theories head-on.

The analyses presented in this article make several contributions to art history, economic history, and cultural economics literatures. First, they demonstrate that the increase in the volume of rural imagery—including both rural genre and landscape painting—shown in nineteenth-century France was not as dramatic as scholars previously suspected. Furthermore, factors like urbanization and agricultural employment share appear to have a limited effect on changes in the frequency with which rural imagery was exhibited. Instead, specific variables changed the ability of artists to circulate between the countryside and Paris and to gather in affordable rural artists' colonies an easy train ride from the capital; these changes had the greatest influence on the output of landscape and rural genre painting. This article shows that artists, like other rational actors observed in the economic history and urban economics literature, altered their behaviours in response to changing costs of living and travel.[15] The increased output of the rural genre and landscape paintings appears to be, at least partly, a by-product of artists' increased exposure to rural environments in these affordable colonies.

This conclusion about artists gathering in colonies resonates with the conclusions of cultural economists (notably John O'Hagan, Christiane Hellmanzik, and Karol Borowiecki)

about the positive effects of clustering on the quantity and quality of artistic output.[16] This article extends that argument to demonstrate how clusters in certain areas can influence the *content* of art. Furthermore, while earlier studies have focused on urban clusters of artists, this article examines the effects of satellite clusters of artists—groups who are close to a principal urban cluster, but are working closely together in smaller and more isolated groups. Finally, by using exhibition data, rather than prices, this article provides an example of how data sources beyond auction results can be used to apply quantitative methods to the history of art.[17] Most economic history studies of art and artists either deal with historical markets or use price data for proxies of quality—this includes work by Kathryn Graddy, David Galenson, and the scholars mentioned above who have studied artistic clustering.[18] (A notable exception to this characterization is Victor Ginsburgh's analyses of the role of expert opinion and juries in the persistent success of artists across art, music, and movies.[19])

Section II presents a comprehensive introduction to the Salon and the Whiteley Index. It focuses particularly on how the changing exhibition rules and composition of the admissions jury affected landscape and rural genre painting at the Salon. It also describes in detail how the Whiteley Index was assembled and how this process affects the quality of the data that one can glean from it. Section III refines the central research questions of this article—drawn from earlier studies of the socioeconomic history of nineteenth-century French art—and then presents summary statistics, descriptive graphs, and OLS panel regressions that address these research questions. Section IV concludes with a discussion of the results of the regressions, which point to the influence of artists' clustering in accessible rural artists' colonies. Furthermore, it presents a brief quantitative analysis of Jean-François Millet's correspondence to corroborate the importance of artists' joint access to rural settings and Parisian professional networks for the

production of rural genre and landscape painting. The paper closes with a brief discussion of its contributions to the existing cultural economics and art historical literature.

II.

The Salon—a state-sponsored, juried art exhibition usually organized by the *Académie des beaux-arts* and held in Paris every one to three years—was the centre of the French art world from the eighteenth century until the state withdrew support for the event in 1881. The Salon has a bad reputation in the history of art. Its history has "long been confused with the history of the persecution of artistic innovators and their delayed triumph over the reactionary forces."[20] It is now perhaps most famous for routinely excluding the Impressionists from its galleries. However, the distinction between the sites of innovation and reaction in the nineteenth-century French art world is not so clearly delineated. The Impressionists, for example, only chose to exhibit on their own under professional and financial duress.[21] Their first preference was to exhibit at the Salon. The exhibition was, despite its current reputation, central to the nineteenth-century French art world and attracted hundreds of thousands of spectators and inspired hundreds of critical essays and articles in the press.

The Salon began as an exhibition of works by members of the *Académie des beaux-arts*. The history of the Salon therefore begins with the history of the Academy. While it existed in earlier rudimentary forms, the Academy received official royal sanction from Louis XIV in 1655 and was definitively instituted in 1664. In its original form, "the Academy was divided into three levels: *élèves, agrégés*, and *académiciens* corresponding to the categories of apprentice, journeyman, and master."[22] The seventeenth-century Academic system remained largely intact throughout the eighteenth century. A jury of *académiciens* determined which work submitted by members of the Academy would be displayed at the Salon, and another committee awarded

prizes to the submissions it judged to be the most accomplished. The Salon functioned like this until the revolution.[23] Then, the Salon of 1791 abolished the jury system. The committee directing this revolutionary Salon decreed that any artist—French or foreign, Academy-affiliate or independent—had the right to exhibit without being subject to an admissions jury.

The 1791 overhaul of the Salon began a conflict that coloured the battles over the control of the exhibition for the remainder of its existence—namely disputes about its relative openness to different exhibitors. The jury system was reinstated after the 1791 Salon, and the primary point of contention became the jury's composition and decisions.[24] There was constant debate over whether the jury should be appointed or elected, who should appoint or elect the jury members, and whether there was an appropriate balance of power between *académiciens*, state officials, and artists not affiliated with the Academy, who were called *indépendents*. Wrangling also occurred over the size of the Salon and how often it should take place. Academics tended to favour smaller and more infrequent exhibitions, while independents preferred large annual events. Periodic regime change meant that there were regular changes to the rules for the Salon that alternatively favoured one or another of these camps or attempted to strike a compromise between them.[25]

Further exacerbating this conflict, the re-established Academy that emerged from the Revolutionary era was a smaller and more exclusive institution than it had been during the *ancien régime*. As Alfred Boime described it, "the nineteenth-century Academy [had a] fixed number of members and life membership…. It was not uncommon to accept an artist in his twenties or thirties into the [ancien régime] Academy, whereas in the nineteenth-century Academy the average age of new members was fifty-three."[26] The reincarnated Academy fought to monopolize state-funded art education in France. Yet its role in the process of training the next

generation changed with each regime and often changed within the reign of the same regime.[27] The nineteenth-century Salon, then, was at the centre of a complicated tug-of-war over the control and character of fine arts in France. In January 1881, the government of the Third Republic announced that it was surrendering control of the exhibition to a society of artists. This was the end of a tradition that had lasted more than 200 years.[28] The artists responded promptly to the state's withdrawal from the annual exhibition. The Salon of 1881 (the last one in the Whiteley Index) was run by the *Société des artistes français*. While the Salon run by the Société was the only Salon of 1881, soon after a variety of major annual exhibitions were mounted.[29]

While the Salon was the centre of the French art world into the Third Republic, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, venues beyond the exhibition emerged for showing contemporary art. These included Salon-like exhibitions in cities outside of Paris,[30] exhibits at a growing number of private commercial galleries,[31] and group shows—like the Impressionist exhibitions—that developed in response to the perceived restrictiveness of the Salon. The Whiteley Index does not include data about any of these other venues. It does, however, include the *Salon des refusés* of 1863 and the 1855 *Exhibition universelle*.

The data included in the Whiteley Index is, therefore, a large sample of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French art—but also a sample that was edited by the admissions jury. Table 1 provides a list of the size of the Salon—and where available the percentage of submitted paintings the jury admitted—from 1827 (where the first rejection rates are available) to 1881. To better understand the content and biases of this sample, one needs a more detailed accounting of the jury and its changing treatment of landscape and rural genre painting. Finally, while the jury was primarily responsible for handling admissions, it (or a subset of its members) also awarded

prizes at each exhibition. These prizes were critical to artists' future success; being awarded a prize often allowed the winning artist to bypass jury selection in future Salons.

The history of the Salon jury and its willingness to admit landscape and rural genre painting begins with a history of the "hierarchy of genres" that existed in France and at academies throughout Europe, starting in the late seventeenth century. According to this hierarchy, the best and most important works were history paintings, large format works primarily showing episodes from ancient history or the Bible. Still-life occupied the lowest rung of this hierarchy. In between, portraiture was considered the second most accomplished form of painting, followed by genre paintings depicting everyday life and landscape painting.[32] This hierarchy of genres was reinforced by the education of students at the *École des beaux-arts,* the state-sponsored school of fine arts primarily responsible for educating aspiring artists in France.[33] The specific relationship between the *École,* the Academy, and the Salon changed over time, but, in general, graduates of the *École* were more likely to be successful Salon painters and academicians. Often populating the Salon jury, therefore were these men (and occasionally women) trained to respect the hierarchy of genres and favour history painting.[34] The history of what kind and what quantity of landscape and rural genre paintings the jury admitted to the Salon relates directly to the initial primacy of the hierarchy of genres and the eventual breakdown of this hierarchy's influence by the second half of the nineteenth century.

Because genre and landscape painting ranked low in the hierarchy of genres, most French landscape painters in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century were not interested in the contemporary countryside and its inhabitants. The most famous of this group, Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (1750–1819), and his followers painted *paysages historiques* of classical settings, endowing landscape painting with some of the importance of history painting. Valenciennes and

his pupils exhibited regularly at the Salon.[35] Therefore, until the early nineteenth century, landscape painting and rural genre painting were exhibited by being linked to history painting. Nature scenes featured classical temples, and images of rural life were meant to depict episodes from works like Virgil's *Georgics*.[36]

Beginning in the 1830s, however, a generation of landscape painters emerged that rejected this preoccupation with imagined classical landscapes. Instead, they turned to present and observable ones.[37] Among these paintings of contemporary France, there is no clear threshold for when the pastoral figures a painter may place in a landscape painting's foreground become large enough or central enough to a composition to make the work a rural genre painting. Similarly, it is unclear when the natural setting a painted peasant inhabits transforms from background to subject. Therefore, this brief historical introduction presents their intertwined histories as a single shared history. Two painters provide a direct link between the classical landscape tradition of Valenciennes and the developing interest in contemporary landscapes: Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796–1875) and Théodore Rousseau (1812–67). Both were born in Paris, and both trained in Academic studios. Corot studied with Achille Michallon (1796–1822) and Jean-Victor Bertin (1767–1842)[38]—both Valenciennes pupils—while Rousseau trained with J. C. Remond (1795–1875). Corot began to exhibit historical landscape paintings and Italian scenes at the Salon of 1827, while Rousseau first exhibited a landscape in 1831.[39]

Traditionally, the jury consisted of a mix of artists who were members of the Academy, along with the occasional independent member, and "amateurs" who were often bureaucrats in the arts' national administration.[40] The government appointed the jury. Shortly after the Revolution of 1830, artists agitated for modifications to this traditional mix of artists and

amateurs, specifically for the greater representation of artists working in different styles—both within and beyond the Academy. Another request was more Salons, annual rather than bi-annual exhibitions. The newly installed King Louis-Philippe heeded this advice: the Salon was made annual, and he nominated members of the "first four sections" of the Academy—painting, sculpture, architecture, and engraving—to the jury for the Salon of 1831.[41] The jury consisted entirely of artists, who were also all *academiciéns.* Likely responding to earlier efforts to have more independent artists represented on the Salon jury, the rate of admittance to the Salon of 1831 was very high. It accepted 93 per cent of submissions, compared with 50 per cent in 1827.[42] Table 1 shows the size of all Salons between 1831 and 1881.

Perhaps because of this liberality, the Salon of 1831 was an important exhibition in the history of landscape and rural genre painting. Landscape and rural genre paintings were widely accepted, and this was the first exhibition in which a painting of contemporary peasants received widespread critical attention. Enthusiastic positive reviews greeted Louis Léopold Robert's (1794–1835) *Arrival of the Harvesters in the Swamp of Pontins* (1830), and young artists copied it for years to come.[43] After Robert's success, several painters exhibiting at the Salon began to form reputations as painters of contemporary rural life. In the 1830s, the most notable of these painters were Philippe-Auguste Jeanron (1809–77) and Adolphe Leleux (1812–91).[44] Importantly, none of these painters were members of the Academy, and apart from Robert, they were not educated at the *École des beaux-arts.*

Around the time of this new success at the Salon, several landscape and rural genre painters began to form an artistic community around the Forest of Fontainebleau. First in the commune of Chailly and then in the village of Barbizon, the painters stayed in inexpensive local inns and spent days sketching the forest *en plein air.* Corot first travelled to Fontainebleau in

1822, Rousseau in 1833, and several other painters now considered to be part of the "Barbizon school"—such as Narcisse-Virgile Diaz de la Peña (1807–76) and Charles-François Daubigny (1817–78)—were active in the area by the early 1840s. Founding Realist Gustave Courbet (1819–77) had visited by 1841.[45]

While the artistic community at Barbizon grew throughout the July Monarchy (1830–48), its direct interaction with the Salon was limited. Corot exhibited frequently at the Salon throughout the 1830s and '40s, but other Barbizon-affiliated artists were less successful. Rousseau's work was accepted for exhibition in 1831 and 1835, but was rejected several times from 1836 to 1841; he then stopped submitting works until the Second Republic (1848–52).[46] Many other Barbizon painters, such as Diaz, Daubigny, Jules Dupré (1811–89), and Paul Huet (1803–69), were also consistently rejected and had to earn a living as porcelain painters or engravers.[47]

This near exclusion from the Salon was related to the growing conservatism of the jury during the July Monarchy and increasing rejection rates. From an approximately 25 per cent rejection rate in 1833 (the first Salon after 1831), the rejection climbed steadily until it surpassed 50 per cent (specifically 53 per cent) by 1840. Rejection rates oscillated around 50 per cent through 1847, the final Salon of the July Monarchy.[48] Traditionally, these high rejection rates and the apparent targeting of artists working outside of the Academy and the *École des beaux-arts* have been attributed to the conservative tastes of the established artists who had been elected *académicians* and allowed to serve on the jury. The most recent and comprehensive research about the jury during the July Monarchy convincingly demonstrates, however, that it was not the academic painters, but rather the architects (who outnumbered them) driving the jury's conservative decisions.[49]

The structure of the jury was overhauled yet again after the Revolution of 1848. For this and other reasons, the Salons of the Second Republic were pivotal for rural genre and landscape painters, particularly those working beyond the purview of the *École des beaux-arts*.[50] In 1848, the jury was abolished. All the works that had been submitted for consideration to the old jury, which was accepting submissions before the revolution, were displayed. However, this open Salon did not last after professional artists complained about exhibiting alongside amateurs. The next three Salons transitioned to a jury system where a general assembly of professional artists elected the jury, and a poll among the same general assembly determined the prize-winners.[51]

During this period, Millet—soon to become a member of the Barbizon school—showed *The Sower* (1850) (fig. 2), and Courbet displayed *After Dinner at Ornans* (1848), *The Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair* (1849–50), and *A Burial at Ornans* (1849–50) (fig. 3). These works are now among the most famous nineteenth-century rural genre paintings. The landscapist Rousseau received a state commission in 1848, exhibited work in the 1849 and 1850–51 Salons, and received the Legion d'Honneur during this period.[52] Salon prizes were awarded to these emerging artists interested in contemporary landscapes and rural scenes. Crucially, receiving prizes guaranteed the continued presence of landscape and rural genre paintings at the Salon because prizewinning painters could usually display at the Salon without facing the jury.[53] Data about prize-winners is somewhat patchy during this period, and for this article, such data needed to be culled both from the Salon exhibition catalogues and the periodical *L'Artiste,* which sometimes published lists of winners. Identifying in which genre a prize-winner worked involved intensive primary resource research; therefore, only data about what percentage of prize-winners were rural genre painters—rather than rural genre and landscape painters—are presented in figure 4. Consistent with the trends described above, 1850 was a critical year for the awarding of

prizes to rural genre painters, though the greatest volume of prizes was awarded during the first years of the Second Empire.

In 1852, President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte became Emperor Napoleon III, and his administration subjected the Salon to various new policies. Scholars debate how much the imperial arts administration was able to control the fine arts and how responsive its policy was to the will of artists and public tastes.[54] After the *coup d'état* that established the Second Empire, Napoléon III and his administration limited the role of the democratic processes applied to the Salon during the Second Republic. While the 1850 jury had been entirely elected by artists, only half of the 1852 jury was elected; the other half was appointed. For the next Salon—actually the *Exposition universelle* of 1855—the entire jury was appointed and overseen by the Comte de Nieuwekerke, chief arts administrator during the Second Empire. Nieuwekerke chaired the jury for the remainder of imperial rule.

Beginning in 1852, Nieuwerkerke limited the number of artworks an artist could display at the exhibition and abolished the traditional exception that artists who had won a prize in the previous years could submit any work they wanted without facing jury review. Every work of art had to be approved before being shown.[55] During the first decade of the Second Empire, artists—primarily those outside of the Academy—chaffed against this state involvement in the arts. They were upset with high rejection rates by Nieuwekerke's jury of *académiciens* and political appointees. However, beginning in 1863, the previously cosy relationship between the imperial government and the Academy deteriorated when the government took over the Academy's traditional responsibility of appointing professors for the *École des beaux-arts*. In general, 1863 was a turning point for the liberalization of imperial arts policy. It was also the year of the *Salon des refusés*, a clear demonstration against what many independent artists considered the unfair

exigencies of the Salon jury. In the wake of the *refusés*, the jury for the 1864 exhibition was, apart from a handful of administration members, elected by previous Salon prize-winners and was more lenient than the juries of the previous decade: the refusal rate for submissions dropped from 70 per cent to 30 per cent. Ultimately, curators, collectors, and other "art professionals" replaced several of the political appointees on the juries.[56] By 1868, *all* artists who had ever exhibited at the Salon were allowed to elect two-thirds of the jury, and in 1870—the last Salon under the empire—the entire jury was elected by artists.[57]

Despite artists' constant complaints about jury composition and rejection rates, the Second Empire exhibitions were, on average, larger than any Salon prior to the Second Republic.[58] Reflecting the growing number of submissions that were landscape and rural genre paintings, the Second Empire (1852–70) exhibitions shifted towards the display and celebration of genre and landscape painting instead of history painting.[59] There were more genre and landscape paintings admitted for display, and rural genre painters who worked both within and outside of the Academy began to consistently win prizes.[60]

After the Franco-Prussian War, with the collapse of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic, Salon policies changed once again. Charles Blanc (1813–82), an 1848 revolutionary turned conservative during the Second Empire, was appointed the new republic's chief arts administrator. A staunch supporter of the Academy and lover of traditional history painting, Blanc radically changed Salon rules. For the Salon of 1872, he allowed only Academicians and artists who had received official honours (prizes or the *légion d'honneur*) to elect the jury; he also appointed one-quarter of jury members himself. Furthermore, rejection rates were higher, and the 1872 Salon was half the size of that of 1870.[61] This conservative turn continued in the next six Salons, although after 1873 the jury was unable

to restrict the size of the Salons, which returned to imperial levels. The jury rules changed a final time in 1879 when Edmond Turquet (1836–1914) became director of fine arts. Turquet allowed all artists who had exhibited in at least three Salons to elect the jury, expanding the number of electors from 711 artists to over 2000.[62] This electorate remained in place until 1881, when the government withdrew state support and management for the exhibition. The 1881 exhibition, the final Salon in the Whiteley Index, was run by the *Société des artistes français*. While the jury in 1881 had been elected as in previous years, there was a significant change: just as under Nieuwekerke, prizewinning artists would no longer be able to display at the Salon without jury review.

Throughout the Third Republic—and despite Blanc's preference for history painting—landscape and rural genre painting flourished. This flourishing resulted, in part, from the fact that many landscape and rural genre painters had won prizes during the Second Republic or Second Empire; they could thus exhibit at Third Republic Salons without jury review. However, younger rural genre and landscape painters—such as Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–84)—also became famous during this period, and did so without the resistance and struggle that their predecessors faced.[63] By the beginning of the Third Republic, most of the founding Barbizon painters were elderly or had already passed away. Rousseau and Troyon both died in the 1860s, Corot and Millet died in 1875, Diaz in 1876, and finally, Daubigny in 1878. The deaths of this founding generation were commemorated with hagiographic articles honouring their lives and work.[64] Having started out in relative obscurity during the July Monarchy, these artists died as celebrities.

The selection of paintings and other graphic works exhibited at the Salon were recorded in catalogues, called *livrets*, throughout the exhibition's complicated history.[65] Over the course

of twenty years, Dr Jon Whiteley of the University of Oxford's Ashmolean Museum assembled a hard-copy index to every livret—officially titled *The Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1881*.[66] Based on its French title, each painting is tagged with one or more English keywords or "subject headings," as Whiteley calls them. Figure 5 presents an image of a page from the 908-page manuscript index. The "subject headings" are the words before each list of numbers. Each number entry includes the year of a painting's exhibition and its number in the livret. Painting number 1850-2221, for example, given the keyword "Sowing," is Millet's *The Sower* (fig. 2).[67]

Whiteley's introduction to the index recounts the decades-long assembly of the work, including the challenges of ambiguous titles. Whiteley provides the example of the title *La Greve*, which can either refer to a strike or a small picturesque commune in Charentes-Maritime—depending on accents. How does one categorize the several paintings with this title? Whiteley's solution was to create a specific tag, "La Grêve." The Whiteley Index includes thousands of his so-called subject headings. These keywords are dizzyingly precise; they range from "Girls with Poultry" to "Cervantes' work" and "Cervantes' life," to "Jealousy," to the specific geographic location a painting depicts. Whiteley's tendency to remain agnostic about tagging titles and create ever more specific keywords makes this dataset rich in valuable detail. Whiteley categorized all of these works in chronological order, working from the earliest Salons to the most recent. After completing this process, he reviewed all of his categorizations to reapportion earlier works to the more specific categories that he had only created after tackling the more recent Salons.[68] Works are tagged with multiple keywords when appropriate. For example, rural genre painter Jules Breton's *Benediction of the Wheat in the Artois* (1857) (fig. 12) is tagged both as "wheat" and "benedictions, blessings, and holy water."

There are several problems with using data culled from an index dependent on titles. As Whiteley explains in the introduction to the Index, titles do not necessarily provide a clear description of a painting. Even when they accurately describe the subject matter, titles convey neither paintings' nuances nor their effects on a viewer.[69] These abstract data are therefore not complete records of art. Furthermore, a work's content is sometimes not clearly communicated by a title. For example, Gustave Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (1849–50) (fig. 3), a famous rural genre painting showing a countryside funeral, is only tagged as "funeral rites." With these caveats in mind, I used an intentionally broad definition of what constituted a "rural" or landscape subject heading. Tags like "La Grêve"—which may or may not have represented a rural setting—were included. A full list of the relevant tags is included in Appendix A.

With its focus on one complicated juried exhibition and reliance on titles, the Whiteley Index is not a perfect dataset. As Victor Ginsburgh demonstrated in his article on juried competitions and expert opinion, gatekeepers produce a sample of selected artworks that "are correlated with economic success and may even influence or predict it, but are often poor predictors of true aesthetic quality or survival or the work."[70] The history of nineteenth-century French art corroborates this point. The most successful artists at the nineteenth-century Salons—such as William-Adolphe Bougeureau (1825–1905) and Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904)—are now obscure, while Claude Monet, Paul Cézanne, and others frequently excluded from the exhibition are world famous. Still, many now-canonical masterpieces of the nineteenth-century—Millet's *Sower* and *Gleaner's,* Courbet's *Burial at Ornans*, and even Edouard Manet's (1832–83) controversial *Olympia* (1862)—do appear in Whiteley's index. Despite its flaws, the Whiteley data is unprecedented in scope. To have easily digestible digital information available about almost 150,000 artworks is exceptional.

III.

The end of rural isolation and the simultaneous growth in the popularity of rural images are the focus of the cultural histories that aim to explain how educated, urban Frenchmen developed a taste for images of the French countryside and the peasantry.[71] In art history, the most important of these theorists of cosmopolitan conceptions of rural life are T. J. Clark and Robert Herbert, both founding social historians of art. They argue that acceptable images of the countryside portray rural life as wholly distinct from city life and as immune from the class conflict and violence of an urban setting. Clark particularly emphasizes and studies the political upheaval of the Second Republic; Herbert focuses more on broad demographic trends, such as industrial employment share and the growing railroad. The latter asserts that "latent or indirect imagery ... and themes of urban entertainment, suburban relaxation and rural nature dominate French art of the nineteenth century, to the near exclusion of the machine and worker, those basic constituents of the cataclysmic changes taking place."[72] In short, both men—and scholars working alongside and after them—have argued that an increase in the number of rural images are a reaction against what Herbert terms the "urban-industrial revolution" in nineteenth-century France.

This argument relies on two assertions. First, there was significant industrialization in France during the nineteenth century, which the economic history literature confirms.[73] Second, there was an increase in the amount of rural imagery created by artists during this same period. Using the digitized data derived from the Whiteley Index, it is possible to track within an unprecedentedly large sample how the quantity of rural imagery changed over time. Building on

these two assertions, these scholars argue that changes in the socioeconomic environment of France changed the quantity of rural imagery.

This section of the article examines the second assertion—about the quantity of rural imagery over time—and the conclusion that socioeconomic changes influenced changes in visual culture in nineteenth-century France. A series of graphs chart how much landscape and rural genre painting was displayed at the Salon over time. Then, regressions combining data from the Whiteley Index with available socioeconomic data about nineteenth-century France evaluate whether the variables scholars have identified—such as political upheaval, the growth of the railroad, urbanization, growing interest in rural tourism, and changing employment shares—influenced the amount of rural imagery on display at the Salon.

Figures 6–9 show the first steps in assessing the assertion that there was a pronounced increase in rural imagery on display in nineteenth-century France. Figures 6 and 7 show the absolute number of rural genre and landscape paintings displayed at the Salon from 1831 to 1881. Though the number swung significantly from year to year, there is certainly an upward trend in the number of rural genre paintings displayed. Landscape painting also trends upward, although dramatic swings in quantity mean that almost the same number of landscapes was shown in 1881 as in 1831—819 and 783, respectively. Over this period, however, the number of paintings shown at the Salon was increasing (see table 1). Therefore, figures 8 and 9 show the percentage of paintings displayed at the Salon that consisted of rural genre paintings and landscape paintings. This makes the upward trend more modest. Rural genre painting represented a small share of the paintings displayed at the Salon between 1831 and 1881. Even as each Salon included more total works over time, the percentage of rural genre paintings hovered around 2 per cent. A notable spike occurred in the number of rural genre paintings at the Salon in the early

years of the Second Empire; it more than doubled from just under 2 per cent in the exhibition of 1850–51 to over 4 per cent in 1853. Over the next twenty years, this percentage declines unevenly back to the 2 per cent level. Figure 9 shows the proportion of paintings displayed at the Salon that were landscapes. Landscape paintings were far more common at the Salon than rural genre paintings. Landscape paintings usually made up between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of all paintings displayed.

What aspects of rural life were shown in these rural genre paintings? Did artists depict a happy, idyllic family life or peasants hard at work? Figure 10 provides a breakdown of activities: work; home and family scenes; markets and fairs; shepherds and pastorals; coming and going (images of people on roads and travelling, often to fairs); festivities and relaxation.[74] One clear and stable trend emerges in figure 10: the dominance of work as a theme in rural genre paintings. While most of the other categories oscillate between 5 per cent and 15 per cent of rural genre paintings, work as a theme is always more than 20 per cent; by the end of the sample, it is over 35 per cent.

Pastorals and images of shepherds—the second most common sub-category—is a distinct category, for two reasons. First, the pastoral is a specific trope in French rural genre painting that dates to the seventeenth century. Several paintings (roughly 4 per cent of rural genre paintings displayed in a given year) were explicitly labelled “pastoral” or “idyllic.” The second reason is that shepherds are a liminal case. While a *berger* or *pâtre* (words for shepherd) is potentially doing contemporary agricultural work, he can also be behaving in the way his mythical predecessors did: lounging, dreaming of lovers, and generally enjoying life. Is the shepherd working or relaxing? It is often impossible to answer that question knowing only a title. Of the few extant examples in this category, about half depict shepherds at work and half depict them

relaxing. If one could successfully subdivide this category into specific images of a relaxed idyllic past and a shepherd's more-difficult contemporary working life, this division would likely further contribute to an already clear trend: the increase over time in the number of paintings tagged as "work." Figure 11 subdivides the paintings tagged as work in figure 10 into more specific tasks. Images of harvest work (such as gleaning and sowing) and of crops (anything tagged as depicting wheat, fruit, or other produce) are the two most common kinds of images. Rural life is depicted most often as labour in the arable fields.

One problem with using data culled from an index dependent on titles is that some paintings depicting rural life may not have a title that is explicitly rural. The existing literature about the peasant image suggests two subjects in particular—religious piety and dedication to family—were associated with the peasant image.[75] Nonetheless, there are relatively few paintings, such as Breton's *Benediction of the Wheat in the Artois* (1857) (fig. 12), that are tagged in the index with both a religious and an explicitly rural tag.[76] Anecdotally, it appears some famous rural genre paintings do not register as rural, according to the Index, because their titles reference only religious rites or family scenes. Courbet's *Burial at Ornans*, for example, is tagged only as "funeral rites," and Léon-Augustin Lhermitte (1844–1925) often painted peasant women with their children or peasant families and titled these works "Motherhood" or "Family." Charting possibly related genres alongside rural genre painting can approximate their relationship to images of rural life. Figure 13 explores these potential relationships. Two striking facts emerge from this graph. First, the frequency with which rural genre painting and religious genre painting were displayed at the Salon during this period was similar. The two trends appear linked. Second, there are almost no images of industry. Confirming what art historians have stated, factories, railroads, and other industrial phenomena are largely excluded from the Salon.[77]

Combining the full sample of rural genre paintings summarized by figures 6 and 7 with census and other data about nineteenth-century France facilitates the use of statistical tests to trace the interaction between social and economic change, and change in the art world. Table 2 provides summary statistics for the data used throughout the remainder of this section. Figure 14 presents the results of correlations between the proportion of landscape painting and rural genre painting, and the national socioeconomic data. There are no statistically significant correlations between the output of landscape painting and any of the explanatory variables. However, there are several for rural genre painting. Specifically, a decrease in the cost of travel from Paris is correlated with greater amounts of rural genre painting; the number of major cities is positively correlated with the frequency of display of rural genre painting. Contrary to this correlation, agricultural employment share is also positively correlated with an increase in the amount of rural genre painting displayed. However, this effect is attributable to the shortened time-series for agricultural employment (1855 and later.) After this date, both national rates of agricultural employment and the share of rural genre painting on display slowly but steadily declined.

Time-series analyses with national numbers about social and economic change present problems for two reasons. The first is that there were only forty-three Salons between 1831 and 1881; the number of possible observations is limited. Second, economic development in France was highly piecemeal—different parts of the country developed at very different paces, in different ways, and with highly variable intensity.[78] Therefore, this article uses panel regressions with departmental data and information culled from the Whiteley Index and paintings' titles about the locations within France that landscape and rural genre paintings depicted. Rather than use shares of paintings displayed as the dependent variable, these regressions use absolute numbers (see figs. 6 and 7) and include a variable for the size of the Salon in a given year.

There were approximately ninety departments in France between 1831 and 1880, a period for which a full selection of relevant social and economic data is available. There are good social and economic data available at the department-level throughout much of the nineteenth century, although particularly after 1840. Using departmental data, the number of observations can be multiplied by up to a factor of 89. (I exclude Corsica, which does not have consistent data available.) These data are then combined with information from titles about the location of each painting's subject. Figures 15 and 16 show how many rural genre and landscape paintings were tagged with an identifiable location over time.[79] While this strategy increases the number of overall observations, it increases them more successfully for landscape painting than for rural genre painting. There are only around 500 rural genre paintings with French geographic tags, while there are four times as many landscapes identified with a specific department. The small number of geographically identified rural genre paintings means regression results where rural genre painting is the dependent variable are less robust than those where landscape painting is the dependent variable.

Each department had a socioeconomic and artistic profile linked to its transport connections, artist presence in the form of artists' colonies, the structure of its economy, and its population's propensity to be involved in labour unrest. These attributes can be linked to questions about paintings' connections to modernizing trends. If the Salon-going public or the jury's members were nervous about labour unrest in general, they may have avoided depicting departments that had recent labour troubles. If the primary reason for more interest in (and images of) rural settings and life during the nineteenth century was greater contact with the countryside facilitated by better transport, then paintings of departments with more rail connections should be more common.

To better facilitate the interpretation of the regression results, it is helpful to divide the explanatory variables into supply-side and demand-side effects. Of course, the Salon data are not price data from contemporary auctions or dealer records—it is not a market of buyers and sellers. Instead, the exhibition stood at the centre of a constellation of political, intellectual, and aesthetic pressures. How can one identify supply and demand in this complex system? Suppliers were the artists who had submitted their works for exhibition. The jury—those who decide which works to admit—is the primary component of demand, although it was subject to significant public and political pressures.

Some variables are easily characterized as either supply- or demand-side. For example, the increasing number of artists' colonies is clearly supply-side. These communities providing a creative infrastructure in the countryside had a direct effect on artists and an extremely limited—if any—effect on the Salon jury. In the context of nineteenth-century France, however, most social and economic variables could affect cultural production from both sides of the interaction between supply and demand.

Consider the growth of the railways, which in this project is measured by the price of rail travel between each *départment* and Paris.[80] The most basic assumption is that the railway is a supply-side variable, because it allows artists to access and paint the countryside. However, an argument can also be made that the railway shapes demand. First, in an abstract way, the growth of the railway may influence the public's and jury members' feelings—either positively or negatively—about the modernization of France. Second, more concretely, if the railway connects a rural region to Paris or another major city, it is not only artists who can travel to that newly connected region, but jury members and art audiences as well. People may demand images of where they have travelled to or perhaps the places from which they emigrated.[81] Finally,

returning briefly to the supply side, a number of painters—including Millet, Breton, and Courbet—were among the emigrants moving from newly connected regions to the capital. (Figure 17 confirms that, throughout the period examined, rural genre painters were usually born outside of the capital and moved to Paris for work.) Thus, it is difficult to determine how the railway may have affected cultural output and the strength of that effect.

To resolve this conundrum, one can use a time lag. Artists frequently did not paint and display paintings in the same year; instead, it could take several months or years to complete a work sufficiently large and polished for display at the Salon. The lag better recreates the environment in which the artists were working. If the lagged social variables help to recreate the artists' creative context, what does analysing the variables without lags accomplish? It recreates the context in which the admissions jury, which did make its decisions within one year, accepted paintings. Using lags, one can disaggregate the effects of social variables on supply (artists) and demand (jurors and the pressures they faced). In general, lagged results were not significantly different from regressions in which explanatory variables were not lagged. Therefore, the regressions with the lagged variables are presented in Appendix B. There is one notable exception to this characterization: labour unrest, which had a greater effect in the lagged model. This difference will be discussed below.

Full statistical results for the models without lags are presented in tables 3 and 4; standard errors are clustered at the department-level to control for heteroscedasticity.[82] The first clear result is that the advent of artists' colonies had a greater effect on the depiction of a department than any other variable measured. Although the results are slightly more complicated for rural genre painting than for landscape, the presence of an artists' colony generally had a positive effect on likelihood of a department's depiction. Artists' colonies provided several

amenities to artists. They often had a low cost of living and were home to locals amenable to having artists in their village. The artists also provided one another with instruction, support, and inspiration. Colonies were infrastructure that simultaneously allowed artists to come into greater contact with a rural environment and encouraged the production of more canvases.[83] If more artists could have easier access to painting *en plein air* in the countryside, they would produce more images of nature and rural life. Furthermore, as has been demonstrated for other clusters of artists, working within a group could improve the quality of art an artist made.[84] Higher quality works created in a collaborative setting may have been more likely to be accepted by the Salon jury. These findings are consistent with earlier research about clusters of artists in urban settings.

The effect of travel prices between a department and Paris reinforces the first point about accessibility: the more accessible the countryside became by rail, the more often it was depicted. The effect is recorded as negative because the independent variable is an index of the cost of rail travel from Paris to an outlying department. As the price of travel increased, the number of paintings of that location decreased; inversely, as the cost of travel decreased, depictions increased.

The addition of year and department dummy variables significantly altered the results of the panel regressions. The results for "Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department" in table 3 illustrate this. Before the addition of any dummies, its effect is statistically significant and negative. This effect remains consistent after the addition of year dummies. However, it changes when one adds department dummies—its effect becomes positive and no longer statistically significant. This pattern of dilution indicates that a variable has clear cross-sectional effects on the production of paintings, effects the departmental dummies then eliminate. This is evidence that the variable has a stable, long-term impact across departments, though it does not explain

variations over time. For this variable, it means that departments with more affordable train access were depicted more often. However, departments where the price of travel changed significantly within the time of the sample (i.e., during the mid-nineteenth century) were not necessarily more frequently the subjects of landscape paintings because of this recent change. Rather, the legacy of access—and of not changing access—influences artistic output. Other variables follow this pattern of having a statistically significant effect prior to the addition of departmental dummies and then losing significance or changing direction (or both) once the departmental dummies are added. This is true, for example, for the share of a department's workforce employed in agriculture.

The presence of tourist attractions is only significant, and is positive, once department dummies are added. This pattern of coefficients suggests that it is not the presence of a a seaside resort or mountain spa town that encourages depiction in landscape or rural genre painting, but rather the addition of new tourist attractions over time. A quick survey of the types of tourist attractions developing in the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrates why this is true. As the century progressed, tourism in "authentic" French rural destinations—like Brittany, where traditional ways of life and dress remained intact until the twentieth century—became increasingly popular.[85]

As with tourist attractions, one has to look beyond simply the presence of artist colony to what kind of artists' colony was present to understand some results. A survey of artists' colonies active during the nineteenth century indicates why new artists' colonies added during the sample had a negative effect on rural genre painting, but a positive one on landscape painting. Colonies that produced large amounts of rural genre painting for the Salon—such as Barbizon, Pont-Aven, and other villages in Finistère—were all founded in the 1820s and '30s. They are stable

throughout the sample.[86] Newer colonies, such as those founded on the Normandy coast, were avant-garde and often focused on the creation of landscape painting. The artists who worked in these new colonies rarely produced rural genre paintings and often did not exhibit at the Salon at all. Thus, the sign becomes negative: the new colonies did not produce much, if any, rural genre painting displayed at the Salon.[87]

Urbanization and strikes and labour activity[88]—central parts of art historians' hypotheses about the links between rural imagery and socioeconomic change—have no consistent effect in the panels where rural genre painting is the dependent variable. For landscape painting, the effect of strikes and labour activity is significant only in the lagged model before fixed effects. The coefficient is negative, meaning artists chose not to depict departments with track records of unrest, just as art historians have suggested. This negative effect is not, however, robust across models.

While not definitive proof of causal relationships, these regressions suggest two conclusions. First, variables linked to accessing the countryside—such as artist colonies and cost of travel—affect the number of depictions of the countryside. The ability to work in a collegial environment in a rural setting not too far from Paris seems to have more greatly affected the frequency of depicting rural environments than did broad changes in the French economy or abstract concerns about the ills of modernization. This differs significantly from the predications of art historians based on the analyses of a handful of well-known rural genre painters.

IV.

In addition to presenting a novel artistic data source, this article has revealed several phenomena. First, counter to assertions in the art historical literature, it has shown that there was

indeed an increase the amount of rural imagery shown at the Paris Salon—but that this increase was more modest than the purported explosion described by art historians. Second, the regression analysis suggests that modernization most affected the frequency of display of rural genre and landscape painting at the Salon by changing the quotidian and seasonal patterns of artists' lives. The founding of artists' colonies—both permanent and seasonal summer communities—had the greatest effect of any variable tested. The ability to spend time away from the city with other artists—though not too far to preclude an easy return to Paris for business or personal purposes—had a profound and statistically significant effect on the artistic output of the period. The increase of depiction of a location as travel prices from Paris to that location further indicates that regular access to the countryside influenced the creation of more images of rural scenes.

For further corroboration of this pattern of artists' movements between rural artists' colonies and the capital, one can return to the artist featured in many art historians' arguments: Jean-François Millet. The artist's own peasant upbringing and his occasional statements about his appreciation of the countryside have been central to the formulation of theories about rural genre painting being a negative reaction against modernization.[89] I will argue, however, that when one moves beyond a few select quotes and stories recounted by the artist's own commercial agent, a different picture of the consummate "peasant painter" emerges.[90]

A collection of 604 of Millet's letters were given to the Louvre in 1927, part of a gift known as the *Legs Moreau-Nélaton*. The manuscript materials are preserved in the Louvre's department of drawings and manuscripts, called the *Cabinet des dessins*. Each item in the Moreau-Nélaton collection is indexed on the Louvre's drawings and manuscript department's *Inventaire du department des Arts graphiques*, complete with Moreau-Nélaton's short

description of the subject of each letter.[91] Emulating the Whiteley Index, I used keywords to categorize Moreau-Nélaton's descriptions of the Millet letters. The descriptions were already digitized and available online from the *Inventaire du department des arts graphiques*. Web-scraping information about the Millet letters from the *Inventaire* provided a dataset that reports the date, recipient, and brief description of the content of each letter. Table 5 shows how the letters were categorized and divided, and what percentage of the letters fell into that category (letters could be double-tagged).

This survey of Millet's letters demonstrates several things about his opinions, and activities that run counter to the germane image of the artist as an anti-urban peasant. First, his primary concerns were ordinary: having enough money, his own wellbeing, and the wellbeing of his family. He was a professional and was concerned more with supporting his children than with stubbornly holding on to his peasant roots. This second point about money and success trumping a will to be a simple "peasant-painter" is further emphasized by the frequency with which he mentions travel to and from Paris in order to transact and participate in the urban Parisian art world. This quantitative survey of Millet's letters paints a picture of a professional modern artist who expends most of his energy coping with the demands of working as a painter, and moving between his rural home in Barbizon and his professional obligations in Paris.

The general results of the panel regressions and this example of Millet's correspondence suggest that artists could select to live in productive rural clusters—affordable rural clusters, in particular—not too far removed from large urban professional and commercial networks. This insight extends the extensive literature about creative clustering. While major cities are known to be the sites of productive creative clusters, there are also satellite or temporary clusters—such as rural artists' colonies—that can form within easy distance of those major cities. These satellite

communities may also influence the content of what artists produce by exposing them to new environments beyond the large cities.

This essay began as an effort to use novel artistic data to evaluate art historical theories about the relationship between art and socioeconomic change in nineteenth-century France. It is fitting, therefore, to conclude with how this study can answer art historians' own concerns about those theories. One of the principal contributors to the study of the socioeconomic history of French art, along with Clark and Herbert, was Linda Nochlin. In a 1989 essay on the social history of art, she highlighted the difficulty of pinpointing the relationship between the social and the art:

> The difficult or thorny issue of mediation is, understandably, often sidestepped by the social history model, leaving a heap of historical or social data on one side of the equation and a detailed analysis of pictorial structure on the other, but never really suggesting how the one implicates the other, or whether, indeed there is really any mutual implication.[92]

In demonstrating that artists are sensitive to modernization in the ways that change where they live, work, and travel, this article has suggested that modernization's otherwise banal effects on the daily lives of artists "mediated"—to use Nochlin's language—the effects of socioeconomic change on nineteenth-century French art.

Appendix A – List of Rural Tags for Genre Painting

Below is an alphabetical list of all of Whiteley's tags that I—in consultation with Dr Whiteley himself—determined to be "rural." Whiteley separately identified landscape painting in a dedicated section of the Index. When landscapes were views of large cities (e.g. Lyon, Bordeaux, etc.), these paintings were excluded from the total and departmental counts of landscapes.

Apple picking and cider making

Beetroot
Bird catchers
Burning and gathering seaweed
Charcoal burners
Colza
Cutting and carrying grass
Excavating sand and gravel
Faggot gatherers
Fairs
Farm and farmyards
Festivities
Foragers
Forest wardens
Gamekeepers
Girls keeping watch over poultry
Gleaning
Going to or coming from the market
Going to or returning from the fair
Growing, picking and pressing grapes
Harvesting
Haymaking
Hemp
Herding goats and cattle
Hoe
Hops
Idylls
Inspector of woods and water
Le retour des champs
Markets
Milk, milking, milkmaids
Oil press
Olive picking
Other crops
Other scenes of rural life
Peasants leaving for the fields or for the town
Peasants returning home
Planting potatoes
Ploughing
Potato picking
"Poste aux choux"
Rural police
Scarecrows
Scything
Sheep shearing
Shepherds and pastoral subjects
Sieving

Sowing
Threshing
Tossing the hay
Trussing
Unspecified crops
Water carriers
Weeding
Wells
Wheat
Winnowing
Woodcutters
Wool-washing

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[1] Rousseau, 'Salon de 1857, les Indépendants', *Le Figaro*, 9 July 1857, p. 5.
[2] Silvestre, 'Salon de 1857', *L'Artiste,* Série 3, Livraison 20, September 1857, p. 33.
[3] Saint-Victoire, 'Salon de 1859', *La Presse*, 28 May 1859, n.p.
[4] Fratello, 'France embraces Millet'.
[5] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*.
[6] See Braudel and Labrousse, *Histoire économique*; Heywood, *Development of the French economy*; Clout, *Agriculture in France*.
[7] Price, *Economic modernization*, pp. 8–11.
[8] Federico and Klein, 'Sectoral developments', p. 80.
[9] Price, *Economic modernization*, p. 12.
[10] Scholars dispute the definition of 'peasant'. See Shanin, 'Peasantry'; Kearney, *Reconceptualizing the peasantry*.
[11] Price, *Economic modernization*, p. 214.
[12] Wylie, *Village in the Vaucluse*; Rosenberg, *Negotiated world*; Thabault, *Education and change*; Burguière, *Bretons de Plozevet*; Price, *Economic modernization*, p. 12.
[13] The foundational works that make this argument are Clark, *Absolute bourgeois*; idem, *Image of the People*; Herbert, 'City vs. country'. For a more detailed account of this argument and its historiography, see Greenwald, 'Painting by numbers', esp. chaps. 1 and 3.
[14] Greenwald, 'Painting by numbers', chap. 4.
[15] Kain, 'Journey-to-work'; Van Ommeren, Rietveld, and Nijkamp, 'Commuting'.
[16] Hellmanzik, 'Location matters'; Borowiecki, 'Geographic clustering'. Elish Kelly and John O'Hagan. "Geographic clustering of economic activity: The case of prominent western visual artists." *Journal of cultural economics* 31, no. 2 (2007): 109-128.
[17] Ginsburgh and Thornsby, eds., *Handbook of the economics of art and culture,*; Goetzmann, Renneboog, and Spaenjers, 'Art and money'; Oosterlinck, 'Art as a wartime investment'.
[18] Kathryn Graddy, "Taste Endures! The Rankings of Roger de Piles (†1709) and Three Centuries of Art Prices," *Journal of Economic History* 73, no. 3 (2013): 766–91; David W. Galenson, *Old Masters and Young Geniuses: The Two Life Cycles of Artistic Creativity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
[19] Ginsburgh and Wyers, 'Persistence and fashion in art'; Ginsburgh, 'Awards, success and aesthetic quality'.
[20] Vaisse, 'Reflections sur la fin du Salon official', p. 117.
[21] Rewald, *History of Impressionism*, pp. 69–138, 271–340; Thompson, *Impressionism*, pp. 122–238; Zarobell, 'Durand-Ruel and the market'.

[22] Boime, *Academy and French art*, pp. 3–4.
[23] Vaisse, in Kearns and Vaisse, '*Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène'*, p. 2.
[24] Ibid., pp. 121–22.
[25] Mainardi, *Art and politics,* p. 11; idem, *End of the Salon*, pp. 15–20.
[26] Boime, *Academy and French art,* pp. 3–4.
[27] Ibid., pp. 7–8.
[28] Ibid., pp. 80–81.
[29] Mainardi, *End of the Salon,* pp. 57–90.
[30] Throughout France during the nineteenth century, municipalities and local groups, usually called *Sociétés des amis des arts*, mounted regular art exhibitions. These shows exhibited the work of both local artists and artists from around the country. Courbet and Delacroix, for example, exhibited regularly outside of the capital. Provincial exhibitions had a more explicitly commercial mission than the Salon. These provincial exhibitions were frequent and large. There were 230 provincial exhibitions recorded between 1816 and 1853, and an average exhibition included 330 artworks, as reported in Mill, 'Artists at the Salon'). Therefore, around 75,000 works were exhibited *en province* during this period, more than 50 per cent of the number of works exhibited at the Salon.
[31] Paul Durand-Ruel, for example, played an essential organizational role in marketing the Impressionists and even organizing some of their exhibitions. Prior to the nineteenth century, 'modern picture dealing'—selling works by living painters—was not common. The earliest art market focused on the sale of old master paintings. The market for contemporary work began to gain momentum and attract a number of dealers during the July Monarchy. See Whiteley, 'Painters and dealers'. Without a detailed study of each dealer, it is difficult to cite the exact frequency and size of the exhibitions they organized. Artists and particular works that appear in the Whiteley Index could have also been included in events organized by dealers.
[32] Meagher, 'Genre painting'; Rosenfeld, 'Salon and the Royal Academy'.
[33] Boime, *Academy and French art*.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Chilvers, 'Valenciennes'.
[36] Galassi, 'Nineteenth century', p. 163.
[37] Galassi, pp. 236–37; Adams, *Barbizon school*, pp. 19–35.
[38] Parinaud, *Barbizon*, pp. 175–85.
[39] Bouret, *École de Barbizon*, pp. 91–101.
[40] Griffiths, 'Jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon', p. 27.
[41] Ibid., pp. 10, 27.
[42] Griffiths, 'Jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon', p. 47.
[43] Brettell and Brettell, *Painters and peasants*, pp. 13–17; e.g., 'Salon de 1831, réouverture, Léopold Robert', *L'Artiste,* Tome I, 19th Livraison, 233 (1831); in the Whiteley Index, there are at least a dozen copies of Robert's painting listed.
[44] Although they exhibited at the Salon, neither Jeanron nor Leleux were educated at the *École des beaux-arts.*
[45] Jones, 'Landscapes, legends, souvenirs, fantasies', pp. 10–12.
[46] Kelley, 'Théodore Rousseau'.
[47] Adams, *Barbizon school*, pp. 57–59; and Bouret, *École de Barbizon*, 91–140.

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[48] Mill, 'Artists at the Salon', pp. 139–40; and Griffiths, 'Jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon', p. 117.
[49] Griffiths, 'Jury of the Paris Fine Art Salon', pp. 53–97.
[50] The new state attempted to establish itself as a major patron of the arts, particularly with monumental public works celebrating the glory of France and its revolutions. The 1848 Salon had no jury, something that had only previously happened in 1791. However, the open Salon did not last after professional artists complained about exhibiting alongside amateurs. The next three Salons transitioned to a jury system, where a general assembly of professional artists elected the jury, and a poll among the same general assembly determined the prize-winners. Brettell and Brettell, *Painters and peasants*, pp. 33–36; Grew, 'Picturing the People'.
[51] Vaisse, 'Reflections sur la fin du Salon officiel', pp. 121–22.
[52] Bouret, *École de Barbizon*, 150–60.
[53] See Ashton, *Rosa Bonheur*, p. 69; Clark, *Absolute bourgeois,* pp. 94–95; idem, *Image of the People*, pp. 121–54.
[54] The two primary contributors to this literature are Patricia Mainardi and Albert Boime. Mainardi believes the imperial administration was largely incompetent and settled on a policy of artistic eclecticism to avoid antagonizing any factions of the art world or the general public (Mainardi, *Art and politics,* pp. 66–96, 123–34). Boime characterizes the imperial administrators as using the fine arts and press censorship to create images of France that functioned as propaganda aimed at the public. According to Boime, rural genre and landscape painting were central to this propagandistic mission. See Boime, 'Second Empire's official realism', pp. 31–2.
[55] Mainardi, *Art and politics,* p. 40.
[56] Boime, 'Second Empire's official realism', pp. 125–3.
[57] Mainardi, *End of the Salon*, pp. 42.
[58] Ibid., 18–19.
[59] Vottero, *Peinture de genre*. For trends in the kinds of submissions until 1851, see Mill, 'Artists at the Salon', pp. 152–3.
[60] Mainardi, *Art and politics,* pp. 151–74. From 1849 until the end of the Salon, information about the prize-winners was available in the Salon catalogues; prize information before that date is harder to find. While Salon reviews in *L'Artiste* mentioned the winners, full lists were only intermittently published. Corot, Daubigny, Diaz, Millet, Rousseau, and the Barbizon affiliate Constant Troyon all won medals and became celebrity artists. Bonheur and Jules Breton—famous for his depictions of the peasants of his native Pas-de-Calais—won medals throughout the Second Empire.
[61] Mainardi, *End of the Salon,* p. 42.
[62] Ibid., p. 74.
[63] Brettell and Brettell, *Painters and peasants*, pp. 75–106; Mainardi, *Art and politics*, pp. 67–68.
[64] 'Millet', *L'Artiste*, 1ère Tome 1874, January 1874, pp. 113–5, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb343612621/date (accessed on 18 May 2016).
[65] 114,455 counted in Janson, *Catalogues of the Paris Salon*.
[66] Jon Whiteley, *Subject index to paintings exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1881* (Oxford, 1993) (unpub., deposited at Sackler Library, Oxford).
[67] As mentioned in the historical overview of French rural genre and landscape painting, it is difficult to distinguish between rural genre and landscape painting. In the Whiteley Index, the distinction between the two types of paintings is simply made by whether the title is primarily

the description of people and their actions or whether it is the description of a physical site. Because landscape paintings greatly outnumber genre paintings, when quantitative tests are carried out grouping rural genre painting and landscape together, the results closely resemble those carried out with landscape painting alone.

[68] Jon Whiteley, introduction to *Subject index to paintings exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1870* (Oxford, 1993) (unpub., deposited at Sackler Library, Oxford).

[69] Petersen, 'Titles, labels and names'; Levinson, 'Titles'.

[70] Ginsburgh, 'Awards, success and aesthetic quality'.

[71] Lehning, *Peasant and French*, pp. 1–34.

[72] Clark, *Image of the People*; idem, *Absolute bourgeois*; Herbert, 'City vs. country'.

[73] Braudel and Labrousse, *Histoire économique*; O'Brien and Keyder, *Economic growth*; Price, *Economic modernization*.

[74] The specificity of the Salon Index subject headings allows paintings to be grouped into these categories. Millet's *Sower,* Bouguereau's *The Reaper* (1872), and Théodore Richard's *Woodcutters: Interior of the Forest* (1832) are examples of paintings categorized as 'Work' in Figure 6**.** Troyon's *Leaving for the Market* (1859) is tagged both as 'Coming and Going' and as 'Markets and Fairs', while Lhermitte's *Apple Market, Landernau, Finistère* (c. 1878) is tagged only as 'Markets and Fairs'. Demay's *La Fête du Village* (1834) is tagged as 'Festivities and Relaxation'. There is some double tagging—such as for Troyon's painting—but it is rare; fewer than 10 per cent of the rural genre paintings have two or more tags.

[75] Lehning, *Peasant and French*, pp. 1–34; Rogers, 'Good to Think'.

[76] It is tagged both as 'wheat' and 'benedictions, blessings, and holy water'.

[77] There were few images of industry; however, the universal exhibitions of 1855 and 1867 (both of which are referenced in the index) had fine arts and industrial components (see Mainardi, *Art and politics,* pp. 123–34).

[78] Crouzet, 'Historiography of French economic growth'; Clout, *Land of France*; Hohneberg, 'Change in rural France'.

[79] A painting is considered to be of a specified location when that location is mentioned in its title. For example, the painting *The Harvest of the Olives near Menton* (Whiteley Index number 1864–1401; no image found) is tagged as French and more specifically as set in Menton, Alpes-Maritime. Not all titles that include a geographic location refer to a place as specific as a town. Sometimes, only a country is mentioned, or the country is implied by an adjective in the title, such as Ernest Hébert's *Italian Shepherd* (Whiteley Index number 1849–1124; no image found). Of the paintings without a specified geographic location, it is difficult to know whether the audience saw the peasants depicted as French. The subjects may have been wearing recognizable regional dress, or French viewers may have assumed that any otherwise indistinctive contemporary peasant depicted was a Frenchman or woman. Unfortunately, without an explicit location listed, one cannot know the audience's perception of a painting's geographical setting.

[80] Travel price data provided in Guillaume Daudintel et al., 'The cultural diffusion of the fertility transition: internal migrations in nineteenth century France', working paper, http://eh.net/eha/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Daudinetal.pdf (accessed on 14 December 2017).

[81] A major contribution to the consumption of landscape painting during this period was Baron Justin Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* (1820–78). Discussion of this publication is beyond the scope of the Whiteley Index and this article. However, like landscape painting generally, it has been subject to several demand-side

explanations. See, for example, Boime, ‘Second Empire’s official realism’, p. 161; Grad and Riggs, *Visions of city and country*, pp. 15–91; and Green, *Spectacle of nature*.

[82] The regressions run here use the standard xtreg panel regression command in Stata. At the request of peer reviewers also ran regressions with xtregar command to further control for autocorrelation. These results were not appreciably different, and therefore results presented in included tables are those using xtreg.

[83] Nina Lübbren, *Rural Artists' Colonies in Europe, 1870–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 15–64.

[84] Hellmanzik, ‘Location matters’.

[85] Rogers, ‘Which Heritage?’; Young, *Enacting Brittany*.

[86] Lübbren, pp. 165–77.

[87] Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy coast*, pp. 61–93.

[88] Tilly et al., *Strikes and labour activity in France*.

[89] Greenwald, chap. 4.

[90] Murphy et al., Jean-François Millet; Parsons, ‘Patrons and Collectors’; Sensier, Jean-François Millet; McWilliam and Parsons, ‘“Le Paysan de Paris”’; Fratello, ‘France embraces Millet’.

[91] ‘Inventaire du departement des Arts graphiques’, Musée du Louvre, Départment des Arts graphiques, http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr (accessed on 8 August 2016).

[92] Nochlin, *Politics of vision*, p. xv.

Figure 1

Jean-François Millet, *The Gleaners,* 1857, oil on canvas, 83.5 x 110 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Source: RMN (Musée d'Orsay)/ Jean Schormans.

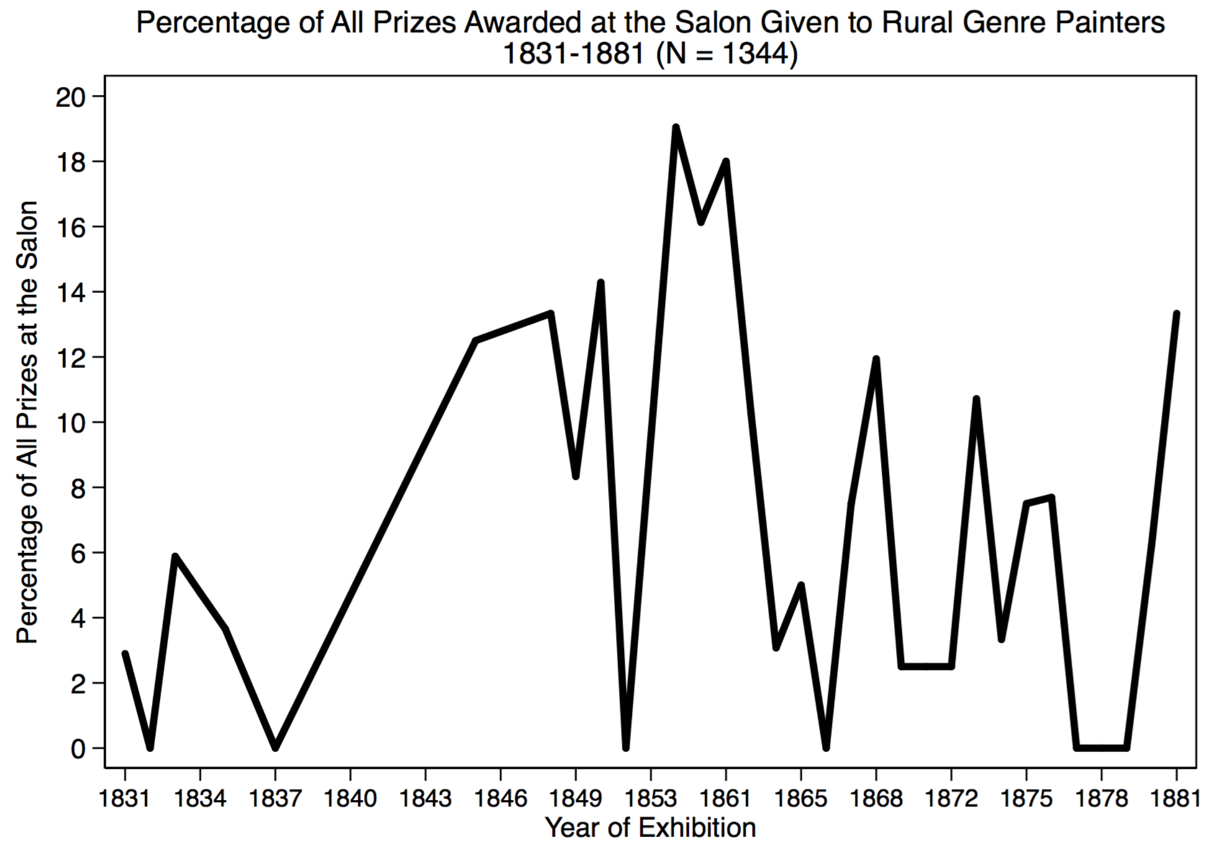
Figure 2

Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), French, *The Sower,* 1850, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 82.6 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3

Gustave Courbet, *Burial at Ornans,* 1849-50, oil on canvas, 315 x 668 cm, Musée d’Orsay, Paris. Souce: RMN-Musée d’Orsay/Hervé Lewandowski.

Figure 4



Sources: *L'Artiste* (1831-1881), URL: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb343612621/date; Garland Publishing, *Catalogues of the Paris Salons,* New York: Garland Publishing, 1977.

Figure 5

GENRE

Ploughing: 1795-242; 1796-27, 199; 1834-112; 1845-159; 1847-167; 1849-204; 1850-2136; 1855-4094; 1859-1546; 1865-1978; 1870-3123.

Sowing: 1850-2221; 1859-1425; 1873-1062; 1879-2444; 1880-595; 1881-116, 1823.

Harvesting: ~~1737 p. 9; 1739 p. 21; 1751-2; 1775-80; 1777-59; 1783-23;~~ 1795-119; 1799-70; 1819-1627; 1827-825; 1831-1913, 2745, 2836; 1833-123, 465, 1108, 2274, 3181; 1834-848, 912; 1835-589, 1501; 1837-179, 340, 680, 1703; 1838-860, 1092, 1213, 1241; 1839-864, 968; 1840-613; 1841-340, 937, 1049; 1842-13; 1843-489; 1844-740, 1376, 1801; 1845-1512; 1846-240, 513, 1091; 1847-104, 333, 642, 652, 879, 1203, 1647; 1848-1664, 2680, 3794; 1849-1124, 1199; 1850-1378, 2746, 3035; 1852-309, 658; 1853-92, 174, 526, 586, 837, 963, 1149; 1855-3173, 3281, 3444; 1857-190, 349, 1222, 1592, 1698, 1967, 2149; 1859-467, 804, 1092, 1559, 1916, 2380, 2436, 2945, 2946, 2973, 3044; 1861-637, 833, 1057, 1077, 1685, 2785, 3043, 3056; 1863-27, 143, 154, 340, 668, 744, 1251, 1272, 1538; 1863R-441; 1864-157, 675, 1273, 2085; 1865-179, 417, 862, 1574; 1866-739, 1913; 1867-672, 849; 1868-745, 746, 748, 1543, 2418, 3087; 1869-942, 1467, 2003; 1872-182, 950, 1268; 1873-1131; 1874-395, 546, 1216, 2384, 2588; 1875-834, 1231, 1786, 2572, 2813; 1876-731, 751, 1003, 1125, 1720; 1877-160, 401, 722, 998, 1226, 1544, 1946, 2765, 3520; 1878-381, 601, 1640, 2430, 3488; 1879-4649; 1880-150, 288, 306, 463, 1672, 1752, 2016, 2708, 2751, 2787, 2923, 3263, 3407, 3606, 4504, 5310, 5980; 1881-882, 2271, 2332, 2569.

Gleaning: 1801-75; 1806-128; 1812-571; 1814-1351; 1824-433, 1509; 1831-1565; 1834-336; 1840-1518; 1842-649, 1308; 1849-320; 1850-2438; 1855-2541, 2628; 1857-1322, 1936, 2639; 1859-409; 1861-2135; 1863-748, 1350, 1669; 1864-356, 1406, 2375; 1865-385; 1866-1523, 2595; 1868-1705; 1870-1647; 1873-163; 1876-115; 1877-302; 1878-1331, 1898; 1879-1111, 1517; 1880-59, 1297; 1881-192, 336.

Wheat: 1850-41; 1853-744; 1855-2804; 1857-381; 1863R-446; 1864-1585; 1865-677, 1530; 1870-2334; 1873-1304; 1874-1052, 1366, 1411; 1875-2313; 1876-678; 1878-3940; 1881-2257.

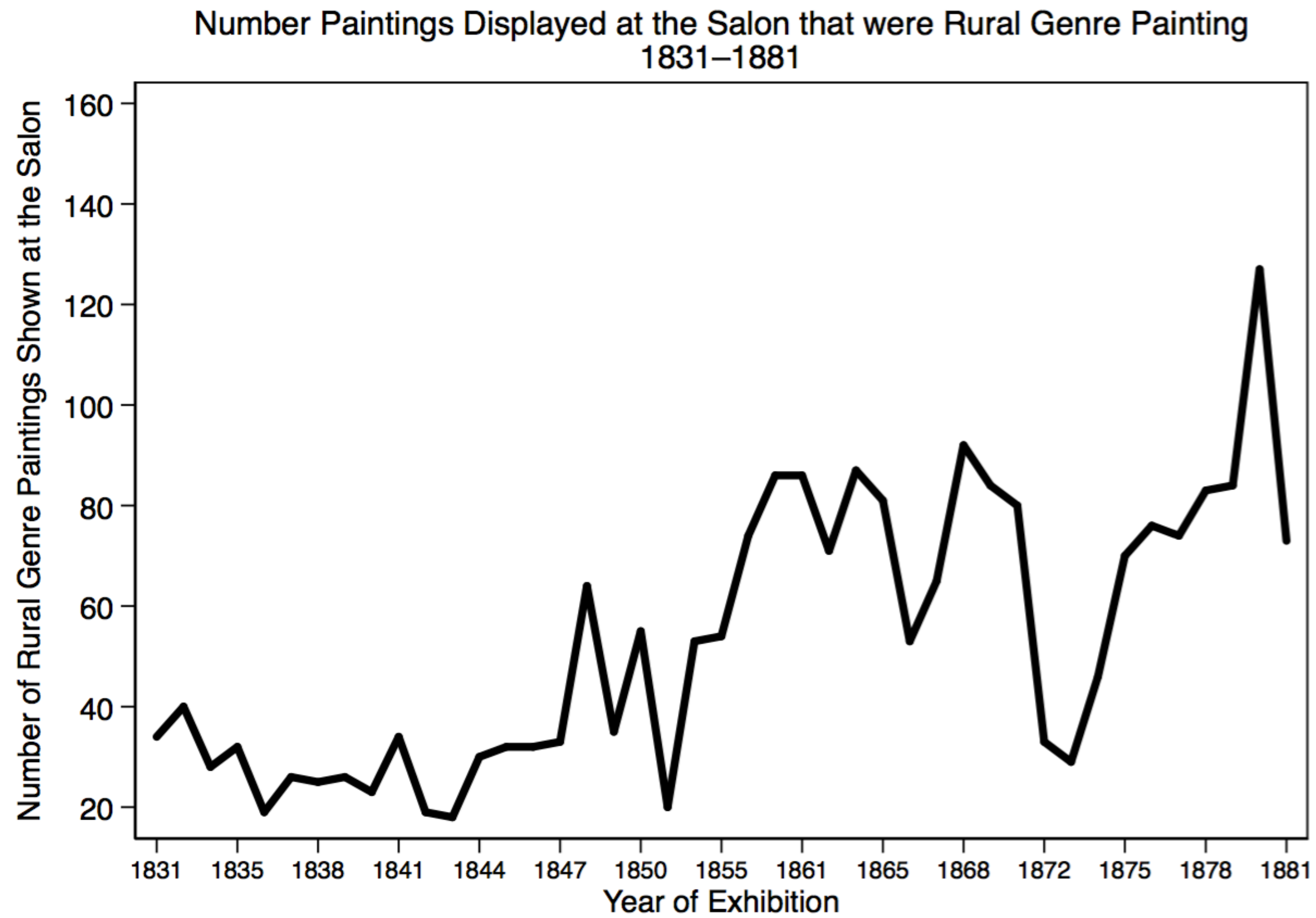
Winnowing: 1808-270; 1819-392; 1845-1038; 1848-3341; 1855-3565; 1857-1550; 1861-1409, 2738; 1863-748; 1864-3257; 1866-605, 1188; 1867-587, 1214, 1326; 1868-730, 2121; 1869-932; 1870-2838, 3428; 1874-1052; 1876-1970; 1877-1857; 1878-730; 1879-2004, 2016, 3443; 1880-2161, 5067.

Sieving: 1855-2804.

Threshing: 1819-528; 1840-90; 1857-1695; 1876-678.

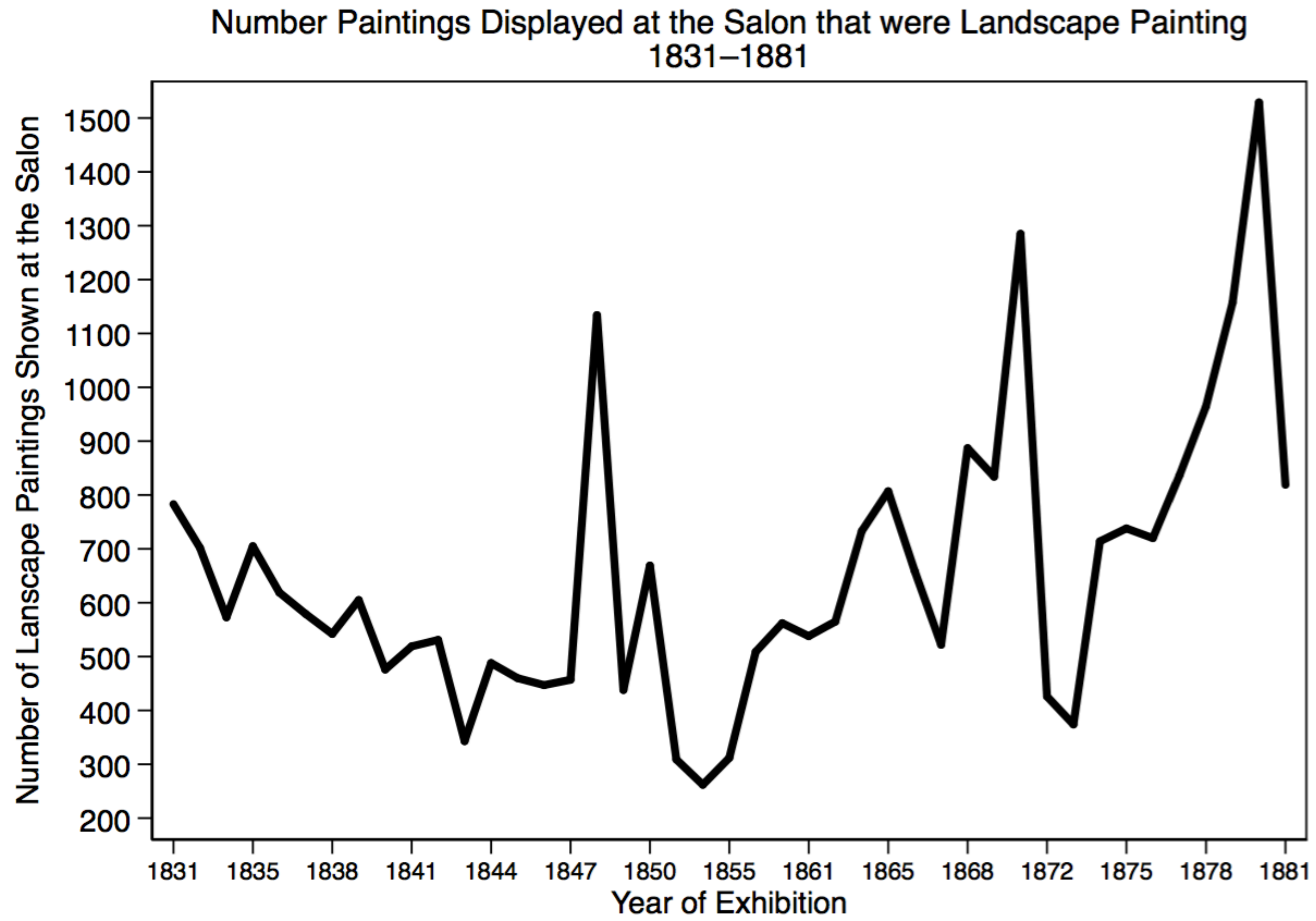
Page 207 from Jon Whiteley, *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673-1881,* 1993, Volume 2. Image provided courtesy of Dr. Jon Whiteley, Honorary Curator, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK.

Figure 6



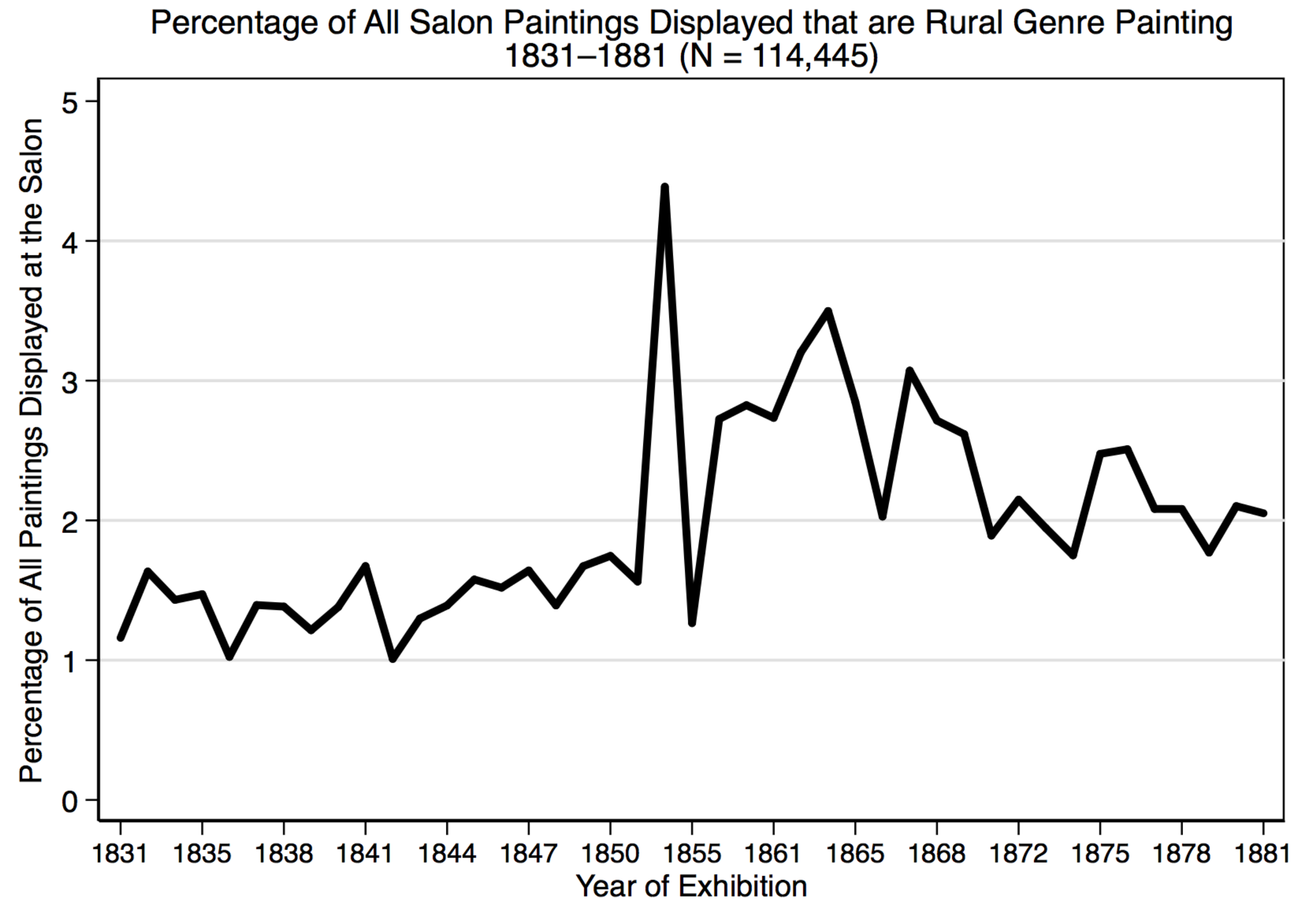
Sources: Jon Whiteley, *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673-1881,* 1993, Volume 2; Garland Publishing, *Catalogues of the Paris Salons,* New York: Garland Publishing, 1977.

Figure 7



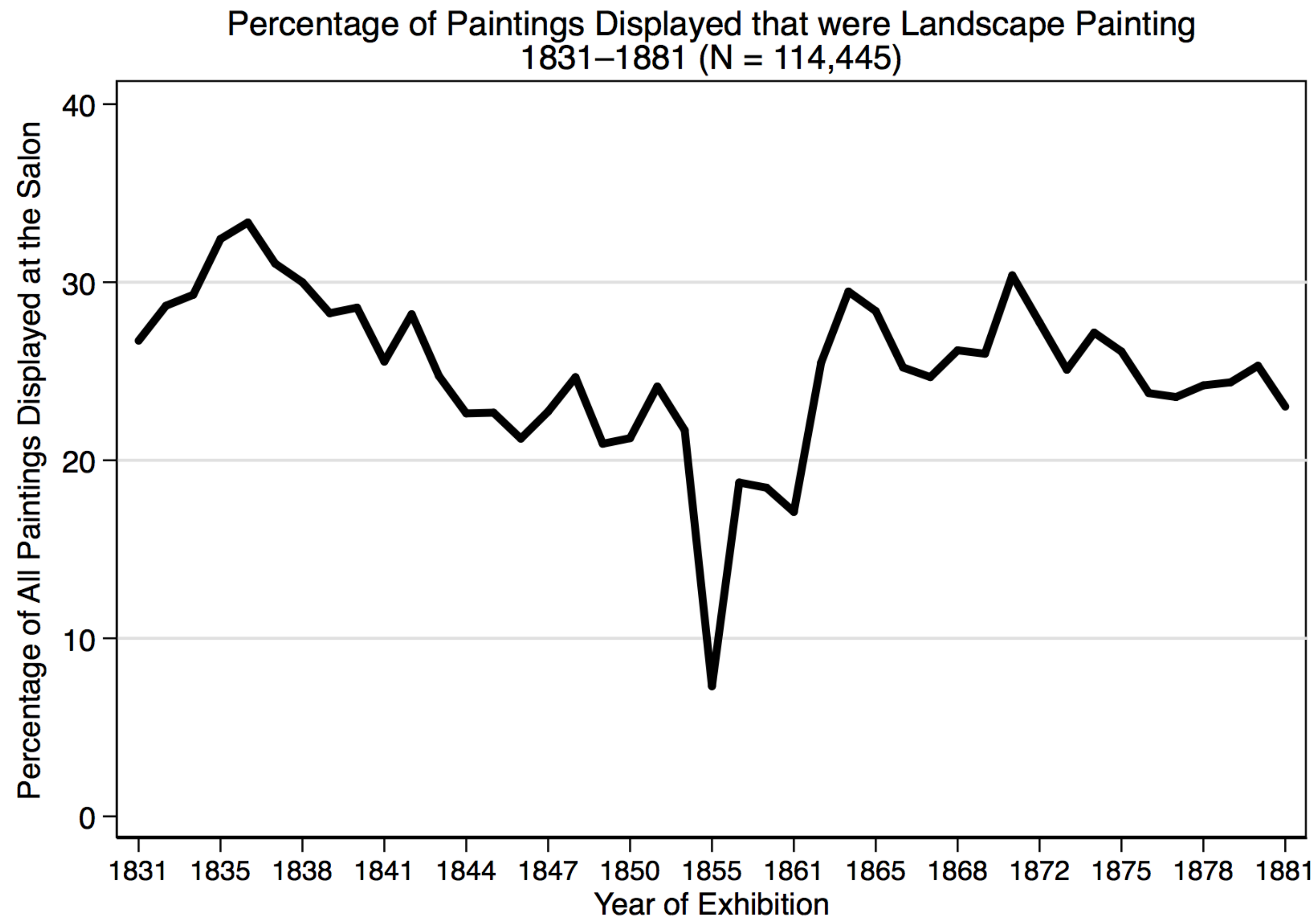
Sources: See Figure 6.

Figure 8



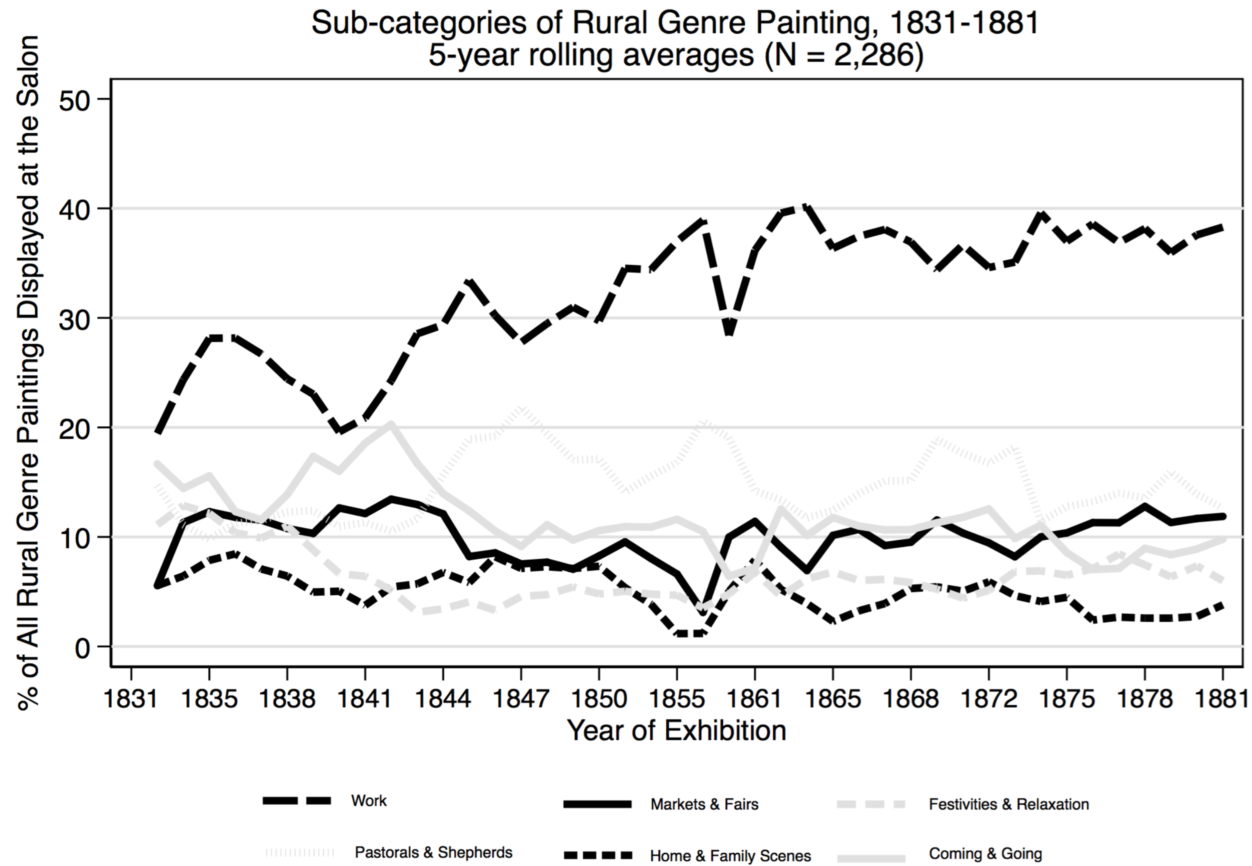
Sources: See Figure 6.

Figure 9



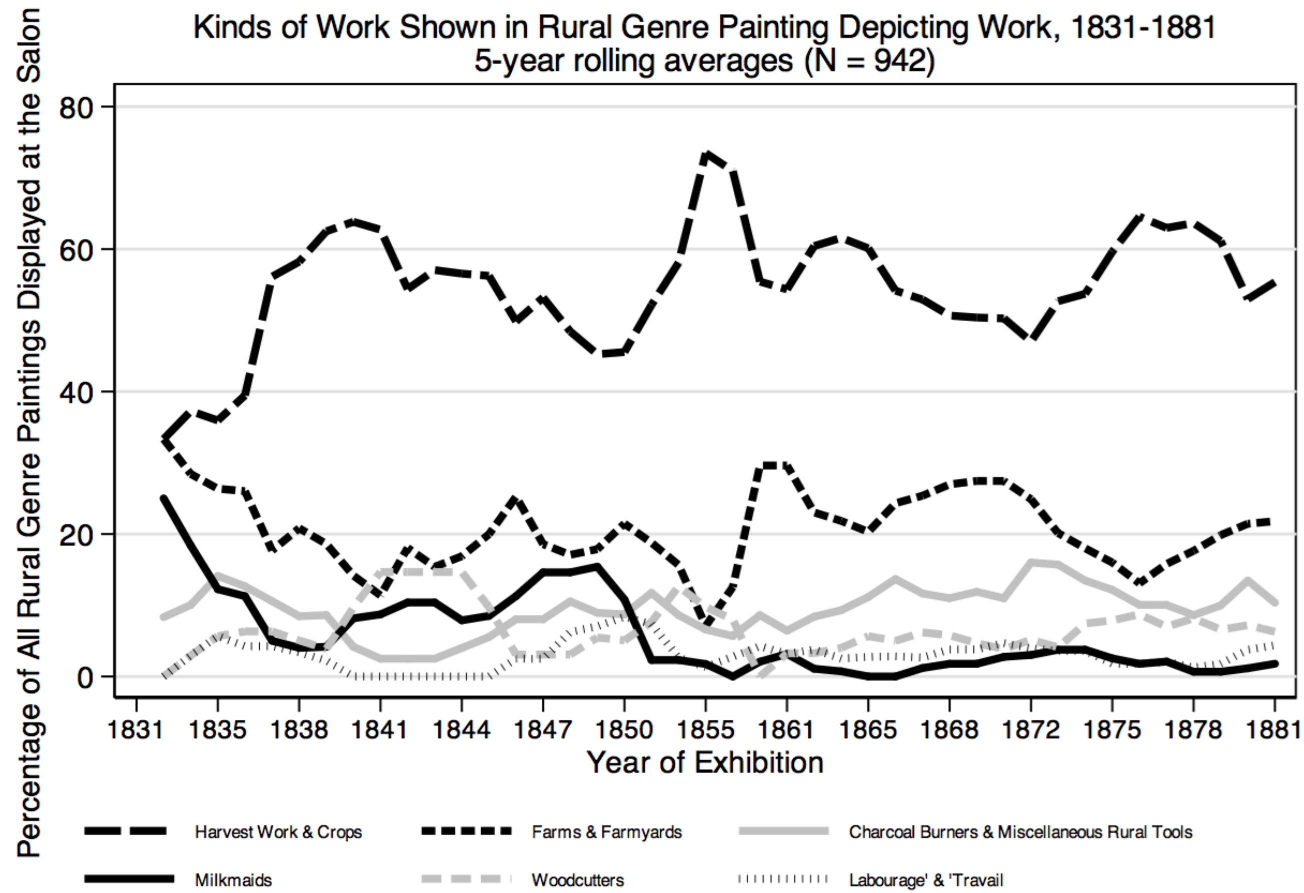
Sources: See Figure 6.

Figure 10



Source: See Figure 6.

Figure 11



Source: See Figure 6.

Figure 12

Jules Adolphe Aimé Louis Breton (1827-1906), French, *La bénédiction des blés en Artois,* 1857, oil on canvas, 130 x 320 cm, Musée des beaux-arts d'Arras [tagged as both "Wheat" and "Benedictions" in the Whiteley Index]

Figure 13

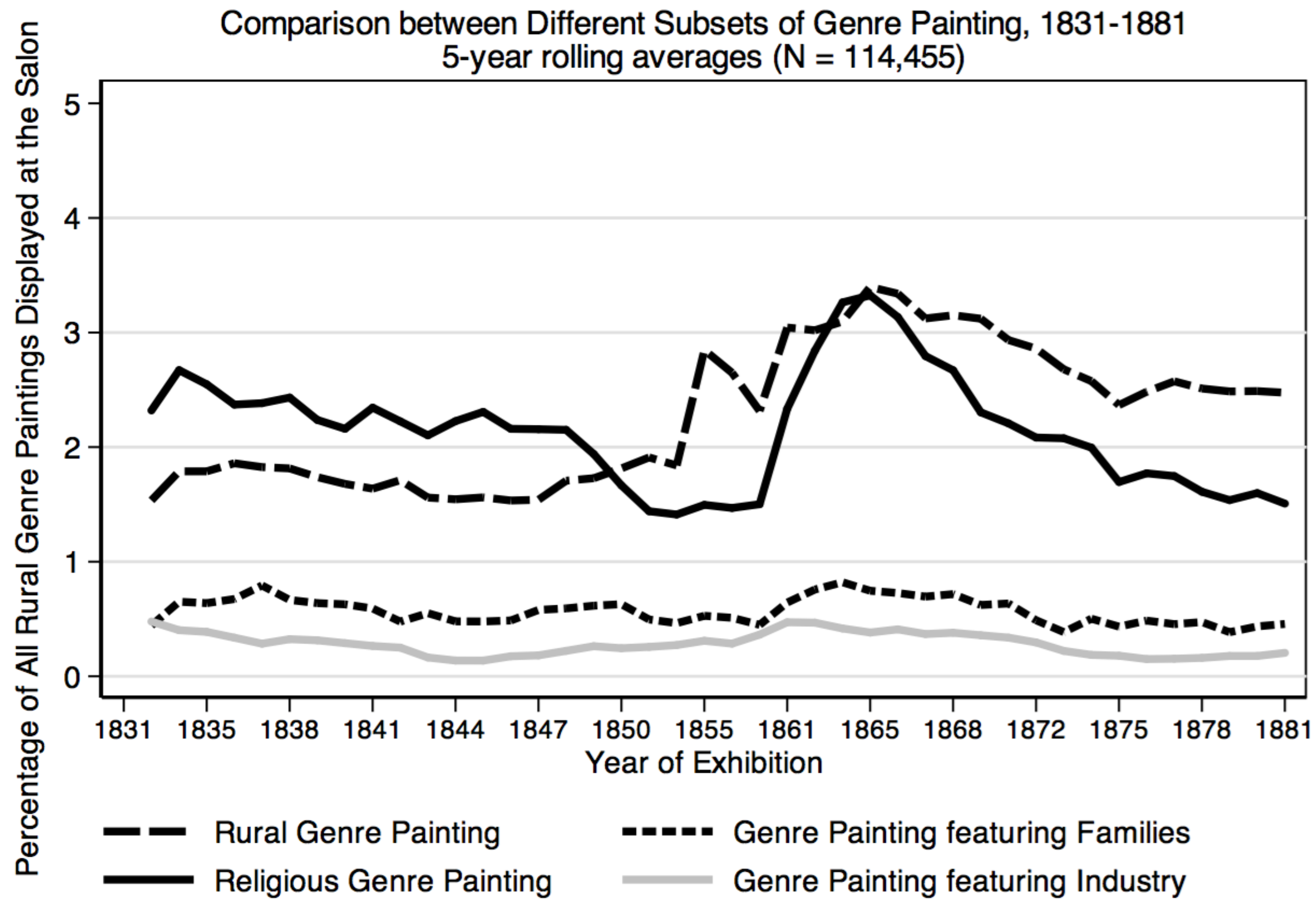


Figure 14

	Landscape Painting (% of paintings displayed at the Salon)	Percent Rural Genre Painting (% of paintings displayed at the Salon)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to *province (Index of Cost)*	-0.2285	-0.4723*
Number of Strikes and Other Labor Activities Nationally in a given year	0.0091	0.0352
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 15,000 in France)	-0.1564	0.5559*
Share of Working Population Employed in Agriculture	-0.2172	0.6706*

Figure 15

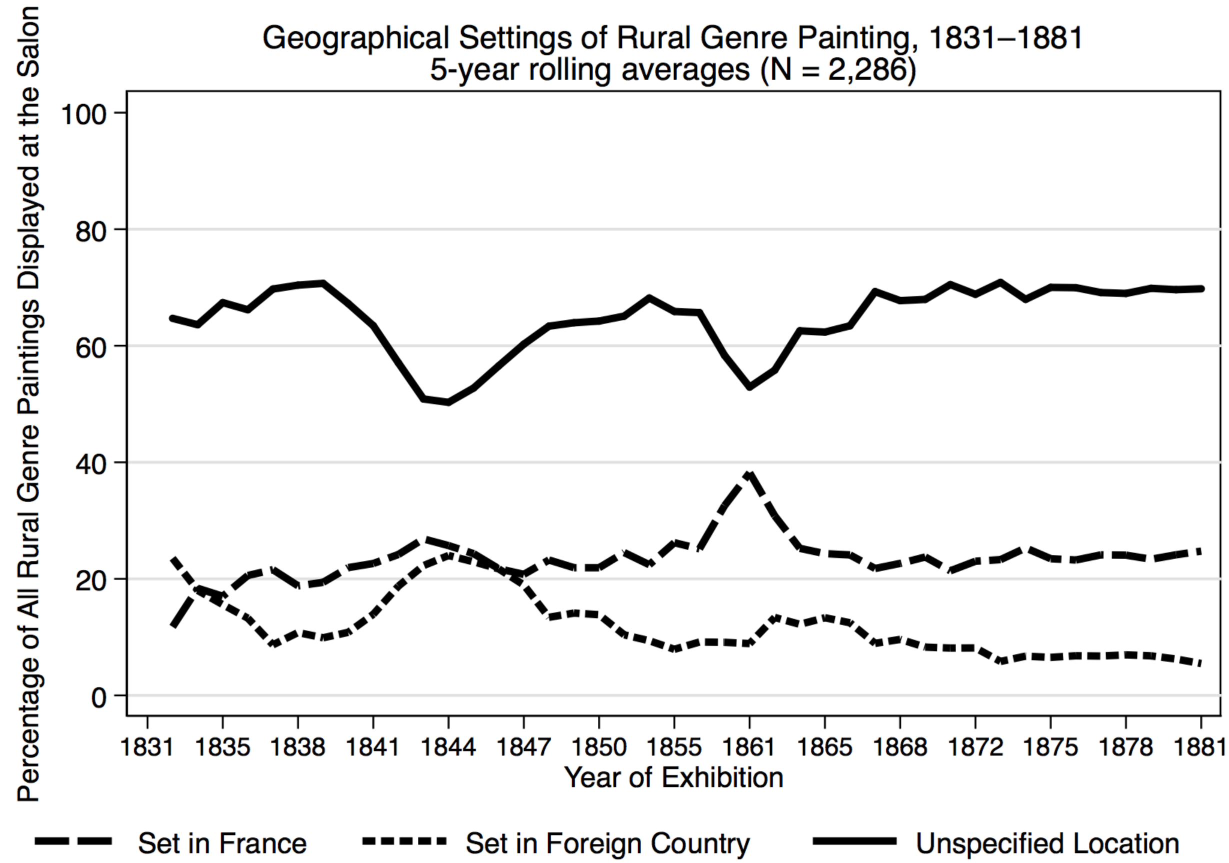


Figure 16

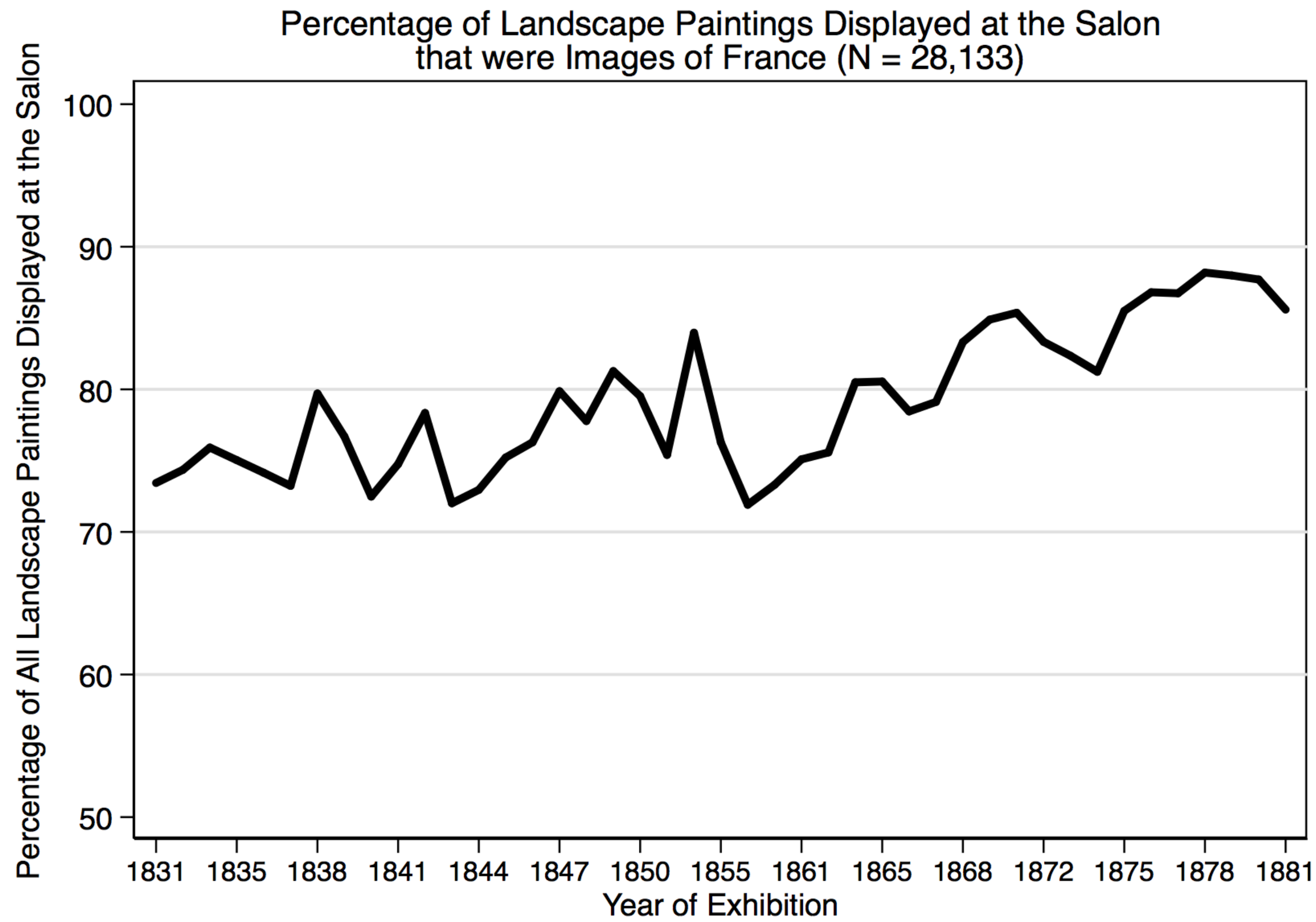
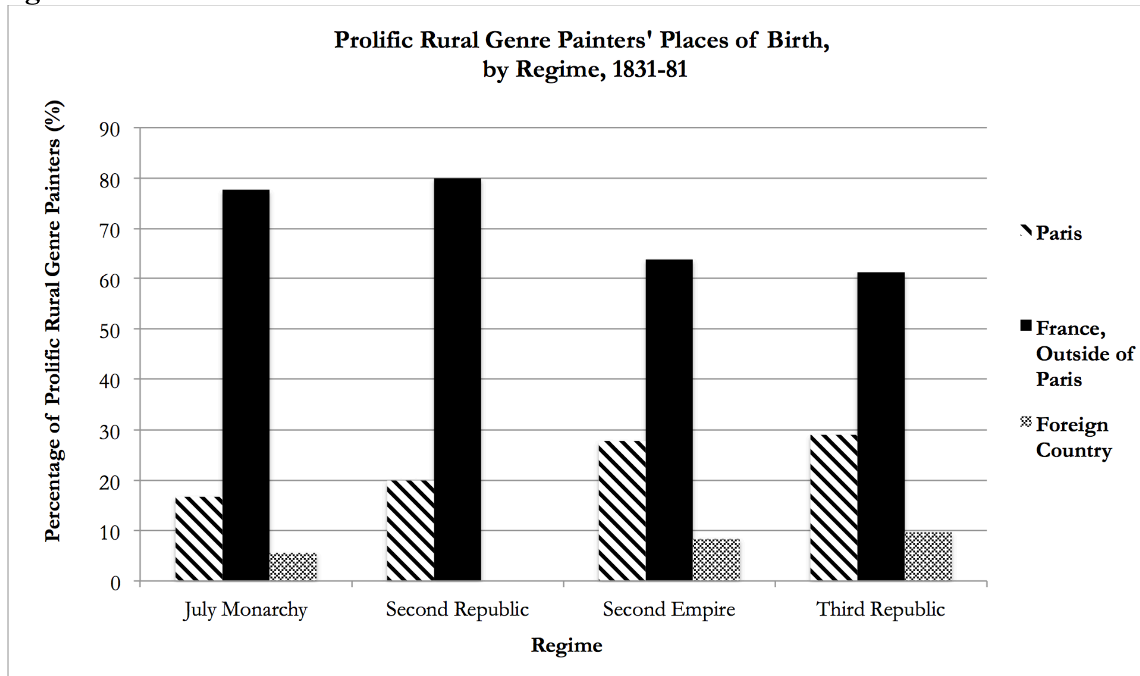


Figure 17



Sources: Analysis of birthplaces completed using Getty Union List of Artist Birthplaces and Bellier de la Chavignerie, Emile & Louis Auvray, *Dictionnaire général des artistes de l'école française,* (Paris, 1880-85).

Table 1: Size of Salon and Admissions Rates, 1827 - 1881

Salon Year	Number of Paintings Displayed	Percentage of all submissions accepted (%)
1827	1052	50
1831	2931	93
1833	2448	78
1834	1956	80
1835	2174	75
1836	1856	59
1837	1865	60
1838	1807	59
1839	2141	69
1840	1666	47
1841	2032	64
1842	1883	54
1843	1387	41
1844	2156	66
1845	2029	57
1846	2107	52
1847	2010	48
1848	4598	100
1849	2093	50
1850	3150	46
1852	1280	-
1853	1208	-
1855	4267^	25 (for French artists)
1857	2715	"Lenient" (description from Mainardi, p. 116)
1859	3045	-
1861	3146	-
1863	2217*	30
1864	2487	70
1865	2844	-
1866	2614	-
1867	2116	~33
1868	3389	-
1869	3210	-
1870	4229	-
1872	1536	-
1873	1491	-
1874	2628	-
1875	2827	-
1876	3029	-
1877	3554	-
1878	3987	-
1879	4746	-
1880	6042	-
1881	3559	-

Totals calculated from Salon livrets (Garland, 1977). Admissions data from 1827 -50 from Griffiths (2013); all other admissions data from Mainardi (1987). *This number includes the works included in the Salon des Refusés, which is included in the Whiteley index. ^This is works shown in the Expoisition Universelle of 1855, included a generous allowance for foregin artists exhibiting.

Table 2: Summary Statistics for Dependent and Independent Variables

Dependent Variables	**Observations**	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Minimum**	**Maximum**
Number Salon Paintings that are Rural Genre Showing Select Department	3722	0.09	0.3532224	0	5
Number Salon Painting that are Landscape Showing Select Department	3722	3.95	9.058743	0	138
Independent Variables					
Number of Tourist Attractions in Department[1]	3722	0.803	1.471	0	13
Number of Artists' Colonies in Department[2]	3722	0.0892	0.438	0	3
Number of Major Cities in Dept & Neighboring Dept[3]	3722	3.256	1.681	0	11
Labor & Strike Activity in Dept[4]	3722	0.137	0.905	0	26
Average Price of Travel to Dept from Paris[5]	2911	33.789	19.302	1.317	104.409
Agricultural Employment Share[6]	1860	0.5660525	0.1410244	0.018829	0.838372

[1]Information about the number of tourist attractions in a department comes from Paul Bouju, et. al., Atlas Historique de la France contemporaine, 1800-1965 (Paris, 1996 and Karl Baedeker, *Paris and its Environs*, 6thed.Leipzig, 1878. This provides two surveys (1838, 1869, 1878) of the number of tourist attraction in every department; this number is held constant between the years where updated information is provided; observations before 1838 are listed as missing.[2] Information about rural artists' colonies and their dates of founding are from Lübbren, Rural Artists' Colonies in Europe (2001) and Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast* (1994).The variable is a total number of colonies in a department, therefore it is either always increasing or stable. It should be noted that 95% of French départments had no artist colony. [3]Information abou the number of cities in a department and neighboring departments comes from Dupeux, *Atlas historique de l'Urbanisation de la France* (1981). This provides population information for cities every ten years. While the French census treated any community of more than 2,000 people, I have designated a "major city" as 15,000 people or more. Numbers are held steady between the 10 year reporting of how many major cities were in or near a *département.* [4] Charles Tilly, et. al., "Strikes and Labor Activity in France, 1830-1960" (Cambridge, 1974) is an annual database of strikes and labor activity, by department. The variable is simply this absolute annual number. [5]Data about the average price of travel from Paris to another department was provided by Daudin, Guillaume, Raphaël Franck, Hillel Rapoport "Costs of travel within French departments, 1840—80." Provided via email by G. Daudin July 2014. Prices quoted every ten years; linear interpolation used between observations. [6]Information from French Census in Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. "Social, Demographic, and Educational Data for France, 1801–1897". Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Con- sortium for Political and Social Research, Feb. 20, 2009. (ICPSR00048-v1) http: //doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR00048.v1. Regular accounting of department-level agricultural employment share only available from 1855 forward.

Table 3: Factors Influencing the Number of Landscape Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1831 – 1881

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	12.913***	12.778***	6.396***	6.019***	12.876***	12.847***	5.670***	5.186***
	(48.25)	(47.78)	(3.02)	(3.23)	(38.51)	(38.13)	(4.67)	(4.54)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	-0.058***	-0.071***	0.007	0.075	-0.087***	-0.089***	0.017	0.143
	(-8.39)	(-9.60)	(0.36)	(1.15)	(-6.45)	(-6.44)	(0.45)	(1.65)
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments	-0.107	-0.100	0.087	-0.144	-0.219**	-0.209**	0.032	-0.095
	(-1.47)	(-1.38)	(0.53)	(-0.70)	(-2.09)	(-1.97)	(0.26)	(-0.58)
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	0.100	0.163**	0.869***	0.764**	0.011	0.034	0.915***	0.911***
	(1.27)	(2.01)	(3.33)	(2.28)	(0.11)	(0.32)	(4.58)	(4.49)
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	-0.117	-0.148	0.106	0.080	-0.189	-0.223	0.215	0.205
	(-0.86)	(-1.08)	(1.39)	(1.12)	(-0.99)	(-1.16)	(1.43)	(1.30)
Percentage of Workforce of Department Employed in Agriculture (only available from 1855)	-	-	-	-	-3.412**	-3.306**	-10.074	-8.493
	-	-	-	-	(-2.37)	(-2.28)	(-1.30)	(-1.12)
Total Number of Paintings Shown at the Salon	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(10.65)	(6.92)	(4.23)	(3.55)	(10.49)	(7.68)	(4.60)	(3.42)
Department Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	2878	2878	2878	2878	1666	1666	1666	1666
r2	0.56	0.57	0.26	0.29	0.60	0.60	0.23	0.24
F	601.41	101.01	18.18	16.96	353.53	98.48	25.37	15.45

* significant at α = 0.10, ** significant at α =0.05, *** significant at α =0.01; standard errors clustered at the department level.

Table 4: Factors Influencing the Number of Rural Genre Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1831 – 1881

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	0.246***	0.248***	0.027	0.009	0.277***	0.272***	-0.715***	-0.695***
	(15.03)	(15.10)	(0.36)	(0.15)	(13.07)	(12.87)	(-4.66)	(-4.23)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	-0.000	0.000	0.000	0.004*	-0.000	-0.001	0.005*	-0.005
	(-0.24)	(0.22)	(0.12)	(1.87)	(-0.43)	(-1.25)	(1.71)	(-1.04)
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments	0.001	0.002	0.005	0.008	0.002	0.006	-0.009	0.006
	(0.13)	(0.47)	(0.52)	(0.89)	(0.25)	(0.84)	(-0.59)	(0.38)
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	0.001	0.002	0.032***	0.035***	-0.003	0.002	0.063***	0.071***
	(0.24)	(0.46)	(3.82)	(3.77)	(-0.52)	(0.25)	(5.89)	(5.73)
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	-0.011	-0.012	-0.006	-0.007	-0.014	-0.016	-0.005	-0.006
	(-1.32)	(-1.40)	(-0.86)	(-1.00)	(-1.14)	(-1.33)	(-0.69)	(-0.84)
Percentage of Workforce of Department Employed in Agriculture (only available from 1855)	-	-	-	-	0.022	0.059	-0.384	-0.488
	-	-	-	-	(0.24)	(0.64)	(-1.15)	(-1.41)
Total Number of Paintings Shown at the Salon	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***	0.000**	0.000**	0.000***	0.000**	0.000**
	(3.81)	(2.58)	(2.83)	(2.17)	(2.41)	(3.05)	(2.57)	(2.15)
Department Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	2878	2878	2878	2878	1666	1666	1666	1666
r2	0.10	0.12	0.02	0.05	0.12	0.15	0.08	0.10
F	53.01	10.40	6.70	4.70	33.81	11.13	6.63	5.22

* significant at α = 0.10, ** significant at α =0.05, *** significant at α =0.01; standard errors clustered at the department level.

Appendix B.1: Factors Influencing the Number of Landscape Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1831 – 1881

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	14.214***	14.194***	8.060***	7.388***	14.007***	14.033***	8.105***	7.353**
	(47.43)	(48.11)	(3.27)	(3.65)	(38.09)	(38.90)	(3.06)	(3.19)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	-0.071***	-0.073***	-0.034*	0.102*	-0.098***	-0.095***	-0.040	0.207*
	(-9.00)	(-8.64)	(-1.92)	(1.67)	(-6.63)	(-6.41)	(-1.10)	(1.96)
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments	-0.073	-0.091	0.206	-0.173	-0.217*	-0.236**	0.116	-0.348
	(-0.88)	(-1.12)	(1.22)	(-0.81)	(-1.88)	(-2.07)	(0.76)	(-1.50)
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	0.124	0.122	0.918***	0.761**	0.072	0.048	0.794***	0.712**
	(1.37)	(1.33)	(3.84)	(2.57)	(0.62)	(0.41)	(3.05)	(2.81)
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	-0.330**	-0.316**	-0.075	-0.075	-0.488**	-0.457**	-0.061	-0.007
	(-2.21)	(-2.14)	(-0.89)	(-0.80)	(-2.42)	(-2.28)	(-0.94)	(-0.10)
Percentage of Workforce of Department Employed in Agriculture (only available from 1855)	-	-	-	-	-3.289**	-3.559**	-7.053	-6.338
	-	-	-	-	(-2.07)	(-2.28)	(-1.07)	(-1.02)
Total Number of Paintings Shown at the Salon	0.000**	0.000	0.000***	-0.006***	0.001**	0.000	0.001***	-0.006**
	(2.57)	(1.55)	(3.09)	(-4.64)	(2.39)	(0.54)	(3.25)	(-4.59)
Department Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	2441	2441	2441	2441	1498	1498	1498	1498
r2	0.58	0.60	0.23	0.33	0.61	0.63	0.14	0.26
F	555.25	113.30	19.95	10.33	328.07	108.30	12.46	13.24

* significant at α = 0.10, ** significant at α =0.05, *** significant at α =0.01; standard errors clustered at the department level.

Appendix B.2: Factors Influencing the Number of Rural Genre Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1831– 1881

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	0.271***	0.272***	0.079	0.068	0.293***	0.289***	-0.250***	-0.223**
	(15.49)	(15.57)	(1.14)	(1.18)	(13.36)	(13.27)	(-3.02)	(-2.46)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.003	-0.000	-0.001	0.005*	-0.007
	(-0.85)	(-0.48)	(-0.36)	(1.49)	(-0.53)	(-1.21)	(1.88)	(-1.48)
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments	0.006	0.007	0.009	0.015	0.010	0.013*	-0.003	0.011
	(1.24)	(1.55)	(0.82)	(1.36)	(1.40)	(1.85)	(-0.19)	(0.65)
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	0.008	0.009	0.038***	0.041***	0.005	0.009	0.058***	0.064***
	(1.49)	(1.62)	(3.48)	(3.63)	(0.78)	(1.29)	(5.25)	(5.53)
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	-0.002	0.001	0.005	0.008	0.001	0.003	0.009	0.013
	(-0.24)	(0.06)	(0.76)	(1.25)	(0.05)	(0.23)	(0.96)	(1.28)
Percentage of Workforce of Department Employed in Agriculture (only available from 1855)	-	-	-	-	0.019	0.051	-0.336	-0.464
	-	-	-	-	(0.20)	(0.54)	(-1.21)	(-1.57)
Total Number of Paintings Shown at the Salon	0.000***	0.000	0.000***	-0.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.000**	-0.000
	(3.64)	(0.22)	(3.51)	(-1.35)	(1.66)	(1.84)	(2.48)	(-1.39)
Department Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	2528	2528	2528	2528	1498	1498	1498	1498
r2	0.13	0.15	0.03	0.06	0.15	0.17	0.02	0.05
F	60.50	13.02	8.52	7.74	37.93	13.46	4.87	4.03

* significant at α = 0.10, ** significant at α =0.05, *** significant at α =0.01; standard errors clustered at the department level.